

**ENGLISH LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND MOTIVATION AMONG
ADULT MIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA**

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DECLARATION

I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis is the result of original research and has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other University or Institution.

(Signed): (Candidate)

Date:

*To the migrants in Newcastle
for their courage, kindness, and unconditional participation*

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CONTENTS

	<i>Page No.</i>
1 PROJECT ORIGIN AND THEORETICAL PRELIMINARIES	2
1.1 Origin of the Project	2
1.2 Social Psychological Approaches in the Field of SLA.....	4
1.2.1 Social Identity Theory	6
1.2.2 Lambert’s Social Psychological Model.....	8
1.2.3 Gardner’s Socio-Educational Model.....	8
1.2.4 Clément’s Social Context Model	10
1.2.5 Intergroup Approach to SLA.....	11
1.2.6 Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory.....	12
1.2.7 Schumann’s Acculturation Model of SLA	13
1.3 Main Constructs and Research Questions in the Present Study.....	15
1.4 The Status of the Social Psychological Approaches in the Field of SLA	18
1.4.1 The Theorists	19
1.4.2 The Middle Ground	21
1.4.3 The Pluralists	23
1.5 Layout of the Thesis.....	24
2 THE AUSTRALIAN SOCIAL MILIEU.....	27
2.1 Diversity, Immigration Policy, and English Language Instruction.....	28
2.1.1 Multiculturalism in Australia	30
2.1.2 Critiques of Multiculturalism in Australia	32
2.2 The Needs Based Studies.....	32
2.2.1 Methodological Issues	33
2.2.2 Some Findings	34
2.3 Ethnic Language Maintenance Research.....	38
2.4 Converging Evidence.....	41
2.5 Newcastle – Demographics.....	45
3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	47
3.1 Gardner’s Socio-Educational Model of SLA.....	47

3.1.1	The Integrative Motive.....	48
3.1.2	Model Components and Their Relationship.....	50
3.1.3	Component Measurement.....	55
3.1.4	Critiques of the Model.....	56
3.2	Schumann’s Acculturation Model of SLA	62
3.2.1	Preliminaries.....	62
3.2.2	Psychological Distance as a Factor in SLA.....	63
3.2.3	Social Distance as a Factor in SLA.....	65
3.2.4	Acculturation as Major Causal Variable in SLA.....	67
3.2.5	Critiques of the Acculturation Model.....	69
4	MAIN CONCEPTS AND THEIR OPERATIONALISATIONS	75
4.1	Acculturation	76
4.1.1	Defining Acculturation.....	76
4.1.2	Models of Acculturation.....	77
4.1.3	Schumann’s Acculturation Model of SLA	83
4.1.4	Operationalising Acculturation	84
4.2	Attitudes.....	87
4.2.1	Defining Attitudes	88
4.2.2	The Structure of Attitudes	90
4.2.3	The Measurement of Attitudes	92
4.2.4	Attitudes – Links to Motivation	95
4.3	Motivation.....	98
4.3.1	Challenges	98
4.3.2	Dichotomies in Motivation Theory	99
4.3.3	Defining Motivation	103
4.3.4	Indices of Motivation	104
4.4	English Language Proficiency	107
4.4.1	Dimensions of Language Proficiency and ASLPR	107
4.4.2	The Measurement of Second Language Proficiency and ASLPR	108
4.4.3	The Format of the ASLPR.....	110
4.4.4	The Utility of the ASLPR.....	111
4.5	Summary	111
5	METHODOLOGY	113
5.1	The Participants	113
5.1.1	Gender and Age.....	113
5.1.2	Ethnic Backgrounds	114
5.1.3	Length of Residence.....	115

5.1.4	Immigration Categories	116
5.1.5	Age at Immigration.....	117
5.1.6	Employment Status.....	118
5.1.7	Level of Education	119
5.1.8	Level of Acculturation.....	121
5.1.9	Experience with English Language Learning	123
5.1.10	Level of English Language Proficiency	123
5.1.11	Summary.....	126
5.2	The Questionnaire.....	127
5.2.1	Format of the Survey	128
5.2.2	Themes and Variables	128
5.2.3	Validity of the Questionnaire	143
5.2.4	Reliability	144
5.3	Procedure	145
5.3.1	Piloting	145
5.3.2	Recruiting of Subjects	146
5.3.3	Administering the Survey.....	146
5.4	Data Analyses: An Overview.....	148
6	ATTITUDE VARIABLES: PRELIMINARY ANALYSES.....	149
6.1	Scale Reliability Analysis and Computation of Positivity Indices	151
6.1.1	Spolsky Identity Scales Technique.....	151
6.1.2	Australian Behavioural Stereotype (ABS) Scales.....	152
6.2	Exploratory Factor Analyses (EFA) results.....	152
6.2.1	Spolsky Identity Scales Technique.....	152
6.2.2	The Australian Behavioural Stereotype Scales	155
6.3	Summary	157
7	ATTITUDE VARIABLES: MAIN ANALYSES	160
7.1	What is the Present Sample's Level of Integrativeness in Terms of Attitudes toward Anglo-Australians?	162
7.2	Do Migrants from Different Ethnic Backgrounds Differ in Their Attitudes toward Anglo-Australians?	168
7.3	Do Migrants at Different Lengths of Residence Differ in Their Attitudes toward Anglo-Australians?	174
7.4	Do Attitudes Influence English Language Proficiency?.....	182
7.5	Brief Chapter Summary	187
8	MOTIVATION VARIABLES: PRELIMINARY AND MAIN ANALYSES.....	189
8.1	Preliminary Analyses.....	190

8.2 Main Analyses	196
8.2.1 The Present Sample's Motivational Orientation	196
8.2.2 Do Migrants at Different Lengths of Residence Differ on Motivation Variables?	200
8.2.3 What is the Relationship among Motivation, Acculturation, and English Language Proficiency Measures?	204
8.3 Brief Chapter Summary	221
9 CONTRIBUTIONS, LIMITATIONS, IMPLICATIONS.....	223
9.1 Integration	223
9.2 Contributions	226
9.2.1 Understanding the Minority Group's Attitudes.....	226
9.2.2 Understanding Integrativeness	227
9.3 Limitations	229
9.4 Implications.....	232
9.4.1 Research on Fossilization	232
9.4.2 English as a Second Language (ESL) Teaching	233
9.4.3 Policy	236
REFERENCES	238
APPENDICES	248
Appendix A1: Information Sheet	248
Appendix A2: Questionnaire	250
Appendix B: Countries of Respondents' Origin	275
Appendix C1: 1997 Version of the Socio-Educational Model	276
Appendix C2: Gardner et al.'s 1997 EFA Results	277
Appendix C3: Gardner et al.'s Correlation Analysis Results	278

LIST OF TABLES

	<i>Page No.</i>
Table 1 <i>Converse Sets of Conditions Facilitating Second Language Acquisition and Ethnic Language Maintenance</i>	12
Table 2 <i>Characteristics of the ASLPR</i>	109
Table 3 <i>Number of Migrant and Australian Friends</i>	122
Table 4 <i>Means and Standard Deviations for Central Variables</i>	126
Table 5 <i>Australian Adaptation Scale by Subscales</i>	131
Table 6 <i>Preliminary Reliability Coefficients for the Main Subconstructs</i>	144
Table 7 <i>Pattern Matrix (Oblimin Rotation) of Factors Underlying the Scale for the Target Australians</i>	154
Table 8 <i>Pattern Matrix (Oblimin Rotation) of the Factors Underlying the Australian Behavioural Stereotype Scale</i>	156
Table 9 <i>Descriptive Statistics and Reliability Coefficients for the Attitude Variables</i>	158
Table 10 <i>Means (Standard Deviations) of the Positivity Index across the Four Targets and the Australian Behavioural Stereotype (ABS) as a Function of Respondents' Region of Origin</i>	171
Table 11 <i>Means (Standard Deviations) of the Positivity Index across the Four Targets and the Australian Behavioural Stereotype (ABS) as a Function of Length of Residence</i>	177
Table 12 <i>F and p Values for Linear and Quadratic Components in the Relationship between Attitudes toward the Four Targets and the Australian Behavioural Stereotype (ABS) and Length of Residence</i>	179
Table 13 <i>Bivariate Correlations between Attitude Variables and Measures of English Language Proficiency</i>	184
Table 14 <i>The Motivation Construct by Subconstructs</i>	191
Table 15 <i>Intercorrelations among Major Motivation Variables</i>	194
Table 16 <i>Bivariate Correlations Between the Higher Order Motivation Variables and Measures of English Language Proficiency</i>	195
Table 17 <i>Rotated Component Matrix (Varimax with Keiser Normalisation) of the Factors Underlying the Motivational Orientation Measure</i>	198
Table 18 <i>Means (Standard Deviations) of Selected Motivation Variables as a Function of Length of Residence (LOR)</i>	202

Table 19 <i>Rotated (Varimax) Matrix of Factors Underlying the Acculturation and Motivation Measures</i>	206
Table 20 <i>Sum Aggregate Scores by Variables and Cronbach's alpha coefficients</i>	208
Table 21 <i>Intercorrelations between the Aggregate Scores</i>	208
Table 22 <i>Bivariate Correlations of the Aggregate Scores with English Language Proficiency</i>	210

LIST OF FIGURES

	<i>Page No.</i>
<i>Figure 1.</i> Constructs of interest in the present study.....	17
<i>Figure 2.</i> Factors comprising SLA domain based on the theorists' views.....	20
<i>Figure 3.</i> Factors comprising SLA domain based on Towell & Hawkins (1994).	22
<i>Figure 4.</i> Factors comprising SLA domain based on Norris & Ortega (2003).....	24
<i>Figure 5.</i> The Socio-Educational Model of SLA – representation based on Gardner's 1985, 1992, 1995 & 2000 work.....	52
<i>Figure 6.</i> Factors in Psychological Distance – based on Schumann (1976b).....	63
<i>Figure 7.</i> Factors in Social Distance – based on Schumann (1976a, b).....	66
<i>Figure 8.</i> Chain of causality in SLA – based on Schumann's 1978 & 1986 comments.....	71
<i>Figure 9.</i> Noels et al.'s (1996) work translated in terms of Schumann's acculturation theory.	73
<i>Figure 10.</i> The unidimensional model of acculturation.	77
<i>Figure 11.</i> Bidimensional model of acculturation based on Berry (1997).....	79
<i>Figure 12.</i> Factors and indicators for the acculturation construct in the present study.	86
<i>Figure 13.</i> Maio & Olson's (2000a: 434) function-structure model: "motivations moderate the effects of beliefs, feelings, and experiences on attitudes".....	97
<i>Figure 14.</i> Theories in motivational psychology (based on Dörnyei's 2001 overview).....	100
<i>Figure 15.</i> Varying degrees of involvement with micro-context and macro-context factors in SLA motivation research.	102
<i>Figure 16.</i> Dimensions of motivation in the present study.	106
<i>Figure 17.</i> Origins of respondents by geographical region. NAMESCA = North Africa and the Middle East, and Southern and Central Asia; S & C America = South and Central America.....	115
<i>Figure 18.</i> Respondents in groups by period of arrival in Australia.....	116
<i>Figure 19.</i> Proportion of the sample in occupation categories.....	119

<i>Figure 20.</i> Level of education before arrival in Australia. The numbers in parenthesis indicate the years of schooling necessary for the completion of that level.....	120
<i>Figure 21.</i> Speaking proficiency scores ($M = 6.82$, $SD = 1.80$; $N = 123.00$). Measurement was on a 12-point scale (expanded ASLPR) and higher scores indicate higher proficiency. The reported mean translates into ASLPR level 3 “Minimum vocational proficiency”.....	124
<i>Figure 22.</i> Listening proficiency scores ($M = 6.94$, $SD = 1.77$; $N = 123.00$). Measurement was on a 12-point scale (expanded ASLPR) and higher scores indicate higher proficiency. The reported mean translates into ASLPR level 3 “Minimum vocational proficiency”.....	125
<i>Figure 23.</i> Reading proficiency scores ($M = 6.80$, $SD = 1.93$; $N = 123.00$). Measurement was on a 12-point scale (expanded ASLPR) and higher scores indicate higher proficiency. The reported mean translates into ASLPR level 3 “Minimum vocational proficiency”.....	125
<i>Figure 24.</i> Writing proficiency scores ($M = 6.46$, $SD = 2.07$; $N = 123.00$). Measurement was on a 12-point scale (expanded ASLPR) and higher scores indicate higher proficiency. The reported mean translates into ASLPR level 2+ “Minimum social proficiency +”.....	125
<i>Figure 25.</i> Positivity ratings for the four targets. The error bars represent the standard error of the mean. All pair-wise comparisons are statistically significant, all $ps < .001$. The scores range between 1 and 5 and higher scores indicate more positive attitudes.....	164
<i>Figure 26.</i> Ratings on the Intelligent-cultured and Amiable dimensions as a function of target (all $ps < .001$). The error bars represent the standard error of the mean. The scores range between 1 and 5 and higher scores indicate more positive attitudes.....	165
<i>Figure 27.</i> Positivity ratings for the four targets and the Australian Behavioural Stereotype (ABS) as a function of length of residence. Measurement is on a scale of 1 to 5 and higher scores indicate more positive attitudes. Means with different subscripts along the lines are statistically significantly different ($ps < 0.05$). NC = Native Country, ABS = Australian Behavioural Stereotype.....	178
<i>Figure 28.</i> Persistence, Effort, Confidence with English and Attitudes toward the English language instructor as a function of length of residence. All scores are standardised. Data points with different scripts along the lines are statistically significantly different ($p < .05$).	203

<i>Figure 29.</i> Path model of the five aggregate scores as predictors of ASLPR speaking scores (* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$). Coefficients are standardised beta coefficients.....	211
<i>Figure 30.</i> Path model of the five aggregate scores as predictors of ASLPR listening scores (* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$). Coefficients are standardised beta coefficients.....	212
<i>Figure 31.</i> Path model of the five aggregate scores as predictors of ASLPR reading scores (* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$). Coefficients are standardised beta coefficients.....	213
<i>Figure 32.</i> Path model of the five aggregate scores as predictors of ASLPR writing scores (* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$). Coefficients are standardised beta coefficients.....	214
<i>Figure 33.</i> Path model of the five aggregate scores as predictors of self-rated speaking scores (* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$). Coefficients are standardised beta coefficients.....	217
<i>Figure 34.</i> Path model of the five aggregate scores as predictors of self-rated listening scores (* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$). Coefficients are standardised beta coefficients.....	218
<i>Figure 35.</i> Path model of the five aggregate scores as predictors of self-rated reading scores (* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$). Coefficients are standardised beta coefficients.....	219
<i>Figure 36.</i> Path model of the five aggregate scores as predictors of self-rated writing scores (* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$). Coefficients are standardised beta coefficients.....	220

SYNOPSIS

The present investigation is a project in applied linguistics which looks at second language acquisition (SLA) from a social psychological perspective. The study is cross-sectional correlational by design and draws on two social psychological models of SLA, namely: Gardner's (1985) socio-educational model and Schumann's (1978) acculturation model of SLA. The structured interview and survey methods were used to elicit the attitudes toward the speakers of Australian English and the motivation for learning English among first generation non-English speaking adult migrants who were permanent settlers in, or citizens of, Australia. The Australian Second Language Proficiency Ratings (ASLPR) scale was used as a global and unobtrusive measure of English language proficiency. The study situates the socio-educational and the acculturation models within recent developments in attitude, acculturation, motivation, and SLA theory; explores the differences in attitudes and motivation as a function of respondents' ethnic background and length of residence; and examines the relationship among the various acculturation, motivation and English language proficiency measures. The recurring themes are those of conceptual complexity, of integrativeness which is usually understood in SLA as the learners' social integration and psychological identification with the speakers of the target language, and of the impossibility to separate the social from the individual level of analysis in SLA research. The results help to understand the evaluations and stereotype that migrants hold of Anglo-Australians and the values that underlie them. The results also lend support to the proposition (e.g. Dörnyei, 2005) that an alternative interpretation of the concept of integrativeness in SLA is possible. The findings could be informative to those involved in policy making and in delivering education to migrants.

CHAPTER I

1 Project origin and theoretical preliminaries

1.1 Origin of the Project

One of the observed behaviours in second language acquisition (SLA) is that “second language learners stop short of native-like success” (Towell & Hawkins, 1994: 14). The cited proportion of second language (L2) learners who attain native-like level of proficiency is five percent (Han, 2004) and the question has been asked: “Why, then, do more learners *not* attain to this level?” (Moyer, 2004: 1, emphasis in the original). Insights into, but only partial explanations of, this phenomenon have been offered by the various approaches to SLA (see Towell & Hawkins, 1994 for critical appraisal). Linguistic approaches address the questions of *what* is acquired and *how* L2 knowledge is instantiated in the brain, whereas cognitive/psychological approaches address the question of *how* L2 knowledge comes to be acquired (Gregg, 1993). However, “it is only when we look at the social dimensions that we begin to understand *why*” (Spolsky, 1969: 282, emphasis in the original).

Among the theories that explore the social dimensions of SLA¹ two make specific predictions about the L2 learners’ ultimate attainment. Gardner’s (1985) socio-educational model posits that in order to achieve native-like proficiency in an L2 learners have to identify with the speakers of the target language (TL). Schumann’s (1978) acculturation model posits that learners will acquire an L2 only to the degree to which they acculturate – that is, socially and psychologically integrate with the speakers of the target language. The former theory aims to explain successful SLA, whereas the latter theory explains unsuccessful SLA. The two theories share the idea that the context for second language acquisition is voluntary, especially in the case of immigration. Quite unlike the formal foreign language classroom context, which is obligatory in the sense that certain levels of language proficiency have to be achieved in order for the learner to satisfy educational requirements and societal norms and expectations, the context of second language acquisition is voluntary in the sense that the individual may choose to access or not access instructional settings, to engage or not engage in

interaction with the target language (TL) speakers, and to seek or avoid opportunities to practise. This is particularly relevant to the Australian context – multicultural, English language monolingual, with a majority Anglo-Australian group, seemingly offering migrants great exposure to English and countless opportunities to engage in interaction with members of the Anglo-Australian community. In addition, formal language instruction is offered through the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) which was initiated by the Department of Immigration in 1948 to meet the needs of the wave of post-war migrants. To date AMEP is:

... a national program that provides English language classes to various categories of migrants who have achieved permanent resident status. The program is free for all learners who have not yet attained ‘functional’ level of English language learning, and who meet certain selection criteria. The program allows each migrant to receive up to 510 hours of English language tuition through a nationally accredited program offered in centres throughout urban and rural Australia. (Wigglesworth, 2003: 3)

Over the years, apart from changes in its modes of delivery and financial arrangements with clients and contractors (C. Stevens, 1999), it has undergone considerable changes in focus, flexibility, and teacher training (see Martin, 1998 for the history of AMEP). As the next chapter shall show, the focus has shifted from the teacher to the student; in terms of flexibility, instruction is provided at numerous locations and various times of day; and whereas in the early years of the program the instructors were volunteer primary school teachers, in recent years teachers hold master degrees in applied linguistics. Interestingly, however, according to anecdotal evidence, in the early years it was the students who had to put down their names on waiting lists, in recent years it has been the teachers who have had to do so. In other words, English language instruction of good quality and quantity is available in Australia to those who seek it.

However, visits to the places that provide English lessons to migrants in Newcastle, such as the Hunter Institute for Technical and Further Education (TAFE), Multicultural Neighbourhood Centre, and Migrant Resource Centre, revealed that an exact number for migrants attending English language classes was impossible to obtain, since individuals tended to drop out without notice. In this researcher’s observation, the

¹ ‘Acquisition’ and ‘learning’ are used interchangeably unless otherwise specified.

actual regular attendance for the 2000 academic year consisted of about 70 people altogether - a small proportion of the 1,396 persons who, according to official area statistics (AEC, 1998: 65) had self-reported inadequate English language proficiency.

Hence, volition appears to be particularly relevant to multicultural contexts such as Australia (discussed in the next chapter) where the pressure on migrants to acquire English is not unsurmountable, since there is access to interpreter services, ethnic media, and ethnic community centres. In addition, an increasing number of migrants are becoming self-employed or work for employers who are their fellow countrymen, thus eliminating the acquisition of English as a prerequisite for employment (C. Stevens, 1999). Therefore, the present research adopts the proposition that in this type of context factors such as the individual's attitudes toward the target language (TL) speakers and his or her motivation to learn the language precede in importance cognitive, instructional, and age factors (e.g. Gardner, 1985; Gardner & MacIntyre 1992; Schumann, 1978; Moyer 2004). In the field of SLA, it is the social psychological approaches that build on this premise and provide a theoretical framework for the exploration and analysis of social and affective factors, as well as a framework for explaining their role in language acquisition. With the question of why migrants do not attain native-like proficiency in mind and framed within Gardner's and Schumann's theories of SLA, the present investigation focussed on migrants' attitudes toward Anglo-Australians and on their motivation to learn the English language.

1.2 Social Psychological Approaches in the Field of SLA

The various social psychological models in second language acquisition (SLA) "seek to explain the individual characteristics that affect SLA, and sometimes how social context influences these characteristics" (Siegel, 2003:184). The social psychological models in SLA contribute to the explanation of the phenomenon of incompleteness. Incompleteness, from a social psychological perspective, is considered to be the result of the operation of certain affective and interaction variables. Thus, a common feature of the social psychological theories in SLA is the emphasis on affective factors such as attitudes, motivation, self-confidence and anxiety, as well as the degree of contact between the L2 learners and the target language (TL) group (Siegel, 2003). The results from this line of research show that these factors arise from particular social

contexts and “illustrate the importance of taking social context into account” (Siegel, 2003). Siegel (2003) suggests that one of the parameters along which the analyses of social context vary is macro vs. micro and describes these as follows:

Macro-analysis focuses on society as a whole and the characteristics of the various social groups which comprise it. With regard to SLA, it considers the relative size, status, and power of the L1 and L2 groups and the general domains of use of the L1 and L2. In contrast, micro-analysis pays attention to the behaviour of individuals in particular situations which results from broader social factors. With regard to SLA, it examines specific activities involving L2 learning and use, the social relationships between particular L1 and L2 speakers, and the status and power of individual L2 learners and their interlocutors within social interactions. (Siegel, 2003: 183)

In other words, macro-analysis seems to take into consideration group-level phenomena, whereas micro-analysis seems to consider interpersonal-level phenomena. Thus, the two models on which the present research builds -- Gardner’s socio-educational model (1985) and Schumann’s acculturation model (1978) are both macro-contextual.

A common critique of the social psychological theories in SLA is that they do not easily lend themselves to empirical testing, use circular explanations, and produce equivocal results (e.g. Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991; Jordan, 2004). The source of the problem is that basic theoretical constructs in this framework are still in a state of flux and, as chapter 4 shall show, some concepts do not have agreed upon definitions just yet. Therefore, it is not easy to operationalise them. The problem is further compounded by the necessity to define them in various ways depending on the context in which research is conducted. To compensate for this, SLA researchers working within social psychological frameworks have begun to employ powerful statistical techniques such as Factor Analysis, Path Analysis or Structural Equation Modelling in order to establish causal paths among variables of interest and thus increase the explanatory power of their theories. Gardner’s work on the socio-educational model of SLA is credited with pioneering this trend in SLA research as early as the 1970s. His work and the work of others who have built on his studies and have used the macro-contextual perspective will be briefly discussed below. First, however, it is necessary to introduce Tajfel’s social identity theory (1978, 1981), since it is the cornerstone theory in mainstream social psychology on which the others (some explicitly, some implicitly) draw.

1.2.1 Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory was developed by Henri Tajfel in the 1970s and has its roots in its author's interest in understanding intergroup behaviour and the causes of prejudice and intergroup conflict (Hogg & Abrams, 1999: 9). The theory is succinctly outlined by Giles and Johnson (1987):

We categorize the social world and, hence, perceive ourselves as members of various groups. Such knowledge of ourselves as group members is defined as our social identity, and it may be positive or negative according to how our ingroups fare in social comparison with relevant outgroups. It is argued that we strive to achieve a positive identity by seeking dimensions which afford favorable comparisons with outgroups; in other words, we strive to achieve positive 'psychological distinctiveness'. (Giles & Johnson, 1987: 71)

The need for simplicity is a basic human need (see Higgins & Kruglanski, 2000 for a collection of papers on basic human motivations). Categorisation serves the function of simplifying the multiplicity of objects and orienting the individual in the world surrounding him or her. Tajfel considers social categorisation "as a system of orientation which helps to create and define the individual's place in society" (Tajfel, 1981: 255). The multitude of other individuals is reduced, on the basis of relevant characteristics, to groups along the dimension of 'us' and 'them'. Internal criteria, external criteria, or both are used to determine who is in and who is out. Thus, groups possess certain uniformity (as opposed to individual variability) which determines their boundaries. A group cannot exist on its own but only in juxtaposition or in comparison with other groups. Thus, one's group membership becomes incorporated in the concept of one's Self. Tajfel defines social identity as "*part* of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, 1981: 255, emphasis in the original). Since the achievement of positive self-concept is another basic human motivation, one's group memberships contribute positively or negatively to the image one has of him- or herself. Therefore, individuals strive to achieve positive group distinctiveness as well. Tajfel emphasises time and again that "the aim of positively-valued psychological distinctiveness is to achieve an adequate form of social identity; and ... the only means by which this aim can be

attained is in the establishment of appropriate kinds of intergroup comparisons” (Tajfel, 1981: 285). Socially, groups can be defined in terms of ‘superior’ and ‘inferior’ – “rough (and by no means optimal) shorthand terms” (Tajfel, 1981: 277) derived from the groups’ positions on status, power and dominance differentials. Members of each group can make secure or insecure intergroup comparisons, resulting in secure or insecure social identity. If the individual accepts the status quo and is unaware of any alternatives to an existing social situation, then his or her social identity is secure. If, however, the individual is aware of alternatives to an existing social situation and thinks that changes are possible (i.e. cognitive alternatives exist), then the intergroup comparisons are insecure. Members of an ‘inferior’ group who make insecure intergroup comparisons may attempt to leave the group psychologically, objectively, or both and may attempt to gain membership into the other group. This is unproblematic if group boundaries are perceived as soft and permeable, there are no sanctions imposed on the individual by either of the groups, and the moving does not involve conflict of values. Thus, individuals can freely engage in social mobility, understood by Tajfel as movement (upwards, downwards, or horizontally) from one social group to another (Tajfel, 1981: 244). If for some reason or another exit from the group is perceived as impossible then individuals can employ a number of strategies in order to achieve positive psychological distinctiveness from the other group. They can choose:

- (i) To become, through action and reinterpretation of group characteristics, more like the superior group.
- (ii) To reinterpret the existing inferior characteristics of the group, so that they do not appear as inferior but acquire a positively-valued distinctiveness from the superior group.
- (iii) To create, through social action and /or diffusion of new ‘ideologies’, new group characteristics which have a positively-valued distinctiveness from the superior group. (Tajfel, 1981: 283-284)

In summary, social identity theory proposes that individuals’ behaviour can be positioned on a continuum ranging between interindividual and intergroup. The main tenet of the theory is that interindividual behaviour becomes intergroup behaviour under conditions whereby the social world is dichotomized into the categories of ‘us’ and ‘them’ and the boundaries of one or both of these groups are impassable (Tajfel, 1981: 287).

1.2.2 Lambert's Social Psychological Model

Lambert's model, developed in the early 1960s, was perhaps the first social psychological model of SLA. It was designed to account for bilingual development and proposed that language distinctiveness was part of one's social identity and that a learner had to identify strongly with the members of the group whose language he or she was learning (target language group - TL group) in order to achieve native-like proficiency. The model incorporated a cognitive component as a predictor of proficiency as well. The theory predicted that if the acquisition of L2 posed no threat to the learner's ethnic identity (i.e. the learner could maintain and use freely his or her L1), the result of the L2 learning process would be additive bilingualism (and positive growth in the learner's social identity). If, however, L2 was learnt as a result of a push to assimilate into the TL culture, the learner was expected to restrict the use of or abandon altogether his or her L1. This detracted from the learner's social identity and resulted in subtractive bilingualism. By taking into account intergroup attitudes and the effect of the language learning (LL) process on one's social identity, Lambert focused on the macro-context of L2 acquisition.

1.2.3 Gardner's Socio-Educational Model

Building on the idea that the learner had to identify with members of TL group in order to achieve native-like proficiency, Gardner and Lambert elaborated on the social psychological model by introducing the distinction between integrative orientation (learning L2 in order to associate with members of the TL group) and instrumental orientation (learning L2 for utilitarian reasons: to get a job, gain prestige). Further, Gardner (e.g. 1985) introduced the concept of integrativeness (incorporating attitudes toward the TL group, other outgroups, and integrative orientation) and the concept of the integrative motive (a complex tri-partite, higher order variable incorporating integrativeness, attitudes toward the learning situation, and motivation). Although a relationship between each of the three components of the integrative motive and language achievement was found to exist, mediational analyses and structural equation modelling revealed that attitudes exerted their influence on L2 achievement indirectly through motivation (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003; Gardner, 1985). Based on these results, Gardner proposed that attitudes acted as support to motivation and that, of

the affective individual difference variables, motivation was the proximate cause of language achievement. The socio-educational model had four components, namely: social milieu, individual differences, language acquisition contexts, and outcomes. The social milieu shaped specific cultural beliefs which influenced the affective and cognitive characteristics of the learner. The importance of the learner's characteristics varied depending on whether the language learning context was formal or informal, with affective characteristics taking precedence in informal contexts. The outcomes of the language learning (LL) process could be linguistic (e.g. acquisition of grammatical structure) or non-linguistic (e.g. more positive attitudes toward the TL group or desire for more contact with its members). Since the model was designed to account for instructed second language acquisition, Gardner chose to not operationalise the social milieu component of the model but suggested that monolingual and bilingual social contexts, as well as the groups' ethnolinguistic vitality (a cluster of status, demographic, and institutional support variables pertaining to a language and its locutors in a community) might give rise to different cultural beliefs. Although the model has undergone numerous changes in order to accommodate newly-identified variables, as far as social milieu is concerned, Gardner seems reluctant to go beyond a broad statement about its great importance in second language learning.

As chapter 3 shall show, this and the conceptualisation of the integrative motive have attracted criticism from other experts in the field. Since research has found that integrative and instrumental orientations existed in unlikely social contexts (e.g. Dörnyei, 1990) and that a number of other orientations, such as friendship, travel, and knowledge could be identified (Clément & Kruidenier, 1983), there has been a call to reconceptualise integrativeness (e.g. Dörnyei, 2003; see also Dörnyei 2001, 2005 for overviews and critical appraisals). In view of the uncertainty surrounding the issue of motivational orientations, one of the objectives of the present study was to examine what motivational orientations existed in the present sample. Gardner defines motivation to learn L2 in terms of goals, effort, desire to learn the language, and affect. Dörnyei (e.g. 2001) proposes that motivation be defined as a process rather than a state and places emphasis on the temporal dimension of motivation. In line with this, another objective of the present study was to establish whether differences on motivation variables existed among respondents at different lengths of residence.

1.2.4 Clément's Social Context Model

Clément's 1980 theory took up the idea that a learner's perception of the relative ethnolinguistic vitality of the L2 learning group and the TL group might influence the outcomes of the L2 learning process through the operation of primary and secondary motivational processes. Clément assumed that a group with high ethnolinguistic vitality would be attractive to members of outgroups (Clément, 1980: 149). The relative ethnolinguistic vitality of the two groups existing in a given social milieu influenced a primary motivational process which consisted of two antagonistic tendencies: integrativeness (positive function of the vitality of TL group) and fear of assimilation (negative function of the vitality of the L2 learning group). The relationship between the two was subtractive (integrativeness minus fear of assimilation) and the resulting tendency had immediate effect on an individual's motivation to learn L2 and, through motivation, on the level of communicative competence that a learner achieved. In multicultural settings, a secondary motivational process was thought to be operative, whereby the prevailing tendency of either integrativeness or fear of assimilation would determine the amount of contact the learner had with TL speakers. The quantity together with the quality (pleasantness) of contact would impact on the learner's self-confidence, through it on his or her motivation to learn L2, and through motivation on the attainment of communicative competence. Although a cognitive module was absent from the representations of the model, its importance was acknowledged and measures for language aptitude were incorporated in the empirical tests of the theory. Most importantly, Clément proposed that since the motivational process was heavily influenced by characteristics of the social setting, "the predispositions and competence of locutors sharing a common milieu should evidence some resemblance, and thus, influence the collective outcome of communicative competence" (Clément, 1980:152) – the collective outcomes being assimilation or integration depending on the status (dominant or non-dominant) of the learner's original group. It could perhaps be said that this proposition is supported by the analysis of census data (C. Stevens, 1999) which, as chapter 2 shall describe, reveals that groups with high levels of English language proficiency tend to have low rates of ethnic language maintenance and high rates of shift to English (shift from the use of an ethnic language to English in the family domain). Conversely, groups with low levels of English language proficiency tend to have high rate of ethnic language maintenance and lower rates of shift to English. Tests

of the model revealed that the primary motivational process operated in multicultural as well as in unicultural settings since there was a direct link between integrativeness (the desire to be like the members of the TL group) and motivation (Clément & Kruidenier, 1985), that relative ethnolinguistic vitality was not related to integrativeness, self confidence or motivation (Clément, 1986), and that language aptitude was a better predictor of communicative competence than motivation. Critiques of the model (Giles & Byrne, 1982) argued that predicting collective outcomes assumed too much homogeneity among members of the L2 learning group, that ethnolinguistic vitality was only one of a set of factors determining an individual's ethnic identification, and that it was the degree of ethnic identification that was the prime determinant of the motivational process. In light of this, another objective of the present investigation was to establish whether respondents from different ethnic backgrounds differed in their attitudes toward Anglo-Australians.

1.2.5 Intergroup Approach to SLA

The Intergroup Approach to SLA, similarly to Lambert's social psychological model, viewed language as an integral part of one's identity. The model integrated aspects of Gardner's and Clément's theories with Tajfel's (1978, 1981) social identity theory, "culminating in a set of propositions concerned with specifying the social psychological conditions which facilitate or inhibit members of a subordinate ethnic group achieving near native-like proficiency in the language of a dominant ethnic collectivity" (Giles & Byrne, 1982: 17). Giles and Byrne proposed that members of a subordinate group were likely to acquire native-like proficiency under a set of five conditions, summarised in TABLE 1, whereby identification with the ingroup was weak, intergroup comparisons were secure (the status quo was accepted and there was no awareness that cognitive alternatives to inferiority exist), perceived ingroup vitality was low, perceived ingroup boundaries were soft and open, and members identified with many other social categories which provided adequate social identities. It was suggested that under these conditions the learner was likely to be integratively orientated and hence his or her motivation to learn L2 would be strong. It was further suggested that under these conditions learners were likely to seek contact with members of the TL group and avail themselves of the language learning opportunities that the informal acquisition context presented. The acquisition of L2 under these conditions was

additive. The converse set of conditions increased fear of assimilation, decreased the motivation to learn L2, and thus facilitated ethnic language maintenance. The two sets of conditions are summarised in Table 1 below.

Table 1 *Converse Sets of Conditions Facilitating Second Language Acquisition and Ethnic Language Maintenance*

Concepts	L2 Acquisition	L1 Maintenance
Identification with ethnic group	Weak & L2 is not a salient dimension of membership	Strong & L1 is a salient dimension of membership
Social comparisons	Secure (no awareness of cognitive alternatives to inferiority)	Insecure (awareness of cognitive alternatives to inferiority)
Perceived ethnolinguistic vitality	Low	High
Perceived ingroup boundaries	Soft and open	Hard and closed
Multiple group membership	Many & each provides adequate form of social identity	Few & each provides inadequate form of social identity

Note. Based on Giles & Byrne, 1982.

The two sets of conditions in Table 1 seem to reflect the notion that the need to learn the TL on the one hand and the desire to maintain L1 on the other hand may be conflicting tendencies within the individual (Giles & Byrne, 1982: 34). It has been pointed out that since the intergroup approach is of a taxonomy type it may be difficult to test empirically (Clément, 1986). In addition, as chapter 2 (section 2.4.2) shall show, results from research within the framework (Gibbons & Ashcroft, 1995) have suggested the need for finer differentiation between community vitality and language vitality.

1.2.6 Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory

Ethnolinguistic identity theory is a social psychological approach which addressed the issue of “who in an ethnic group uses what language strategy, when, and why, in interethnic encounters” (Giles & Johnson, 1987: 69). It extended social identity theory by introducing the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality, defined as “that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective in intergroup situations” (Giles et al., 1977: 308). The structural variables affecting ethnolinguistic

vitality were thought to cluster into the three factors of Status (comprising economic, social, sociohistorical, and language statuses), Demography (comprising the group's distribution and numbers), and Institutional Support (comprising formal support for a language through the mass media, education, and government services; and informal support through industry, religion, and culture). Distinction was made between objective and perceived vitality. The former could be easily established with the use of readily available statistical data, whereas the latter, being concerned with individuals' cognitive representations of societal conditions, could be measured with the 'Subjective Vitality Questionnaire' developed by Bourhis, Giles, and Rosenthal (1981). Giles and his colleagues extended further Tajfel's social identity theory by arguing that the higher the vitality of a group, the more likely it was for its members' behaviour to be at the intergroup pole on the interindividual–intergroup continuum in interethnic encounters.

As Table 1 showed, individuals who identify strongly with their ethnic group, make insecure social comparisons, perceive the vitality of their group as high, perceive the ingroup boundaries as hard and closed, and identify with few other social categories are likely to strive to maintain their ethnic language as a means of achieving positive psychological distinctiveness as language could be a dimension for intergroup comparisons. Individuals under the converse set of conditions are likely to assimilate to the 'superior' group and acquire its language. Thus, members of an ethnic group can linguistically diverge from or converge to members of a dominant group in interethnic encounters in an attempt to achieve an adequate form of social identity.

1.2.7 Schumann's Acculturation Model of SLA

The Acculturation Model (reviewed in detail in chapter 3) is also a taxonomy-type model designed to account for naturalistic (non-instructed) context of SLA and, similar to Gardner's model, endorses the idea that in such a context affective factors such as attitudes and motivation precede cognitive factors. As already noted, central to it was the idea that L2 acquisition was only one aspect of acculturation, defined by Schumann as the social and psychological integration of the learner with the TL group, and that learners acquired L2 only to the degree to which they acculturated. Schumann offered a taxonomy of social and psychological factors that promoted social and psychological distance between the learner and members of the TL group. The factors promoting social distance included dominance patterns (political, cultural, technical or

economic dominance, non-dominance, or subordination of the L2 learning group), integration strategies (assimilation – adoption of the TL group’s lifestyle and values at the expense of the learner’s own; preservation – rejection of the TL group’s lifestyle and values; and adaptation – adaptation to the lifestyle and values of the TL group but preservation of one’s own for intragroup use), enclosure (the sharing of public domains such as schools, churches, clubs between the two groups), cohesiveness (for example, the degree to which the L2 learning group remains separate from the TL group in terms of social contact), size (large groups have more frequent intragroup than intergroup contact), congruence (similarity between the two cultures), attitudes (evaluations of the members of the TL group), and length of residence (longer residence is likely to bring about more contact between the two groups). It could be said that the social aspect of Schumann’s notion of acculturation shares common ground with Giles and Johnson’s notion of ethnolinguistic vitality, since their structural factors overlap. When the social distance factors were cross tabulated, as they pertained to the learners’ and TL groups, good and bad learning situations could be identified. Factors that promoted psychological distance were language shock (inability to understand or get meaning across); cultural shock (dysfunctional coping and problem solving mechanism acquired in the first culture), motivation (reasons for acquiring the L2 in terms of integrative vs. instrumental orientation), and ego permeability (the degree to which the boundaries of the learner’s language ego were fixed and rigid). The theory proposed that acculturation was a major causal variable in SLA since it initiated a causal chain, whereby the social distance and the psychological distance factors, as a remote cause, brought the learner into contact with speakers of the TL. Verbal interaction in this contact, “as a proximate cause brings about the negotiation of appropriate input which then operates as the immediate cause of language acquisition” (Schumann, 1986: 385). This proposition about causality has been criticised for failing to explicate the mechanisms through which input could cause proficiency (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991). Other criticisms of the model concern the impossibility of weighing the different factors or of testing the theory empirically (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991).

1.3 Main Constructs and Research Questions in the Present Study

In summary, the social psychological models of SLA macro-analyse the social context and view the acquisition of L2 as essentially an intergroup phenomenon. Common to all of them seems to be the proposition that for a learner to achieve native-like proficiency in L2, a certain degree of identification or a desire to integrate with members of the TL group is necessary. Yet, the models are difficult to compare since they emphasise different variables and, even when they appear comparable, closer inspection reveals that these variables are usually operationalised differently (Siegel, 2003). By focusing on motivation, Gardner's model stands apart from the other social psychological models which seem to focus on contact between two ethnolinguistic groups (Siegel, 2003). His is also the only model that explicitly posits a cognitive component. The theories also differ in their propositions about the role of attitudes – an essential ingredient of integrativeness: in Gardner's socio-educational model attitudes act as support to motivation; in Schumann's acculturation model and Gile and Byrne's intergroup approach attitudes determine the amount of contact between the L2 learning group and the TL group; in Clément's social context model, depending on characteristics of the social milieu (unicultural or multicultural), attitudes can act as support to motivation, determine the amount of contact with the TL group, or do both. As the evaluation of these models in chapter 3 will reveal, research within their frameworks has tended to produce equivocal results, and critiques seem to have gone back and forth on issues of conceptualisation and methodology.

Drawing on Gardner's proposition that motivation is a major cause of L2 proficiency and on Schumann's proposition that, in the case of immigrant communities, SLA is only one aspect of acculturation and that the learner acquires L2 only to the degree that he or she acculturates, the present research focused on four major constructs, namely: individual background characteristics, acculturation, motivation, and English language proficiency. The constructs are schematically represented in *Figure 1*.

Chapter 4 will discuss in detail why they were operationalised the way shown in the figure. As the diagram shows, information was sought on respondents' background characteristics which included ethnicity, age, education, occupation, gender, migration category, age at immigration, length of residency, year of arrival, and English or other

foreign language instruction before arrival in Australia. Acculturation was thought to comprise the subconstructs of Australian Adaptation and Social Distance, with Social Distance comprising contact and attitude variables. Motivation was conceptualised as an ‘umbrella’ construct, adding Confidence with English, Beliefs about Language, and Attitudes toward the Language Instructor to Gardner’s original factors of Goals (motivational orientation), Effort, Persistence, and Affect. The Australian Second Language Proficiency Rating scales (ASLPR) were used as global measures of respondents’ level of English language proficiency on the four macro-skills of speaking, listening, reading, and writing proficiency. The ASLPR scales have come to be widely used for the assessment of proficiency in languages other than English not only in Australia but in other countries as well. Reflecting this trend, ‘Australian’ has been substituted with ‘International’ (ISLPR). However, ‘ASLPR’ is used in the present writing with the intention to keep the terminology consistent with the material that is quoted in the thesis and thus avoid any potential confusion.

One of the objectives of the present study was to explore the relationship among the variables that were thought to constitute the main constructs presented in *Figure 1*. It should perhaps be mentioned at this point that sum composite scores for acculturation, motivation or proficiency were never computed. As chapter 4 will show, these are complex latent constructs and the diversity of indicators used in lieu of them in the present investigation did not seem to warrant unification of the highest order.

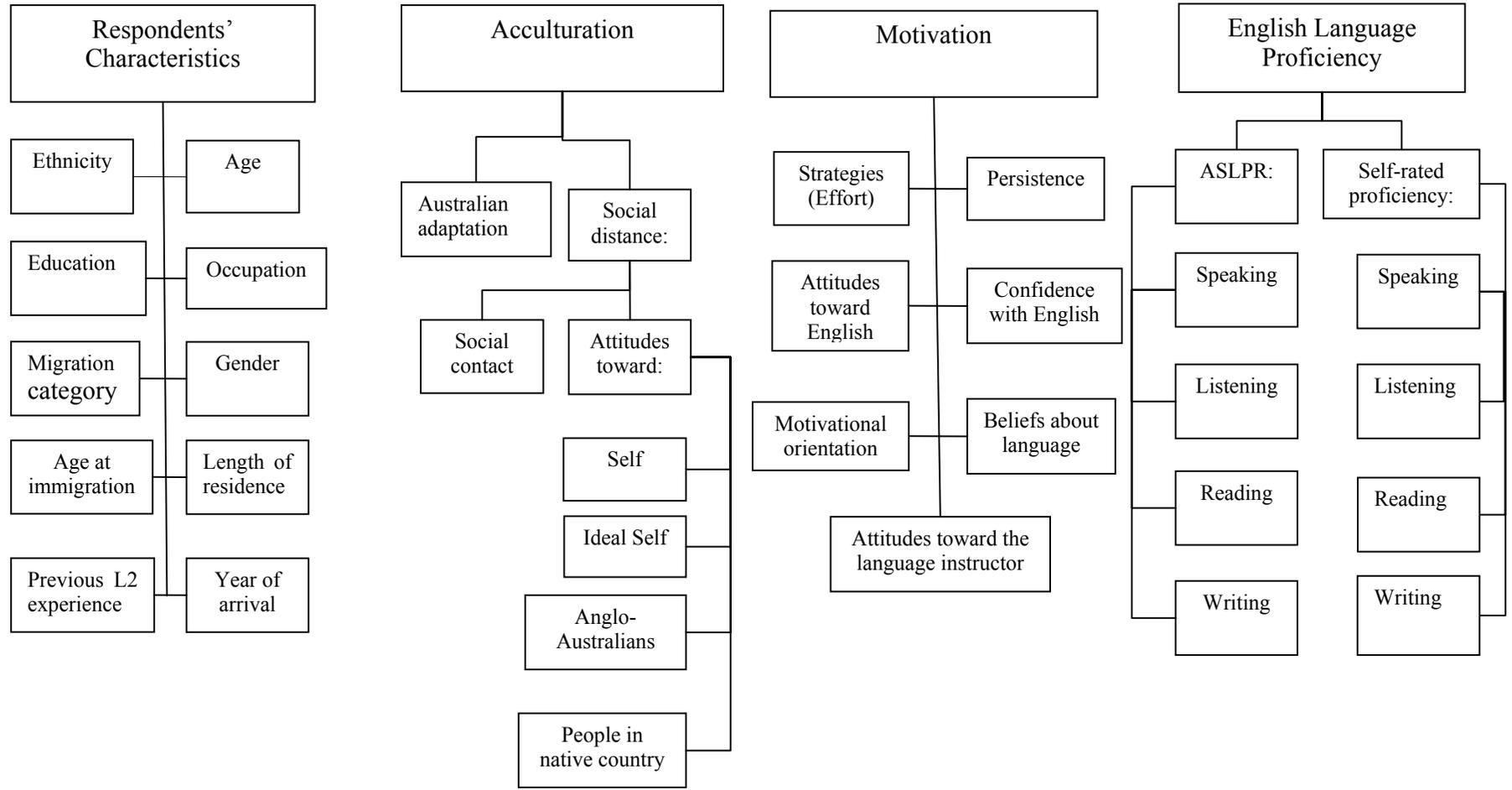


Figure 1. Constructs of interest in the present study.

To sum up, the present research set out to answer the following questions:

- Do respondents from different ethnic backgrounds and at different lengths of residence differ in their attitudes toward Anglo-Australians?
- Within the terms of Gardner's theory, what is the sample's level of integrativeness?
- Do respondents at different lengths of residence differ in their English language learning motivation?
- What is the relationship among acculturation, motivation, and English language proficiency variables?

The answers to these questions could provide valuable information for those involved in policy making, English language program design and delivery, education, and community work.

1.4 The Status of the Social Psychological Approaches in the Field of SLA

Researchers have been debating in recent years whether social and learner factors should be included in the domain of inquiry of the field of SLA at all and whether individual differences, sociolinguistic, or social psychological approaches have anything much to say about the phenomena of SLA. The debate, heatedly waged on the pages of periodicals, is philosophical in nature, and the research community is divided on the issue along the lines of theory and practice. It emerges from the review of literature (specifically from the articles in the special issues of *Applied Linguistics* 1993: v. 14, 3; *The Modern Language Journal* 1997: v.81, 3; and *Language Learning* 1998: v.48, 1), that researchers in the field can perhaps be divided into three groups, depending on how they define the domain of SLA and, hence, how they appraise sociolinguistic and social psychological approaches. It emerges from these writings that the label 'rationalists' is reserved for those working within linguistic and cognitivist/psycholinguistic perspectives (Beretta & Crookes, 1993; Gregg, 1993 & 2003; Long, 1993; Klein, 1998; Larsen-Freeman, 1998; N. Ellis, 1998; Schachter: 1998). The label 'relativists' is reserved for those working within sociolinguistic and sociocultural perspectives (van Lier, 1994; Lantolf, 1996; Firth & Wagner, 1997; Hall, 1997; Liddicoat, 1997; Rampton, 1997; Acton, 1998; McGroarty, 1998; Wardaugh, 1998). In general terms, rationalists favour linguistic and mentalist approaches and

some propose that research effort should focus on finding a unifying linguistic/psycholinguistic theory of SLA. Relativists advocate diversity of perspectives. The main point of contention between the two groups, as far as theory proliferation is concerned, is whether to “let a couple of flowers bloom” (Gregg, 1993; phrase in title) or whether to “let all the flowers bloom” (Lantolf, 1996; phrase in title). Thus, it would appear that van Lier (1994) rightfully questions whether ‘rationalism’ and ‘relativism’ have been legitimately opposed in the ongoing debate. In the case where rationalism is used to mean a belief that knowledge can be obtained through reason alone, then van Lier is right – the proper antonym for rationalism is empiricism, which emphasizes the role of the senses in obtaining knowledge. In the case where rationalism is used to denote the belief that knowledge forms a single system and that everything can be explained under this single system, then relativism (in the sense of emphasizing diversity) is an acceptable opposite. The labels ‘theorists’ (in lieu of rationalists) and ‘pluralists’ (in lieu of relativists) are used in the exposition below in order to avoid confusion. A third group of researchers include non-linguistic and non-cognitive approaches in the domain of the field but consider them peripheral or secondary (Towell & Hawkins, 1994; Kasper, 1997; Long 1997; Poulisse, 1997). Although this group’s views are closer to those of the theorists’ than to those of the pluralists’, for want of a better term, they were labelled ‘the middle ground’ in the exposition below. The positions of the three groups are briefly discussed below with the aim to situate the present study in the ongoing debate and argue for a holistic view of SLA.

1.4.1 The Theorists

The theorists propose that the ultimate goal of SLA research should be the development of a unifying theory of the field, that this theory (or any other theory) should be constructed and assessed according to the philosophy of science principles, that SLA should emulate a natural science, and that theory diversity and practical concerns inhibit the progress of the field (see *Applied Linguistics*, 1993: v.4, 3 for these views). The theorists’ view of the domain of SLA is summarised in *Figure 2*.

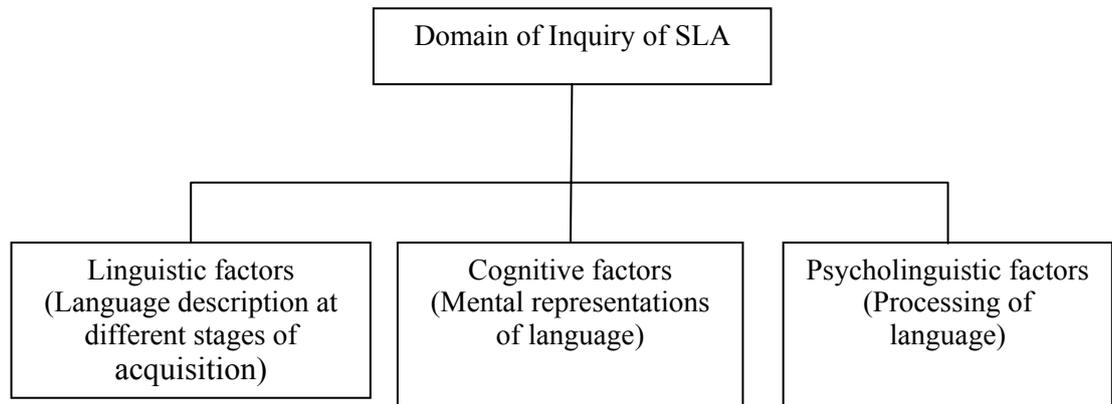


Figure 2. Factors comprising SLA domain based on the theorists' views.

As Figure 2 shows, the theorists view L2 acquisition as a purely individual internal phenomenon. Therefore, there is no room in the field for either Schumann's acculturation model of SLA or Gardner's socio-educational model, since they do not incorporate any of the factors that the theorists consider causal in the acquisition of L2 competence. Gregg's 1993 critique of Schumann's acculturation theory is that it "accounts for proficiency contrasts by putative acculturation contrasts" (p.288), and his critique of Gardner's theory (by analogy with Krashen's) could be that it does the same by appealing to affective differences (Gregg, 1993: 288). Thus, the explanations both theories offer, while plausible, do not contribute to the understanding of how L2 competence is achieved (Gregg, 1993: 288). It appears that in Gregg's view SLA research should focus on factors that *effect* rather than *affect* SLA. From a practical perspective, these causal variables, while of help to the L2 language instructor in understanding the learner, are beyond the instructor's control and his or her ability to manipulate them. In addition, educational researchers all over the world seem to have accepted Gardner and Lambert's (1972) social argument that, unlike other school subjects, "a foreign language is not a socioculturally neutral field but is affected by a range of sociocultural factors such as language attitudes, cultural stereotypes, and even geopolitical considerations" (Dörnyei, 2005: 67). If the theorists' view of research focus were to be accepted, for this body of educational research to remain within the boundaries of the field, it would perhaps have to be shaped as a specialised subfield of SLA.

1.4.2 The Middle Ground

This group of researchers hold a broader view of SLA, since they view sociolinguistic factors as legitimate research topics. Although these researchers still favour the linguistic and cognitive views of the field, the arguments they present in favour of these approaches are not grounded in the philosophy of science. Towell and Hawkins's 1994 work is representative of this group's position on theory evaluation. Briefly, Towell and Hawkins (1994) identify five phenomena (types of observed behaviour) in SLA, namely: transfer (properties of L1 are transferred to L2), staged development (properties of L2 are acquired through a number of transitional stages), systematicity (the stages of development are common to most learners, regardless of their first language), variability (for one form in the target language, the mental grammars of the L2 learners appear to allow for more than one variant), incompleteness (L2 learners stop short of native-like success). Similarly to Gregg (1993), the authors propose that a theory of SLA should attempt to explain all of these phenomena. Theories that explain only aspects of acquisition are theoretical frameworks or approaches rather than theories proper (or theories *in not of* SLA in Gregg's discourse). The five types of observed behaviour are thought to be the result of the interaction among three autonomous areas constituting the field of SLA, namely: linguistic knowledge, socially determined use of L2, and mental processing of L2. Gardner's socio-educational model is conspicuously missing from the discussion, as are the other social psychological models introduced in section 1.3. It appears that social psychological approaches do not explore any of the 'legitimate' factors that form the domain of SLA. Towell and Hawkins's view of the field is summarised in *Figure 3*.

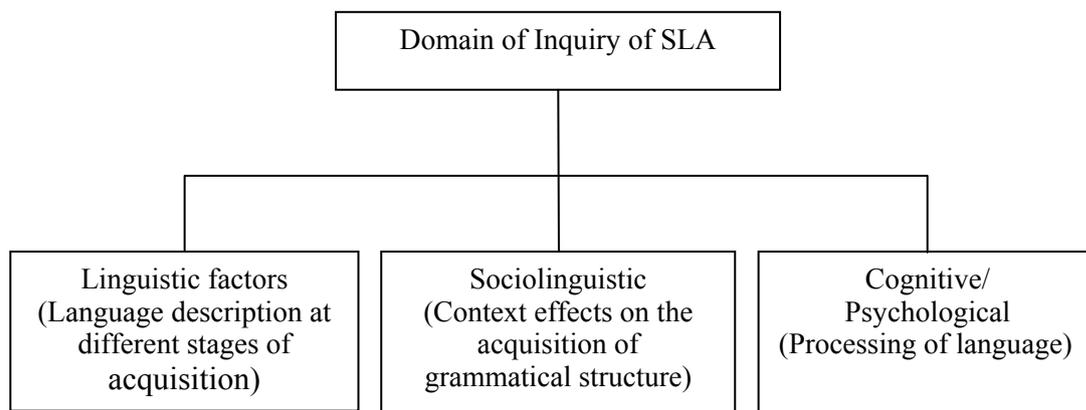


Figure 3. Factors comprising SLA domain based on Towell & Hawkins (1994).

As *Figure 3* above shows, within this view, there is no room for Gardner’s model in the field since the issues it addresses lie outside the specified areas of inquiry. Schumann’s theory is included but only because the pidginization hypothesis (which takes into account grammatical structure) and the acculturation model are considered together as one theory – “Acculturation/ Pidginization Approach” according to Towell and Hawkins’s (1994) label. In fact, when this is the case, Schumann’s work is considered a sociolinguistic approach to SLA (McLaughlin, 1987; Mitchell and Myles, 1998). When they are considered separately, then the acculturation model (with its focus solely on social factors, not on language use) is seen as a truly social psychological approach, in the same way as Gardner’s model.

In summary, by examining the contribution of different approaches to the understanding of the five phenomena of SLA, Towell and Hawkins demonstrate that, due to the complexity of the phenomena in SLA, it is unlikely that a single theory, no matter how principled and hypothesis driven, can have enough explanatory power. Although the authors favour universal grammar (UG) based approaches, they do admit that cognitive approaches offer better explanations for some of the phenomena. The contribution of sociolinguistic approaches, however, is considered to be minor.

1.4.3 *The Pluralists*

The pluralists believe that theory should not be separate from practice, that the example of the natural sciences should be followed for reasons other than theory construction, and that theoretical diversity is to be valued (Lier, 1994; Lantolf, 1996). Some do not explicitly take sides in the debate about the scope of the field or the issue of theory proliferation. They observe that research in the field is concerned with providing evidence for the learner's linguistic system, its development (or lack thereof), and "factors which may contribute to or hinder a learner's developmental approximations of the target L2" (Norris & Ortega, 2003: 718). Norris and Ortega (2003) acknowledge that current mainstream SLA research comprises generativist (UG based), interactionist (focussing on learner-internal and learner-external processes and their relationship in L2 acquisition), emergentist (neurobiologically-based), and sociocultural (regarding learning as socially rather than intra-individually generated process) approaches. However, the researchers do not engage in theory evaluation. Instead, they maintain that "whatever theoretical questions are posed and however data are gathered, where measurement is used, careful construct definition and adherence to measurement standards will provide a rational guide for enabling and improving the research process" (Norris & Ortega, 2003: 725). This view of the SLA domain is summarised in *Figure 4*.

The view subscribed to in the present research is that of Norris and Ortega's. Accordingly, chapter 4 is entirely dedicated to defining and operationalising the main constructs, and the issues of the reliability and validity of the measuring instruments used in the present investigation are addressed from that point onwards in the thesis. Major limitations of the present study are that it is not longitudinal and that it uses a non-representative sample. However, the use of a heterogeneous sample in terms of varying background characteristics, such as age, education, ethnicity, occupation, previous language learning experience, and especially in terms of varying length of residence among respondents, and the use of appropriate statistical techniques were thought to allow for the present investigation to suggest some general temporal trends. It should perhaps be mentioned that it is the heterogeneous nature of the sample that sets the present investigation apart from the body of research conducted within Schumann's acculturation and Gardner's socio-educational frameworks. Research on the acculturation model usually recruits from a population of migrants of the same

ethnic background; research on the socio-educational model generally recruits from a population of high school or university students.

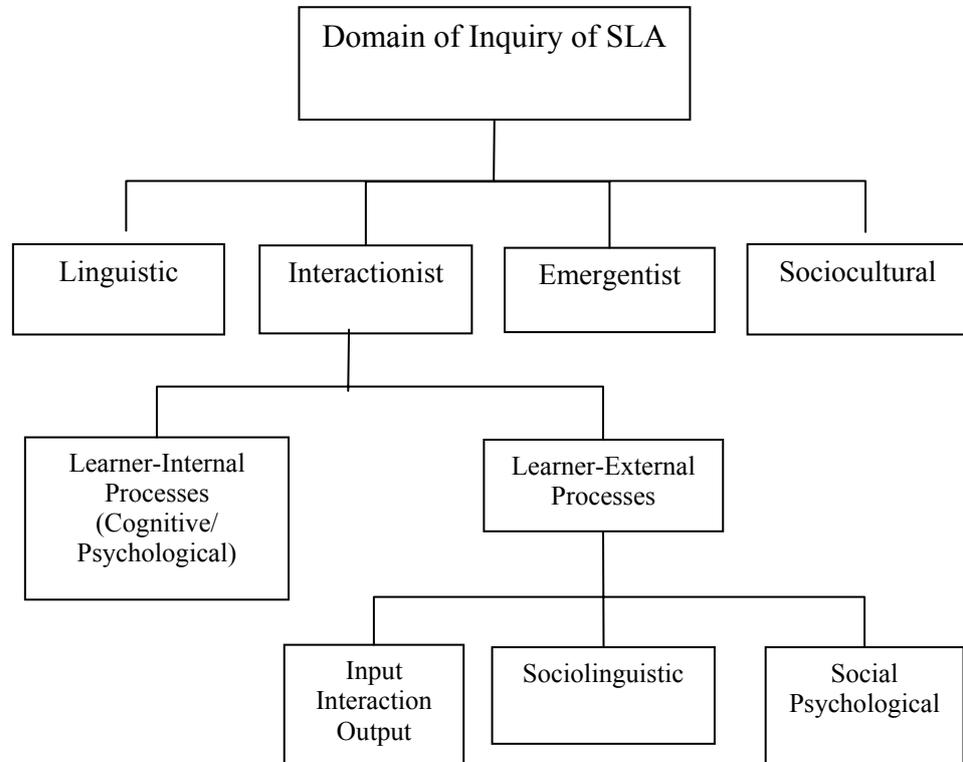


Figure 4. Factors comprising SLA domain based on Norris & Ortega (2003).

In summary, it would appear that the issue of what factors should constitute the domain of inquiry of SLA (primarily linguistic, or primarily cognitive and psycholinguistic, or primarily sociolinguistic, individual differences, neurobiological, or all of these) is a political issue, a question of legitimacy, in the sense that “while some may (justifiably, perhaps) choose to *ignore* some aspects of the field, this is quite different from *excluding* those same aspects from the field (in a sense denying their legitimacy)” (Lier, 1994: 330, emphasis in the original).

1.5 Layout of the Thesis

The present chapter has described the origin of the project, briefly outlined its theoretical framework, presented the main constructs and variables whose relationships

this research aims to investigate, and argued that the social psychological approaches contribute to the understanding of SLA phenomena at different level of analysis.

Chapter 2 introduces the Australian social milieu and Newcastle, the place where the present investigation was conducted. More specifically, it looks briefly at the history of Australian immigration policy and its development from ‘White Australia’ through assimilationism to multiculturalism. This seemed appropriate since, unlike other immigrant societies such as the United States or Canada, “almost alone, with New Zealand, Australian governments set out to create a specific model using immigration and the introduction of overseas capital and technology” (Jupp, 2002: 5). The overview of Australian immigration policy is accompanied by an overview of the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) which, as previously mentioned (section 1.1), as a provider of English language instruction to migrants, has been an integral part of immigration policy since 1948 (Martin, 1998). Further, the chapter discusses two lines of research (one on the English language needs of migrants and the other on ethnic language maintenance) initiated with the establishment of multiculturalism in the late 1970s. Chapter 2 sets out the contribution of the present research from a different social perspective, whereby the focus is on migrants’ attitudes toward Anglo-Australians rather than on migrants’ attitudes toward their own ethnicity, and motivation is considered in its relationship to social and affective variables rather than as only a factor the information about which impacts on English language program planning and delivery.

Chapter 3 discusses the socio-educational and the acculturation models and examines their critiques in greater detail, since they are the theories on which the present research heavily draws. The chapter presents a critical appraisal of the strengths and weaknesses of the two models and highlights the similarities and differences between the two.

Chapter 4 defines and operationalises the main concepts of acculturation, attitudes, motivation, and language proficiency. An overview of the theory development on these concepts in the disciplines of psychology and social psychology is included in order to emphasise the complex and multifaceted nature of these concepts and the difficulties involved in operationalising them in general and in relation to the present study. In addition, the chapter examines where Gardner’s and Schumann’s models stand in relation to recent theoretical developments.

Chapter 5 introduces the participants, the procedure for recruiting them, and the questionnaire. The section describing the questionnaire elaborates on the operationalisation of the subconstructs and their constituting factors. Special consideration is given to the use of Spolsky identity scales technique as an indirect measure of L2 learners' attitudes toward the TL group (identified as factor in the concept of 'integrativeness'), since it is the tool used here to determine the sample's level of integrativeness. How items were scored is explained and issues of reliability and validity are addressed.

The results from the analyses performed on the attitude variables are presented and discussed in chapters 6 and 7. The issues concerning the reliability and validity of the attitude measures are examined first and then these measures' underlying structure is revealed in chapter 6. The chapter sets out how the analytical approach employed here differs from the ones used in previous research and how the results contribute to the understanding of the kind of stereotype respondents held of Anglo-Australians and the cultural values it was likely to have emerged from. The results from the main analyses presented in chapter 7 provide answers to the research questions concerning the sample's level of integrativeness and attitudes as a function of ethnic background and length of residence. Since, in accordance with Schumann's model, attitudes were conceptualised as a component of the acculturation construct, the results are discussed mostly in terms of their implications for acculturation and the search for adequate social identity, and, through these (i.e. indirectly), in terms of their implications for English language proficiency.

Chapter 8 begins with the presentation of the results from the analysis on the motivation variables and proceeds with analysing and discussing the relationship between the acculturation, motivation, and second language proficiency variables.

Finally, chapter 9 brings together the various pieces of the discussion of findings, highlights the areas to which the present research makes a contribution and points to the implications of the results for research, teaching and policy making.

CHAPTER 2

2 The Australian Social Milieu

The social psychological approaches to SLA, as outlined in the previous chapter, emphasize the importance of social context as a determinant of intergroup attitudes, amount of intergroup contact, and objective or perceived ethnolinguistic vitality, all of which are thought to influence the achievement of L2 competence. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the Australian social context and to put the present project against the backdrop of research that has been and is being conducted on language and immigrants. Since the present investigation is concerned with the attitudes of migrants it is appropriate to look at Australia's immigration policy and its development from 'White Australia' through assimilationism, to multiculturalism as a key factor in shaping public opinion, community attitudes, and in determining the ethnic, socioeconomic, and even educational composition of the migrant population. In addition, most of the research concerning the language needs of migrants has been and is being funded by the Department of Immigration. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the Australian Department of Immigration is a distinct specialised department with full representation in the Cabinet, which is quite unlike the bureaucratic arrangements in Britain, the United States, and Canada, where the institutions dealing with immigration are part of other government departments (Jupp, 2002). Therefore, in Australia, it is the bureaucracy rather than academia that analyses immigration issues, and research is directed toward the study of economic and settlement outcomes rather than the study of social or cultural issues (Jupp, 2002: 61-62). The overview of Australian immigration policy is accompanied by an overview of the shifts in the provision of English language instruction to migrants. The starting point for the discussions on the body of two-pronged research concerning the English language learning of migrants, on the one hand, and ethnic language maintenance on the other, is the 1980s because it was then that the Government, acting upon the recommendations of the 1978 report 'Migrant Services and Programs', which, known as the Galbally Report (as it shall be referred to henceforth in this thesis), committed real funding to the development of services for migrants. It shall be pointed out how the present study draws on this previous research

in terms of theory and methodology. The last section of the chapter introduces Newcastle, the place where the present research was conducted.

2.1 Diversity, Immigration Policy, and English Language Instruction

Australia has always been the land of many languages. At the time of the arrival of the first British settlers in 1788, over 200 separate languages were spoken by the Aboriginal inhabitants. The first European settlers added English to the number of languages spoken in Australia. The free settlers later on introduced a variety of other languages (Martin, 1998: 1). By the 1870s church services in Melbourne were conducted in five languages and by the turn of the twentieth century there were about one hundred bilingual schools mainly in South Australia and Victoria (Clyne 1991: 9). Australian national identity did not exist at the time and there was no immigration policy as such. Migrants came and went depending on economic conditions.

With Federation in 1901 a national immigration policy, known as the ‘White Australia’ policy, was put in place. Natives of Asia, Africa, or the Pacific Islands (except for New Zealand) were not eligible for Australian citizenship. That was the dominant policy for almost seventy years and it reflected the country’s perception of itself “as a remote and lightly populated outpost of Empire in close proximity to Asia and ... the rising power of Japan” (Lack & Templeton 1995: xiii). Before World War II no official consideration was given to the provision of English lessons to people of non-English speaking backgrounds since the majority of migrants arrived on assisted passages from the United Kingdom. By 1947 “Australia had become one of the ‘whitest’ countries in the world outside northwestern Europe” (Jupp, 2002: 9).

The end of World War II gave Australia a new role and responsibilities in the international arena. Shortage of manpower (in a population of a mere 7 500 000), however, prevented the country from fulfilling them. The realisation that Australia was susceptible to military attack from the north and that Britain could not defend it prompted the drive to build the country’s population so that it could defend itself. Therefore, in 1945 a program for mass immigration was announced under the slogan ‘populate or perish’. Priority was given to British migrants but fewer numbers than expected were willing to emigrate. The government had to turn to the displacement camps in Europe. Between 1947 and 1954 Australia received 170 000 displaced persons

of an enormous variety of ethnic backgrounds: Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Czechs, Poles, Hungarians, Croats, Slovenians, Ukrainians, and others (Lack & Templeton, 1995). An important step in the government's policy was the provision of language education. This is a unique feature of Australia "because no other country guaranteed as part of its immigration policy, to provide free language tuition to all new arrivals who were not proficient in English" (Martin, 1998: 5).

At that time, migrants attended an initial four week intensive course at the reception centres and whoever desired could enrol for free in a continuation class for a period of twelve months. The basis of language teaching was the direct method. Language was seen as the key to migrants' quick and painless assimilation, for assimilation was the immigration policy of the day. Between 1950 and 1960 over 170 000 new arrivals from poverty stricken rural areas in Italy, 130 000 from Greece, and refugees from Soviet military intervention in Hungary were received. The late 1960s saw considerable immigration from the Middle East: Syria, Turkey, and Lebanon. In those years "assimilation was usually understood as a one-way process involving little more than learning English, getting a job, and abandoning an irrelevant past" (Lack & Templeton, 1995: 77). It was naively believed that migrants would simply pick up 'Australian language' and Australian culture. By the mid-1960s, however, it was clear that migrants were not being assimilated - they were being marginalised. An education conference in 1964 reported that "abandonment rates in continuation classes were high in spite of what were felt to be extensive facilities, and that many migrants showed disinclination to learn English" (Martin, 1998: 10). The widespread community attitude was that it was the newcomers' own responsibility to learn and adapt. Accordingly, no research was conducted to investigate their needs.

There was a change in attitude in the late 1960s. A wave of skilled and educated refugees fleeing political, not economic, plight came from Czechoslovakia. The same applied for the anti- and pro-Allende Chileans in the early 1970s. Additional resources were needed to let them acquire the level of English necessary to fully utilise their skills and qualifications. To help them to enter appropriate employment quickly a shift in emphasis was needed from long-term continuation classes to specialised and accelerated ones. The basis of language teaching had shifted to the situational method, because speed was an important principle in the classroom - precious time was not to be wasted in explanations. The new methodological approach led to the demand for teachers with specialised skills, hence teacher training had to be improved. The government needed

more information on the migration program and for its collection committees were established, long-term studies were initiated, and funds were allocated. Migrants' needs began to creep onto the agenda (Martin, 1998).

With the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, Australia had to take part in relieving the refugee crisis by accommodating its fair share of Indo-Chinese refugees. That put an end to 'White Australia' and marked the beginning of multiculturalism (Lack & Templeton, 1995). In those years, the communicative approach was given priority in the English classroom. Reading and writing were seen as peripheral skills - refugees had to speak the language to successfully enter employment (Martin, 1998).

2.1.1 Multiculturalism in Australia

Countries define multiculturalism on the basis of their conditions: in Australia multiculturalism was born out of the need to manage ethnically diverse immigrant population (Jupp, 2002: 101). There are a lot of metaphors for and elaborations on multiculturalism but very few straightforward definitions. Based on what government policies emphasise, multiculturalism can be defined as "essentially a liberal democratic creed, based on tolerance of diversity within the principles and practices of Australian public life" (Jupp, 2002: 101).

Assimilationism in Australia was officially repudiated in 1973 in a speech by Al Grassby – a Minister for Immigration at the time (Lack & Templeton, 1995: 143). He saw multiculturalism as the "family of the nation" which respected the social and cultural rights of all Australians (Grassby, 1973 as reprinted in Lack & Templeton, 1995: 143). Since then, depending on emphasis, multiculturalism has been variably redefined either in terms of cultural maintenance or in terms of social justice (Jupp, 2002: 101). While, at least in theory, the two do not have to be mutually exclusive (Jupp, 2002: 101), it has been pointed out that "the two lines of action, the one towards social empowerment and the other towards cultural maintenance, sit together in tension in government policy" (Kalantzis et al., 1989: 8).

The Galbally Report of 1978 made multiculturalism an official government policy. It recognised for the first time that migrants who did not speak English had special needs and that for them to have access and equity, posited for all Australians by multiculturalism, additional support structures were needed. It recommended the extension of ethnic radio and the introduction of multicultural TV, social welfare

information in community languages, a Central Health Interpreter Service, and a Telephone Interpreter service. Among the important measures arising from the report were the establishment of ethnic associations and Migrant Resource Centres, and the development of new language content and a learner-centred curriculum with an emphasis on individual needs. On the recommendation that “self-help should be encouraged as much as possible with a view to helping migrants to become self-reliant quickly” (*Migrant Services and Programs*, 1978: 4), many providers, with financial help from the Department of Immigration, established self-access centres. Self-directed learning prompted investigations into motivation, learning strategies, and cognitive style.

The report pointed to the changed pattern of migration. The proportion of migrants from Britain and the other European countries had fallen from 70% to less than 40% in the six years leading up to 1977. Migration from the Middle East, Asia, and South America had significantly increased (*Migrant Services and Programs*, 1978: 3). In the 1980s there was a flow of asylum seekers from Afghanistan and the People’s Republic of China. Some saw this trend as a threat to Australian identity and with the writings of Geoffrey Blainey, an eminent historian and journalist, a heated debate over the ‘Asianisation’ of Australia and multiculturalism in general was waged in 1984. The anti-multiculturalists lost the battle but continued to exert pressure on the government to tighten Asian immigration quotas (Lack & Templeton, 1995).

Rapid technological development and restructuring of the economy in the 1980s added a new visa category -- employment and skills -- under which migrants are selected to this day. In the days of economic rationalism, it is the quality and not quantity of migrants that matters. The Government’s multicultural agenda since the 1990s has added economic benefit to cultural maintenance and social justice as a defining characteristic of multiculturalism in Australia. Reflective of the new economic conditions and the shift toward seeking human capital, since the 1990s, there has been a shift in emphasis to the development of literacy skills and competency-based training. Highly educated people entering under skills categories have come from Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei; India and Sri Lanka, and Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea, China and Japan. They comprised 36 per cent of the total intake of skilled migrants for 1997-1998 as compared with 29 per cent of skilled migrants from Europe (*Year Book Australia* 2000: 93). As a whole, the proportion of the overseas-born population that came from the main English speaking countries had dropped from 81% in 1947 down to

only 39% in 1998 (*Year Book Australia* 2000:95). This trend, which has persisted in Australia's immigration policy since the 1970s, fuelled another debate on multiculturalism. Twelve years after Blainey, the rise of Pauline Hanson and the success of her One Nation Party in the 1998 Queensland state election warned of the persistence of the anti-Asian and anti-Aboriginal prejudices (Manne, 1998: 8).

2.1.2 Critiques of Multiculturalism in Australia

Critiques of multiculturalism have come from both sides of politics as well as from the academia (see Jupp, 2002: Chapter 6). The most serious criticism is that multiculturalism could be seen as a form of “well-meaning paternalism or even an attempt by the dominant culture to accommodate the other minority cultures without really altering the political, social and economic distribution of power in society” (Bennet, 1992: 142). This criticism seems to be supported by the fact that Australia's “social, intellectual, business and political élites are still overwhelmingly of British origin” (Jupp, 2002: 6) and that human capital is wasted by preventing highly qualified non-English speaking migrants from regaining professional status through the operation of unions and professional associations (Lack & Templeton, 1995: 165).

However, it is a fact that governments have changed but multiculturalism has remained firmly engrained in their political agendas. It could be said that as a result of these policies, implemented in response to the cultural diversity created by post-war immigration, “Australians of many backgrounds have learned to live together, and appear to be more tolerant and sophisticated than they once were” (Lack & Templeton, 1995: xvi). Thus, it could be said that after two hundred years of gestation a unique Australian identity was born – one nation that speaks English not with a British accent but with accents from all the lands on earth. As chapter 5 will show, in view of the above the present research made certain assumptions which determined the variables to be used in operationalising the construct of acculturation.

2.2 The Needs Based Studies

Based on a recommendation in the Galbally Report, funds were allocated for eleven intensive studies on the English language needs in communities with high

migrant density such as certain suburbs of Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, and Wollongong. The aim of these studies, conducted between 1983 and 1986, was, as stated in the Report, “to survey the needs of migrants for English language teaching and to collect information from which future program development can proceed” (*Migrant Services and Programs*, 1978: 48). An objective listed in all of the studies was the surveying of migrant communities to gather demographic information as well as data on English language proficiency of migrants in the four macro skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing, and data on the extent of their motivation to improve it. The present research draws on these studies mostly in terms of methodology.

2.2.1 Methodological Issues

The methodological problems encountered in gathering information and the issues that emerged from the investigations are of interest, since a similar approach is utilised in the present study as a means to a different end. It was never the goal of the present research to generate statistics about the migrant population upon which policy decisions would depend. Rather, the aim was to survey migrants in an attempt to identify attitudes that facilitated or inhibited the achievement of high levels of English language proficiency. The previous community studies collected data through interview schedules that consisted of closed and open-ended questions. The language assessment instruments, the Australian Second Language Proficiency Rating scales (ASLPR, discussed in detail in chapter 4) were incorporated into the extensive interviews. It should be noted at this stage that the ASLPR are designed to measure the four macro-skills of speaking, listening, reading, and writing separately, and that the formation of a composite score is not recommended. Some of the migrants refused to have their abilities tested and to overcome this problem assessments of proficiency were based on researcher observation using the rating scales (DIEA, 1985b: 19). The same approach is adopted in the present investigation. Across the previous studies a variety of different materials were used to assess respondents’ proficiency and in some cases the reading and writing skills were not tested at all (DIEA, 1984b). Therefore, it is difficult to compare scores across samples.

All of the studies reported difficulty obtaining their target sample size. The researchers had to revert to building informal networks, a technique that secured enough numbers but raised questions about sampling bias. In the West End, Brisbane Study the

investigators “had to change plans and go out and knock on doors on streets where a friend, school records or an interviewed person indicated that migrant families lived” (DIEA, 1985a: 3). Therefore, in the present study, from the very beginning the decision was taken to use snowball sampling, a technique described in chapter 5.

2.2.2 Some Findings

The studies identified a ‘backlog’ group of migrants. Those were individuals of non-English-speaking background “who do not speak adequate English, who have had no English language instruction, or who have had only a limited amount of instruction” (*Migrant Services and Programs*, 1978: 41). The term ‘backlog’ implied that a considerable number had accumulated over time, with each wave of migration depositing a number of individuals who had slipped through the AMEP network, had remained for years with unmet language needs, and were caught in a cycle of social isolation. This was seen as a direct result from the abolition of the hostel system, which made it difficult for the AMEP to trace new arrivals (DIEA, 1986a). In general, the investigations pointed out that the older the age at immigration, the lower the English language proficiency. The Inner City Study predicted that “the pool of low English speaking ability older migrants was likely to increase” and that the reason for that was an immigration policy based on family reunion” (DIEA, 1983b: 43). The Galbally Report estimated that by 1977 a total of approximately 400 000 adult migrants had accumulated in Australia whose fluency in English was low (*Migrant Services and Programs*, 1978: *Appendixes*: 95). The figure represented 33.17% of the total adult migrant population from non-English-speaking countries. It emerged from the studies that a typical member of the ‘backlog’ group was fifty years of age or older, had resided in Australia for ten years or more, had few years of schooling in the country of origin, low level of English proficiency, low employment status, and low motivation.

Most of the studies reached the conclusion that the length of residence in Australia was not a strong predictor of proficiency. Of the four macro skills, listening was the only one that improved with time. This was not necessarily true about speaking and, “in some cases, the apparent relationship is exactly the reverse of what one would expect” (DIEA, 1983a: 18). It was found that the percent for recent arrivals who could write better than survival English was greater than the percent for long-term residents. On the other hand, a greater percent of long-term residents could read better than

survival English as compared with the percent for recent arrivals (DIEA, 1983a: 18). Whatever the degree of relationship between period of residence and second language proficiency, all of the samples generated low ASLPR scores. A large proportion could not read or write English beyond the simplest levels. The low proficiency levels of the 'backlog' group in the four macro skills narrowed the choice of survey methods down to personal interviews. Drawing on the experience of the investigators in the community studies, among other things, the present investigation opted for a combination of a personal interview and a self-administered questionnaire.

It also emerged from the studies that the level of education in the home country strongly correlated with English language proficiency – the higher the education level, the higher the proficiency. The investigators reported that a large proportion (40 to 50%) of the respondents had zero to seven years of schooling in their country of origin. When correlated with ethnicity, an interesting finding emerged. Given the same level of education, ethnic groups who shared a common script with English outperformed the ones who did not. For example, among the long-established Greek, Macedonian and Italian communities with similar levels of education, the Italian respondents (who used a script similar to English) generated the highest scores. The Inner City study found that the Chinese of relatively high educational status also fell in the lower proficiency rating categories (DIEA, 1983b: 27). Several of the studies suggested that the similarity between scripts or languages might be one possible explanation. Others pointed to ethnocultural factors that affected language acquisition such as more open social structures and intermarriage (Poles, Dutch, Germans), or a tendency to develop support systems within a given ethnic community (Greeks, Chinese). As chapter 3 will show, these factors are incorporated in Schumann's acculturation model of SLA. While on the point of education, it is worth mentioning the findings on gender differences in proficiency. Gender differences in proficiency related mainly to differences in education. Women from certain ethnic backgrounds tended to have fewer years of schooling than men and their ASLPR scores were lower. Whenever the educational experiences were similar, so were the scores.

None of the studies found a relationship between employment and proficiency. As noted earlier, people in the backlog group were either unemployed or did manual work. The ones who operated machines did not have to speak to anybody at all and other work places employed large numbers of migrants of the same ethnic background, thus giving them opportunity to communicate in their own language to a degree where

“in a sense some groups do not really live in an English-speaking country at all” (DIEA, 1983a: 22). Thus, the studies came to consider the ideas of ‘ethnic shielding’ and motivation of the ‘backlog’ group.

Ethnic community shielding was examined in detail in the Inner City Study. Shielding is defined as a “a strategy used by some non-English speaking people to cope with problem situations” (DIEA, 1983b: 76) and is said to occur “when migrants of low English proficiency view their home language as adequate to meet the demands of the various communication situations in which they are engaged or desire to be” (DIEA, 1983b: 78). The practices of the host country are seen as an important factor in maintaining ethnic languages. Since multiculturalism makes interpreter services, ethnic media and clubs available, and encourages the retention of ethnic languages and identities, migrants with low speaking abilities are, on the one hand, shielded from the effects of language and culture shock. On the other hand, this kind of shielding deprives the migrant of exposure to the host language, of an element of learning, practice and reinforcement. If to this is added the observation that the Anglo-Australian and ethnic communities, “although generally on good terms with each other, remained to a large extent separate, and ... the former remained in general terms more powerful than the latter” (DIEA, 1986b: 47), then the criticism directed at multiculturalism that ethnicity “becomes an alternative to the ethnic groups’ lack of status, inequality of opportunities and other problems” (Bennett, 1992: 142) appears to have some justification. Ethnicity was found to be a prominent correlate to community shielding. As mentioned earlier, the Polish, Dutch, German, Italian, South American and Vietnamese respondents were revealed to be less shielded than the Greek and Chinese subjects. Thus, although not conducted within the acculturation model framework, the needs-based studies seem to point to group structural characteristics as a predictor of L2 proficiency.

Shielded migrants presented a problem in motivation. It emerged from the investigations that migrants in the backlog group were well aware of being ‘marginalised’ because of their lack of English but few were prepared to take measures to remedy the situation and to attend English classes. The reasons for not attending varied but reflected personal circumstances rather than dissatisfaction with the courses offered. Some believed that they were too old to learn, others had developed coping strategies and were quite content with their proficiency level; some simply had no time due to work and family commitments. Older migrants reported feeling embarrassed

about the fact that they were unable to become fluent in English after so many years spent in Australia. For those who were illiterate in their own language, the prospect of attending a formal class was a source of great anxiety. Apart from transport problems and unavailability of childcare facilities, for women from certain ethnic backgrounds, the perception of the woman's role in the family and the husband's attitudes were added to the list of reasons for not learning English. Home tutors helped to a degree with language but not with social isolation. Cases were reported where migrants asked their home tutors for general social support such as provision of car transport and running all sorts of errands (DIEA, 1986b: 55). The tutor was thus used as a 'shield' rather than as a means of exposure to English.

However, despite the excuses, large proportions of the samples across the studies stated that they wished to improve their English. The reasons given revealed that the instrumental motives outweighed the integrative ones. For most of the respondents better English provided better employment opportunities. In the study on the needs of overseas-qualified professionals the respondents stated that the only reasons for them to learn English were to have their qualifications recognized and to get a job. Women needed better English to enable them to communicate with their children's teachers and to be self-reliant in dealing with different community situations. Given the samples' low proficiency levels, several of the studies concluded that instrumental attitudes (manifested in the emphasis on daily coping skills, work skills, and economic advancement) to language learning might be counter-productive unless allied to integrative attitudes (manifested in the desire to identify with the speakers of the target language). Thus, motivation in these studies seems to be considered mostly in terms of reasons (motivational orientations in Gardner's terminology) for studying L2. As previously mentioned, the aim of these investigations was to establish parameters for program delivery rather than to examine the relationship between motivation and L2 achievement. Their merit is that they directed attention to the importance of sociocultural and motivation factors in SLA, made concrete recommendations for a flexible delivery of AMEP in terms of program content, teaching style, location and time of classes, and that they revealed that the ethnic diversity that existed in Australian cities was not a diversity of equals.

2.3 Ethnic Language Maintenance Research

It could be said that the needs-based studies fall along the line of action towards the social empowerment of non-English speaking migrants, since English is the language in Australia, whereas the ethnic language maintenance studies are along the line of cultural maintenance. As an aside, this second line has been surrounded with some controversy. In most general terms, the debate focuses on whether government resources should be allocated to ethnic languages maintenance or whether the responsibility for this should lie with the ethnic communities. Since ethnic languages are used in limited domains such as the family and for intragroup communication, and they are not threatened by extinction as the Aboriginal language are, some argue that their future should be left in the hands of the ethnic communities (see Kalantzis et al., 1989 for this view). Others argue that some migrant communities do not have the numbers or the social structure to ensure the survival of their languages and that, in general, the preservation of ethnic languages should be viewed as a resource rather than as expenditure since they increase the cultural capital of Australia and, arguably, facilitate international relations, business, and trade (see Smolicz, 1979 for this view).

Importantly, the line of research on ethnic language maintenance differs from the line of research on English language needs of migrants in terms of the institutions that have initiated it and in terms of its theoretical underpinnings. As noted in the introduction to the present chapter, the needs-based studies were conducted by the Department of Immigration. They had no unifying theoretical framework – each study approached the problem of SLA from a different conceptual perspective and, in fact, the majority of studies did not even specify one (DIEA, 1986a: 17-19). This seems to suggest that the acquisition of English is seen as only one aspect of migrants' acculturation to Australia. As chapter 4 will reveal, this is precisely what Schumann's acculturation model of SLA posits. Therefore, it could be said that, conceptually, these investigations fall within the acculturation framework for SLA research. Confirming Jupp's observation (2002, as referred to in section 2.1) that research funded by the Department of Immigration does not deal with social and cultural issues, the ethnic language maintenance investigations, quite unlike the needs-based studies, have all been conducted by Australian universities and have focused on language attitudes, identity, and intergroup relations. Therefore, social identity theory (see McNamara,

1987 for this view) and ethnolinguistic identity theory (see Giles & Johnson, 1987 for this view) have been proposed as suitable frameworks for this line of research.

McNamara (1987) proposes that Tajfel's social identity theory, as outlined in section 1.3.1, allows researchers working on ethnic languages maintenance to "*explain findings than merely to report them*" (McNamara, 1987: 34, emphasis in the original). Working within this framework, McNamara explains the shift from Hebrew among Israeli immigrants as due to their multiple group memberships and to their identity redefinition in the Australian social context. Australian Gentiles do not seem to differentiate between Israelis and Jews. Therefore, Israelis are forced to redefine their identity in terms of their Jewishness. Among Australian Jews, however, Hebrew has a lower status as a vernacular language than English. Therefore, McNamara predicts a massive shift to English and use of Hebrew for symbolic purposes only. Re-evaluating other researchers' findings from social identity perspective, McNamara demonstrates that multiple group memberships and shifts in social identity resulting from immigration are a plausible explanation for the shaky loyalties to Russian (among a wave of Russian-Jew migrants), Italian, and Dutch languages in Australia.

Within an ethnolinguistic identity perspective, the results from a study examining the perceived vitality of Anglo-Australians and Greek-Australians revealed that, overall, Greek-Australians perceived their minority group to have a reasonable level of vitality vis à vis the dominant Anglo-Australian outgroup. Within the terms of ethnolinguistic identity theory it is suggested that this "will not only facilitate one's sense of ethnic identification across a wide range of social encounters but will also increase fear of assimilation into the outgroup and thereby inhibit learning, or expressing proficiency, in its distinctive language or dialect" (Giles et al., 1985: 266). Indeed, the shift to English among second and subsequent generations of Greek-Australians was found to proceed at a much slower rate than was characteristic of other ethnic communities such as the Italians and the Dutch (Tamis, 1990). However, although the predictions of the theory appear to hold for the Greek community in Australia, they do not do so for the Turkish community, who perceive their ethnolinguistic vitality as low, yet ABS data reveals that their shift to English is low as well (Yagmur et al., 1999). Although both Greek-Australian and Turkish-Australian subjects rated their vitality on certain demographic variables, such as birthrate, concentration, and endogamy (marrying within the ethnic group) as higher than that of their Anglo-Australian counterparts, it was only the Greek-Australian sample who

perceived their economic prestige to be on a par with that of the dominant Anglo-Australian group. This perhaps suggests that the three factors that constitute the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality might not be equally weighted. In addition, research on the Italian-Australian group, who despite their high objective vitality exhibited high shift to English, revealed a need for a finer differentiation between community vitality and linguistic vitality (Gibbons & Ashcroft, 1995). Despite being the most numerous among the ethnic minorities at the time the studies were conducted (Tamis, 1990) the Italian-speaking community's shift to English in the family domain was found to proceed at a fast rate, so much so that for the second generation English was already the dominant language (Bettoni & Gibbons, 1988). Bettoni and Gibbons (1988) put forward the following explanation. First generation migrants' L1 were Italian dialects which differed from standard Italian and from each other to the extent that they were regarded as separate geographically distributed languages and were mutually unintelligible if originating in nonadjacent regions. Although most spoke some standard Italian, it was heavily accented and morphosyntactically marked. Dialects were characteristic of the lower socioeconomic classes in Italy (as noted in section 2.2, after the war a large number of migrants came from poverty stricken rural areas in Italy). Attitudes toward dialects were negative in Italy. Bettoni and Gibbons found that in the Australian social context these attitudes were sharpened. Therefore, since dialects had low prestige status, migrants placed no value on their preservation. They did, however, take great pride in their Italian cultural heritage. Thus, the perceived linguistic vitality of Italian-Australians was found to be low, whereas their perceived community vitality was found to be high. Therefore, Gibbons and Ashcroft (1995: 298) suggested that, although it was a truism that language and identity were closely related, the distinction between language and community be entered into data analyses for practical purposes.

Although the rest of the research on ethnic languages maintenance appears to be conducted within either a sociological framework (focusing on domains, private and public, of L1 and L2 use) or a sociolinguistic framework (focusing on attitudes toward accented and non-accented speech and toward the value of maintaining L1), the studies invariably relate L1 maintenance to variables clustering on the three major factors (Status, Demography, and Institutional Support) that constitute objective ethnolinguistic vitality. It emerges from these studies that although demographic variables, such as patterns of immigration, group numbers and concentration, play an important role in L1

preservation they can predict the future of an ethnic language only in combination with other factors, such as attitudes and shift in social identity.

Some studies suggest that the firm grounding of multiculturalism in Australia on the one hand and international political developments on the other have brought about a revived interest in the maintenance of ethnic languages (among some ethnic groups at least). Data from three consecutive censuses revealed that the number of people who reported to speak Macedonian at home had tripled for the ten years between 1981 and 1991 without actual mass migrations of Macedonians to Australia. The increases were interpreted as a sign of “the affirmation of the community even to the degree of postulating an ‘ethnic revival’” (Čašule, 1998: 109). School and university age Vietnamese immigrants reported highly positive attitudes toward the maintenance of the Vietnamese language and the Vietnamese identity, and a significantly greater number than their adult counterparts disagreed with the statement that learning English was more beneficial than learning Vietnamese (Pham, 1998: 12). These attitudes could be as much the result of multiculturalism as a government policy, as they are the result of the social psychological processes outlined in Tajfel’s social identity theory -- if the boundaries of the Anglo-Australian group are perceived as impassable, then immigrant communities may reinterpret the characteristics of their ingroup more positively in order to achieve positive group distinctiveness and, hence, adequate social identity. This issue is taken up for discussion in chapter 7, which examines the results from the analyses on the attitude variables.

2.4 Converging Evidence

The two lines of research conducted upon the recommendations of the Galbally Report can be seen as complementary – they seek to inform government policy on the empowerment of migrants through the acquisition of English on the one hand and, on the other hand, on the possibility of increasing the cultural and economic capital of Australia through the provision of institutional support for the maintenance of ethnic languages. However, it emerges from the review of the results from the two strands of research that the preservation of L1 and the acquisition of L2 are, as Giles & Byrne (1982: 34) had conceded, conflicting tendencies indeed. In summary, the ethnic language maintenance research revealed that the Chinese (Wu, 1995), Greek,

Macedonian, and Vietnamese communities (as previously referenced) tended to preserve their L1, whereas the German and Dutch communities did not. Interestingly, as described in section 2.3.2, the needs-based studies revealed that the former group demonstrated the lowest levels of English language proficiency, whereas the latter had the highest. The idea that there is a tendency for groups with high rate of L1 maintenance to have low level of L2 proficiency seems to be further supported by the analysis of the 1996 Census data (the latest available at the time the present research commenced), which shows that, among the long-established ethnic communities, immigrants from the Netherlands, Germany, Malta, and Hungary have high self-reported levels of English language proficiency as well as a low rate of L1 maintenance, whereas immigrants from Cambodia, China, Greece, Lebanon, Macedonia, Turkey, and Vietnam have low self-reported levels of English language proficiency as well as a high rate of L1 maintenance (C. Stevens, 1999: 118-121). The needs-based studies attempted to explain the low level of English language proficiency among these groups in terms of factors such as community shielding, resulting from group structural characteristics such as size, concentration, degree of openness of the group's social structure, and in terms of degree of similarity/dissimilarity between L1 and L2. To these, mostly demographic factors, the ethnic languages maintenance studies added factors such as status and institutional support (in other words group dominance patterns) as determinants of ethnolinguistic vitality, social identity, and congruence between cultures. It is perhaps necessary to elaborate somewhat on similarity of cultures as a factor in L1 maintenance and L2 acquisition. As mentioned in section 2.3.2, based on the finding that Italian immigrants outperformed Greek, Macedonian and even well-educated Chinese respondents, the English language needs-based studies suggested that similarity of scripts or perhaps of languages could be a factor in L2 achievement. However, census data reveals extremely dissimilar shift patterns among immigrant groups whose first languages belong to the same language group, hence suggesting that:

It is not language distance *per se* that promotes language maintenance. Cultural distance is more likely to be a factor in that groups that are culturally most akin to 'Anglo-Saxon' (the Dutch, followed by the Germans, Austrians and French) and those influenced by the British (the Maltese) have the highest language shift rates, while those whose cultural backgrounds have been shaped by Eastern Orthodoxy or Islam have low language shift rates, as do most of the Chinese. (Clyne & Kipp, 1996: 6)

Congruence between migrants' and host-country cultures was found to be a factor in acculturation attitudes – that is, the endorsement of assimilation (rejection of ethnic group culture in favour of host country culture), separation (rejection of host country culture in favour of ethnic group culture), integration (favouring both ethnic group and host country cultures), and marginalisation (rejection of both ethnic group and host country cultures). Nesdale (2002) explored the relationship between acculturation attitudes and ethnic and host country identification among Hong Kong Chinese, Vietnamese, and New Zealand immigrants in Brisbane and Gold Coast. Although the study was not conducted from SLA or ethnic language maintenance perspective, its results have important implications for understanding migrants' identity which the social psychological models of SLA consider to be a major influence on L2 acquisition and, conversely, on ethnic language maintenance. The study found that, while no differences existed among the three groups in their level of Australia identification, “the groups that considered their cultures to be most different from the Australian culture (i.e., Hong Kong and Vietnamese) favored integration over assimilation, whereas the group that saw its culture as being most similar to the Australian culture (i.e., New Zealanders) favored assimilation over integration” (Nesdale, 2002: 1500). Intergroup comparisons revealed that the groups whose culture was most different from Australian culture felt significantly less accepted by Australians, had fewer Australian friends, had more ethnic versus Australian social involvement, identified more strongly with their ethnic group, had less self efficacy and lower self esteem than the group whose culture was similar to the Australian. It could be said then that Nesdale's results provide empirical support to Schumann's proposition that congruence between the cultures of the L2 learner and the TL group is an important factor in acculturation since it is likely to influence the social distance/proximity between the two language groups. Importantly, Nesdale's study revealed that , with the exception of the main predictor of acculturation attitudes, the additional predictors of migrants' host country versus ethnic group identification (such as perceived acceptance and prejudice by Australians, number of Australian friends, self efficacy, self esteem, and job status) were “essentially the inverse of each other” (Nesdale, 2002: 1504). This pattern of results raised the question of whether integration was a practical possibility for immigrants, in other words whether the acculturation attitude of integration translated into the behaviour of integration. It could be said then that these results lend support to Gardner's conceptualisation of the integrative motive as a tri partite construct. As

Dörnyei (2001) rightfully noticed, in the graphic representation of the socio-educational model Integrativeness (the endorsement of particular social attitudes) acts as an antecedent of motivation (the endorsement of particular L2 learning behaviours). Thus, the complexity and entangled terminology involved in the Integrative Motive, confusing as they might be to SLA researchers (Au, 1988; Dörnyei, 2005), are perhaps unavoidable (see chapter 3 for details).

On the issue of how cultures are compared, it should be noted that despite the incredible variability and complexity of existing cultures, social psychologists have established a number of dimensions on which they could be compared (see Triandis, 1994). The division of cultures into individualistic and collectivist is of relevance to the present discussion. Briefly, individualistic cultures emphasise the independence of the individual, and social behaviour is directed towards action that benefits the individual's self-interest regardless of the goals of the individual's ingroup. Collectivist cultures emphasize sharing and interdependence with ingroup members, and social behaviour is directed towards self-sacrifice for the good of the collective be it the family, social and work groups, fellow countrymen or the country (see Triandis, 1994 & 1995, for a comprehensive discussion). The geographical distribution of the two types of cultures is such that the English-speaking countries and the countries of Northern Europe are to a larger or lesser degree individualistic, whereas the countries of South and Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, and South America are to a larger or lesser degree collectivist (Triandis, 1994: 165). Greek, Lebanese, Macedonian, Chinese, and Vietnamese cultures are collectivist and as such are likely to be most different from the Anglo-Australian culture. It could be said then that shielding is perhaps as much a function of the cultural syndrome of collectivism as it is a function of demography. Since the research on the English language needs of migrants and the research on ethnic language maintenance both seem to point to the importance of immigrants' region of birth as an important factor in L2 acquisition and L1 maintenance but none of the studies in the two lines of research focused specifically on migrants' attitudes toward Anglo-Australians, one of the questions this research set out to answer was whether respondents from different ethnic backgrounds differed in their attitudes toward Anglo-Australians.

In summary, the factors influencing L1 maintenance and L2 acquisition identified by the two types of research appear to come together in Schumann's (1978) acculturation model of SLA. The acculturation model (briefly outlined in section 1.3.7 and further discussed in the next chapter) incorporates demographic characteristics such

as enclosure, cohesiveness and size of the immigrant group as well as variables such as dominance patterns (status and institutional support), congruence (similarity) between cultures, and attitudes as factors that promote social distance between the L2 learning group and the TL group. The fact that the studies were not conducted under a unifying theoretical framework, yet their findings identified similar factors as important correlates of English language proficiency, suggests that research into social and societal variables is, as argued in the previous chapter, worth attention in the field of SLA.

2.5 Newcastle – Demographics

As already noted in the previous sections, the needs-based and the ethnic language maintenance studies were conducted in areas with high density of migrant population. Newcastle, however, is not such an area. Therefore, it is briefly described below.

The city of Newcastle, the sixth largest in Australia, is located on the east coast of the state of New South Wales (NSW), approximately 160 kilometres north of Sydney. Situated at the mouth of the Hunter River, it is a gateway to the Hunter Valley, an area with extensive vineyards and coal mines. It is the largest coal port in the world and before the closure of its iron and steel mills, after 85 years of operation, in the year 2000 it was also among the largest industrial cities in the country. Although, as a result of the previously described post-war immigration policy seeking to build up the military defence and economic power of Australia, a multicultural factory proletariat was created in some areas of Australia, “migrant participation in mining was not so marked, especially in coal mining, and Newcastle and the Hunter was the least affected industrial region” (Jupp, 2002). Thus, the region is not as ethnically diverse as other regions in NSW, with 1996 census data showing that some 87% of its residents were born in Australia as compared with 73% for NSW (Hunter Valley Research Foundation [HVRF], 1998:17). Data published by the Australian Electoral Commission (AEC, 1998) reveals that Newcastle is a provincial division with an area of approximately 127 sq km and a population of 105 759 (with median age of 35 and unemployment rate of 13.0%) of which 8 271 were born in a non-English speaking country (7.8%, compared with 23% for Australia). The number of persons who reported speaking a language other than English at home was 8 413 or 8.4% (compared with 15.5% for Australia) and

1 396 (16.6% of persons who spoke a language other than English at home) self-reported inadequate English language proficiency, as compared with 22.9% for Australia. These data appear to conform to the findings of the needs based studies that demographic factors, such as migrant concentration, might influence the acquisition of English. Thus, it could be said that the present investigation contributes to the body of research on migrants and the English language in Australia by exploring factors that might influence the level of English language proficiency in an area with low density of migrant population.

CHAPTER 3

3 Theoretical Framework

The previous chapter has described the Australian social milieu, since social milieu is a main component in Gardner's socio-educational model of SLA – a theory in which the present research looked for variables, definitions, and operationalisations. The aim of this chapter is to describe and critique Gardner's socio-educational model and Schumann's acculturation model. As the labels suggest, Gardner's theory accounts for instructed SLA whereas Schumann's accounts for naturalistic SLA. The two models were seen as complementary since they work with comparable main concepts -- integrativeness and acculturation, respectively, and the latter is rich in what the former is poor – the delineation of the social context of SLA. Both models appeared in the late 1970s. Since then, Gardner has continually elaborated on and expanded his initial theory, whereas Schumann has redirected his interest from the social to the neurobiological underpinnings of motivation in second language learning. Where these models stand in relation to recent developments in the theory of attitudes, motivation, and acculturation is discussed in the following chapter (chapter 4) in which these concepts are defined and operationalised.

3.1 Gardner's Socio-Educational Model of SLA

Gardner's work aims to shed light on the phenomenon of differential success among L2 learners through the investigation of individual differences factors such as language aptitude, intelligence, attitudes, and motivation. His investigations consistently find two independent factors that predict language proficiency: one comprises indices for language aptitude and intelligence, the other comprises indices for attitudes and motivation. There appears to be a shift in the focus of Gardner's theory from the consideration of the social psychological macro-context of SLA, implicating intergroup relations and social identity, to the consideration of personality variables such as anxiety, confidence, language aptitude, cognitive style, and learning strategies. The innovative features of Gardner's work, however, are the introduction of the concept

of the integrative motive, the distinction between instrumental and integrative motivational orientations, and the use of novel and rigorous statistical analyses.

3.1.1 The Integrative Motive

The idea for the integrative motive grew out of work on first language acquisition which suggested that a child learned a language through a process of imitating his or her parents. This process of imitation was labelled “identification” and was based “on emotionally toned dependence between infant and parent” (Gardner & Lambert, 1972: 12). Gardner and Lambert reasoned that “some process like identification, extended to a whole ethnolinguistic community and coupled with an inquisitiveness and sincere interest in the other group, must underlie the long-term motivation needed to master a second language” (Gardner & Lambert, 1972: 12). To acknowledge the differences between L1 and L2 acquisition the authors introduced the term ‘integrative motive’ to denote an identification-like process in the case of L2 acquisition and a willingness on the part of the L2 learner “to become a member of another ethnolinguistic group” (Gardner & Lambert, 1972: 12). Whereas motives such as need for achievement and fear of failure were deemed applicable to short-term goals such as passing a test or a course, the integrative motive was deemed applicable to the long-term goal of mastering L2 to the point of achieving bilingualism. Thus, the integrative motive implied, on the one hand, a set of positive attitudes toward the TL group and ethnolinguistic outgroups in general. On the other hand, it also implied a particular orientation, labelled integrative, toward learning L2. A learner was taken to be integratively orientated “when the rationale for studying a foreign language reflected an inquisitiveness and genuine interest in the people comprising a cultural group, ... or a desire to meet with and possibly associate with that group” (Gardner & Lambert, 1972: 14). The integrative orientation was contrasted with an instrumental orientation toward the language learning task which was characterised by “a desire to gain social recognition or economic advantages through knowledge of a foreign language” (Gardner & Lambert, 1972: 14). Students’ orientations were determined on the basis of the rankings these students assigned to groups of reasons for studying a second language. Thus, orientations were in essence understood as goals or reasons for studying the language. On its part, the motivation construct was thought to consist of goals (inferred on the basis of students’ orientations) and effort or persistence

(measured with an index labelled Motivational Intensity). The relationship between the two was such that the nature of the goals determined the rate and duration of the effort expended on learning L2. While both the integrative and instrumental orientations could be positively correlated with motivational intensity, the relation between the integrative orientation and motivational intensity was presumed to be stronger since the nature of the goals (the desire to become a member of the TL group) of the integratively oriented learner could sustain the long-term effort that the mastery of a second language required. Gardner and Lambert's studies suggested that a student's orientation toward the task of learning L2 could be determined by his or her personality disposition, parental attitudes, and socio-economic background. Most importantly, at this stage, Gardner and Lambert's model took into account group dominance patterns as an informal contextual (social milieu) factor shaping cultural beliefs related to additive or subtractive bilingualism. If a learner was a member of a dominant ethnolinguistic group, the acquisition of a minority group's language was not likely to present a threat to that learner's social identity. This situation was conducive of additive bilingualism. If a learner was a member of a minority ethnolinguistic group, the acquisition of the majority group's language could threaten that learner's ethnic identity. This situation was conducive of subtractive bilingualism. Another important point that the authors made was that SLA could have implications for the learner's social identity. If the learner was dissatisfied with his or her social condition, mastery of another language could allow him or her to engage in social mobility – that is, dissociate from an undesirable original group and become a member of a valued TL group. Some learners, however, could become caught between two cultures on their way to becoming bilingual and thus experience anomie. Others could comfortably add a second group membership to their original one. Thus, by building on the assumption that language learning “is a means to an end rather than an end in itself, in the sense that languages are typically learned in the process of becoming a member of a particular group, and the sustaining motivation appears to be one of group membership, not of language acquisition per se” (Gardner & Lambert, 1972: 12), Gardner and Lambert's initial social psychological theory encompasses the macro context (in the broadest sense) of SLA.

Since then, Gardner's publications (as author and co-author) have been numerous. Perhaps, the best summary of this extensive body of work on the role of motivation and attitudes in SLA is offered by Gardner himself. In short, much of his research “has been concerned with exploring the implications of these initial findings,

and elaborating on the motivation to learn another language” with the overall intent “to identify the functional relation between attitudes, motivation, and achievement in the second language” (Gardner, 2000: 12). To avoid repetition, the exposition below focuses only on the major modifications of the model and the aim is to point the reader to the specific ideas and variables on which the present study builds.

3.1.2 Model Components and Their Relationship

While acknowledged as an influence on students’ achievement, factors such as teacher’s personality, instructional methods and materials were deliberately ignored in the social psychological model. Gardner and Lambert considered them secondary to aptitude and motivation on two accounts: not all language learning took place in the classroom, on the one hand, and, on the other, whenever research was conducted in the formal classroom context, these were in essence controlled variables, since all students (as subjects in a particular investigation) were exposed to the same teacher personality, teaching method, and instructional materials. However, although this belief remained, Gardner’s following work expanded the integrative motive to incorporate an attitudinal component reflective of the classroom situation (e.g. Gardner, 1983). It was labelled ‘Attitudes toward the Learning Situation’ and consisted of measures on teacher evaluation and language course evaluation. By the early 1980s the model had also become known as the socio-educational model of SLA and consisted of the four basic components of Social Milieu, Individual Differences, Language Acquisition Contexts, and Outcomes for which it remained known for nearly 20 years. Graphically, the model is represented in *Figure 5*.

The four components are linked so that the social context is thought to give rise to cultural beliefs related to the importance and value of learning L2. These beliefs on their part influence the cluster of individual difference variables starting at the learner’s language attitudes, comprised of integrativeness (attitudes toward the TL group, other ethnolinguistic groups, and orientation toward learning L2) and attitudes toward the learning situation (attitudes toward the L2 teacher and the course). On their part, language attitudes act as support to motivation. Affective and cognitive factors interact with the L2 acquisition contexts (formal and informal) to produce linguistic (acquisition of a language skill or grammatical structure) and non-linguistic (desire to study further or interact with the TL group) outcomes. Both affective and cognitive variables are

involved directly in the formal context, whereas in the informal context, being voluntary in nature, “it is anticipated that only motivation would play a direct role ..., in that it will determine whether or not the individual even enters into that situation” (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1992: 213). As noted in chapter 1, Schumann (e.g. 1978: 48) espouses a similar view. It should be noted that both authors acknowledge that cognitive factors are the best predictors of achievement. However, their influence is thought to become contingent on the learner’s volition to enter the informal L2 learning context. In view of this, and given the fact that, as Gardner’s work has found, cognitive and affective factors are fairly autonomous predictors of L2 achievement, this researcher has chosen to focus on affective factors only.

Attempting to extend the model in keeping up with research on other affective and cognitive individual difference variables, Gardner and his colleagues developed measures and explored the relationship between the new variables and the core components (in the diagram, the new variables are shown in the boxes labelled Other Factors, correlating directly with L2 achievement, and Other Support, correlating directly with motivation). Anxiety and self-confidence were the first to be investigated in the late 1970s. These were followed by the investigation into language learning (LL) strategies and other cognitive factors in the early 1990s. In the mid-1990s, responding to calls to include constructs from the latest developments in motivation theory in psychology, Tremblay and Gardner (1995) developed new motivational measures and concluded that they “add to our understanding of motivation in language learning” (Tremblay & Gardner, 1995: 505; see chapter 4 for more detail). Thus, by constantly exploring new functional relationships, Gardner has kept the socio-educational model at the forefront of theory development on the role of individual difference variables in SLA.

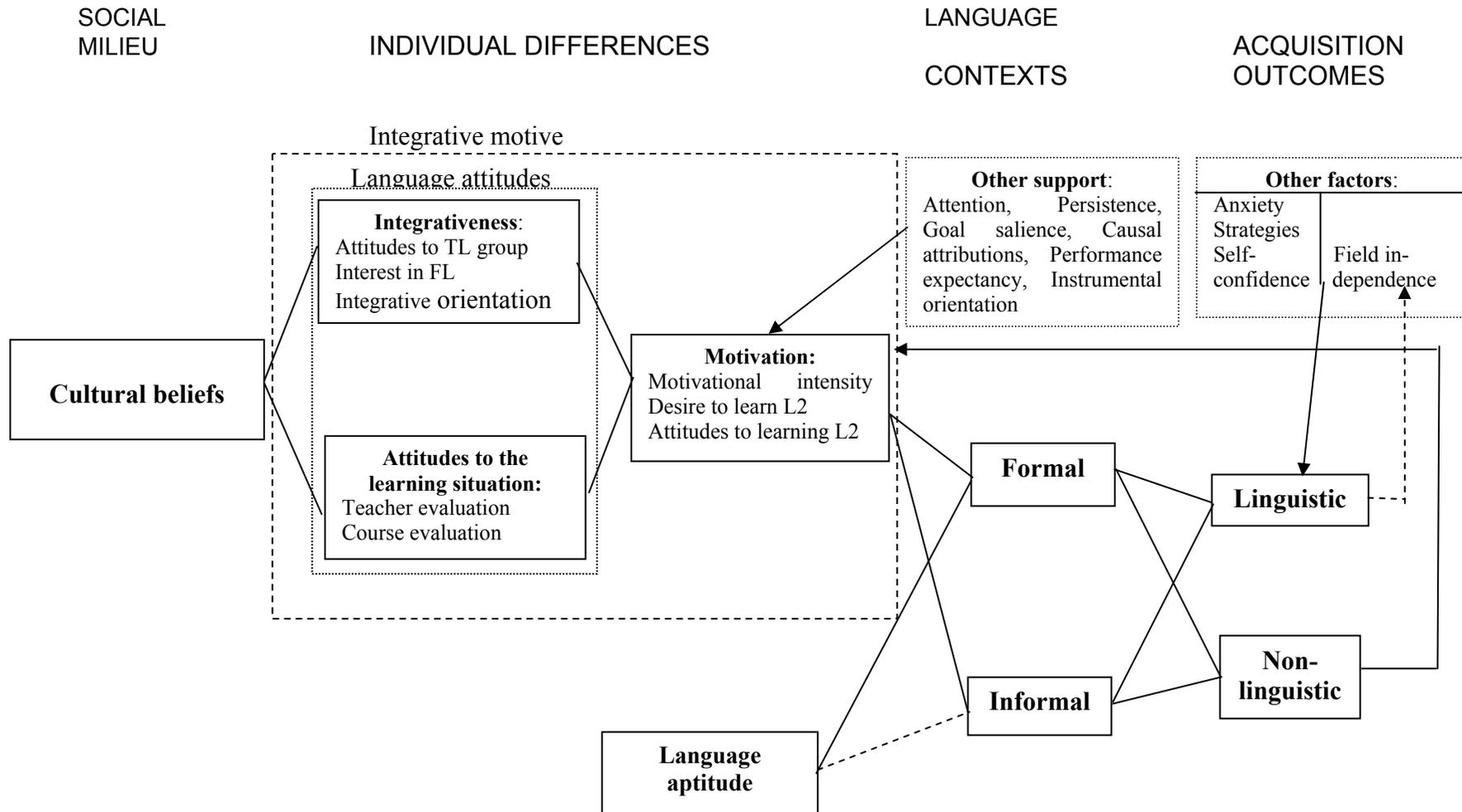


Figure 5. The Socio-Educational Model of SLA – representation based on Gardner’s 1985, 1992, 1995 & 2000 work.

This study uses Gardner et al.'s 1997 framework (see Appendix C1) as a guide for the operationalisation of constructs (also discussed in more detail in the next chapter). The 1997 version of the model was the first attempt at “examining the relationships among all these variables simultaneously” (Gardner, Tremblay & Masgoret, 1997:344). The results from causal modelling in the 1997 study supported the general structure of the model: language attitudes were found to ‘cause’ motivation; motivation, language aptitude, and LL strategies were found to ‘cause’ language achievement; motivation also ‘caused’ LL strategies and self-confidence with language; self-confidence was ‘caused’ by achievement as well. Interestingly, however, the direction of some of these relationships and of the paths between some variables was found to run opposite to mainstream findings. For example, the use of LL strategies was found to correlate negatively with achievement. The results also showed that the construct of strategies (cognitive by definition), while unrelated with the other cognitive factors of language aptitude and field independence (these two, while related with one another, were unrelated to motivation), correlated with motivation ($r = .48$). This perhaps appears to contradict somewhat Gardner’s theorising that cognitive and affective factors are independent, or at least very weakly correlated. Although self-confidence and motivation were positively correlated, in accordance with reports in the literature (e.g. Clément, 1980; Clément & Kruidenier, 1985; Clément, 1986), the direction of the path was inconsistent with Clément’s (1980, 1986) theorising that it was self-confidence with language that determined motivation. Another feature of the 1997 version of the model was that Gardner and his colleagues adopted Clément’s (1980) operationalisation of confidence (used for the first time in the 1995 version of the model), whereby anxiety was no longer considered as an independent construct but was seen, together with self-ratings of proficiency, as a subconstruct of self-confidence. Finally, in the 1997 version, Gardner and his colleagues examined the relationship between different measures of achievement and the major variables. The researchers found out that the strength of the correlations between the major variables and relatively objective measures of achievement (e.g. cloze tests, thing category tests) differed significantly, with indices of anxiety and confidence showing much higher correlations with this achievement than indices of aptitude, motivation, or attitudes. However, the correlations between the major variables and global, less time-specific measures of achievement such as grades were found to be similar. While Gardner and his colleagues offer few explanations as to why this might be the case, to avoid complications, the

present research uses the Australian Second Language Proficiency Rating (ASLPR) scale as a global measure of achievement.

The socio-educational model is dynamic, as shown by the arrows leading from outcomes back to the other model components in *Figure 5*. It is dynamic in a sense that the outcomes of, and experiences with, language learning in their turn feed back into the affective and cognitive variables that influence SLA (Gardner, 1985; Gardner & MacIntyre, 1992). The linguistic outcomes are likely to influence some cognitive variables such as the use of language learning strategies. However, in the previously described comprehensive 1997 version of the model, no such path was posited (see Appendix C1). The non-linguistic outcomes feed back primarily into the affective variables as represented by the solid arrow linking the non-linguistic outcomes with the integrative motive. However, research (overviewed by Gardner, 1985: Chapter 5) on the effect of different types of LL experiences (regular language courses, intensive language programmes, and bicultural excursions) on the social attitudes of Canadian students found that changes in attitudes toward the TL group “are in fact surprisingly minor” and that they “may be greatest where the programmes involve novel experiences of rather brief duration” (Gardner, 1985: 105). Using sophisticated statistical techniques, Gardner and his colleagues revealed that classroom-specific affective variables (e.g. motivational intensity, teacher and course evaluation) underwent significantly greater changes after a year in a university language course than did variables such as attitudes toward the TL group, interest in FL, desire to learn the language, and attitudes toward learning the language. Notably also, when these students were compared on the basis of their achieved grades, it was found that “with the exception of the overall decrease in integrative orientation, there were no changes in the measures of integrativeness (i.e., attitudes toward French Canadians and interest in foreign languages)” (Gardner et al., 2004: 25). By introducing the concept of dynamism (whereby the outcomes of LL feed back directly into the variables that affect them) and on the basis that the model is concerned “primarily with students in the process of studying a second language and not necessarily with individuals on the road to becoming bilingual” (Gardner, 1985: 151), the socio-educational model backs away from considering the implications of L2 learning for the learner’s identity. Although “the notion of changes in one’s self-identity is not ... inconsistent with the idea of non-linguistic outcomes of language study” (Gardner, 1985: 151), Gardner’s decision to ignore these implications represents a major shift in focus in that that it scales down the

broad context of the social psychological model (Gardner & Lambert, 1972) from which the socio-educational model had originated and, as section 4.2.4 will show, opens his current theory to criticism that “the intergroup dimensions of language and SLA were not developed as much as they could (should?) have been” (Crookall & Oxford, 1988: 131).

3.1.3 Component Measurement

Although Gardner is unanimously praised by critics for his careful attention to measurement, operationalisations of concepts, and use of rigorous analyses, the only component of the socio-educational model that has remained unmeasured and unoperationalised throughout the history of the development of the theory is Social Milieu. This seems to be another piece of evidence that Gardner steps away from considering the broadest macro context of SLA. Although he emphasises the importance of social milieu (to the extent that in Gardner & MacIntyre’s 1993 schematic version of the model it was shown to over-ride all variables), it is the only component that remains without measure or operationalisation. While it is suggested that the nature of the cultural community (unicultural, bicultural, or multicultural) might influence achievement and that the assessment of ethnolinguistic vitality could be used as a measure of cultural beliefs (Gardner, 1985; 1988), this component has always been excluded from empirical tests of the socio-educational model.

The cognitive factor of language aptitude is measured in Gardner’s work with a standard test such as the Modern Language Aptitude Test (MLAT). The affective factors in the individual differences component of the model are measured with the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB), an instrument developed by Gardner and his colleagues. The AMTB consists of 11 scales that have withstood the test of time: three (Attitudes toward French Canadians, Interest in Foreign Languages, and Integrative Orientation) measure Integrativeness (see Figure 5); two (Evaluation of the French Teacher and Evaluation of the French Course) measure Attitudes toward the Learning Situation; another set of three (Motivational Intensity, Desire to Learn French, and Attitudes toward Learning French) measure Motivation; three more measure other variables (Instrumental Orientation, French Classroom Anxiety, and French Use Anxiety where the last two measure the Anxiety concept). Integrativeness, Attitudes toward the Learning Situation, and Motivation are variables of a higher order in a sense

that they are the aggregate scores of the scales that measure them. Language Attitudes is a variable of an even higher order since it is the aggregate of the scores on the five scales that measure Integrativeness and Attitudes toward the Learning Situation. The Integrative Motive is a variable of the highest order since it is the sum of the scores on the eight scales that measure its components. Gardner (2000) recommended that researchers examine the bivariate correlations of variables of lower and higher order with the criterion (language achievement). For example, it was found that the composite of Motivation correlated more highly with L2 achievement than did the composite of Integrativeness or Attitudes toward the Learning Situation (see Gardner, 2000 and 2003).

The AMTB scales were constructed with careful attention to validity and internal consistency with reliability coefficients in the .80s and .90s. Therefore, Gardner argues that research on the role of attitudes and motivation in SLA which uses the AMTB finds similar relationships and correlations, whereas research that uses other untested measures does not (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003: 202). The present investigation uses variables comparable to Gardner's but is conducted in an entirely different context. From this perspective, the present study enters into the debate as to whether the socio-educational model could find support from research not conducted by Gardner himself.

3.1.4 Critiques of the Model

A most comprehensive evaluation of Gardner's theory comes from Au (1988). Au breaks down Gardner's theory to five major propositions and, citing the inconsistency of results in two groups of studies – one conducted by Gardner and his associates and the other conducted by other researchers -- critiques each proposition. The propositions are:

1. The integrative motive hypothesis – integrative motive is positively related to L2 achievement.
2. The cultural belief hypothesis – cultural beliefs within a particular milieu could influence the development of the integrative motive and the extent to which the integrative motive relates to L2 achievement.
3. The active learner hypothesis – integratively motivated L2 learners achieve high L2 proficiency because they are active learners.
4. The causality hypothesis – integrative motive causally affects L2 achievement.

5. The two-process hypothesis – linguistic aptitude and integrative motive constitute two independent factors affecting L2 achievement. (Au, 1988: 77-78)

The exposition below focuses on the first two since it is felt that they are the ones that Gardner has not yet convincingly addressed. In general, Au's and others' (e.g. Oller et al., 1977; Skehan, 1991; Dörnyei, 2003a) criticism is directed at particular methodological and statistical, conceptual, and contextual aspects of Gardner's theory.

First, Au points out that the three components that form the integrative motive are not empirically derived and that the taxonomy is only logical in nature. Therefore, there is not enough justification for such a classification. The legitimacy of aggregating the scores of the eight (nine at the time, including Attitudes toward European French) scales to form the Integrative Motive is also questioned since if the scales “constitute three separate components, and yet scores of the three can be additionally combined to arrive at one single score, one can only conclude that either the subdividing of the nine scales into three separate components is no more than an empty rhetoric or the basis for adding the nine scales is an insecure one” (Au, 1988: 79). Attention is also drawn to the fact that the AMTB scales “have seldom been employed in their entirety in one study” (Au, 1988: 79). These observations added to an already existing scepticism about the generality of the theory and the validity of the AMTB scales that had been born out of the findings of weak correlations between attitude and motivation measures and measures of achievement (Chihara & Oller, 1978). Gardner's subsequent work addressed these methodological and statistical concerns and on reading through it “one can say that Gardner resisted effectively the methodological criticisms ... and that the methods of scale construction that he used (influenced, as he is, by research methods within social psychology) set a standard for the use of self-report measures of this kind in language acquisition research” (Skehan, 1991: 283).

Proposition 1: The Integrative Motive Hypothesis (Au, 1988: 81), which posited that the integrative motive and L2 achievement were positively correlated, is attacked on the basis that a number of studies (some conducted by Gardner himself) found a nil or even negative relationship, that the components of the integrative motive did not correlate amongst themselves, and that the different components were found to relate, not relate, or relate negatively with L2 achievement. This Au takes as evidence that “the integrative motive hypothesis lacks generality” (Au, 1988: 83). Refuting this criticism, a meta-analysis of the studies conducted by Gardner and his associates (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003) showed that Integrativeness, Attitudes toward the Learning Situation,

and Motivation were, in fact, correlated (that was why an aggregate for Integrative Motive could be formed in the first place) and that, while, as previously mentioned, the three components correlated with achievement, it was Motivation that predicted achievement best whereas the other two influenced achievement through motivation. However, Gardner admitted that while “this is definitely true in the data from Gardner and colleagues ... it remains to be seen what results would be obtained by other researchers looking at comparable variables” (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003: 206). Besides, Gardner pointed out that although the term integrative motivation had been frequently used in the literature, “close inspection will reveal that it has slightly different meanings to many different individuals” (Gardner, 2001: 1) and that the integrative motive (a higher level, composite variable in the socio-educational model) had been wrongly equated with integrative orientation (a lower level variable). The fact that researchers had misinterpreted the concept for that long, does perhaps lend support to Au’s claim that “that the integrative motive is not a unitary concept is quite a worrisome conclusion” (Au, 1988: 82).

Apart from the afore-mentioned problems with the conceptualisation of the integrative motive as a tri-partite construct, empirical evidence suggested that the interpretation of the concept of integrativeness and more specifically the variable of integrative orientation might not be as straightforward as it was originally thought (see Skehan, 1991 for an overview). Yet again, it appeared that researchers differed in their operationalisations of the two orientations toward L2 learning and that “while there appears to be some agreement as to what constitutes instrumental (or pragmatic) reasons for studying a second language, there seems to be much variance as to what constitutes an integrative reason” (Clément & Kruidenier, 1983: 274). As the next chapter will show, research by Clément and Kruidenier (1983) empirically uncovered other orientations which emerged consistently in a variety of contexts. The instrumental orientation was amongst those stable orientations whereas the integrative orientation emerged only in multicultural settings among learners who belonged to a dominant group. Based on those findings, Clément and Kruidenier concluded that “learning a second language in order to identify with valued members of another group apparently requires individuals who are assured of their first language and culture and have immediate access to the target language group” (Clément & Kruidenier, 1983: 287). The second part of this proposition is in stark contrast to Dörnyei’s (2003a) finding of an integrative orientation among Hungarian students in a foreign language (FL)

situation where they had no contact with the TL group and to the assertion that integrativeness “has consistently emerged in empirical studies even in the most diverse contexts” (Dörnyei, 2003a: 5; Masgoret & Gardner, 2003). Based on those findings, on his part, Dörnyei speculated that “the term may not so much be related to any actual, or metaphorical, *integration* into an L2 community as to some more basic *identification process* within the individual’s *self-concept*” (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002: 456, emphasis in the original) and stated that:

Although further research is needed to justify any alternative interpretation, we believe that rather than viewing ‘integrativeness’ as a classic and therefore ‘untouchable’ concept, scholars need to seek potential new conceptualizations and interpretations that extend or elaborate on the meaning of the term without contradicting the large body of relevant empirical data accumulated during the past four decades. (p. 456)

It would appear that the two camps agree that the underlying dimension of integrativeness is some basic identification process. They do, perhaps, differ in their understanding of the level at which this identification process takes place. For Gardner and his colleagues it takes place at the intergroup level (the L2 learner identifies with another ethno-linguistic community – the TL group); for Dörnyei and his colleagues it takes place at the individual level (it has to do with what attributes L2 learner desires to acquire). Thus, the question becomes ‘Is integrativeness an intergroup or an individual level phenomenon?’ and can the two levels be separated in attempting to predict L2 proficiency. The results from the present study contribute to finding the answer.

Proposition 2: The Cultural Belief Hypothesis (Au, 1988: 84), which posits that the cultural beliefs originating within a given social milieu would influence the degree of integrative motivation and hence the level of L2 achievement, is criticised for being vague and untestable. Yet again, an overview of research employing cultural-belief-type measures such as the anomie scale, the ethnocentrism scale etc. showed that the results ran the whole gamut of possible relationships (Au, 1988: 84). As mentioned in the previous section, Social Milieu was the sole component of the model that Gardner had chosen to not operationalise. He did, however, examine the strength of the relationships between the affective and cognitive variables, and achievement in different social contexts and found that they tended to be stronger in monolingual than in bilingual communities (see Gardner, 1985, 1988). As mentioned in section 3.2.3, he also suggested that somewhat different cultural-belief-type measures be used such as

objective indices for ethnolinguistic vitality or for ethnicity in terms of language status (minority/majority groups). In other words, Gardner's position is that "cultural beliefs ... refer to those existing in the social context in which the individual lives, and though one would expect that the individual might share them, the focus is on the milieu itself, not on the individual" (Gardner, 1988: 111). It is perhaps this very position that draws the criticism that the model "does tend to consider the learning of another group's language in an *intergroup vacuum*" (Giles & Byrne, 1982: 28, emphasis in the original), since it is the *perceived* rather than the objective vitality that mediates intergroup behaviour (see Giles & Byrne, 1982: 24). However, Gardner's theory was designed to account for individual, not collective, outcomes of the L2 learning process. Besides, it could also be said that it is this view of the social milieu as objective and independent of the individual's perceptions that renders the theory untestable since

In the case of Gardner's model, although the formality of the learning situation is precisely defined and is intuitively appealing, the definition is in terms of characteristics of the social milieu. The individual's psychological representation of these characteristics and their particular interaction with motivational processes and language production mechanisms are not clear. An adequate test of an important part of the model thus eludes the researcher. (Clément & Kruidenier, 1985: 22)

In order to delineate the social context of SLA, Clément (1980) designed a theoretical framework (as described in section 1.2.4) whereby the perceived ethnolinguistic vitality of the L2 and the TL groups was seen to determine the L2 learner's degree of integrativeness and fear of assimilation. This constituted a primary motivational process whose resulting tendency in unicultural environments was hypothesised to correlate directly with the learner's motivation to acquire L2 competence. In multicultural settings, a secondary motivational process was thought to come into operation through the L2 learner's linguistic self-confidence, itself a function of the frequency and quality of contact between the learner and members of the TL group. However, the results of a study designed by Clément (1986) which used measures for perceived ethnolinguistic vitality to investigate the effects of language status on the affective variables implicated in SLA showed that "contrary to hypotheses, status appears to have had no influence on integrativeness, fear of assimilation or motivation to use or learn the second language" (Clément, 1986: 285). Interestingly, these findings were in a way predicted years earlier by Giles and Byrne (1982) who had

foreseen the limited predictive power of Clément's model as "due to its preoccupation with relative perceived vitality as being the prime motivational determinant" (Giles & Byrne, 1982: 34). Instead, as described in section 1.2.5, they proposed that the motivation to learn L2 was promoted by factors "affecting individuals' strength of ethnic identification and their perceptions of the social relationships operating between ethnic in- and outgroups" (Giles & Byrne, 1982: 34) and they went on to offer a taxonomy of such factors based on Tajfel's (1978) Social Identity Theory. Ethnolinguistic vitality was shown to be only one aspect of the learner's ethnic identity. Yet again, there is the problem of testing Giles and Byrne's propositions empirically since the intergroup model is of a taxonomy type (Clément, 1986). However, the idea that which group the learner identifies more strongly with might bear upon the outcome of SLA has proven to be fruitful. The results from a Canadian study, conducted with university students of Chinese-speaking background and utilising path analyses, showed that English self confidence (operationalised in terms of self-perceptions of linguistic competence and anxiety when communicating in English) was negatively correlated with Chinese identity and positively correlated with Canadian identity (Noels, Pon & Clément, 1996). As this discussion has attempted to show, operationalising social milieu and cultural beliefs appears to be an almost impossible task. Perhaps, this is one reason why the latest schematic version of the socio-educational model (Gardner, 2000, 2001) no longer features the four components. It features only the constructs and the relationships among them which have withstood the test of time, namely: the tri-partite Integrative Motive and Aptitude are shown to influence Achievement. Gone are the controversial components of Social Milieu and Language Acquisition Contexts.

In summary, methodologically and statistically Gardner's theory appears to be very strong. However, its conceptual and contextual aspects are marred by some contradictions and inconsistencies. These perhaps arise from the mixture of different contexts and levels of analyses which, while not explicitly specified, are brought together within one framework. For example, cultural beliefs and integrativeness appear to be truly *macro*-contextual factors since they refer to society at large, whereas attitudes toward the learning situation appear to be a *micro*-contextual factor since they refer specifically to the formal classroom setting. From the perspective of level of analysis, integrativeness is an intergroup level (L2 learning group-TL group) phenomenon, attitudes toward the learning situation are an inter-individual level (student-teacher) phenomenon, and motivation is an individual level phenomenon. In

view of this, it could then be argued that Gardner does not use cultural beliefs as a ploy to rescue his theory from disconfirming evidence, as Au (1988: 85) suggests. It could simply be that the explanation for a certain result could lie at the intergroup rather than at any other level.

3.2 Schumann's Acculturation Model of SLA

3.2.1 Preliminaries

As noted in chapter 1, Schumann's theory is often labelled the 'Acculturation/Pidginization Theory' and is, therefore, often classified as a sociolinguistic approach (e.g. Mitchell & Myles, 1998; Towell & Hawkins, 1994; McLaughlin, 1987). However, based on the fact that the concepts of acculturation and pidginization are critiqued separately (same references as above) and that Schumann (1986) himself elaborates on acculturation without implicating pidginization, the present study adopts the view that the two are linked, yet fairly autonomous claims. Thus the pidginization hypothesis, by taking into account grammatical structure and the function that the L2 serves for the learner, is thought to be the truly sociolinguistic component of Schumann's theory, whereas the acculturation model, by presenting a taxonomy of social and psychological factors that affect language achievement, is thought to be the truly social psychological component. Therefore, the present research is concerned with acculturation and ignores pidginization. The present study draws on Schumann's idea that a sojourner's degree of acculturation (understood in terms of degree of satisfaction and comfort with life in the host country) could influence the level of TL proficiency the sojourner achieves. Chapter 5 explicates how the construct of acculturation was operationalised for the present study with reference to Schumann's work but within the broader context of general acculturation theory. Thus, the purpose of this section is to introduce the reader to the main assertions of Schumann's Acculturation Model of SLA, to examine its critiques, and to point to its similarities and differences with the socio-educational model.

The innovative feature of Schumann's work was the idea that, in the setting of naturalistic L2 acquisition, the degree of social and psychological distance between the L2 learner and the speakers of the TL could ultimately determine the degree to which the TL was acquired. Chronologically, Schumann's work initially focused on

identifying the factors that promoted psychological distance, then on identifying the factors that promoted social distance, and finally it tied all of these together in the acculturation model of SLA. The structure of the exposition below is reflective of this chronological line.

3.2.2 *Psychological Distance as a Factor in SLA*

Psychological distance is defined by Schumann (1976b, 1978, 1986) as a cluster of affective factors that “involve such issues as the resolution of language shock and culture shock, motivation and ego permeability” (Schumann, 1976b: 401). *Figure 6* represents schematically the construct of psychological distance.

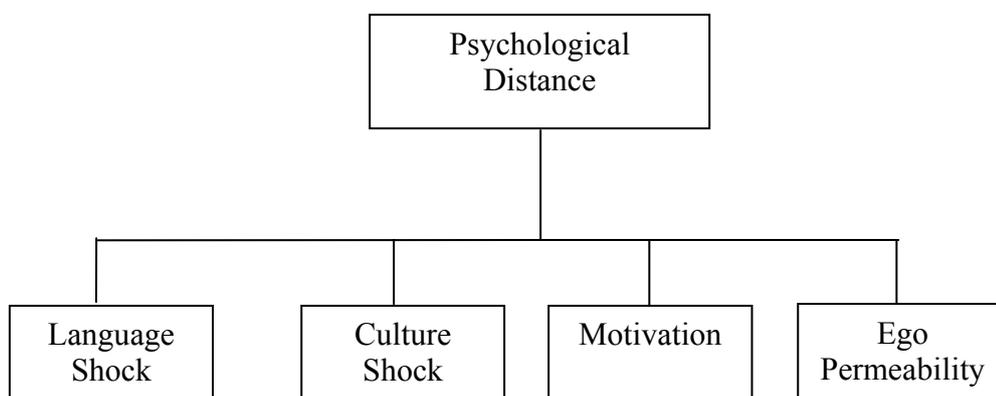


Figure 6. Factors in Psychological Distance – based on Schumann (1976b).

In Schumann’s description, language shock is characterised by doubts on the part of the learner about his or her ability to get meaning across or, conversely, to interpret meaning correctly; lack of narcissistic gratification in using the L2; and apprehension about appearing unintelligent. Culture shock is characterised by disorientation, stress, and anxiety resulting from the inability to apply, in the context of the new TL culture, the problem-solving and coping mechanisms acquired in one’s first culture. This may lead to self-rejection and anomie. The motivation factor builds on Gardner and Lambert’s (1972) work and is understood by Schumann mostly in terms of goals for L2 learning (integrative and instrumental motivational orientations) whereby “in terms of psychological distance, the integratively motivated learner would seek maximum proximity in order to meet, talk with, and perhaps even become like the

speakers of the target language” (Schumann, 1976a: 402). Conversely, the instrumentally motivated learner is more likely to keep him- or herself at a great psychological distance from the TL speakers, if his or her goal for studying L2 is merely to survive in the new environment. Finally, ego permeability -- a psychoanalytic concept, defined as the ability to partially and temporarily abandon one’s separateness of identity (Schumann, 1976a: 402), is seen as yet another source of psychological distance dependent on the degree of rigidity or flexibility of the learner’s ego boundaries. In examining the conceptual similarities between the Socio-Educational and the Acculturation models, Gardner (1985: 151) pointed out that ego permeability was similar to the integrative component of motivation. In this researcher’s opinion, however, this similarity is not quite as apparent as Gardner seems to suggest on two accounts. First, the concepts of integrativeness and ego permeability originate from analogies that are conceptually opposed. Integrativeness (as discussed in section 3.2.1) drew on a child’s first language acquisition, whereby the child mimicked or identified with his or her parents, whereas language ego drew on the Freudian concept of body ego whereby the child came to realise his or her separateness from the surrounding world (see Schumann, 1978: 33). Second, based on others’ and his own work (for a discussion see Schumann, 1975: 220-226 & 1978: 33-34), Schumann (1975) operationalised ego permeability in terms of lowering of inhibitions and adaptive regression (whereby the mature ego reverts to more primitive functions), such that in experiments subjects had to ingest varying amounts of alcohol or were hypnotised in order to test for the effects of different disinhibitors on the subjects’ pronunciation. Gardner, on the other hand, operationalised integrativeness mostly in terms of social attitudes – attitudes toward the TL group and attitudes toward other groups in general (e.g. Gardner, 2001). The comparison seems to bring in, yet again, a confusing mixture of levels of analysis since ego permeability as a factor in psychological distance is at the level of the individual, whereas integrativeness is (or at least, as previously noted, understood by the majority of researchers to be) at the level of the group. It could be said that the models are, in fact, diametrically opposed as far as the weighting of the social and the individual is concerned. For Gardner (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993; see section 3.2.3), the component of Social Milieu could override all other individual difference variables, whereas for Schumann Psychological Distance could override Social Distance such that “an individual may learn under social conditions which are not favourable for SLA and may not learn under social conditions which appear to be

favourable” (Schumann, 1978: 31). In any case, it appears that it is propositions like these that seem to attract criticism about the impossibility to falsify social psychological theories of SLA. As for the measurement of the psychological factors, Schumann admits that measures for culture shock, language shock, and ego permeability may be particularly difficult to devise (Schumann, 1986: 389).

3.2.3 Social Distance as a Factor in SLA

In Schumann’s definition:

Social distance pertains to the individual as a member of a social group which is in contact with another social group whose members speak a different language. The assumption is that the greater the social distance between the two groups the more difficult it is for the members of the 2LL [Second Language Learning] group to acquire the language of the TL group. (Schumann, 1976b: 135-136)

The construct of social distance comprises twelve factors (Schumann, 1976: 396-397) related to group dominance patterns, integration strategies, group structural characteristics, similarity of cultures, intergroup attitudes, and intended length of residence. *Figure 7* shows the operationalisation of the construct. Factor Social Dominance Patterns examines where the L2 learning (2LL) group stands in relation to the TL group – whether it is politically, economically, and technically dominant, equal, or subordinate. Factor Integration Strategy is conceptualised by Schumann as a continuum with assimilation at one pole, preservation at the other, and acculturation in the middle (these are discussed in the following chapter of the thesis). A factor which could perhaps be labelled ‘Group Structural Characteristics’ consists of related variables which pertain to the extent to which the 2LL group shares residential, educational, occupational, religious, and recreational facilities with the TL group (enclosure); the extent to which the 2LL group interacts socially and professionally with the TL group (cohesiveness); the size of the 2LL group itself might determine the degree of enclosure and cohesiveness. Factor Congruence pertains to the degree of similarity between the two groups’ cultures. Factor Attitude encompasses the positive or negative ethnic stereotypes that the groups hold of each other. Finally, factor Intended Length of Residence is also thought to be an important factor in social distance on the presumption that with time the learner was likely to “develop more extensive contacts with the TL group” (Schumann, 1976b: 138) which would reduce social distance. Even

at this early stage in the development of the theory Schumann himself anticipated difficulties associated with the measurement of social distance, since the factors that comprised it were closely related, represented continua rather than discrete points, and it was not likely that they carried equal weight in promoting social distance.

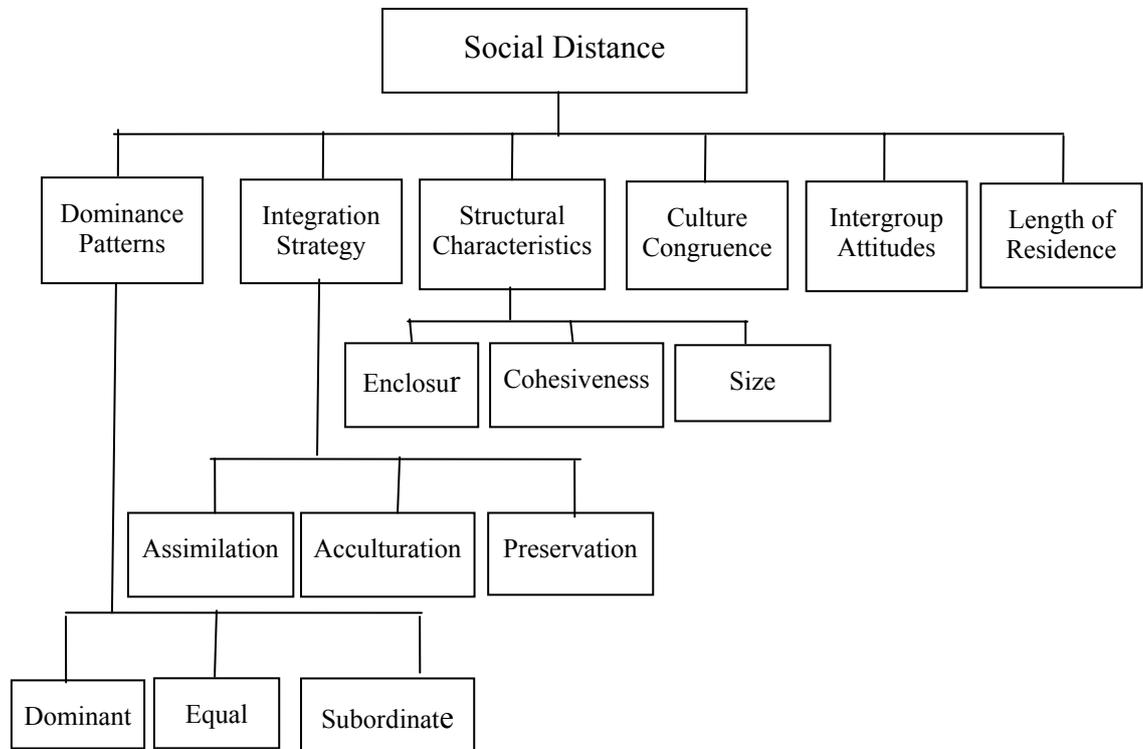


Figure 7. Factors in Social Distance – based on Schumann (1976a, b).

It would appear that these social distance factors overlap to a great degree with the structural variables that are thought to affect ethnolinguistic vitality, as described in section 1.3.5 of the thesis (see Giles, Bourhis & Taylor, 1977 for a taxonomy of ethnolinguistic vitality factors). Thus, the acculturation model bears similarity with the intergroup model of SLA (Giles & Byrne, 1982; see section 1.3.5).

It emerges from Schumann's discussion of these factors that their importance is considered in light of their contribution to intergroup contact and that it is social contact that facilitates and creates opportunities for the acquisition of L2. As shall be discussed in section 3.3.4, it appears that it is intergroup contact and not the social distance factors per se, that influences SLA (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991: 264).

By cross-tabulating the social distance factors as they pertain to the 2LL group's perceptions of itself and to the TL group's perceptions of the 2LL group, Schumann (1976a, b) identifies bad and good L2 learning situations:

It is argued that social distance and hence a bad language learning situation will exist where the 2LL group is either dominant or subordinate, where both groups desire preservation and high enclosure for the 2LL group, where the 2LL group is both cohesive and large, where the two cultures are not congruent, where the two groups hold negative attitudes toward each other and where the 2LL group intends to remain in the target language area only for a short time. It is also argued that social solidarity and hence a good language learning situation will exist where the 2LL group is non-dominant in relation to the TL group, where both groups desire assimilation for the 2LL group, where low enclosure is the goal of both groups, where the two cultures are congruent, where the 2LL group is small and non-cohesive, where both groups have positive attitudes toward each other, and where the 2LL group intends to remain in the target language area for a long time. (Schumann, 1976b: 135)

Thus, in Schumann's theory social distance is, without any doubt, an intergroup phenomenon. However, when the 2LL situation is less determinant, i.e. when the factors comprising social distance balance out between the two groups so that the 2LL situation falls between good and bad, "then success in acquiring the target language becomes more a matter of the individual as an individual rather than of the individual as a member of a particular social group" (Schumann, 1976b: 143). In this situation, it is the psychological distance between the 2L learner and the TL that will determine the outcome of the SLA process (Schumann, 1976a, b). This is precisely the proposition that, as section 4.3.4 shall show, opens the theory to criticism that it is untestable not only on measurement but on conceptual grounds as well.

3.2.4 Acculturation as Major Causal Variable in SLA

Acculturation is defined as "the social and psychological integration of the learner with the target language (TL) group" (Schumann, 1978: 29). Since any learner can be positioned on a continuum ranging from social and psychological distance to social and psychological proximity with the TL speakers (Schumann, 1978: 29), operationally, acculturation is a cluster of the psychological distance and social distance factors that were described above. The main proposition of the acculturation model is that "SLA is just one aspect of acculturation and the degree to which the learner acculturates to the TL group will control the degree to which he acquires the second language" (Schumann, 1978: 34). It is further argued that the psychological distance

and social distance factors outweigh in importance personality, cognitive, biological, aptitude, personal, input, and instructional factors influencing SLA (Schumann, 1978; see the same for a taxonomy). Just like Gardner (see section 3.2.2), Schumann argues that in the informal (naturalistic) context of SLA, personality and cognitive factors “will interact with acculturation, but will not dominate it” (Schumann, 1978: 48). Schumann also distinguishes between type one and type two acculturation. In his own definitions:

In type one acculturation, the learner is socially integrated with the TL group and, as a result, develops sufficient contacts with TL speakers to enable him to acquire the TL. In addition, he is psychologically open to the TL such that input to which he is exposed becomes intake. Type two acculturation has all the characteristics of type one, but in this case the learner regards the TL speakers as a reference group whose life style and values he consciously or unconsciously desires to adopt. Both types of acculturation are sufficient to cause acquisition of the TL, but the distinction is made in order to stress that social and psychological contact with the TL group is the essential component in acculturation (as it relates to SLA) and adoption of the life style and values of the TL group (characteristics traditionally associated with the notion of acculturation) is not necessary for successful acquisition of the TL. (Schumann, 1978: 29)

Although Schumann does not propose the existence of any hierarchy, it appears that type one acculturation is more limited than type two in the sense that it seems to emphasise the social integration of the L2 learner, whereas type two seems to incorporate both the social and the psychological integration of the L2 learner. By positing the adoption of the other cultural group’s values and life style, type two acculturation could be likened to voluntary assimilation or complete identification with the speakers of the TL. Similarly, Gardner’s integrativeness involves “willingness and interest in having social interaction with members of the L2 group” (Gardner et al., 1997: 345) as well as “emotional identification with another cultural group” (Gardner, 2001: 5). Thus, both type-two acculturation and integrativeness build on the idea that the L2 learner desires to be like the members of a valued TL group -- that is, the process underlying both concepts is some kind of identification. It could be said, then, that integrativeness is conceptually similar to type two acculturation rather than to ego permeability. Acculturation is broader than integrativeness in terms of its operationalisation since, as previously mentioned, Schumann identifies 16 factors (12

social and four psychological) that constitute the concept, whereas Gardner identifies three. However, it should, perhaps, be pointed out that while the majority of acculturation factors are difficult to measure and require the design of new measurement instruments (Schumann, 1986: 389), the integrativeness factors (with the possible exception of integrative orientation; see section 3.2.4), being attitudinal in nature, can be measured in a fairly reliable way. As the next chapter will show, the theory on attitude measurement has come a long way and has produced a number of reliable instruments. It could be speculated that Gardner has, deliberately perhaps, limited the operationalisation of integrativeness to the least problematic (from the point of view of measurement) dimension – social attitudes. The socio-educational model and the acculturation model differ in their predictions as well. Gardner’s theory posits that the goal of SLA is the achievement of native-like proficiency. Therefore, it is only the integratively motivated learner who could achieve the goal. Thus, it appears that the model aims to explain successful SLA. Schumann’s theory posits that, since SLA is only one aspect of acculturation, “for each degree of acculturation there is an equal degree of SLA” (Schumann, 1978: 34). Thus, by emphasising the factors that increase the social and psychological distance between the L2 learner and the TL speakers, the model is in a position to explain unsuccessful SLA as well (Schumann, 1978: 48). Therefore, Gardner appears to be quite right in evaluating the Acculturation Model as “essentially a model of language non-acquisition” (Gardner, 1985: 137).

3.2.5 Critiques of the Acculturation Model

A most comprehensive review of the model, apart from Schumann’s own (Schumann, 1986) comes from Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991). The authors see the contribution of the acculturation model to the field of SLA in that that it “has served to turn what have otherwise often been rather vague notions about the role of social and psychological factors in SLA into coherent predictions” (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991: 260). However, they identify three major problems pertaining to the model, namely: impossibility to falsify the theory; inadequacies in two conceptual aspects of the theory, one of which relates to the issue of falsification; and inconsistencies in results from studies utilising the acculturation model.

Methodological and measurement issues make falsification impossible in the case of the acculturation model (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991). It has already been

mentioned that as far as methodology was concerned, it was difficult to weigh the numerous factors that constitute acculturation – in other words there is “lack of any principled means of weighting the various subcomponents of acculturation” (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991: 261). Schumann recommends case studies and in-depth interviews as methods for collecting information. However, as the above mentioned critiques of the model and Schumann (1986) himself note, cross-sectional studies fail to capture the temporal nature of acculturation, since they correlate L2 proficiency “with *current* orientation, which may be very different from that during the period when the proficiency was acquired, giving misleading results” (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991: 261, emphasis in the original). Citing work by others, Schumann (1986) suggested that the model could, in theory, be tested with the use of powerful and sophisticated statistical techniques such as Path Analysis (a series of regressions). However, these techniques required large samples and this, in Schumann’s opinion, was problematic, since, on the one hand, “large sample studies do not permit the detailed analyses of language development that have been conducted on case studies” (Schumann, 1986: 389). On the other hand, the written tests administered in these cases as the most efficient way of assessing proficiency “would create difficulties for subjects who may only have oral proficiency in the TL and may not be able to read or write even in their native language” (Schumann, 1986: 389). These methodological problems are compounded by issues of instrumentation. As has already been pointed out, valid and reliable measures of the various psychological and social factors involved in acculturation do not exist and may be difficult to design (Schumann, 1997: *xix*; Hansen, 1995:309; Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991: 260). In summary, “the Model may be testable in theory but not in fact” (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991: 260).

A conceptual aspect of the acculturation model that relates to the problem of its falsification is that, by proposing that psychological factors can override social ones without specifying a priori the necessary conditions for this to happen, the model allows for a number of possible combinations of social factors and psychological factors which can predict every possible 2LL outcome (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991: 262, 264). It should be noted at this point perhaps that Schumann keeps the social and the psychological dimensions of acculturation separate. Thus, unlike in the case of the socio-educational model of SLA, there is no mixing of, and hence no confusion about, levels of analysis. By not speculating on possible combinations of social factors and psychological factors, Schumann keeps the group level variables apart from the

individual level variables. This, in this researcher's opinion, is a merit of the model since, as the next chapter shall show, the social and psychological dimensions are kept separate (for theoretical and practical considerations) in contemporary acculturation theory as well.

Another conceptual aspect of the theory that is seen as problematic is the claim that acculturation is a major causal variable in SLA. As described in section 4.3.2, Schumann appears to discuss the social distance factors in light of their importance for promoting intergroup contact. As previously cited, Schumann believes that it is contact rather than identification with the TL group that is necessary for SLA to occur. In fact, he proposes a 'chain of causality' (Schumann, 1978: 48; 1986: 385) which could perhaps be represented in a diagram such as the one in *Figure 8*.

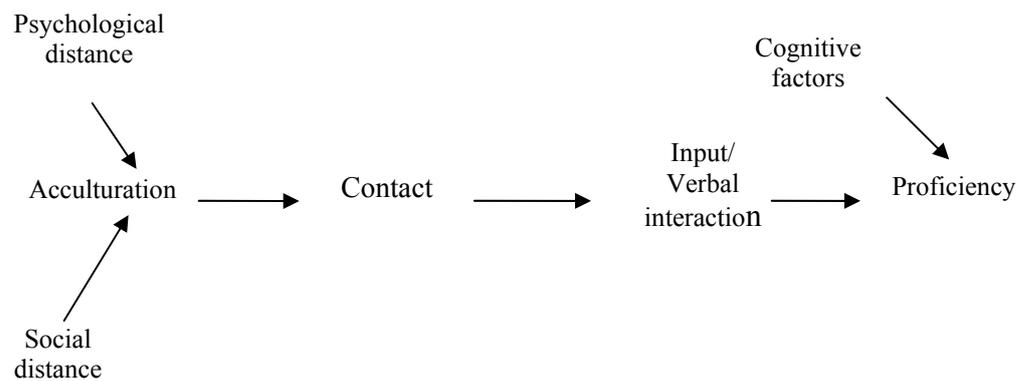


Figure 8. Chain of causality in SLA – based on Schumann's 1978 & 1986 comments.

*Figure 8*As *Figure 8* above shows, in his earlier work, Schumann considers social distance and psychological distance to be the remote cause in SLA, acculturation to be the proximate cause, and cognitive factors, employed in dealing with the input, to be the immediate cause (Schumann, 1978: 48). In his later work, Schumann elaborates on the chain of causality in the following way:

Acculturation as a remote cause brings the learner into contact with TL-speaker. Verbal interaction with those speakers as a proximate cause brings about the negotiation of appropriate input which then operates as the immediate cause of language acquisition. Acculturation then is of particular importance because it initiates the chain of causality. (Schumann, 1986: 385)

It would appear that, in actual fact, this chain of causality obscures the predictions that the theory makes. Obviously, it is not the social and psychological factors per se that determine SLA. Yet, Schumann never explicitly states that it is the quantity or quality of input that predicts proficiency (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991: 264). On the positive side, this chain of causality could, perhaps, be viewed as a framework attempting to identify variables that mediate or moderate the relationship between acculturation and L2 achievement (on the nature of mediator and moderator variables see Baron & Kenny, 1986).

Another criticism of both the socio-educational and the acculturation models of SLA concerns the direction of the line of causality since it might go in the opposite direction or it may be bi-directional (McLaughlin, 1987: 126). Gardner responds to this criticism by stating that his model is dynamic, in the sense that the linguistic and non-linguistic outcomes of 2LL feed back into the very variables that affect them (see section 3.2.2), whereas Schumann goes only as far as to acknowledge that “acculturation is a dynamic process that takes place over time” (Schumann, 1986: 389) and that “a learner’s social and psychological distance profile may change during the course of his or her stay in the TL environment” (Schumann, 1986: 389-390). This critique of the model found support in a Canadian study which examined the relationship among language, identity, and psychological adjustment among university students from Chinese-speaking background (Noels, Pon & Clément, 1996; see also section 3.2.4). More specifically, the research examined the role of linguistic self-confidence in the process of acculturation. As previously mentioned (section 3.2.4), linguistic self-confidence was operationalised in terms of the learner’s self-perception of his or her competence in speaking, listening, reading, and writing, as well as in terms of anxiety when communicating in English. The researchers adhered to the situated approach to ethnic identity, claiming that in a bilingual or multilingual context, individuals endorsed only one ethnic identity at a time. Therefore, the authors examined their subjects’ Chinese and Canadian identities separately. Although ethnic identity was assessed “as a subjective feeling of belongingness to a particular ethnic group” (Noels, Pon & Clément, 1996: 247), the researchers pointed to the fact that it could also be indexed through other facets of acculturation which could perhaps be seen as relating to the social distance factors. Psychological adjustment was operationalised in terms of self-esteem, sense of control, stress, life satisfaction, and happiness. Path analyses performed on the data showed that the proportion of life the respondents had spent in

Canada (length of residence) was the causal variable that influenced English self-confidence directly, or indirectly through the extent of contact with Canadians, and that the influence of English self-confidence was negative on the respondents' Chinese identity but positive on their Canadian (L2) identity and psychological adjustment (Noels, Pon & Clément, 1996: 257-258). If Noels, Pon, and Clément's chain of causality is translated in terms of the acculturation model, it could perhaps be schematically represented in a diagram such as the one in *Figure 9*.

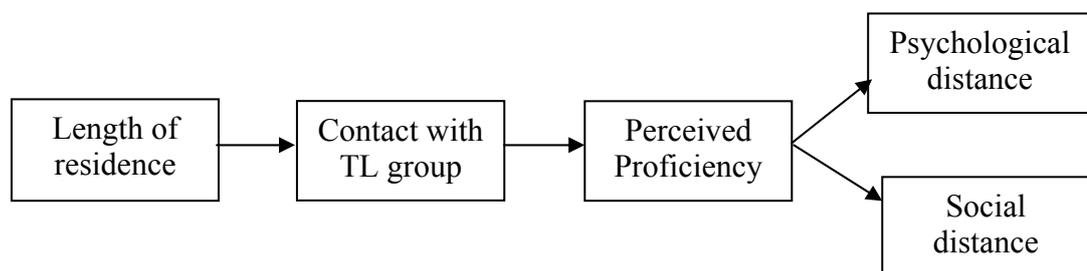


Figure 9. Noels et al.'s (1996) work translated in terms of Schumann's acculturation theory.

As the figure shows, what Noels et al.'s model (building on Clément's 1980 work) predicts is that "with increased second language competence, the individual will come to identify with the second language community" (Noels, Pon & Clément, 1996: 248), or worded differently, increased L2 competence will reduce the social and psychological difference between the L2 learners and the speakers of the TL, thus causing acculturation. This seems to lend support to McLaughlin's (1987) suggestion that the path between acculturation and proficiency (and between attitudes and proficiency for that matter) may, indeed, be bi-directional.

Besides problems with methodology, instrumentation, and conceptual aspects, there is, just as in the case with the socio-educational Model, the problem with mixed empirical findings. Schumann's (1986) and Larsen-Freeman and Long's (1991) overviews of studies conducted within the acculturation framework showed that some findings suggested that psychological factors might be better predictors of proficiency than social factors, whereas other studies reported very low or no association at all between acculturation scores and proficiency (in some cases the most acculturated subjects had the lowest levels of proficiency, whereas the least acculturated had the

highest). As described in chapter 2 (section 2.3.2), the studies on the English language learning needs of high density migrant communities in Australia showed that group structural characteristics such as cohesiveness and size ‘shielded’ the migrant from situational anxiety as well as from interaction with the TL group, thus contributing to the persistence of low English language proficiency. Those studies, however, were not conducted within the acculturation model framework. Rather unexpectedly, support for the theory also came from a study conducted with Spanish speaking students in an American university (reviewed in Schumann, 1986 and Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991) – a context for which the acculturation model was not designed to account, since the context was one of instructed SLA and students did not constitute community in the sense that Schumann envisaged it. This latter finding prompted Schumann to state that “the Acculturation Model is a conceptual framework which permits the interpretation and understanding of success or failure in SLA in various contact settings” (Schumann, 1986: 390).

In summary, despite its flaws, the acculturation model is useful in that it has “focused researchers’ attention ... on a possible causal role for a large body of social and psychological factors in SLA” (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991: 265). Thus, the acculturation model could be seen as filling the vacuum in the Social Milieu component of the socio-educational model. Although Schumann’s theory was designed to account for naturalistic SLA and Gardner’s for instructed SLA, the models are conceptually similar since they both build on the idea that a certain degree of integration or identification with the speakers of the TL is necessary for SLA to occur. The criticisms pertaining to both theories are that some of their propositions are impossible to falsify, that some of their conceptual aspects are not sound, and that research within both frameworks has produced equivocal results. It would appear from the critiques of the models that affective variables, contact variables, and L2 proficiency continually reinforce one another making it difficult to establish causal relationships among them with any degree of certainty. As the next chapter will show, despite their shortcomings and the lapse of some 30 years since their inception, concept definitions and operationalisations in both theories were sound enough not to be unseated by recent theoretical developments in social psychology and education.

CHAPTER 4

4 Main Concepts and Their Operationalisations

The previous chapter presented a critical appraisal of the strength and weakness of Gardner's and Schumann's theories, as discussed in the relevant literature. This chapter aims to situate the socio-educational model, the acculturation model, and the present research within the mainstream theories of acculturation, attitude, and motivation, and to define and operationalise the main constructs for the study. Since the concepts of acculturation, attitudes, motivation, and L2 proficiency, individually or in combinations, are of central interest to a variety of disciplines, especially the disciplines of anthropology, psychology, cross-cultural psychology, social psychology, education, and applied linguistics, the body of research exploring these constructs is extensive. Therefore, a comprehensive overview of previous work is not attempted; rather, attention is centred on theories and studies that provided directions, besides Gardner's and Schumann's pointers, for the present study. The aim is also to identify the common ground between Gardner's and Schumann's theories, which refer specifically to second language acquisition, and the general thrust in the theoretical development of these constructs in social psychology. The theory on these concepts, especially on attitudes and motivation, is in a state of flux and there is often disagreement among researchers on a number of issues concerning these concepts, including their definitions. The exposition elaborates on the difficulties in disentangling attitudes from motivation and hence the difficulties in defining and operationalising these concepts. The discussion on second language proficiency is limited to the description of ASLPR scales as a measurement of proficiency used in this study. The main concepts of acculturation, attitudes, motivation, and L2 proficiency are discussed below while the subconstructs (or factors) and variables used in their operationalisations are explained in greater detail in chapter 5 where the questionnaire items thought to tap into these factors are described. A working definition for each concept is presented in a box at the end of each section.

4.1 Acculturation

4.1.1 Defining Acculturation

A definition of acculturation cited as ‘classical’ (Berry, 1997b; Liebkind, 2001; Rudmin, 2003) is Redfield et al.’s (1936) stating that “acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups” (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936: 149). This definition of acculturation comes from the field of anthropology where the main unit of analysis is culture but, by referring to groups of individuals in contact, it clearly implicates acculturation in intergroup relations whose study is the subject matter of social psychology (Liebkind, 2001). Therefore, in social psychological research the term acculturation is used to mean a change in the *psychology* of the individual (as he or she is influenced by the contact with the other group) and not a change in the *culture* of the group (Berry, 1997b). Also, although the definition posits that changes occur in both of the groups who are in continuous first-hand contact, in practice acculturation tends to induce more change in the acculturating (also referred to as minority or non-dominant) group than in the host (also referred to as majority or dominant) group (Berry, 1997b: 7). Therefore, much of the social psychological research on acculturation has focused on acculturating groups (Berry, 2001: 616) be they sojourners such as students, guest workers, and asylum seekers, or permanent groups such as indigenous minorities, national minorities, and immigrants. The present study is no exception to the general trend and focuses entirely on the acculturating group – adult immigrants from non-English-speaking background who had settled in Newcastle.

In view of the above, Schumann’s understanding of acculturation as “the social and psychological integration of the learner with the target language (TL) group” (Schumann, 1978: 29) appears to avoid any confusion by not implicating culture per se and by focusing on the acculturating group. Therefore, this research adopts Schumann’s definition of acculturation.

4.1.2 Models of Acculturation

From a theoretical perspective the phenomenon of acculturation can be perceived as unidimensional or bidimensional (see Bourhis et al., 1997; Liebkind, 2001, for an overview). When thought of in unidimensional terms, acculturation can be presented as a bipolar continuum with separation/rejection (endorsement of the heritage culture and rejection of the host culture) at one pole and assimilation (endorsement of the host culture and loss of the heritage culture) at the other. Biculturalism/integration (retaining features of the heritage culture while adopting elements of the host culture) is the midpoint on the continuum. From this perspective, the changes in the acculturating group happen only in one direction – toward assimilation into the host culture and loss of the heritage culture. *Figure 10* is an attempt at graphic representation of this view.

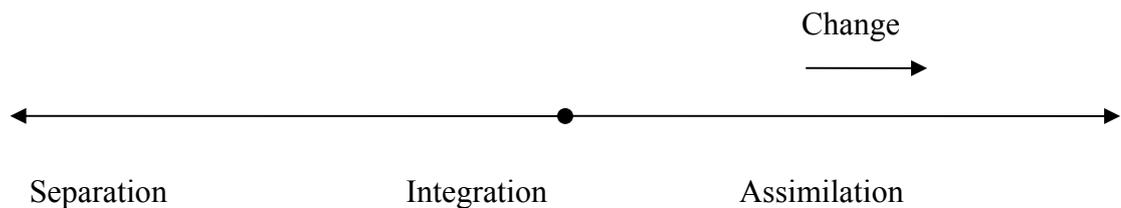


Figure 10. The unidimensional model of acculturation.

Apart from its failure to take into account the demographic, attitudinal, social and economic changes in the host group, by proposing assimilation as the strategy that provides the best fit between the acculturating individual and the host group, the unidimensional model of acculturation implies inequality in the power/status differentials for the two groups. Especially in reference to immigration, the assimilation model “does situate immigrant groups within the lower echelons of the social hierarchy” (Bourhis et al., 1997: 376). Within this framework, acculturation could be discussed in the social psychological terms of social mobility, whereby disadvantaged individuals attempt to become members of the host group in order to better their economic situation and social status (see Liebkind, 2001 for an overview). The success or failure of this attempt depends on the permeability of group boundaries. Social mobility results again in assimilation only this time the host group is involved as well, albeit, in the role of a judge, presiding over the acculturating group’s attempts to enhance its social and economic position. In fact, according to Liebkind (2001),

“acculturation has, within social psychology, often been equated with social mobility” (Liebkind, 2001: 388).

Unlike the unidimensional model, the bidimensional model of acculturation proposes that the acculturating individual’s involvement in the heritage and the host cultures could be presented as two independent dimensions rather than as extreme points on a single bipolar continuum. Work in this line was spearheaded by John Berry in the 1970s (see Clément, Noels, and Deneault, 2001) and, from a social psychological perspective, his has remained the most useful bidimensional model of immigrant acculturation (Bourhis et al., 1997: 376). According to Berry (1997) migrants have to resolve the two major issues of cultural maintenance (to what extent is the cultural identity to be preserved), and contact and participation (to what extent is involvement with other cultural groups to be sought). When these issues are addressed simultaneously, four acculturation strategies are possible, namely: *Assimilation* (individuals have no desire to maintain cultural identity and seek high degree of interaction with the other groups), *Separation* (individuals strive to maintain their cultural identity and do not desire to interact with the other groups), *Integration* (individuals seek both a degree of cultural maintenance and participation in a larger social network), and *Marginalisation* (individuals have little interest in culture maintenance and little interest in interaction with other groups). *Figure 11* is an attempt at graphic representation of the bidimensional view of acculturation.

The responses to the two issues of cultural maintenance and contact and participation can be placed on two orthogonal bipolar dimensions. The host society’s acculturation attitudes can be presented in the same way only the perspective is changed in the sense that the response of the members of the host society is to the question of how they think immigrants should deal with the two issues (Berry, 2001: 618). From this perspective the acculturation strategies that the host society can endorse are *Segregation* (immigrants should maintain their culture and should not “mix” with the larger society), *Integration* (immigrants should maintain aspects of their culture and should adopt aspects of the host culture), *Assimilation* (immigrants should not maintain their culture and should participate in the larger society), and *Exclusion* (immigrants should not maintain their culture and should not participate in the larger society).

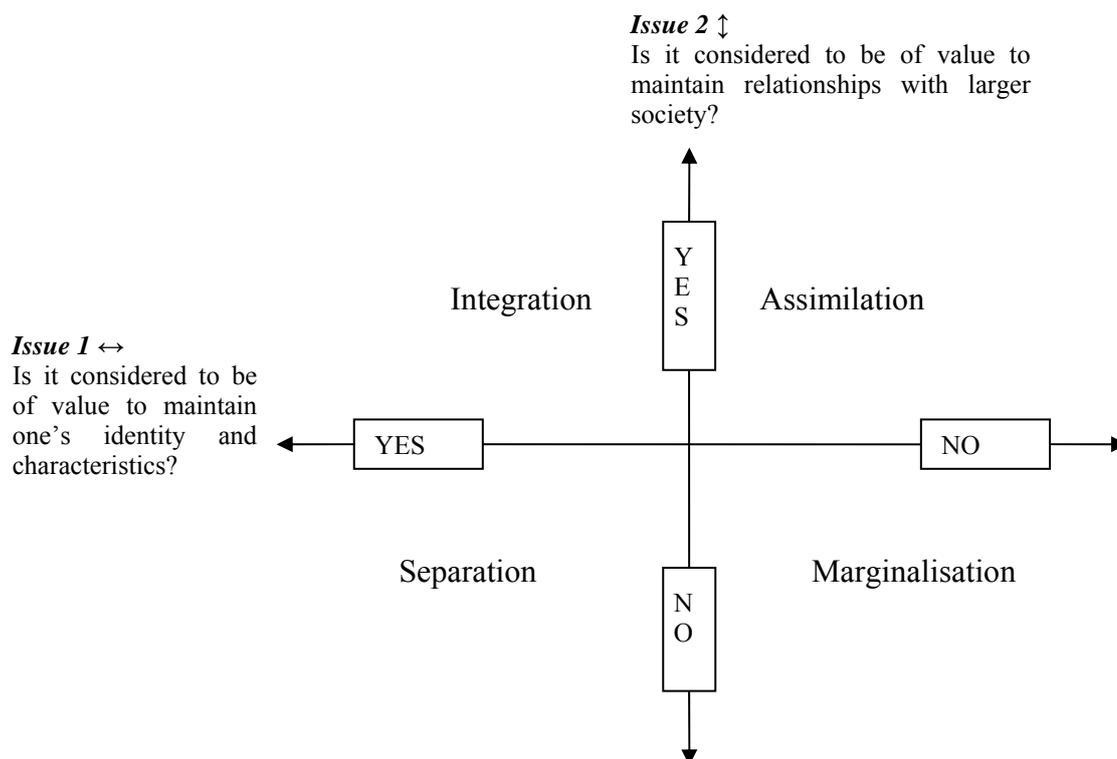


Figure 11. Bidimensional model of acculturation based on Berry (1997).

The concept of cultural identity can be presented in a similar fashion: dimension 1 reflects the extent to which an immigrant identifies with the group of the heritage culture (ethnic identity) and dimension 2 reflects the degree to which an immigrant identifies with the larger society (national identity). The two dimensions intersect to result in assimilated, separated, integrated and marginalised identities respectively (Phinney et al, 2001: 495). In fact, the concepts of ethnic identity and acculturation are often used interchangeably in the literature (see Phinney et al, 2001). However, research in SLA seems to suggest that ethnic identity may follow a pattern different from that of attitudes toward acculturation, since it was found that participants endorsed either assimilated or separated identity at any one time but did not endorse integrated identity (i.e. both ethnic and other relevant culture identity) at the same time (Noels, Pon, & Clément, 1996). The authors of this research claim that their results differ from Berry's. Although it could be argued that SLA research considers TL group identity as the other relevant identity, whereas Berry considers national (superordinate) identity which might not necessarily be the same as TL group or dominant group identity, support for Noels et al.'s proposition has come from research conducted within Berry's framework.

Nesdale's 2002 Australian study (previously cited in section 2.4 in relation to the discussion on congruence between cultures) also points to a virtual impossibility for migrants to have an integrated identity since the predictors of host country versus ethnic group identification were essentially the inverse of each other. In addition, social psychologists have foreseen problems even at the level of superordinate identification since there is a possibility for higher status subgroups to dominate the superordinate identity (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000). In analysing the conditions for harmonious intergroup relations under the condition of superordinate identity (the creed of multiculturalism), Hornsey and Hogg (2000) write:

This sense of "ownership" over the superordinate identity may be particularly strong for subgroups with very high status, power, or both. Anglo-Australians, for example, may not see themselves as a subgroup at all but rather as the moral custodians and ordained representatives of the superordinate Australian identity. For members of subgroups with low status or power (e.g., Asian immigrants, indigenous groups), exclusive categorization at the national level may leave them vulnerable to being appropriated by the dominant Anglo-Australian subgroup, which has cast the superordinate identity in their image. (Hornsey & Hogg, 2000: 152)

In regard to *Figure 11*, it should be noted that orthogonality is only used for convenience of presentation. The intention is to show that the two dimensions are conceptually distinct and can be measured independently of one another rather than to imply absence of correlation between them. In fact, there seems to be a slight disagreement among researchers working within the bidimensional framework of acculturation on what the underlying relationship between these two dimensions is: the majority assume that the dimensions are not correlated whereas a few others assume a moderately inverse correlation between them (see Liebkind, 2001). The prevailing view that the dimensions are largely unrelated theoretically, if not empirically, is adopted in the present investigation and the main focus is on the issue of contact and participation. The issue of cultural maintenance is only touched upon to the extent that it could allow for comparison between attitudes toward the ethnic and host groups.

Acculturation strategies are one of the process features in Berry's (1997) framework for acculturation research. The purpose of the framework is to identify key acculturation variables. The structure of the framework is comprised of group level variables and individual level variables. The group level variables characterise the

society of origin, the society of settlement, and the acculturating group as it is influenced by both the society of origin and the society of settlement. The group level characteristics feed into the individual level ones: the society of origin determines factors prior to acculturation such as age, gender, education, status, migration motivation, expectations, cultural distance, and personality; the society of settlement on its part gives rise to factors such as acculturation strategies (segregation, integration, assimilation or exclusion), social support, and societal attitudes (policy and ideology). These factors moderate the process of acculturation which in Berry's framework is a sequence of five features. First, the new environment places demands upon individuals and their responses to these demands form their acculturation experience. Second, this experience is appraised as a source of difficulty, as benign, or as a source of opportunity. These appraisals can be conceptualised within the paradigms of behavioural shifts (the experience is appraised as non-problematic), acculturative stress (the experience is appraised as problematic but surmountable), and psychopathology (the experience is perceived as problematic and unsurmountable). Third, the individual engages in the use of strategies in an attempt to deal with experiences appraised as problematic (the four acculturation strategies fit here). Fourth, the individual experiences the immediate effects of stress. If problematic experiences have been successfully dealt with, stress is minimal, personal consequences are positive, hence the immediate effects are positive; if problems have not been completely overcome, stress is higher and the immediate effects are more negative; if problems have overwhelmed the individual and have not been successfully dealt with, stress levels are debilitating and the immediate effects are substantially negative. Fifth, and last, the acculturating individuals achieve long-term adaptation, the outcome of which may or may not be positive. Importantly, Berry asserts the distinction between psychological and sociocultural adaptation. Although these two facets are empirically correlated, they are conceptually distinct, since they have different predictors and follow different temporal trends. Psychological problems increase after contact and then decrease over time. Personality variables, life change events and social support predict good psychological adaptation. Sociocultural adaptation improves linearly with time. Cultural knowledge, degree of contact, and intergroup attitudes predict good sociocultural adaptation (Berry, 1997: 20-21). The criticism that Berry's framework is not differentiated enough in respect to social context and cultural variation, that it is too abstract to provide useful guidance, that the combination of group and individual variables makes it difficult to

test, and that it is too structure rather than process oriented (see *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 1997, 46, 1) is perhaps unfounded because the author does not propose a theory or a model but a *framework* which in the author's view is a device to "organise concepts and findings, and to assist in the design and implementation of further research in the course of development of the field" (Berry, 1997: 63). Within Berry's framework acculturation can be researched as a process or a state (Berry, Trimble, & Olmedo, 1986; Liebkind, 2001). From methodological point of view researching the process involves longitudinal studies which, while ideal, in practice are seldom feasible. Therefore, the approach to acculturation as a state, involving cross-sectional designs and the measurement of the acculturating individual's behavioural, affective and attitudinal characteristics, dominates the field (Liebkind, 2001: 387). This study is no exception and focuses on the characteristics of the socially adapted immigrant, predominantly on the individual's degree of contact with, and attitudes toward, the TL group. Psychological adaptation is measured in respect to the individual's motivation to learn L2 and satisfaction with life in the new country.

Another bidimensional model of acculturation of relevance to the present study is the Interactive Acculturation Model (IAM) developed by Bourhis et al. (1997). The IAM refines the previous bidimensional model in a number of ways but of particular relevance is the recognition of five, instead of four, acculturation strategies. Marginalisation is expounded in terms of anomie (cultural alienation) and individualism. Immigrants may dissociate themselves from both cultures not because they feel marginalised but because they choose to act as individuals rather than as members of either the immigrant or the host groups (Bourhis et al, 1997: 378). This distinction seems to be particularly relevant to multicultural contexts such as Australia. The combination of the five acculturation orientations of the immigrant group with the five orientations of the host group reveals concordant (matching) or discordant (mismatching) acculturation profiles. These profiles yield different relational outcomes (patterns of intercultural communication, interethnic attitudes, acculturative stress, and discrimination) for individual members of the immigrant and the host community groups. The acculturation orientations of the two groups, together with their concordant or discordant profiles, determine consensual, problematic, or conflictual relational outcomes. Consensual relational outcomes are predicted only when members of both groups share either the integration, assimilation, or individualism acculturation orientations. The concept of group vitality (that which gives a group its distinctive

entity) is also introduced as a framework for the model within which the concordant or discordant acculturation profiles of the two groups can be conceptualised. Demographic, institutional control, and status factors can predict the adoption of particular acculturation strategies by immigrant groups: e. g. groups with strong vitality are more likely to endorse separation. This might provoke an unfavourable reaction on the part of the host society toward that particular group. The IAM emphasises the interactive nature of intergroup relations and, by implicating that state integration policies can have a strong effect on the acculturation orientations of both groups, proposes that migrants are not always free to choose their acculturation strategies.

Despite these developments, however, social psychological research has tended “both theoretically and empirically to rely predominantly on the unidimensional model of acculturation, which casts home and host cultures as competing and mutually exclusive domains” (Liebkind, 2001). It could perhaps be said then that from this perspective, Schumann’s view of acculturation as a unidimensional phenomenon remains the generally accepted view.

4.1.3 Schumann’s Acculturation Model of SLA

It should be noted that Schumann uses different labels in his discussion of acculturation. Mostly, he uses the term ‘acculturation’ (1976a, 1976b), and in later writings the term ‘adaptation’ (1978, 1986) to describe the strategy chosen by the 2LL group whereby it “adapts to the life style and values of the TL group, but maintains its own life style and values for intragroup use” (Schumann, 1978: 30). Clearly, this is rather similar to the meaning of integration, as it has established itself in the literature. Schumann’s model appeared in the mid 1970s when inconsistent use of terminology might have been more widespread than it is in the present day literature. Even today, some researchers believe that “it is probably not possible to standardize the vocabulary of acculturation theory, because the topic extends across academic disciplines, across decades, and across national boundaries” (Rudmin, 2003: 22). To avoid confusion, from this point onward the widely accepted term ‘integration’ will be used instead of Schumann’s ‘acculturation’ or ‘adaptation’ to describe this particular acculturation strategy.

As described in the previous chapter, Schumann places the learner on a continuum from social and psychological distance to social and psychological proximity

with the TL group. He recognises three acculturation strategies (assimilation, integration, and preservation) and views integration as the midpoint. This suggests that Schumann endorses the unidimensional model of acculturation, which, as mentioned earlier, still dominates social psychological research. Yet, the relationship between the two groups is taken into account when good and bad language learning situations are described. Schumann's acculturation model resembles the IAM in the examination of factors such as dominance patterns and acculturation strategies, and group characteristics such as enclosure, cohesiveness and size, intergroup attitudes, and congruence between cultures. Most of these factors predict group vitality, which on its part, by comparing the strengths and weaknesses of the two groups, may predict the groups' acculturation profiles. In the way that the IAM predicts consensual relational outcomes when both groups endorse the assimilation, the integration, and the individualism strategies, Schumann's model predicts good language learning situations when both groups endorse the assimilation and integration strategies. In the way that Berry's framework distinguishes between psychological and sociocultural adaptation, Schumann's model (as described in the previous chapter) distinguishes between social and psychological acculturation. Social acculturation comprehends group-level phenomena such as intergroup contact and attitudes; psychological acculturation comprehends individual-level phenomena such as motivation, culture and language shock, and ego permeability. In view of this, it could be said that, although Schumann's model was developed in the 1970, it was rather forward-looking and incorporated key features of recently developed frameworks of acculturation, aimed at explaining the psychology of immigration and intergroup relations. Therefore, his was the model on which the present study built the construct of acculturation.

4.1.4 Operationalising Acculturation

As a construct in this study, acculturation has a more prominent social rather than psychological dimension. Of the psychological distance factors, motivation was considered separately as a major construct in its own right (in the way that Gardner constructs his model), rather than as a variable in a cluster with others. No consideration was given to the affective factor of Ego-Permeability due to anticipated measurement difficulties (see section 3.3.2). The factors of Language Shock and Culture Shock were not explicitly articulated since the research targeted permanent residents and Australian

citizens, thus assuming that the majority of the sample would have already settled in and adapted, well or otherwise, to life in Australia. Besides, as described in chapter 2, Australian is a multicultural society offering accessible services that assist with settlement. Therefore, psychological adjustment was instead operationalised along the line of life satisfaction, a dimension suggested by Noels et al. (1996; see section 3.3.5 in the previous chapter).

As mentioned in chapter 3 (section 3.3.3), Schumann argues that social factors such as Dominance Patterns, Integration Strategy, Enclosure, Cohesiveness, Size, Congruence, Attitudes, and Intended Length of Residence promote or inhibit contact between *two* social groups (2LL and TL). These groups are clearly differentiated on the basis of language and ethnicity, and social behaviour is considered at the intergroup extreme on the interindividual-intergroup continuum (Tajfel, 1978). Research within Schumann's framework has usually utilised samples in which the respondents are of the same ethnic background. Since one of the questions the present study aimed to answer concerned ethnic differences in the attitudes toward Anglo-Australians, the sample, as shall be described in the next chapter, had diverse characteristics. The respondents formed a linguistically, culturally, ethnically, and demographically diverse 2LL group and this was the reason why the factors of Dominance Patterns, Enclosure, Cohesiveness, Size, and Congruence which concern the relationship between distinct language groups seemed irrelevant in the context of the present investigation. Hence, instead of looking at factors that promote or inhibit contact, the study focussed on contact itself. Since the respondents were not targeted as representatives of any particular ethnolinguistic group, contact was examined in its more intimate kind – such as drinking coffee together, or lending and borrowing things were regarded as better indicators for this kind of contact than the sharing of churches, schools and workplaces. From the perspective of Allport's taxonomy of variables that characterise contact, this investigation looks at the category "Quantitative aspects of contact", namely: Frequency, Duration, Number of persons involved, and Variety (Allport, 1954: 262). The decision to focus on contact was also dictated by the findings of social psychological research that contact is an important predictor of attitudes (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998).

The scope of this study does not extend to the consideration of attitudes toward acculturation since, as described in chapter 2, Australia is a multicultural society where migrants are encouraged to maintain their native languages and cultures, and the target

population were people from diverse ethnic backgrounds who had immigrated to Australia of their own free will. Since previous research indicates that integration is the strategy preferred by most immigrant groups (see Bourhis et al, 1997; Rudmin, 2003; Nesdale, 2002), the presumption was made that the majority of respondents would have endorsed integration as well. Length of Residence was considered in the independent variables domain of respondents' characteristics because it was likely to correlate with other factors of interest, and directly with proficiency (G. Stevens, 1999; Noels et al., 1996).

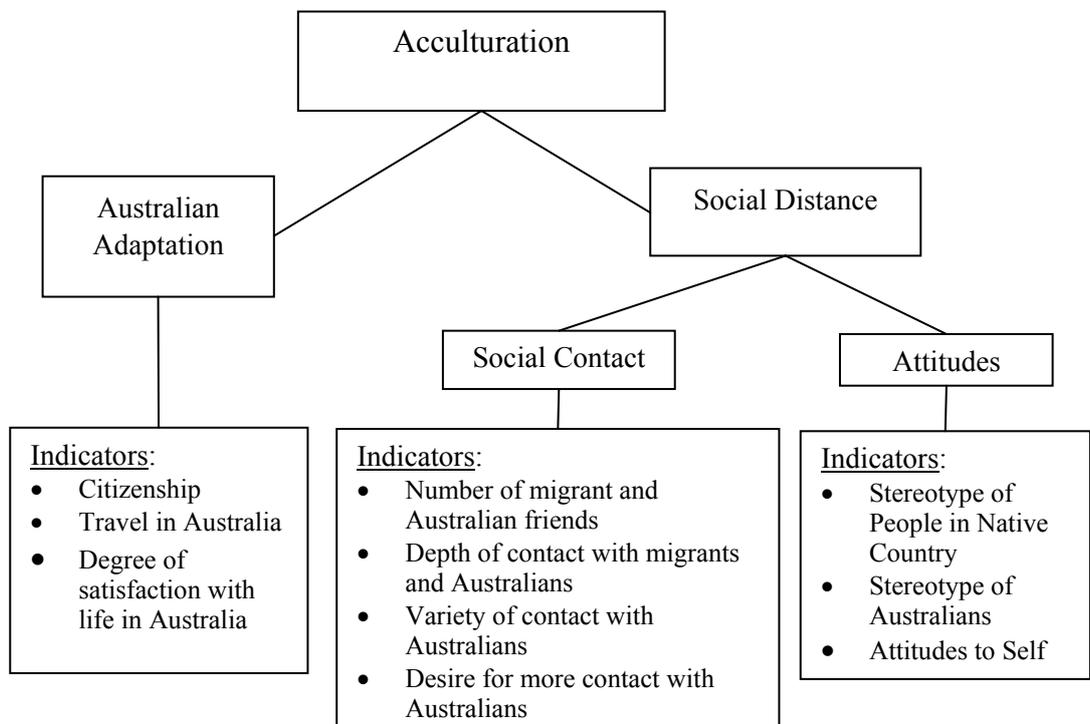


Figure 12. Factors and indicators for the acculturation construct in the present study.

The diagram in *Figure 12* shows how the concept of Acculturation was operationalised for the purpose of this research. Acculturation was seen as comprising the dimensions of Australian Adaptation and Social Distance. Australian Adaptation was conceptualised as “achieving an adequate measure of comfort in living within one’s current social context” (Clément, Noels and Deneault, 2001: 560) and was indicated by the desire to be a citizen, travel to get to know the country, and the degree of satisfaction with life in Australia. Social Distance was conceptualised as the degree to

which the respondent kept in contact and identified with both the Anglo-Australian majority and the migrant group. Social Distance on its part comprised the dimensions of Contact and Attitudes. Number of friends, depth and variety of contact as well as the desire for more contact with Australians were used as indicators for the factor Contact. The stereotypes of Australians and of people in native country, as well as the attitudes toward the Self were used as indicators for factor Attitudes.

In summary, it was the social context in which the present investigation was conducted, the research questions, and the nature of the population that was targeted that dictated the modifications to Schumann's concept of Acculturation. The cluster of psychological variables was reduced to the dimension 'satisfaction with life' and the cluster of social variables was reduced by shifting the focus from factors that promote or inhibit contact between two social groups to the kind of contact a respondent, as an individual, had with members of the Anglo-Australian majority.

Working Definition for Acculturation:

The social and psychological integration of the learner with the TL group. (Schumann, 1978:29)

4.2 Attitudes

As previously mentioned, intergroup attitudes and attitudes toward acculturation strategies feature prominently in the models of acculturation that the present research builds on. In more general terms, attitudes are of central interest in social psychology "because they influence behaviour (own and others'), they influence information processing, they influence social encounters and they form part of a person's self-concept" (Bohner and Wänke, 2002). They are a mediator between an individual's perception of reality and his or her response to it. Similar to research on acculturation, attitude research has a long history and has come a long way in elucidating attitude structure and functions mostly through the improvement of measurement methods. Therefore, the overview offered below is by necessity selective and primarily based on Eagly and Chaiken's (1993, 1998) work.

4.2.1 *Defining Attitudes*

While research on acculturation has a classic definition of the concept to refer to, attitude research does not have such a reference point as yet. In fact, some authors believe that there is “a fundamental lack of agreement about the definition of attitudes” (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002: 139).

Definitions of attitude vary on the degree of their generality. Eagly and Chaiken’s (1993) definition of attitude as “a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor” (Eagly and Chaiken, 1993: 1) seems to be of the general kind. As the authors themselves point out, the term “tendency” has a more general meaning than the term “disposition” or “predisposition” used by some authors (Ajzen, 1988; Zimbardo and Leippe, 1991) in the sense that, in psychological and laypeople’s writings, ‘disposition’ has come to denote more permanent internal states related to personality, whereas ‘tendency’ is free of these associations (considering that some attitudes could be enduring whereas others could be short-term, temporary construals; for a review see Schwarz and Bohner, 2001; Bohner & Wänke, 2002). The definition is also general enough to avoid the debate on the nature and nurture of attitudes², thus allowing for the possibility that some attitudes might have a biological base (see Bohner & Wänke, 2002 for a discussion). As the authors themselves point out, the advantages of a definition as general as theirs is that it “readily encompasses attitudes that are learned or unlearned, enduring or changeable, and important or unimportant” (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993: 3).

The term “entity” is also more general than the term “object” (unless modified by the adjectives “attitude” or “psychological”) which, at least in everyday use, has the semantic features of inanimate and concrete. In the social psychological literature entities that are evaluated are referred to as *attitude objects*. An attitude is formed only if the individual encounters an attitude object and evaluatively responds to it. According to Eagly and Chaiken (1993) “anything that is discriminated or that becomes in some sense an object of thought can serve as an attitude object” (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993: 5). This definition of an attitude object on its part is general enough to suggest that the number of attitude objects that could be studied is virtually infinite: attitude objects may be concrete or abstract, individual or collective. The attitude objects that the present research examines are: the self, the ideal self, the people in one’s native country, Anglo-

² Cf. “an attitude is a disposition in a sense that it is a learned tendency to think about some object, person, or an issue in a particular way” (Zimbardo & Leippe, 1991: 31).

Australians, the English language and the English language instructor. The first four form a part of an identity scales technique, developed by Spolsky (1969; outlined in the following section) and used in SLA research (and in the present study) as an indirect measure of attitudes toward a TL group. Attitudes toward the language instructor and the L2 feature in the socio-educational model.

Attitudes as psychological tendencies or internal states are a latent, hypothetical construct and can only be inferred from observable responses. Beyond the requirement that these responses are positive or negative evaluations of the attitude object, the kinds of responses that can be considered are limitless (Ajzen, 1988). Therefore, for simplicity, they are categorised into cognitive (related to thought), affective (related to feelings and emotions), and behavioural (related to actions and intentions to act). Zimbardo and Leippe (1991: 32) seem to see the inclusion of the three response categories as a means of broadening the definition of attitudes, whereas Eagly and Chaiken (1998) see such precision as detracting from the generality of the definition. Moreover, there is no or little empirical evidence to support this categorisation but, on the other hand, there is the possibility that attitudes can be formed and expressed through exclusively one or, conversely, through all three classes (Bohner & Wänke, 2002). However, the tri-partite categorisation is useful for describing attitudinal phenomena such as attitude structure and attitude function (Eagly & Chaiken, 1998: 271). This study focuses on the cognitive domain. According to Eagly and Chaiken (1998) “the cognitions or thoughts that are associated with attitudes are typically termed *beliefs* by attitude theorists” (Eagly & Chaiken, 1998: 271, emphasis in the original). Beliefs are further defined by the authors as “the building block of attitude” and as “the associations perceivers establish between the attitude object and various attributes” (p. 274). The present research looks at what evaluative meaning migrants have abstracted from the associations between the attitude objects of their selves, their ideal self, people in their native country, Anglo-Australians and 28 positively-worded personal attributes such as honest, friendly, hard-working, and intelligent. There seems to be an agreement in the literature on attitudes that the cognitive, affective and behavioural responses are, more often than not, highly interrelated and difficult to disentangle and that “there is a good reason to expect overall consistency between attitudes and associated beliefs, affects and behaviours” because “once the attitude is formed, it exerts an attitude-congruent bias on people’s subsequent thoughts, feelings, and behaviour related to the attitude object” (Eagly & Chaiken, 1998: 277). Therefore, the definition of an attitude

“as a summary evaluation of an object of thought” (Bohner & Wänke, 2002) appears to be of the most general kind. In view of this, language attitudes could be defined as summary evaluations of the speakers of a particular language. This study aims to explore migrants’ summary evaluations of the speakers of Australian English.

4.2.2 The Structure of Attitudes

Eagly and Chaiken (1993, 1998) distinguish between intra-attitudinal and inter-attitudinal structures. The intra-attitudinal structure is characterised by features such as dimensionality, beliefs complexity, evaluative consistency between attitudes and the three classes of responses (cognitive, affective and behavioural), and strength. The inter-attitudinal structure of attitudes is discussed in attitude theory in terms of balance and in terms of ideologies.

The authors warn against the confusion of dimensional measurement and dimensional attitudinal structure. Although attitudes are usually measured along a unidimensional bipolar evaluative continuum, attitudinal structure may or may not be unidimensional or bipolar -- that is, people may not place their own evaluations on a continuum at all. In fact, according to Eagly and Chaiken (1993: 91) social judgement theory is the only general theory of attitudes resting on the assumption that people conceptualise their attitudes in dimensional terms. For social judgement theorists an individual’s representation of an attitude is not a point on a dimension but latitude, and they propose that people divide the evaluative continuum into the latitudes of acceptance, rejection, and noncommitment. Latitudes are a manifestation of the structural property of articulation, which is defined as “the number of reliable distinctions that an individual makes on a dimension” (Eagly & Chaiken, 1998: 274). People involved in a topic use few categories to represent their attitude (their attitudinal dimension is less articulated); people who are less involved use more categories to represent their attitude (their attitudinal dimension is more articulated). Eagly and Chaiken (1993, 1998) question the validity of social theorists’ assumption that people have dimensional representations of their attitudes. They propose that “people who strongly agree with statements at one end of a conventional attitudinal continuum may be indifferent rather than truly opposed to statements at the other end” (Eagly & Chaiken, 1998: 274). However, they also suggest that under certain conditions bipolar unidimensional structures may develop. When people are aware that an opposing view

to theirs does exist, then it could be said that they hold a bipolar attitude. When people are unaware of the existence of an opposing view, then they hold a unipolar attitude. Thus, hotly debated and controversial issues are likely to produce a bipolar attitudinal structure in the perceivers' mind, whereas other issues may not do so. Within the framework of social judgement theory, factor analysis is usually used to reveal whether the measured attitude has only one or more than one dimensions – that is, whether the attitude is represented as only the dimension congruent with the perceiver's position or whether there is a dimension representing the perceiver's thoughts in terms of an opposing view as well.

The present research explores the degree of positiveness of migrants' attitudes toward the self, the ideal self, people in native country, Anglo-Australians, the English language, and the English language instructor. The attributes ascribed to these attitude objects are positively-worded. In view of this, it could be said that the study assumes only one, positive dimension in respondents' attitudes. It was also assumed that respondents were aware that others might attribute opposite characteristics to the same attitude objects. Therefore, for the purpose of this research an attitude was conceptualised as a bipolar unidimensional evaluative continuum.

Belief complexity and attitude consistency, the other two of attitudes' intra-structural characteristics, are important in explaining attitude extremity and attitude strength. Belief complexity is related to attitudinal extremity, such that, if the beliefs about an attitude object are interrelated (redundant), greater belief complexity is associated with more extreme attitudes. If, however, beliefs about an attitude object are fairly independent (evaluatively nonredundant), greater belief complexity is associated with more moderate attitudes. Some attitudes are evaluatively consistent whereas others are mixed or ambivalent (people may hold both positive and negative evaluations of an object of thought). Knowledge of this intra-structural attitudinal feature is important in interpreting the meaning of attitude scores which fall around the midpoint of the traditional bipolar measures of attitude. Moderate attitudes are more ambivalent than extreme attitudes, so a score in the middle can represent a moderate attitude (ambivalence) as well as indifference. Evaluative coherence (consistency of overall evaluation with cognitions, affects, and behaviours) confers strength on attitudes. Apart from coherence, another indicator of attitude strength is attitude accessibility. Strong attitudes are highly accessible in a sense that they can be quickly retrieved from memory.

The relations between attitudes (inter-attitudinal structure) could be in a harmonious and stable state or, conversely, they could be inharmonious and unstable. According to the balance theory, which uses highly symbolic language (see Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, for overview), unbalanced structures are unstable and tend to turn into balanced ones, thus bringing about attitude change. The issue of attitude change is beyond the scope of the present study. The discussion of inter-attitudinal structure in terms of ideologies, however, is of relevance to the present study and provides a useful framework for the discussion of the results. Ideologies are conceptualised as clusters of interrelated attitudes and beliefs which are organized around a dominant societal theme (Eagly & Chaiken, 1998: 284). Implicit in this definition is a hierarchical inter-attitudinal structure in a sense that it suggests that attitudes to specific issues are derived from broader and more general attitudes. It is perhaps worthwhile mentioning here that Gardner (1985) also recognises specific and general attitudes but not in a hierarchical structure. Rather, he differentiates them on the basis of the nature of the attitude object: specific attitudes (e.g. attitudes toward French speaking people) have clearly delineated referents (French speaking people) whereas general attitudes such as ethnocentrism do not. It could be on account of this lack of clearly delineated referent that attitude theorists have come to relate general attitudes or ideologies to core values. The application of the ideologies analysis to modern racism, for example, has revealed that racial attitudes are linked to the values of individualism, emphasising concern about individual achievement and discipline, and communalism, emphasising concern about community and others (see Eagly & Chaiken, 1998). Eagly and Chaiken point out that “severely neglected in this research tradition is analysis of the values that may underlie the attitudes that members of minorities hold toward the majority group” (Eagly & Chaiken, 1998: 286). Although the analysis of values is not within the scope of the present research, the results (chapter 6) may perhaps be useful in explicating the inter-attitudinal structure of migrants’ attitudes toward Anglo-Australians.

4.2.3 The Measurement of Attitudes

Attitudes are typically inferred from peoples’ responses to evaluatively-worded belief statements and this is the basis for the construction of the four major attitude measurement techniques, namely: Thurstone scaling, Guttman scaling, Likert’s method of summated ratings, and Osgood’s semantic differential procedures (Gardner, 1985).

These techniques “seek to locate people on a single dimension of favorability” (Himmelfarb, 1993: 30). Thus, the majority of research throughout the decades has measured attitudes along a unidimensional bipolar continuum running from highly favourable to highly unfavourable evaluations of an attitude object and this study is no exception. The four scaling techniques differ on the basis of whether they scale stimuli, persons, or both – a differentiation which stems from two models of measurement: psychophysical scaling, which examines “the relationships between the attributes of physical stimuli and psychological sensations that these stimuli produce” (Himmelfarb, 1993: 29), and psychometrics, in which “the attributes measured (e.g., intelligence) usually have no physical counterpart” (Himmelfarb, 1993: 29). Thus Thurstone and Guttman scaling techniques position individuals “on the evaluative dimension in relation to the locations of the stimuli they have endorsed” (Himmelfarb, 1993: 51). Thurstone scaling is done in two steps (scale stimuli first and then persons), whereas in Guttman scaling stimuli and persons are located simultaneously on the evaluative dimension (see Himmelfarb, 1993, for discussion). There seems to be an agreement among theorists that although Thurstone and Guttman scales are difficult to construct, they do not have any particular advantage over the Likert and semantic differential scaling techniques (Himmelfarb, 1993). Therefore, the construction of Thurstone and Guttman scales was not considered in this study. Unlike in Thurstone and Guttman scaling, in Likert scaling and the semantic differential “stimuli are classified *a priori* as either favorable or unfavorable toward the attitude object, and the locations of persons on the attitude dimension are determined by the number of stimuli with which they agree and the extent of their agreement” (Himmelfarb, 1993: 51). Likert scaling is more widely used than the semantic differential (Baker, 1992). As will be described in chapter 5, both of these were used in the present study.

In addition to the traditional four scaling techniques, SLA researchers have used multi-scale instruments such as Gardner’s (1985) Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB), as it was described in the previous chapter (section 3.2.3), Spolsky’s (1969) Identity Scales technique whereby respondents are asked to rate their Self, their Ideal Self, the speakers of their native language, and the speakers of the TL on the same set of personal attributes, and the matched guise technique whereby listeners are asked to evaluate speakers with different accents on a set of personality characteristics. These instruments are based on Likert-type scaling and the semantic differential technique.

The present research utilises modified items from the AMTB as well as the Spolsky technique. Chapter 5 describes how these were incorporated into the questionnaire.

All theory on attitude measurement is concerned with the reliability and validity of the measuring instruments. Reliability is defined in terms of the extent to which a measuring instrument yields consistent results over repeated observations (Himmelfarb, 1993: 64). According to Himmelfarb (1993: 67) the most appropriate measure to use for assessing the reliability of Likert and semantic differential (but not for Thurstone and Guttman) scales is Cronbach's alpha. It appears to be the standard statistic for assessing the reliability of multiple-item scales (Himmelfarb, 1993; Gregory, 2000). Since alpha expresses the degree of correlation among items in a scale, it is also referred to as a 'measure of internal consistency'. Experts recommend the use of multiple-item over single-item measures because they improve the reliability of instruments and, hence, enhance the relationships between variables (Himmelfarb, 1993: 73; Baker, 1992: 17).

Validity is usually defined in terms of the extent to which the measuring instrument really measures what it is intended to measure. Several types of validity are encountered in the literature. A scale's construct validity is grounded in theory - a valid measure of an underlying construct should enter into certain relationships as suggested by a specific theory. Convergent validity (the validation of the measurement by correlating it with alternative measures of a construct), discriminant validity (the ability to distinguish the measure as the measure of a unique construct), and criterion validity (the measure is valid to the extent that scores on it correlate with some external criterion) are forms or components of construct validity for Himmelfarb (1993) and distinguishable, but not independent, types of validity for Gregory (2000). Theorists invariably point to response distortions (the respondents' avoidance to answer questions motivated by the desire to protect their privacy or to appear socially agreeable and the like), response sets (respondents' fairly stable predispositions to agree, disagree or keep neutrality on belief statements), and other context effects (personality of the interviewer; the question wording, question order and the like) as sources that reduce the validity of a measurement instrument. They also warn that the measures taken to counteract these effects, such as assuring respondents of confidentiality and that there is no right or wrong answer, omitting the neutral category as a response option, or careful attention to question order, are only partially successful. The issues of reliability and validity are discussed at different points in this thesis (see sections 5.2.3, 5.2.4, 6.1, 6.2, 8.2, 9.3).

Until a decade ago language attitude research, with the exception of Gardner's work, was viewed as mostly atheoretical on two accounts (Baker, 1992). One of the criticisms was that this line of research had not been concerned until then with how attitudes toward speakers of a particular language were formed, structured and changed. From this perspective, language attitudes research remained disconnected from attitude theory in psychology. Another criticism pointed out that measurement lacked rigour, there was little concern for reliability or validity, and the statistical analyses were limited mostly to bivariate correlations. Whereas the first point might have remained unaddressed, the second criticism may no longer be valid. Volumes by Dörnyei (2003b) and Dörnyei and Schmidt (2001) reveal that SLA research nowadays adheres to the principles of attitude measurement theory and employs an array of statistical analyses to uncover, predict, and explain relationships.

4.2.4 Attitudes – Links to Motivation

Integrating strands from a strong research tradition, Eagly and Chaiken (1993: 209-211) proposed a Composite Model of the Attitude-Behaviour Relation, according to which the origins of behaviour lie in the activation of habits, attitudes toward targets, and three types of anticipated outcomes of behaviours, namely: utilitarian (anticipated rewards and punishments resulting from the engagement in the behaviour), normative (anticipated significant others' approval or disapproval in relation to the behaviour), and self-identity outcomes (anticipated self-concept affirmation or repudiation resulting from the engagement in the behaviour). The previous model of attitude-behaviour relationship incorporated modules for attitudes toward behaviour, subjective norm and intention (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977, as discussed in Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Eagly and Chaiken expanded it to incorporate attitudes toward targets as predictors of behaviour (when perceived as relevant to that behaviour) and to include other psychological factors such as habits and self-identity. Gardner (1985) also distinguishes between attitudes towards behaviours and attitudes toward targets and emphasises that the attitudes toward the behaviour of learning L2 are more immediately relevant to achievement than the attitudes toward targets such as the TL speakers, the L2 instructor, or the L2 course. In the Composite Attitude-Behaviour Model, what mediates the link between attitude toward behaviour and intention is the individual's perceived control of the situation (the availability of resources, time, one's own ability, etc.). What mediates

the link between intention and behaviour is a planning process which involves the setting of goals. Although these mediators are captured by models formulated in terms of motivation theory, the authors suggest that a translation in attitudinal terms is possible. For example, in attitude theory goals are “end states or outcomes toward which people hold positive attitudes” (Eagly & Chaiken, 1993: 191). This seems to point, on the one hand, to the close links between attitudes and motivation, and, on the other hand, to the difficulties in disentangling the two.

That attitudes have motivational underpinnings is the basic premise of the functional approach to the analysis of attitudes which is concerned with the causes for attitude formation. The primary function of attitudes is object appraisal which simplifies the world through categorisations into likes and dislikes, and orients individuals in their environment through enabling them to approach desirable objects and avoid undesirable ones (see Fazio, 2000). Within this function two others may be distinguishable: knowledge function, which emphasises the role of attitudes in summarising information from the environment, and utilitarian or instrumental function, which emphasises the role of attitudes in guiding the individual to maximise awards and minimise punishment obtained from the environment (see Thompson, Kruglanski & Spiegel, 2000). Attitudes also protect the self from internal conflict (ego-defensive or externalisation function), align the individual with people he or she likes (social adjustment, or social identity function), and communicate to others one’s social values and express one’s self-concept (value-expressive function) (Maio & Olson, 2000b). To overcome differences in terminology and classifications of functions, a general classification of attitude functions into instrumental (focusing on the appraisal of objects and their utility) and symbolic (focusing on psychological needs for social adjustment and expression of one’s personal identity) has also been proposed (see Ennis & Zanna, 2000). Finally, recognising that neither the taxonomies of specific motivations nor the instrumental--symbolic distinction might encompass all of the functions that attitudes fulfil, Maio and Olson (2000a) propose a Function-Structure Model of Attitudes which highlights “some psychological constructs that can be used as a guide to relevant motivations” (Maio & Olson, 2000a: 435). The model builds on the tri-partite structure of attitudes (experiences with the attitude object, beliefs about the attributes of the object, and affective reactions to the attitude object). As previously noted, attitudes can be formed on the basis of all three components or exclusively on one. The Function-Structure Model proposes that the relative weightings of the three elements are moderated by

salient motivations. *Figure 13* is a graphic presentation of Maio and Olson's (2000a: 434) function-structure model of attitudes.

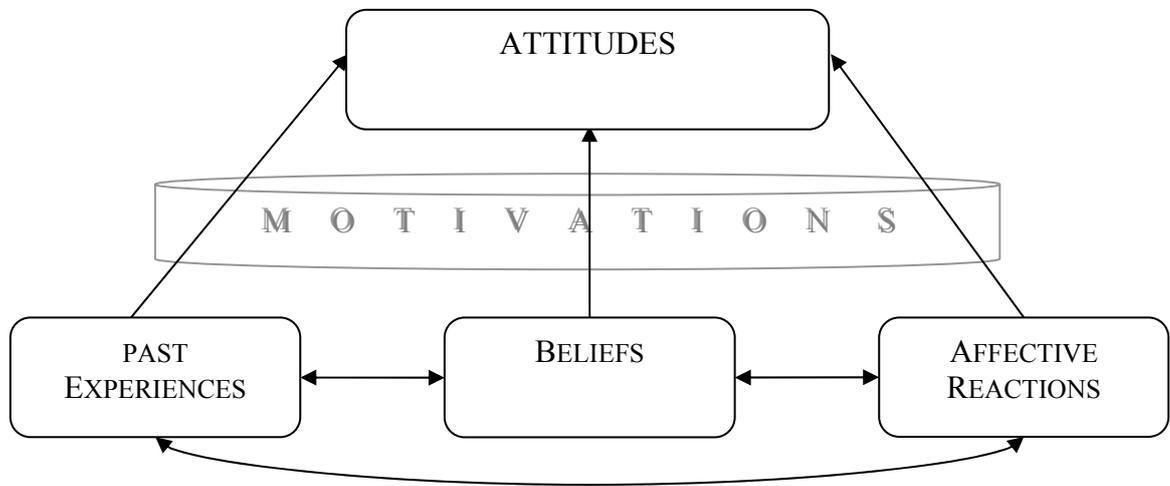


Figure 13. Maio & Olson's (2000a: 434) function-structure model: "motivations moderate the effects of beliefs, feelings, and experiences on attitudes".

Whereas the authors agree that "in practice, it may be difficult to distinguish the functions that underlie attitudes from the beliefs that underlie attitudes, because function and beliefs are closely related" (Maio & Olson, 2000a: 426), they propose techniques that might be used in future research to help to disentangle the effects of structure and function.

In summary, Eagly and Chaiken's as well as Maio and Olson's analyses of attitudes reveal the complexity of attitudes as a construct and point to the difficulties in disentangling not only the components of attitudes' intra-structure (consisting of cognitions, behaviours, and affect) but also in disentangling attitudes from motivations. Since beliefs, as the building block of attitudes, are central in these analyses, and since beliefs are what most attitude scales measure, in this study an attitude is operationally defined as "an evaluative reaction to some referent or attitude object, inferred on the basis of the individual's beliefs or opinions about the referent" (Gardner, 1985: 9).

Working definition for attitudes:

An evaluative reaction to some referent or attitude object, inferred on the basis of the individual's beliefs or opinions about the referent. (Gardner, 1985: 9).

4.3 Motivation

4.3.1 Challenges

A review of the literature on motivation seems to suggest that defining and operationalising the concept might prove difficult on at least three accounts.

First, as described in the previous section (4.2.5), attitude theory and motivation theory translate into each other. Attitudes and motivation are related constructs because they both serve all psychologists' common goal of unravelling the causes for human behaviour. In his overview of research on language attitudes Baker (1992) notices that, with the exception of Gardner's work, "the terms attitude and motive often appear without discussion of the extent of over-lap and difference" (Baker, 1992: 14) and suggests that fine-tuned distinction might not be necessary in the context of language problems and language planning unless they relate differently to third variables. Even though the distinction is present in the socio-educational model, Gardner proposes that attitude variables and motivation variables merge to form one complex – the integrative motive, which "underlies the successful acquisition of a second language" (Gardner, 1985: 14).

Second, especially with regard to education, "despite its intuitive importance, there is much we do not know about motivation. Professionals disagree over what motivation is, what affects motivation, how motivational processes operate, the effects that motivation has on learning and performance, and how motivation can be improved" (Pintrich & Schunk, 2002: 4). Therefore, with motivation theory being in a state of flux, conceptualising and operationalising the construct of motivation is not an easy task.

Third, "compared to other scientific domains that interface with psychology, like neuroscience and cognitive science, the domain of motivational science has not been well articulated or made accessible to scientists or the public" (Higgins & Kruglanski, 2000: 15). Schumann's (1997) work "The Neurobiology of Affect in Language", which extends the author's interest in pidginization and acculturation to the cognitive and neurobiological processes that underlie these phenomena, thus proposing a reductionist (lower level analysis) approach to motivation, is a testimony to this. It appears that Dörnyei (2001) is quite right in making the point that "there are also some serious

doubts whether ‘motivation’ is more than a rather obsolete umbrella term for a wide range of variables that have little to do with each other” (Dörnyei, 2001: 7).

4.3.2 Dichotomies in Motivation Theory

According to Dörnyei (2001) the causes of human behaviour are investigated by two research traditions, namely: motivational psychology and social psychology. Motivational psychology examines the individual’s mental processes as instigators of human behaviour; social psychology examines behaviour in social and interpersonal contexts. *Figure 14* summarises the theory clusters in motivational psychology.

As briefly noted in chapter 3, Tremblay and Gardner (1995) responded to calls to incorporate these developments in motivational psychology into a model of SLA by expanding the socio-educational model. The researchers equated the Self Confidence subconstruct in the socio-educational model with self-efficacy and introduced causal attribution, value of success (valence), and goal salience (goal specificity and goal difficulty) measures. Based on the results, the researchers concluded that the incorporation of the new modules was useful because it elaborated on the relationship between language attitudes and motivated behaviour. However, since the original conceptualisation of the model remained unaffected (i.e. language attitudes still acted as support to motivation and motivation influenced proficiency directly, they saw no need to reconceptualise the original 1985 version of the socio-educational model. The fact that individual level variables could easily be incorporated into the model without altering its structure suggests perhaps that, despite its label, the theory is oriented toward the individual rather than the social level of SLA.

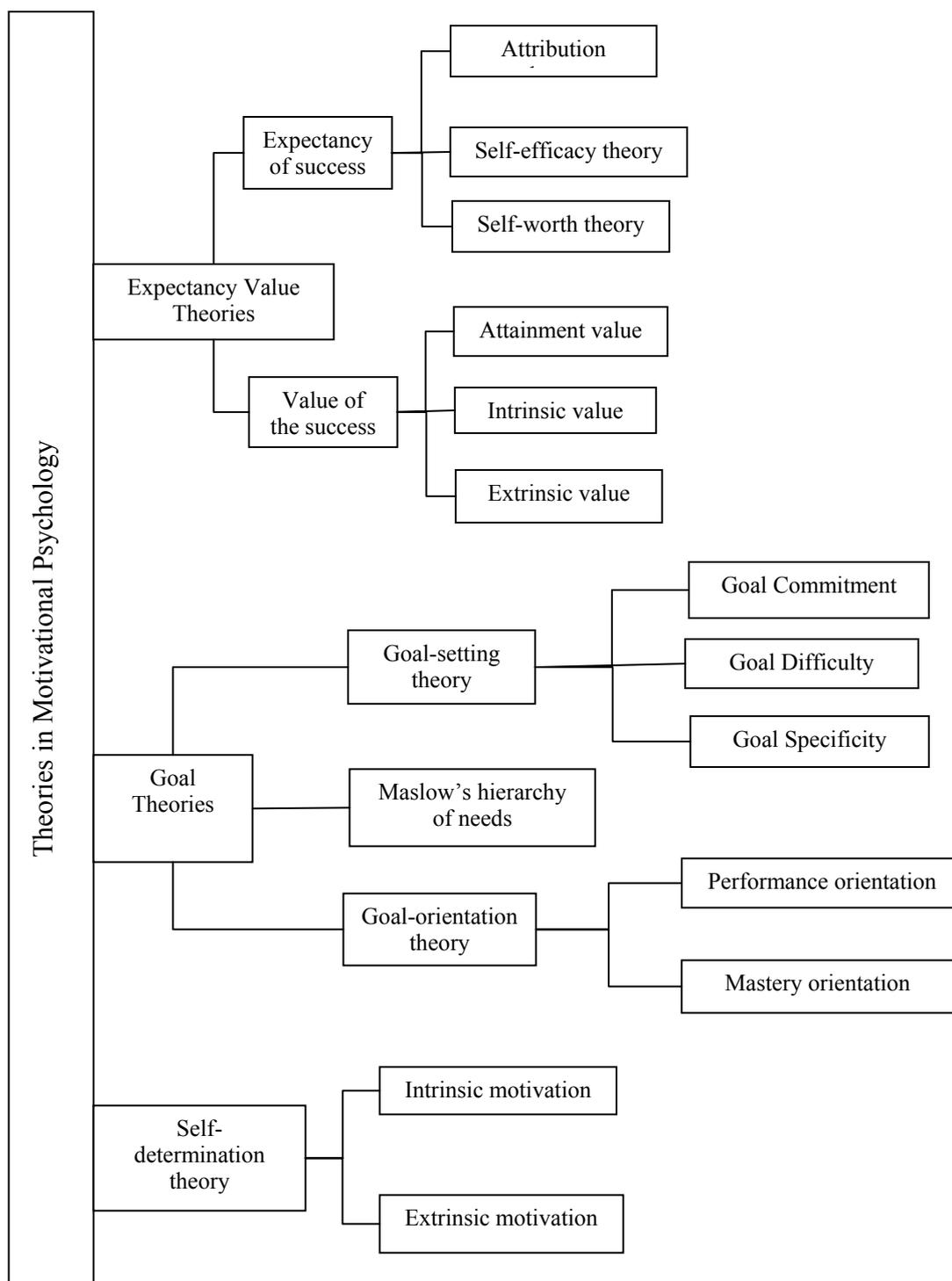


Figure 14. Theories in motivational psychology (based on Dörnyei's 2001 overview).

From a self-determination theory perspective both integrative and instrumental orientations are extrinsic since the L2 is learnt not as an end in itself (Pittman, 1998) but

as a means to an end – to gain membership into a valued TL group or to advance one's social and economic position. However, research exploring the relationship among the subtypes of extrinsic and intrinsic motivation and the various language learning orientations found that instrumental orientation correlated with extrinsic motivation whereas the rest of the language learning orientations correlated with intrinsic motivation and the more self-determined types of extrinsic motivation (Noels, 2003) As far as prediction was concerned the different orientations spoke to different issues. Integrative orientation predicted group level variables such as frequency and quality of contact with the TL group whereas the other orientations predicted classroom specific variables, leading to the conclusion that:

This distinctive predictive power supports the idea that there are at least two motivational substrates, one pertaining to the immediate learning situation, likely within the classroom setting, and the other relating to social relationships and intergroup issues in the broader society. Noels (2003: 128)

Noels's (2003) findings lend support to Dörnyei's suggestion to dichotomise motivation research in SLA along the dimensions of micro-context and macro-context, with classroom research on motivation (which looks at factors such as interest in the task to be performed, teacher's personality and style, group norms etc.) representing the micro-context, and with social psychological approaches such as Gardner's (which incorporate intergroup factors such as attitudes toward the TL group) representing the macro-context (Dörnyei, 2003a: 11). The dichotomy between intergroup-oriented and classroom-oriented research on motivation in SLA, which has become evident since the 1990s, is perhaps a reflection of the rivalry between social cognition, emphasising individual-level phenomena (micro-context), and Tajfel's (1978) social identity theory, emphasising group-level phenomena (macro-context), in social psychology (Operario & Fiske, 1999).

The socio-educational model is in fact a mixture of contexts, encompassing intergroup, interpersonal, and individual level variables and "on the individualistic-societal continuum, Gardner's theory would be placed more toward the individualistic end" (Dörnyei, 2001: 68). Gardner acknowledges the importance of social milieu theoretically; operationally, however, he chooses to ignore it. Therefore, it would not, perhaps, be unreasonable to say that, whereas the socio-educational model may still be seen as analysing the effect of macro-context on SLA, the model's macro-emphasis is low. From the perspective of macro-emphasis, it could be said then, that whereas the

socio-educational model appears to be low on macro-emphasis, the acculturation model appears to be rather high. If the macro-context is described in most general terms as comprehending societal and group level phenomena, the micro-context as comprehending individual and interpersonal level phenomena (Siegel, 2003: 183), and the macro-oriented and the micro-oriented research trends are represented as orthogonal dimensions in SLA motivation research, Gardner's and Schumann's theories will lie in different quadrants (*Figure 15*). This could, perhaps, be another explanation as to why the two models have rarely been classified into the same category. Although the present research explores some classroom factors such as attitudes toward the language instructor the majority of variables are at the intergroup level. Therefore, the present investigation is high on macro-emphasis.

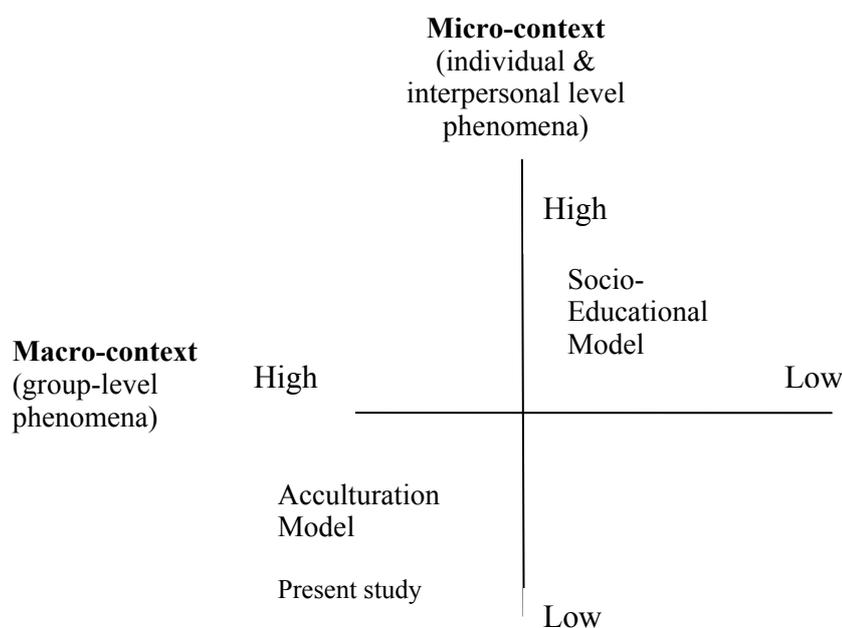


Figure 15. Varying degrees of involvement with micro-context and macro-context factors in SLA motivation research.

As described in chapter 2, the studies on ethnic language maintenance, Giles and Byrne's (1982) intergroup model of SLA, and Giles and Johnson's (1987) ethnolinguistic identity theory (described in sections 1.2.5 and 1.2.6) are within the social identity framework since the shift from one language and the acquisition of another is seen as motivated by the individual's need for positive group distinctiveness. Although there appears to be some disagreement in the social psychological literature as

to the exact number of needs driving human behaviour that can be labelled ‘basic’, three seem to be unanimously considered as such, namely: the need for knowledge, the need for self-affirmation, and the need for consistency. Which one of these motives ranks supreme depends on the concrete situation as well as on the culture across geographic borders (Dunning, 2001). The need for positive self-esteem at the individual level, translates into the need for positive group distinctiveness at the group level, suggesting that social cognition theory and social identity theory could be viewed as complementing, rather than as opposing, each other (Operario & Fiske, 1999). Perhaps, that is how the macro-oriented and the micro-oriented social psychological approaches in the field of SLA should be viewed as well.

4.3.3 Defining Motivation

As already mentioned above, there is no single agreed-upon definition of motivation (Pittman, 1998: 549; Pintrich & Schunk, 2002: 5; Dörnyei, 2001: 7). It emerges from readings on motivation, that researchers agree that motivation has both biological and cognitive components. Just as in the case of attitudes, definitions differ in their degree of generality versus specificity. Textbook definitions of the most general type define motivation as “a need or desire that energizes and directs behavior” (Myers, 2001: 425) and as “internal processes that activate, guide, and maintain behavior over time” (Baron, 1998: 383). A definition of motivation with a cognitive focus is Pintrich and Schunk’s (2002): “Motivation is the process whereby goal-directed activity is instigated and sustained” (Pintrich & Schunk, 2002: 5). Dörnyei and Ottó’s definition of motivation as “the dynamically changing cumulative arousal in a person that initiates, directs, coordinates, amplifies, terminates, and evaluates the cognitive and motor responses whereby initial wishes and desires are selected, prioritised, operationalised and (successfully or unsuccessfully) acted out” (Dörnyei & Ottó, 1998: 65, as cited in Dörnyei, 2001: 9) also has a greater level of specificity. Gardner’s definition of motivation is not of this textbook type. Instead, Gardner uses some behavioural indicators to turn motivation into a concept that can be worked with. Motivation for him refers to “the extent to which the individual works or strives to learn the language because of a desire to do so and the satisfaction experienced in this activity” (Gardner, 1985: 10). The present study examines the cognitive component of motivation, as

manifested in beliefs about and attitudes toward learning English, and some behavioural indicators of motivation such as effort and persistence.

4.3.4 Indices of Motivation

As the above definitions suggest, motivation, just like attitude, is a latent, internal construct which is manifested in aspects of observable behaviour. Whereas the indicators of motivated behaviour could be numerous, reviews of motivation literature seem to suggest that the focus is mainly on effort and persistence (Franken, 1998; Baron, 1998; Pittman, 1998). Pintrich and Schunk (2002: 13) list choice of tasks, effort, persistence, and achievement as indices of motivation; Gardner (1985), as discussed in the previous chapter, uses motivational intensity (effort), desire to learn the target language, and attitudes toward learning the target language (affect) as attributes that best represent the motivated L2 learner.

Goals or orientations, understood as reasons for studying an L2, do not feature in Gardner's definition of motivation since a goal per se cannot be an index of motivation because there may be "as many reasons for studying a second language as there are individuals" (Gardner, 1985: 51). Perhaps, it is on the basis of this exclusion of goals from the definition of motivation that Dörnyei places the socio-educational model in a category with self-determination theory as a psychological approach to motivation in which "goals do not appear in the core motivation concept at all" (Dörnyei, 2001: 48). He rightfully points out that in Gardner's theory "orientations are strictly speaking *not* a part of 'motivation' but function merely as motivational antecedents" (Dörnyei, 2001: 48, emphasis in the original). However, the separation between the two could be viewed simply as an attempt on Gardner's part to arrange the components of the integrative motive in order of their relevance to L2 achievement. The Integrativeness component (macro-context variable), as an attitude toward the targets TL group and other outgroups, is less immediately relevant to L2 achievement than the Attitudes toward the Learning Situation component (micro-context variable), as an attitude toward the targets L2 instructor and L2 course. This latter component on its part is less immediately relevant to L2 achievement than the Motivation component (individual level variable), measures for which tap into the behaviour of L2 learning (Gardner, 1985; Masgoret & Gardner, 2003). This appears to be in line with mainstream

social psychologists' theorising that attitudes toward behaviour are generally better predictors of behaviour than attitudes toward targets (see Eagly & Chaiken, 1993).

It could be argued that although goals were not included in the working definition of motivation, conceptually they should still to be considered a part of the construct, based on Gardner's own statement that "motivation involves four aspects, a goal, effortful behaviour, a desire to attain the goal and favourable attitudes toward the activity in question" (Gardner, 1985: 50). Since unlike effort, persistence, and attitudes, goals are not a measurable dimension of motivation, Gardner introduces the term 'motivational orientation' to denote classes of reasons for studying a language. These classes can be coded so that the orientation profile of an individual as instrumental or integrative can be established. Thus, goals are converted into an individual difference variable. The problem with classifications that are not empirically grounded (Gardner & Lambert, 1972) is that the decision to include an item in one category or another can be subjective. For example, Gardner cites two studies in one of which the reason 'travel abroad' was classified as instrumental whereas in the other the same reason was classified as integrative (Gardner, 1985:52). On the other hand, as already discussed in sections 3.2.4 and 4.3.2, although Clément and Kruidenier (1983) empirically found four fairly stable orientations (travel, friendship, knowledge, and instrumental) among high school students in Canada, they also found that the integrative orientation appeared only in multicultural contexts and suggested that "the emergence of orientations is, to a large extent, determined by 'who learns what in what milieu'" (Clément & Kruidenier, 1983: 288). Therefore, one of the aims of the present investigation was to explore what motivational orientations (in terms of the instrumental vs. integrative dichotomy) emerged among respondents from an area of low migrant density in the multicultural Australian context. The assumption was made that an individual might have more than one reason for studying a L2 and that the greater number of reasons the more motivated the respondent. Thus, the factor Reasons for Studying English was operationalised as an index of motivation and was considered on a par with effort, persistence, and attitudes in the operationalisation of the motivation concept.

Since Motivation here, as already noted in section 1.3, was understood as an 'umbrella' construct and a sum aggregate score was not computed, Confidence with English and Beliefs about L2 Learning were also used as indices of motivation. The attitudinal component in Gardner's model was expanded to include Attitudes toward the English Language and the English Language Instructor. Factor L2 Learning (LL)

Strategies was equated with effort, since strategies were understood as behaviours/actions rather than as cognitive procedures that learners employed to improve their English (Cohen, 1998). *Figure 16* is a graphic presentation of how the motivation construct was operationalised in the present study.

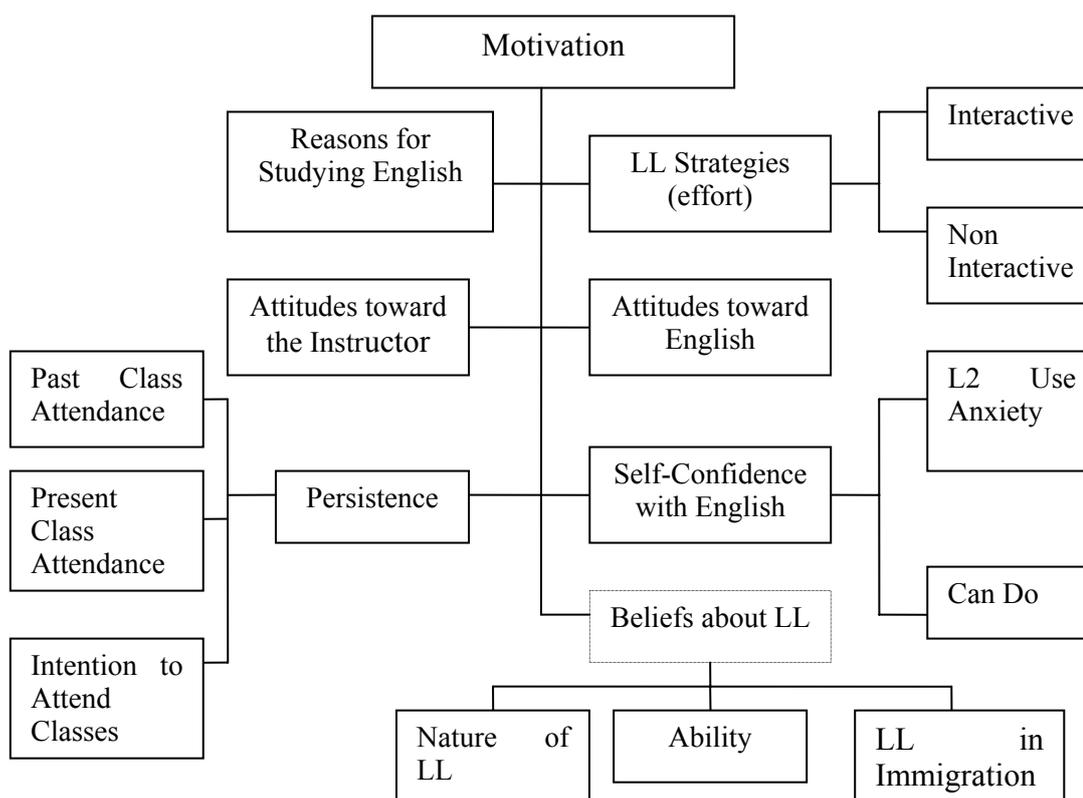


Figure 16. Dimensions of motivation in the present study.

Working definition for motivation:

A psychological construct inferred on the basis of the L2 learner's number of reasons for learning English, effort, persistence, self-confidence with English, beliefs about language learning, and attitudes toward the English language and the English language instructor.

4.4 English Language Proficiency

This section is limited primarily to the description of the Australian Second Language Proficiency Ratings (ASLPR) scales as the choice of instrument to measure second language proficiency in the present investigation. However, the adoption of the ASLPR as the measurement that best serves the purpose of this research implied a view of proficiency that has come under increasing criticism from language testing researchers. It should be noted that the terms ‘language test’ and ‘language assessment’ are used interchangeably in the exposition.

4.4.1 Dimensions of Language Proficiency and ASLPR

Language proficiency is yet another psychological construct whose definition is surrounded with a great deal of uncertainty. Conceived of as two-componential along the lines of competence/performance or knowledge/skills (or even as one-dimensional for a while) till the late 1980s, language proficiency has since then come to be viewed as multi-componential with partially overlapping dimensions such as knowledge, grammatical competence, pragmatic competence, sociolinguistic competence, strategic competence, text competence, and discourse competence (see Bachman & Cohen, 1998 and McNamara, 1996, for overview). These dimensions appear to have come under the label of ‘communicative competence’. The greatest shift in the theory of the concept appears to have happened along the lines of abolishing the dichotomies between competence and performance (knowledge and skill) whereby competence has ceased to be understood as potential or underlying ability only, and has come to be understood as demonstrable ability to use the language as well. Although the majority of researchers seem to subscribe to the formula language proficiency = language ability = communicative competence (Bachman & Cohen, 1998: 4 – 6), apparent inconsistencies in terminology and contradictions as to whether proficiency is a global construct or not, or whether it should be equated with communicative competence or not still remain (McNamara, 1996: 51-59). In the ASLPR language proficiency is differentiated from communicative competence for practical purposes and on the basis that proficiency and communicative competence have different predictors:

... communicative ability depends on things beyond language proficiency, many of which it is probably not even appropriate for the language tester to try to

measure, e.g. intelligence, education, general knowledge and experience, the willingness of an iterlocutor to accommodate the learner's non-native language forms and so on. It is unlikely that any instrument will ever be available to measure communicative competence in this loose sense and, in any case, language proficiency, the ability to mobilise language to carry out communication tasks, would seem most appropriate to the language tester. This distinction between language proficiency and communicative competence is important to remember both in applying the ASLPR and in using the results of any language tests. (Ingram, 1984: 16-17)

McNamara (1996) viewed Ingram's exclusion of non-linguistic factors from the definition of proficiency as an effort "to dispose of difficulties by simply defining them out of existence" (p.85) and suggested that a model of communicative competence was needed that was "rich enough for us to conceptualize any issue we might think is potentially relevant to understanding second language performance; there should be no limit in principle to the dimensions of such a model" (McNamara, 1996: 85). It would appear that the theory development of the proficiency concept might follow a pattern similar to that of the acculturation concept whereby, on the one hand, a broad framework incorporating multiplicity of factors is offered (similar to Berry's Framework for Acculturation Research, presented in section 4.2.2) to aid and guide research and, on the other hand, for practical purposes, certain dimensions (although related) are considered separately (as is the case with psychological and sociocultural adaptation). The critiques on both Berry's framework for acculturation research (for being too multidimensional and thus too abstract and untestable) and Ingram's ASLPR (for being atheoretical and not including enough dimensions) reflect the ever present tension between theory and practice in education and in the social sciences as a whole.

4.4.2 The Measurement of Second Language Proficiency and ASLPR

The measurement of second language proficiency has also undergone a shift from the traditional pencil-and-paper test, which tests linguistic knowledge, to performance assessment, which tests communicative competence. This shift came as a result of changes in government policy, which required a workforce with demonstrable skills, and the swing to the communicative method of teaching in education (McNamara, 1996; DIEA, 1984a; also see chapter 2).

Language tests are usually classified into dichotomous categories: discrete-point (measuring the acquisition of specific language components) versus integrative (measuring a total language event); indirect (making judgement about proficiency through measuring knowledge) versus direct (making use of natural contexts and instruments such as interviews, observations, simulations, portfolios etc.); tests that measure receptive skills (listening and reading) versus tests that measure productive skills (speaking and writing); strong (in which the fulfilment of a task is the target of assessment) versus weak tests (in which the focus is on language performance, not the task set). In view of this, the attributes of the ASLPR are summarised in Table 2.

Table 2 *Characteristics of the ASLPR*

Type of Assessment	The ASLPR
Discrete-point	
Integrative	X
Indirect	
Direct	X
Receptive Skills	X
Productive Skills	X
Strong	
Weak	X

Note: X marks an attribute that the ASLPR scales possess.

As Table 2 shows, the ASLPR could be described as integrative since it was designed to measure general proficiency, as direct since it assesses performance in a natural context (the interview), as measuring both receptive and productive skills since it was designed to measure the four macro skills of speaking, listening, reading, and writing separately, as weak since it focuses on language performance rather than on task fulfilment.

As a rating scale, the ASLPR is of the behavioural type (the other type being analytic, i.e. derived from the theory of the ability construct to be tested) since it consists of “a series of descriptions of stages or ranges of language behaviour in one or more language skill areas” (Brindley, 1998: 113). One criticism directed at SLA behavioural rating scales is that they are not explicit as to how the descriptions of the different stages were derived (Brindley, 1998). This seems to hold true for the ASLPR

since no reference to specific research is made. Instead, a broad statement is made that the scale descriptions drew on “psycholinguistic studies of second language development, and the intuitions of many years experience of teaching English, French and Italian as second or foreign languages, [the writers] sought to describe language behaviour at nine proficiency levels along the developmental path from *zero* to *native-like*” (Ingram, 1984: 7, italics in the original). Whereas this lack of specificity may have no effect on the claim that the scale “provides a co-ordinating framework within which program planning and syllabus design can take place” (DIEA, 1984a:17), it does, perhaps, make it difficult to support the authors’ claim that the scale also describes second language development.

4.4.3 The Format of the ASLPR

The ASLPR was designed in the late 1970 to aid in the development of the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) and to bring the program in line with the latest developments in language teaching. Its origins lay in a performance-based American rating scale and its purpose was to “measure general proficiency by matching observed language behaviour against global descriptions” (DIEA, 1984a: 10). The descriptions define nine proficiency levels. Altogether, the scale consists of nine defined and three undefined levels identified with numbers: 0, 0+, 1-, 1, 1+, 2, 2+, 3, 3+, 4, 4+, and 5. Levels 2+, 3+, and 4+ are undefined. The levels are identified with descriptive titles as well: zero proficiency (0), initial proficiency (0+), elementary proficiency (1-), minimum survival proficiency (1), survival proficiency (1+), minimum social proficiency (2), minimum vocational proficiency (3), vocational proficiency (4), and native-like proficiency (5). In fact, the ASLPR consists of four scales since speaking, listening, reading, and writing are each described separately so that a learner’s profile is formed by a result for each skill instead of an average score. Each scale is laid out in three columns: the first provides a detailed general description of language behaviour at the specific level, the second provides examples of specific tasks that a learner can fulfil at a given level, and the third provides comments that explicate definitions and provide guidance to the rater. Yet, the descriptions are not checklists – they are meant to “provide an overall picture of language behaviour at each level, and the learner is assigned to the one which his or her performance most closely resembles” (DIEA, 1984a: 9). The language behaviour is elicited in an informal interview. However, the

tasks that elicit the behaviour are not specified, thus allowing for a degree of subjectivity on the rater's part. The effect of the subjective element is reduced by the requirement that the rater refer to the scale descriptions continually during the interview (DIEA, 1984a:10).

4.4.4 The Utility of the ASLPR

The format of the ASLPR makes it easy to use. Trials of the scale found out that even non-native English teachers could use the scale reliably (DIEA, 1984a: 22). The ASLPR could be put to use on at least ten occasions (DIEA, 1984a). These occasions could perhaps be ranked according to the importance of the ASLPR scores for the livelihood or future of the individuals who are being rated: from the use of the scale to recognise the qualifications of overseas-qualified professionals and to admit foreign students into Australian universities to simply stream second language learners into appropriate migrant classes. It is perhaps on occasions like the former that the criticism directed at the ASLPR (and behavioural scales in general) that it allows for subjectivity and lacks high enough levels of construct validity (Brindley, 1998; McNamara, 1996) should be taken in all their seriousness. Yet, even the harshest critics seem to admit that, despite all their shortcomings, behavioural scales remain "helpful for various practical purposes" (Brindley, 1998: 134).

Since the present investigation targets migrants of different ages and from different ethnic, occupational and educational backgrounds, and since it utilises the structured interview as a method of collecting information, the ASLPR, with its unobtrusiveness and rater-friendly format, appeared to be the most appropriate tool to use, despite its shortcomings, to measure respondents' general proficiency.

4.5 Summary

This chapter situated Gardner's and Schumann's theories and the present research within the mainstream theories of acculturation, attitudes, motivation, and proficiency and described how these concepts were operationalised in the present study. The theory on all of these concepts is in a state of flux, hence there are no agreed upon definitions of the concepts. Therefore, there is great variability in the way these constructs are operationalised by individual researchers. An attempt was made to

explicate the reasons behind the changes made to Schumann's and Gardner's models of SLA. These changes were dictated primarily by the nature of the sample which, as the next chapter will show, unlike Gardner's samples of secondary-school students and Schumann's university students, comprised adult migrants of different age groups and from diverse ethnic, educational and occupational backgrounds.

CHAPTER 5

5 Methodology

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the participants, to discuss the items that comprised the questionnaire, and to describe the procedure for data collection. This chapter continues to elaborate on the operationalisation of the main constructs and their theoretical underpinnings as presented in the previous chapter.

5.1 The Participants

The target population for the present study were adult migrants³ from non-English speaking background who were permanent residents or Australian citizens and who were living (or had lived for at least six months) in Newcastle. The target number for the sample size was set at one hundred for two reasons. On the one hand, based on reports from previous research with migrants in Australia (as described in chapter 2), difficulties in recruiting large numbers were anticipated. On the other hand, it was envisaged that Factor Analysis (FA) -- a statistical procedure requiring large samples, would be performed on the data gathered. Since the minimum number of subjects needed for FA is said to be 100 (e.g. Dörnyei, 2003b: 74), the sample size was set at 100 for the present study.

5.1.1 Gender and Age

The sample consisted of 123 adult migrants from different non-English speaking backgrounds of whom 81 were women and 42 were men. Their age mean was 42.65 ($SD = 11.84$) and ranged between 19 and 76 years of age. The largest number of people ($n = 41$, 33.3%), were in the age group between 41 and 50, followed by 37 participants (30.1%) in the age group between 31 and 40, and 29 (23.5%) were 51 years of age or older. The number of participants under 30 years of age was 16 (13%).

³ 'Immigrants', 'migrants', 'settlers' and 'settler arrivals' are used interchangeably.

5.1.2 Ethnic Backgrounds

The respondents came from a variety of non-English speaking backgrounds. The countries from which the respondents came are listed in full in Appendix B. The grouping of countries was based on the 1998 Standard Australian Classification of Countries used by the ABS. Some modifications had to be made in order to facilitate the statistical analyses. Since the analyses involved comparisons between groups, the groups had to represent similar numbers of observations (Howell, 1999). Whereas in the official classification Southern and Eastern European countries represent one broad group, in the present research the label 'Eastern Europe' was used for all the countries that belonged to the former communist block and the label 'Western Europe' was used for the rest of the European countries regardless of their actual geographic location, whether north or south. Thus, the classification reflected the previous political division of Europe, along the lines of the capitalist – communist dimension. This was implemented on the basis that the former communist countries had shared similar political, economic and social characteristics for forty-five years in the recent past. It is precisely on account of this socialist past that the region as a cultural cluster has not been fully investigated (Bakacsi et al., 2002). The shared characteristics are likely to have resulted in a similar interpretive orientation because “economic circumstances, together with other objective facts of social life ...shape cultures in profound ways” (Ross & Nisbett, 1991: 200). Two broad groups from the official classification labelled 'North Africa and the Middle East' and 'Southern and Central Asia' were merged in order to obtain equally sized groups for statistical analysis. The acronym NAMESCA is used as a label for this group in the present study. *Figure 17* represents the regions from which the respondents had immigrated to Australia.

As the *Figure 17* shows, 29 respondents (23.6%) came from Eastern Europe (Bosnia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Russia, and the Ukraine). The second largest group ($n = 25$, 20.3%) was from Western Europe (Austria, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain and Switzerland), closely followed by the 'South-East Asia' (Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore and Viet Nam⁴, ($n = 24$, 19.5%) and the 'North-East Asia' (China, Japan and Korea, $n = 21$, 17.1%) groups.

⁴'Viet Nam' is the spelling convention used by ABS, whereas 'Vietnam' is more commonly established.

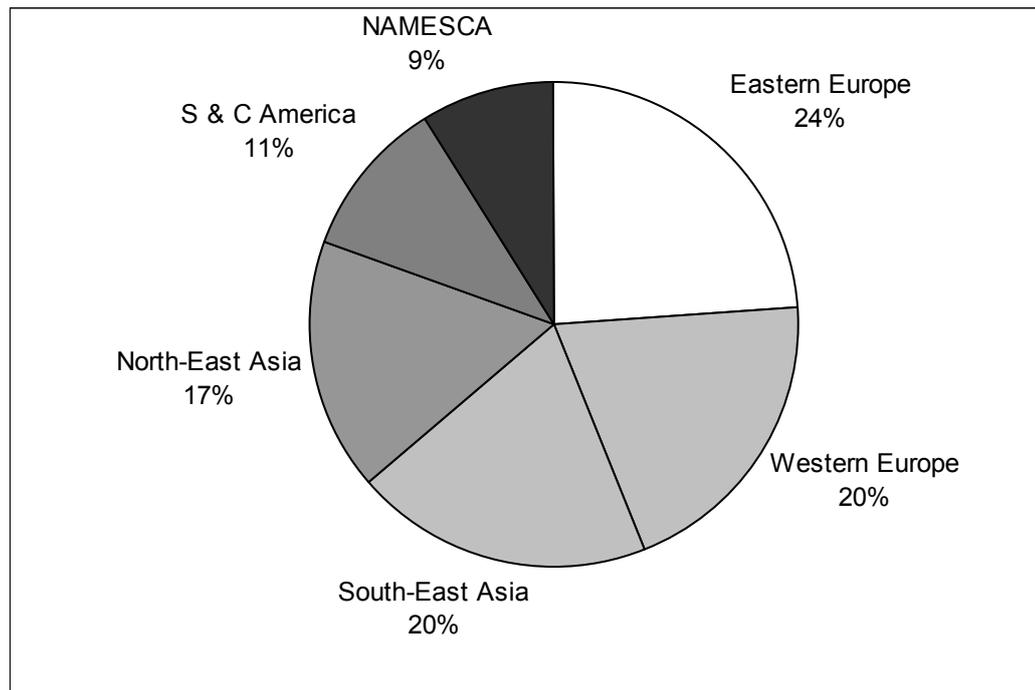


Figure 17. Origins of respondents by geographical region. NAMESCA = North Africa and the Middle East, and Southern and Central Asia; S & C America = South and Central America.

The two smallest groups of respondents were from ‘South and Central America’ (Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, El Salvador and Peru, $n = 13$, 10.6%) and from NAMESCA (Egypt, Iran, Turkey, India and Sri Lanka, $n = 11$, 8.9%).

5.1.3 Length of Residence

The earliest year of arrival in Australia was 1949. *Figure 18* shows the proportion (%) of respondents in different groups by period of arrival. As shown in *Figure 18*, the largest group of respondents ($n = 49$, 39.8%), arrived in Australia in the 1990s. The second largest group of 32 (26%) arrived in the 1980s, 24 (19.5%) came to this country between the years of the end of WWII and the period when multiculturalism was firmly established in Australia (1949-1979). The remaining 18 participants (14.6%) arrived in the year 2000 and after.

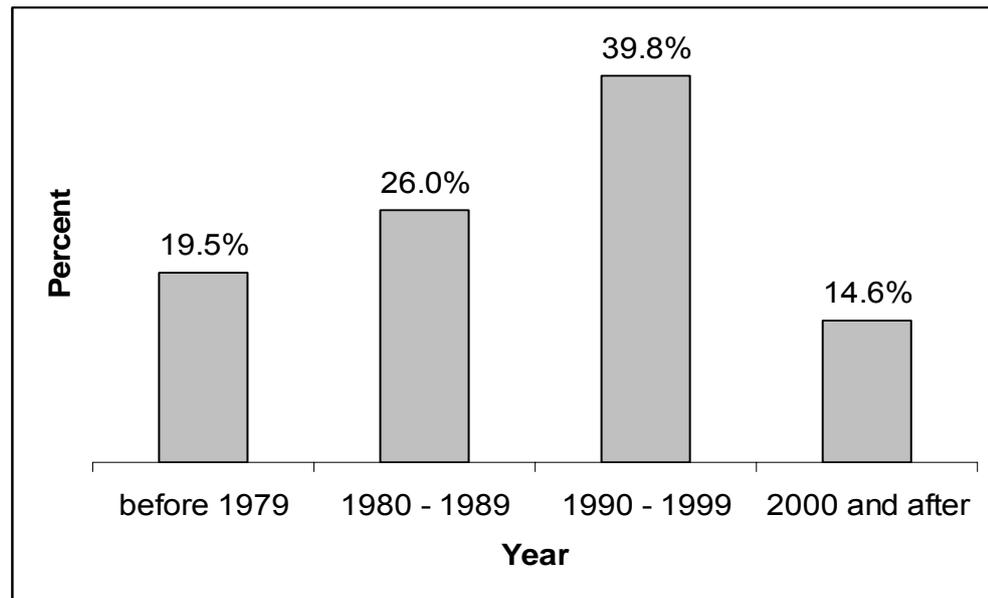


Figure 18. Respondents in groups by period of arrival in Australia.

The length of time the respondents had resided in Australia at the time of the interview varied considerably: from a minimum of two weeks to a maximum of 52 years ($M = 13.61$, $SD = 12.74$). The majority had been in Australia for 15 years ($Mode = 15.00$).

5.1.4 Immigration Categories⁵

By far the largest number of migrants ($n = 68$, 55.2%) who responded to the survey had entered Australia under the Family Stream -- that is, they were sponsored by a relative who was an Australian citizen or a permanent resident. Of these 26 (38.2%) specified that they had entered the country as 'spouse'. The Skill Stream accounted for 22% of the sample ($n = 27$). These individuals were granted visas because they had particular occupational and business skills or talents for which there was a demand in Australia. Only a minority of respondents ($n = 17$, 13%) came as refugees. They were granted Australian visas under the Humanitarian program because they had suffered persecution in their home countries. The category 'other' in the survey was ticked by 11 people (8.9%), five of whom specified that they had entered the country on temporary student visas but were later granted permanent residency. The characteristics of the sample considered so far correspond to the general pattern of immigration. The migration under the Family Stream in Australia increased between 1992-93 and 1995-

96, and then declined to account for 26.3% of all migrants in the financial year of 2001-2002. Of this 22.3% were spouses and fiancées. Of the total number of migrants under the Family Stream 61.7% were women and 38.3% were men (ABS, Australian Social Trends 2001). Information that also contributed to understanding the gender imbalance of the sample stated that “settlers were predominantly male in the early 1980s and predominantly female from 1986-87” with a sex ratio of 83 males to every 100 females in 1995-96 (ABS, Year Book Australia 2000, Special Article, p.2). The present sample reflected this pattern. However, the ratio between family and skilled migrants differed from the recent trend in immigration. A steady increase in the number of skilled migrants has been reported and in 2001-2002 it accounted for 40.5% of all immigrants to Australia. This combined with the fact that “in 1999, 83% of people who migrated to Australia as an adult between 1997 and 1999 were living in one of the capital cities” (ABS, Australian Social Trends 2001) suggests that skilled migrants are more likely to be urbanized than family migrants. This is a possible reason why the proportions of skilled and family migrants in the present sample (22% and 55.2%, respectively) appear to run contrary to this recent shift in migration. Newcastle, as described in section 2.5, is the major city in a region known for its beaches, and mining and wine-making industries. As such, this area is not likely to attract general managers, computer professionals, and accountants which are “among the top occupations of migrant arrivals in recent years” (DIMIA, Population Flows 2001: Chapter.5)

5.1.5 Age at Immigration

A quarter of the respondents ($n = 30$, 24.4%), had immigrated to Australia in their mid twenties ($Mode = 25$). About as many ($n = 29$, 23.6%), had immigrated in their mid thirties. The smallest group ($n = 16$, 13%) were younger than 20 when they arrived in Australia. The youngest reported age at immigration was seven and the oldest was 54 ($M = 28.98$, $SD = 8.09$). The sample’s age distribution at arrival was in agreement with ABS data, which showed that recent arrivals were likely to be in their 20s or 30s with median age of 28.0 years for 1999-2000 (ABS, Year Book Australia, 2000). The median age at arrival for this sample was 29.0 years. This reflected both an immigration policy that targets younger migrants and a global pattern for younger

⁵The sources of the official statistics were publications by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (www.abs.gov.au) & the Department of Immigration (www.immi.gov.au).

people to be more likely to migrate permanently to other countries (ABS, Australian Social Trends 2001, *Coming to Australia*).

5.1.6 Employment Status

At the time of the survey 54.5% ($n = 67$) of the respondents were employed. This labour force participation rate is similar to the one of 57.5% for the migrant population that arrived in Australia between 1996 and 2002 (DIMIA, Immigration Update, Sept 2002: 4.4.). *Figure 19* shows the distribution of the sample over the different occupation categories. Clockwise, the first three slices in the chart represent categories in a broad group which bears the label 'Not in the Labour Force' in the ABS Australian Classification of Occupations and includes children, students, retirees, and people performing 'home duties. These three categories are followed by the group 'Unemployed' and the rest of the occupation groups are arranged from the lowest (Production/Transport) to highest (Executive/Managerial) level according to the degree of skills and qualifications required for practising these occupations (percents are rounded up).

As shown in *Figure 19* more than a quarter of the respondents ($n = 36$, 28.5%) worked as professionals (scientists, doctors, nurses, engineers) followed by tradespersons ($n = 15$, 12.2%, mechanics, toolmakers, signwriters, bakers, cooks) and clerks or workers in sales and service ($n = 13$, 10.6%, secretaries, receptionists, carers and aides). Only three of the respondents (2.4%) fell into the category of production or labourers. Among those who were not in the labour force ($n = 48$, 39.0%) the majority were housewives ($n = 23$, 18.7% of the whole sample), followed by students ($n = 15$, 12.2% of the whole sample) and retired people ($n = 10$, 8.1% of the whole sample).

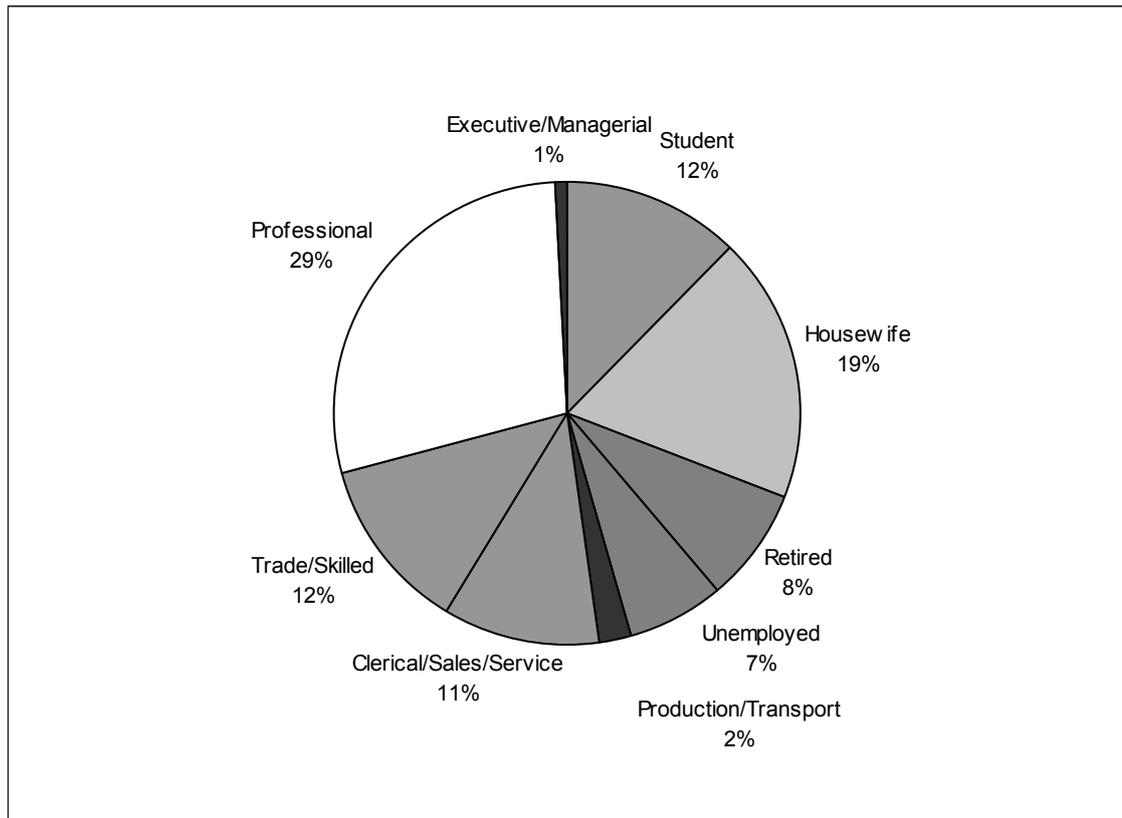


Figure 19. Proportion of the sample in occupation categories.

Only eight (6.5%) of the whole sample reported that they were actually unemployed.

5.1.7 Level of Education

The employment rate and skill level of the sample can be traced back to the level of education respondents had achieved before coming to Australia as well as to the educational experience they had received in Australia. *Figure 20* shows the proportions of the sample distributed over different educational levels. Clockwise, the groups are arranged from lowest level of education ('No formal schooling') to highest ('Postgraduate').

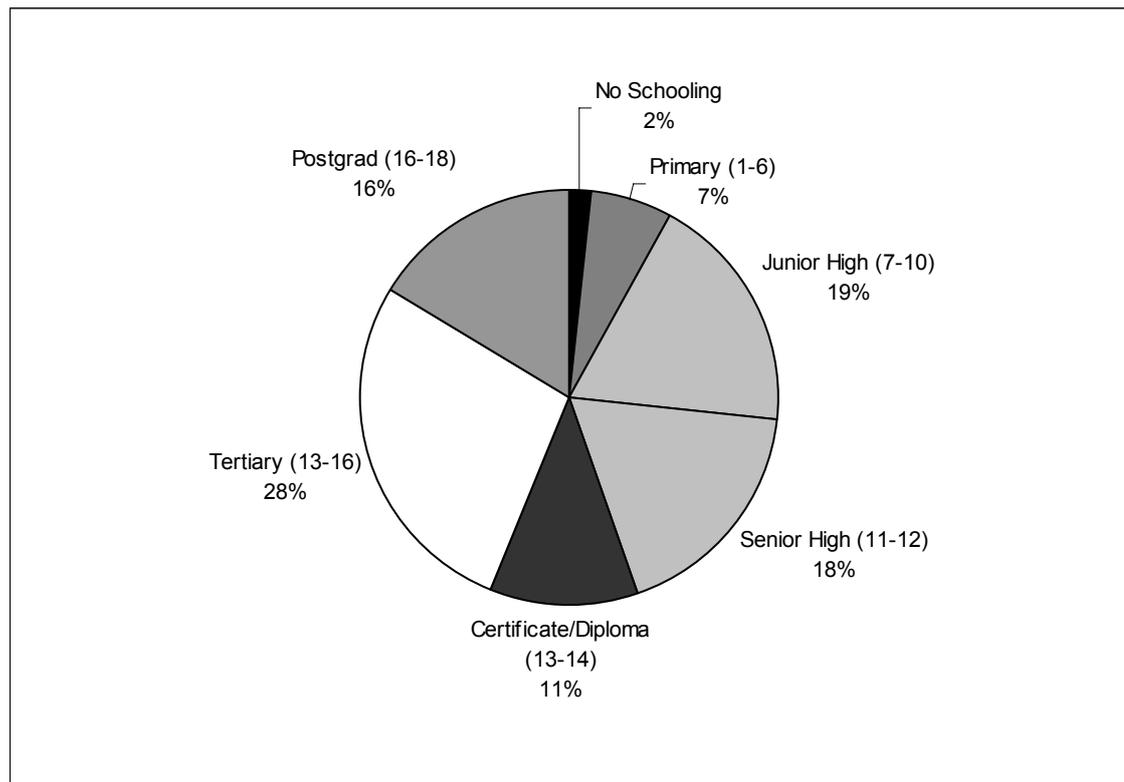


Figure 20. Level of education before arrival in Australia. The numbers in parenthesis indicate the years of schooling necessary for the completion of that level.

As the *Figure 20* above shows more than half of the sample ($n = 68$, 55.3%) had post-high school qualifications. The proportion of migrants who had post-high school qualifications on arrival in Australia has ranged from 50.9% in the 1980s through 56.8% in the mid 1990s to 61.1% in 1997-1999 (ABS, Australian Social Trends 2001). Whereas the percentage for the present sample is within the range for the general migrant population, it is higher than the 45.3% reported for general population in Newcastle (ABS, 2001 Census). More than quarter of the respondents ($n = 34$, 27.6%) had university degrees, 20 more (16.3%) had postgraduate degrees and 14 (11.4%) had completed a college or a certificate/diploma course after high school. The statistical mode for years of schooling for the sample was 16. The average was 13.51 ($SD = 4.01$) – the equivalent to high school and above in Australia. The respondents' educational experience received in Australia was extensive. The majority ($n = 106$, 86.2%) reported having been enrolled in courses since their arrival. Of all the respondents 17 (13.8%) did not have to further their education, 23 (18.7%) completed vocational courses for boiler makers, fitters, bakers, hospitality and child care at TAFE, 27 (22%) enrolled in English language courses, 21 (17.1%) did both language and vocational, and more than

a quarter ($n = 35$, 28.5%) completed either High School Certificate ($n = 6$, 4.9%) or university ($n = 29$, 23.6%) in Australia. At the time of the survey 70 (56.9%) respondents were engaged in some sort of study.

5.1.8 Level of Acculturation

On some of the acculturation indicators, as outlined in section 4.1.4, the sample can be described in the following way.

At the time of the interview, the majority of the respondents ($n = 78$, 63.4%) were Australian citizens. Their proportion was slightly lower than the percentage reported for all migrants (67.8%) in 1996 (ABS, Year Book Australia 2002). Among the 45 (36.6%) who were not Australians, 27 (60%) intended to apply for Australian citizenship, 16 (35.6%) did not intend to apply and two (4.4%) were undecided.

Generally, in terms of places of residence, the respondents had not been very mobile judging by the fact that 84 (68.3%) had only lived in Newcastle since their arrival in Australia. However, most of the sample ($n = 105$, 85.4%), had taken time to travel around the country or visit other places.

Few of the respondents made regular trips back to their native country. The numbers reported ranged between zero and 18 times, the average number was 2.82 ($SD = 3.89$). Of those who specified the number of times they had gone back ($n = 119$, 96.7%), 35 (29.4%) had never done so and 46 (38.7%) had only been back once or twice. An equal number of people ($n = 19$, 16%), were in the categories of three to five times and six times or more. All of the above (namely: high citizenship rate, low mobility and infrequent visits to country of origin) seem to indicate that the respondents had settled well and permanently in Newcastle.

Other indicators for the degree of affiliation migrants still had with their country of origin were recorded: whether respondents listened to ethnic radio programs, the frequency with which they read ethnic newspapers and watched the ethnic channel (SBS) as well as the number of migrant friends they had. Radio turned out to be the least popular medium with migrants since 81 (66.4%) of the respondents stated that they did not listen to the radio at all. Of the whole sample, 102 (84.9%) reported that they did not listen to ethnic programs. The ethnic papers were read rarely or never by 68 (55.3%), sometimes by 37 (30.1%), and regularly by 18 (14.6%). The ethnic channel was viewed rarely or never by 23 (18.7%), sometimes by 43 (35%), and often or always

by 57 (46.3%). This seems to indicate that the respondents took a much greater interest in current affairs in their new country than in their old one.

The majority of the respondents ($n = 121$, 98.4%) specified the numbers for migrant and Australian friends they had. It should be noted that the term ‘Australian’ was used in the broadest possible sense in the survey. However, as Hornsey and Hogg’s (2000) work has suggested (cited in section 4.1.2), the term may be imbued with the attributes of the dominant majority Anglo-Australian group. This proposition seemed to be supported by the respondent’s reaction whereby there was no hesitation in answering the questions involving the terms ‘migrant’ and ‘Australian’. In addition, in one of the questionnaires a respondent had explicitly written that she equated ‘Australian’ with ‘Anglo-Australian’. Table 3 summarises the reported number of migrant and Australian friends.

Table 3 Number of Migrant and Australian Friends

Number of Friends in Categories	Frequency of Responses	
	Migrant Friends	Australian Friends
None	6	15
1 to 5	30	37
6 to 10	30	29
11 to 20	25	27
21 and more	30	13

As Table 3 above shows, six (5%) stated that they had no migrant friends at all. Thirty respondents (24.8%) had between 1 and 5 friends, 30 (24.8%) had between 6 and 10 friends and 30 (24.8%) had more than 21. Twenty-five respondents (20.7%) had between 11 and 20 migrant friends. The mean number of migrant friends the respondents had was 24.04 ($SD = 51.83$). It should be noted, however, that this mean is inflated since there were two respondents who cited numbers as extreme as 200 and 500. When these two were excluded from the analysis, the sample mean dropped to 18.56 ($SD = 22.81$). The respondents had generally fewer Australian than migrant friends. As shown in TABLE 3, 15 (12.4%) reported they had none, 37 (30.6%) had between 1 and 5, 29 (24%) had 6 to 10, 27 (22.3%) had 11 to 20 and 13 (10.7%) had 21 or more. The mean number of Australian friends for the sample was 13.13 ($SD = 19.36$). This mean is an inflated one as well although the extreme values in this case were not as

large as the ones cited in number of migrant friends. When the extreme values were removed from the analysis the mean dropped to 10.16 ($SD = 10.90$). Altogether, 73 (59.3%) had more migrant than Australian friends, 29 (23.6%) had more Australian than migrant friends, 18 (14.6%) had an equal number of both Australian and migrant and three respondents (2.4%) stated that they had no friends at all, neither migrant nor Australian. This pattern suggests that the respondents are socially more distant from Anglo-Australians than from members of the migrant group.

5.1.9 Experience with English Language Learning

Before arrival in Australia 84 (68.3%) of all the respondents had studied English. Of them 24 (34.3%) had studied it for up to four years, 27 (38.6%) for five to nine years and 19 (27.1%) for ten years and more. More specifically, the length of time these migrants had spent studying English ranged from three months to 16 years ($M = 6.47$, $SD = 3.42$). A large number of respondents ($n = 72$, 58.5%) had also studied another language, other than their native language, before coming to Australia. The fact that, as far as language was concerned, most migrants had come prepared reflects the Australian immigration policy since the late 1990s which has targeted people “with employable skills and good English language comprehension and expression” (ABS, Australian Social Trends 2001). This same source reports that 80% of migrants who arrived in Australia between 1997 and 1999 spoke English well or very well. This may explain why so few of the respondents ($n = 11$, 9.0%) spent more than a year in an English language course in Australia, although more than half of the sample ($n = 71$, 55.4%) enrolled in such a course on arrival. Twenty-nine respondents (23.8%) were enrolled for a period of less or equal to 6 months and 30 (26.4%) studied English for a period between 6 months and 1 year. Overall, for these participants the length of English language instruction in Australia ranged between one week and 6 years ($M = 1.00$, $SD = 1.12$).

5.1.10 Level of English Language Proficiency

As described in the previous chapter (section 4.4), English language proficiency was measured on a twelve-point scale (Australian Second Language Proficiency Ratings, ASLPR) ranging from 0 “Zero proficiency” at which the learner was unable to use or comprehend the spoken and written language, to 11 “Native-like proficiency”.

The four macro skills of speaking, listening, reading and writing were scored separately, and it was possible for one person to score high on one skill and low on another. To make the analyses for this study easier the levels were straightforwardly numbered from 0 to 11. Figure 21, Figure 22, Figure 23 and Figure 24 show the distribution of the sample on the 11 proficiency levels for speaking, listening, reading and writing. The columns represent number of respondents.

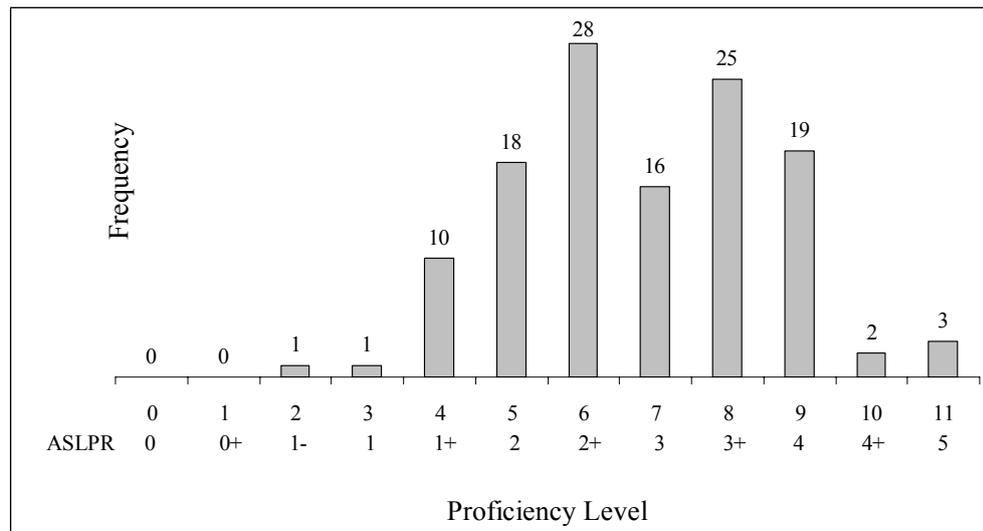


Figure 21. Speaking proficiency scores ($M = 6.82$, $SD = 1.80$; $N = 123.00$). Measurement was on a 12-point scale (expanded ASLPR) and higher scores indicate higher proficiency. The reported mean translates into ASLPR level 3 “Minimum vocational proficiency”.

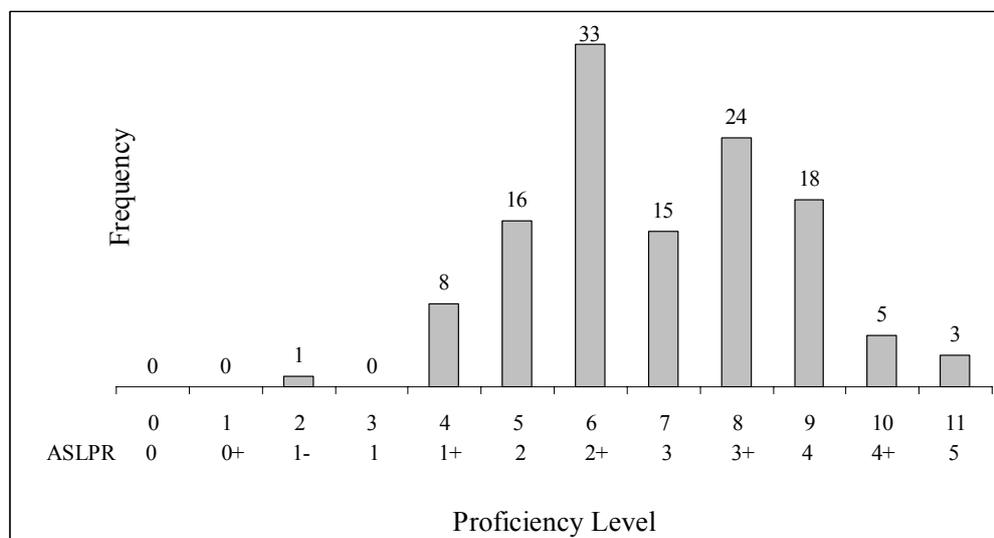


Figure 22. Listening proficiency scores ($M = 6.94$, $SD = 1.77$; $N = 123.00$). Measurement was on a 12-point scale (expanded ASLPR) and higher scores indicate higher proficiency. The reported mean translates into ASLPR level 3 “Minimum vocational proficiency”.

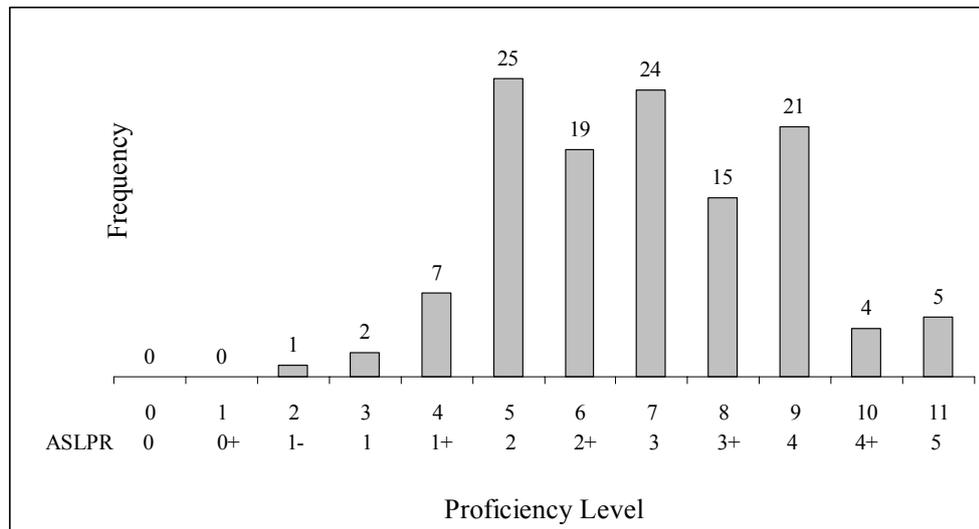


Figure 23. Reading proficiency scores ($M = 6.80$, $SD = 1.93$; $N = 123.00$). Measurement was on a 12-point scale (expanded ASLPR) and higher scores indicate higher proficiency. The reported mean translates into ASLPR level 3 “Minimum vocational proficiency”.

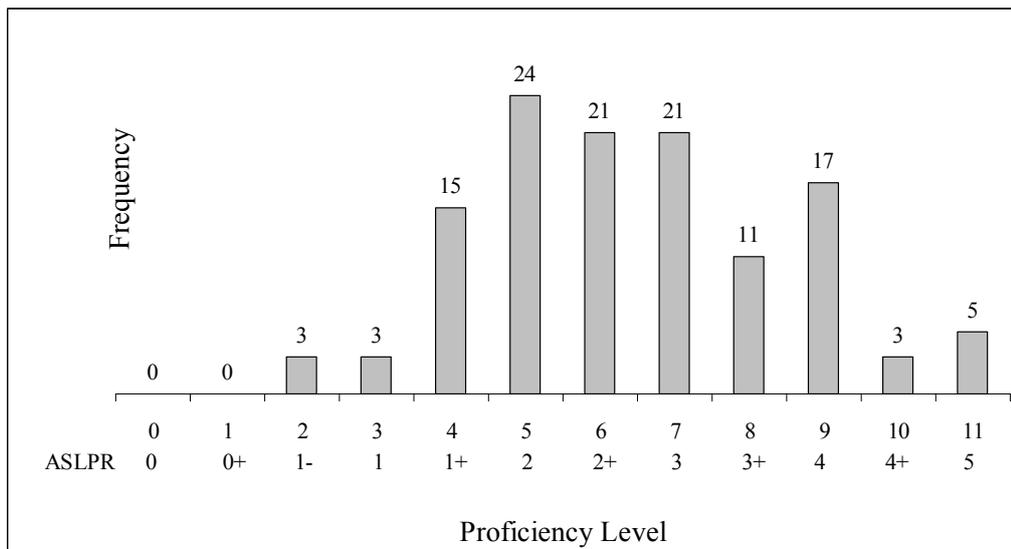


Figure 24. Writing proficiency scores ($M = 6.46$, $SD = 2.07$; $N = 123.00$). Measurement was on a 12-point scale (expanded ASLPR) and higher scores indicate higher proficiency. The reported mean translates into ASLPR level 2+ “Minimum social proficiency +”.

As the bar charts show, the sample means for the four macro-skills of speaking, listening reading and writing were similar (6.82, 6.94, 6.89 and 6.46, respectively) with listening having the highest mean of 6.94 ($SD = 1.77$) and writing having the lowest of 6.46 ($SD = 2.07$). None of the respondents were at the zero proficiency level for any of the skills. One respondent scored at “Initial proficiency” for writing (0+ in the ASLPR; coded 1 in the present study). The overwhelming majority of the sample scored above ASLPR level 2 “Minimum social proficiency” (coded 5 in the figures), commented upon as the level at which “the learner’s ability is sufficient to enable him to establish normal social relationships with native speakers” (Ingram, 1984: 125).

5.1.11 Summary

As the descriptions showed, the sample was heterogeneous on a number of aspects. This is uncommon for research conducted within the socio-educational framework (where the samples are comprised of students) and the acculturation framework (where the samples are comprised of migrants of the same ethnic background). However, the present research explores differences in attitudes, level of motivation, and level of acculturation as a function of the participants’ characteristics as described above. Therefore, a heterogeneous sample was deemed to be the best suited for the purpose of the present investigation since it allowed for the comparison of participants by groups of region of origin, age, age at immigration, length of residence, level of education, type of occupation, and level of acculturation. Table 4 summarises means and standard deviations for central variables (respondent characteristics).

Table 4 *Means and Standard Deviations for Central Variables*

Respondent Characteristics	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Age	42.65	11.84
Age at Immigration	28.98	8.09
Length of Residence	13.61	12.74
Number of Visits to Country of Origin	2.82	3.89
Number of Migrant Friends (a)	18.56	22.81
Number of Australian Friends (b)	10.16	10.90
Years of Schooling before Arrival	13.51	4.01

Years of English Language Instruction before Arrival	6.47	3.42
Years of English Language Instruction on Arrival	1.00	1.12
Speaking Proficiency Scores	6.82	1.80
Listening Proficiency Scores	6.94	1.77
Reading Proficiency Scores	6.80	1.93
Writing Proficiency Scores	6.46	2.07

Note: (a) & (b) Corrected for the influence of outliers. Proficiency was measured on a 12-point rating scale (ASLPR) and higher scores indicate higher proficiency level.

The respondents to the survey emerged as being a group of mature, well-educated and highly employable people who had immigrated to Australia in their early adulthood and had lived in the country for a considerable period of time. The majority had immigrated in order to join family and had truly made Australia home. Although they had settled well in their new country and had achieved a degree of fluency in English that allowed them to establish normal social and work relationships with native speakers, many of them still seemed to feel greater affinity for their migrant group than they did for Australians.

5.2 The Questionnaire

“The questionnaire has a job to do: its function is measurement.”
(A.N. Oppenheim, 1992: 100)

This section describes the questionnaire: its format, design, themes and the main variables it measures. Wherever possible, measures developed in previous research were used. However, since “every questionnaire-based research project requires the development of its own assessment tool that is appropriate for the particular environment and sample” (Dörnyei, 2001: 190), the context and unit of analysis for this study dictated different operationalisations and, from there, the development of different item pools. This raises the issues of validity and reliability of the instrument and the exposition below describes how these issues were addressed. Some of the reliability statistics are presented in this section. The reader is referred to Appendix A2 for the full version of the questionnaire. It should be noted, however, that the Arabic and Roman

numerals that appear at the beginning or end of scale items have been added for the reader's convenience: these did not appear in the working version of the instrument.

5.2.1 Format of the Survey

The questionnaire comprised 329 items (see Appendix A2). There were 176 items that were 5-point Likert-style rating scales with verbal response range from 'Strongly Agree' to 'Strongly Disagree'; 28 items were 5-point frequency scales with verbal response range from 'Always' to 'Never'; 13 items formed 5-point Osgood semantic differentials; 76 items formed check-lists.

There were 50 main questions altogether. Of these 5 were short-answer open-ended questions. Also, there were 14 items in the sub-questions that asked for clarification if marked by the respondent. The length of the instrument dictated the prevalence of 'closed' or 'force-choice' questions. The multiple choice and checklist items invariably included the category 'other (please specify)' to provide for alternative perspectives from the respondents.

5.2.2 Themes and Variables

The questionnaire was thematically divided into three parts labelled A, B and C seeking to elicit information on the respondent's demographic characteristics and level of Australian adaptation, social and psychological distance/proximity with Anglo-Australians, and English language learning motivation, respectively. However, as the labels of the questions tapping into the main constructs suggest, the themes intertwine throughout the whole questionnaire. The next sections list the factors that made up the main constructs, the variables that were used to operationalise these factors and the items used to measure these variables. All of these are presented in a table in the final section (5.2.4) entitled 'Reliability'.

5.2.2.1. Part A: Demographic Characteristics

The domain of respondents' demographic characteristics for the present study comprised the following set of factors and independent variables:

- Length of Residency (Question A1; short-answer open-ended)

- Age at Immigration (Question A2; short-answer open-ended)
- Immigration Category (Question A3; four categories including ‘other’)
- Motivation for Immigration (Question A4; 12-item checklist)
- Occupation (Question A5; nine categories for each of the following):
 - In Country of Origin
 - In Australia
 - Desired Occupation
- Education/Training:
 - Before Arrival in Australia (Question A6; seven categories)
 - In Australia (Question A7; Yes/No and an open-ended component)
 - Comparison of Educational Systems between Australia and Country of Origin (Question A8; three levels)
- Year of Arrival in Australia (Question A9; short-answer open-ended)
- Other descriptors (Geographic Mobility):
 - Places of Residence in Australia (Question A10)
 - Number of Trips to Country of Origin (Question A12)
- Language Instruction before Arrival in Australia
 - English (Question C1; Yes/No and an open-ended component)
 - Other Language (Question C2; Yes/No and an open-ended component)
- Importance of Maintaining One’s Native Language (Question C16)

The questionnaire provided to respondents did not include items that directly asked about a respondent’s country of origin, gender, or age. This kind of background information was gathered by the researcher before the interviews or upon collection of the surveys. The age of a respondent was computed from the answers to the questions on length of residency (question A1), age at immigration (question A2) and year of arrival (question A9). This also presented the opportunity to cross-check responses. The categories listed under the questions on immigration category, occupation, and education were based on Department of Immigration and ABS classifications, as elaborated in sections 5.2.4, 5.2.6, and 5.2.7, respectively. The question on motives for immigration (A4) complemented the one on immigration category (A3). The items in the checklist were based on factors identified in a report on migrants from Singapore to Australia (Sullivan & Gunasekaran, 1994). The authors listed twenty factors under six thematic groups: socio-economic conditions (cost of housing, employment

opportunities etc.), political conditions (stability, individual freedom), assessment of the long-term future of country of origin and Australia, socio-cultural conditions (leisure activities, lifestyle, morals), physical-environment (space) and educational opportunities. The respondents were asked to assign scores between 0 and 10 to each factor for both Singapore and Australia, the aim being to compare directly how the two countries were perceived. The findings about the group of factors exploring the long-term future of countries lead the authors to conclude that “the respondents’ migration decisions were based more on the prospect of an improved quality of life for themselves and their families than consideration about the future of nations” (Sullivan & Gunasekaran, 1994:39). Hence, the present research ignored the factors associated with the future of countries. Since the present sample was formed by mainly family migrants settled in regional Australia, it seemed appropriate for the present investigation to focus on the factors concerned with the socio-economic and political conditions and the physical environment. Since no comparison of countries was involved, the items were assigned scores 1 or 0 depending on whether they were marked or not. A greater number of ticked items was taken to signify greater desire for immigration to Australia. The category ‘other’ (with a request to specify) gave respondents the opportunity to include socio-cultural and educational factors. Respondents listed under this category factors such as education, better life for their children, multiculturalism, search for adventure, and better lifestyle. However, scale reliability analysis revealed that this category decreased the alpha coefficient considerably (from $\alpha = .78$ to $\alpha = .67$) and that the corrected item-total correlation was negative (thus going in the opposite direction to all other items). This suggests that items tapping into socio-cultural and educational factors, which are affectively and cognitively loaded, should in future research be developed as a separate set, apart from the group of items tapping into environmental factors such as socio-economic conditions, political conditions or physical environment. In other words, in the present research as an index for the strength of a respondent’s desire for immigration to Australia, question A4 remained limited to the ‘environmental’ motives only. All other items on the topic of respondents’ characteristics were the source of nominal data.

5.2.2.2. Part A: Level of Australian Adaptation

As described in section 4.1.4, the subconstruct of Australian Adaptation was conceptualised in three dimensions: travel, citizenship, and satisfaction with life. Question A11, in its two parts, tapped into travel to get to know the country. Question A13, asking about the respondent's opinion on changes in their native country, acted as a logical bridge between questions in order to keep the flow of the interview and this data was not used at any point of this thesis. Questions A14, asking about one's commitment to living in Australia, and A15, asking whether one was an Australian citizen, tapped into factor Citizenship. Questions A16 to A19 and questions C13 to C16 sought to elicit information on variables such as feeling at home, feeling accepted, desire to be considered a true Australian and lack of regret for immigrating as well as the degree to which one was comfortable with one's own ethnicity in Australia. These, as well as variables such as preference for the sound of Australian English over British or American (questions C24_6 and C24_7) and lack of perceived discrimination based on accent (questions C24_17, C24_18 and C24_19), were used to operationalise the factor Satisfaction with Life in Australia. The items in this section were the source of ordinal data. Table 5 summarises the items forming the subscales of Australian Adaptation.

Table 5 Australian Adaptation Scale by Subscales

Australian Adaptation ($\alpha = .78$)	
Item no.	Item
Travel ($\alpha = .78$)	
A11	Have you ever visited/travelled to other places in Australia?
A11	Has travel made you change the way you view Australia and Australians?
Citizenship ($\alpha = .81$)	
A14	Do you intend to migrate back to your country of origin?
A15	Are you an Australian citizen?
A15	Do you intend to apply for citizenship?
Satisfaction with Life in Australia ($\alpha = .73$)	
A16	Do you feel at home in Australia?
A17	Do you feel accepted by Australians?
A18	Would you like to be considered a true Australian?
A19	If you had a choice of places to immigrate to, would you choose Australia again?
C24_6	Australian English sounds nicer than American English.
C24_7	Australian English sounds nicer than British English.
C24_17	Even people who speak English with an accent can succeed in education & employment in Australia.
C24_18	People who speak more than one language have better job opportunities in

C24_19	Australia. Even people who speak English with an accent are considered truly Australian by Anglo-Australians.
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Note: All scores were standardised. Reliability coefficients are in parentheses.

Since, as Table 5 shows, the items had different formats, their scores had to be standardised before they were submitted to scale reliability analysis. The reliability coefficients were found to be satisfactory and, hence, indices were formed as the sum of scores on these items.

5.2.2.3. Part B: Social distance

Contact measures

Social distance was conceptualised as comprising the dimensions of social contact and attitudes. The variables exploring social contact were: the number of migrant and Anglo-Australian friends a respondent had (questions B1 and B2), quantity and frequency of contact with both migrants and Anglo-Australians (the two parts of question B3) and depth and variety of contact with Anglo-Australians (the two parts of question B4). The items that made up the checklists of questions B3 and B4 were based on a study that examined the effect of close neighbourhood contact between Anglo-Australians and Asian and Middle Eastern migrants in Sydney and Adelaide on the negative stereotypes which Anglo-Australians “brought with them from wider society to their residential situation” (DIEA, 1986c, vol. 2: 3). The modifications to the original items were dictated by the necessity to keep the survey in manageable length. Therefore, instead of having a separate question on the frequency of social contact, a frequency dimension was simply added to question B3 which explored the general type of contact a respondent had with both Anglo-Australians and migrants. Since the purpose of this question was also to determine with which of those two groups there was more social interaction, the items were weighted and a score of one was assigned to the most superficial type of contact, such as saying ‘hello’, and a score of five was assigned to the deeper type such as visiting each other at home in order to help each other or do things together. The scores were then summed up in order to form indices for frequency of contact with migrants and Anglo-Australians, with a higher score indicating greater frequency of contact. The number of items exploring the variety of contact was reduced from the original 20 to eight in question B4. Items deemed to be typical of neighbourhood contact rather than of more general social interaction, such as

borrowing milk or sugar, getting lifts in the car, helping with shopping, playing cards or games etc. were omitted. Each of the remaining eight items was scored zero if unmarked and one if marked. The two sets of items were tested for internal consistency. The category 'other' had to be omitted from both scales due to low item-total correlations. Thus, both scales consisted of six items each and had reliability coefficients of .74 each. This level of consistency was deemed to be satisfactory, and indices for current and desired variety of contact with Anglo-Australians were formed as the sum of scores and higher scores were taken to indicate a greater amount of current or desired variety of contact.

Language attitude measures: Spolsky Identity Scales Technique (questions B5 and B6)

Attitudes, the other factor in social distance, were measured indirectly with the Spolsky identity scales technique – a multi-scale instrument in which, using 5-point Likert-type scales, respondents are asked to rate four targets (Self, Ideal Self, Speakers of Own Language, and TL Speakers) on the same set of personality attributes (these numbered 30 in the original instrument). Since the technique has been variably used in SLA research, some of the ways in which it has been employed in previous investigations will be briefly outlined and appraised below.

Spolsky designed the technique to show the L2 learner's choice between his or her own language group and the TL group (Spolsky, 1969: 275). The theory underpinning the scales was the dichotomy of integrative versus instrumental motivational orientation. Citing difficulties in interpreting the results from direct attitude measures (similar to the measures in the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery) due to the somewhat arbitrary classification of reasons as instrumental or integrative, Spolsky aimed to provide researchers with a tool which enabled them to handle the notion of integrative motivation precisely (Spolsky, 1969). He used the correlations between the scale scores for the four targets as indices for self-satisfaction (Self x Ideal Self), TL group identification (Self x TL group), and own language group identification (Self x Speakers of Own Language). Of the three, it was only the TL group identification index that correlated significantly with the score on an English language proficiency test. Two more indices were computed using subtraction of correlations to measure whether the respondents (foreign students of various backgrounds attending

American universities) perceived themselves as being more like the speakers of English than the speakers of their native language as well as whether the desire to be like the speakers of English was greater than the desire to be like the speakers of the native language. Whereas both of these indices were found to correlate with English language proficiency, the first one did so slightly and the second one did so strongly. It could be said that Spolsky used the identity scales in fairly straightforward manner to show that identification with the TL group was indeed related to higher L2 proficiency levels. Spolsky's 1969 study seems to focus entirely on computing indices for respondents' TL group versus native language group identity and completely ignores the valence (positive or negative) of respondents' attitudes toward the TL and the native language groups.

Other researchers, however, seem to have focused primarily on the valence of L2 learners' attitudes (Oller et al., 1977; Pierson et al., 1980; Smit & Dalton, 2000). Oller and his colleagues established the valence of each of the thirty attributes in the identity scales by comparing scores for the targets Self and Ideal Self. If respondents (native speakers of Chinese studying in American universities) wanted to have more of a given attribute, it was defined as positively valued. Conversely, if respondents wanted to have less of a given attribute, it was defined as negatively valued. Further, "once the value of a trait is known to be positive or negative, it is possible to compare mean ratings of Americans against mean ratings of Chinese to determine the degree of integrative orientation of the Ss toward Americans" (Oller et al., 1977: 11). The results showed that Chinese people (native language group) were rated higher than Americans (TL group) on positively valued traits such as "kind", "helpful", "considerate", "friendly", "dependable" and the like, whereas Americans were rated higher on positively valued traits such as "confident", "competitive", "efficient", "democratic", "successful", "fashionable" and the like. Oller et al.'s interpretation of the results was that their respondents were likely to be instrumentally oriented towards Americans. Thus, it appears that Oller and his associates apply the concept of 'integrative orientation' not only to reasons for studying a second language but to attitudes toward the TL group as well. This, however, is not a premise of the socio-educational model (Gardner, 1985; Gardner et al., 1997). As noted in section 3.1.2 (see Figure 5), in Gardner's model Integrativeness is a complex of three variables, namely: interest in foreign languages, positive attitudes toward the TL group, and integrative orientation

toward learning L2. This seems to illustrate that the term ‘integrative motivation’ does indeed mean different things to different researchers (Gardner, 2001: 1). The results from Oller et al.’s study could perhaps be interpreted in terms of stereotypes. As indicated in section 2.4, cultures can be distinguished on a collectivist-individualist dimension. Western culture (Australia, North America, and North and Western Europe) is individualistic and as such emphasises uniqueness, personal success and happiness, self-sufficiency, independence from others and freedom from societal constraints (Sedikides et al., 2003: 61). Eastern culture (Africa, Asia, South America, and South and Eastern Europe) is collectivistic and as such emphasises cooperation, cohesion, harmony, responsibility to the group and the importance of others (Sedikides et al., 2003: 61). Members of individualistic cultures are idiocentrics (strive to express self), whereas members of collectivistic cultures are allocentrics (strive to restrain self and maintain social harmony) (Sedikides et al., 2003:61). The results from Oller et al.’s study seem to simply suggest that the respondents stereotyped Chinese people as collectivists (allocentrics) and American people as individualists (idiocentrics).

Although Pierson, Fu, and Lee (1980) claimed that their study was in replication of Oller et al.’s (1977), they seem to employ the Spolsky identity scales technique to elicit both the valence of attitudes toward and the stereotype of English speaking Westerners among 10th grade secondary school students in Hong Kong. These researchers, too, first established the valence of each attribute by comparing the scores for the targets Self and Ideal Self. However, the comparison of mean ratings of Chinese against the mean ratings of Westerners was not used as a measure of the subjects’ integrative orientation, but rather as an opportunity to get an insight into the subjects’ attitudes toward the two language groups (Pierson et al., 1980: 298). It emerged that, in Pierson et al.’s phraseology, Westerners were perceived as possessing the attributes of successful business individuals (“cool and clear-headed”, “successful”, “self-confident” and the like), whereas Chinese were perceived as possessing the traditional attributes of family centred individuals (“loyal to family”, “trustworthy”, “understanding of others” and the like). Thus, Pierson et al.’s results do not seem to differ much from Oller et al.’s as far as the stereotypes of the two language groups were concerned. English speaking Westerners appear to be stereotyped as idiocentrics and Chinese people as allocentrics. The studies differed, however, in their choice of analyses on the relationship between attitudes and English language proficiency (measured with a cloze test in both studies). Oller and his colleagues submitted the scales for each target to factor analysis. Eight

factors underlay the scales for the target Ideal Self and nine factors underlay the scales for each of the other targets. The uncovered factors were then entered into stepwise multiple regression analyses to see which ones were significant predictors of the cloze test score. The researchers found that the relationship between proficiency and attitudes toward the TL group was more complex and more complicated to interpret than the relationship between proficiency and attitudes toward the self and the native language group. Pierson and his colleagues did not factor analyse their scales which consisted of twenty personality traits. Instead, they entered the twenty traits for each target into stepwise multiple regression analyses to see which attributes predicted the cloze test score best. The researchers found that overall, despite a few meaningful results, the attributes were poor predictors of proficiency. The majority of scale items used in the present research were worded like the items in Pierson et al.'s study. The wording of those items seemed better suited to the English language proficiency level of the present sample than the wording of the original Spolsky scales (Spolsky, 1969). For example, among the 30 adjectives comprising Spolsky's scales were words such as "intellectual", "stubborn", "considerate", "studious", "tactful", and "reasonable", whereas among the 15 comprising Pierson et al.'s were "clever and smart", "easy to get along with", "understanding of others", "persistent", "gentle and graceful", and "logical and wise".

Finally, Smit and Dalton (2000) employed the technique in order to determine the level of integrativeness (based on Gardner's definition of the concept) among Austrian German students at an advanced level of English language competence at Vienna University. The researchers used the ratings for the target Ideal Self "as a quasi norm with which the self and other images can be compared" (Smit & Dalton, 2000: 240). In the present research the technique was used in exactly the same manner. Smit and Dalton, however, reported that their results were not easy to interpret since, although the TL group was more positively rated than the native language group, the students rated their selves much more positively than either of the groups and saw themselves the closest to the ideal. Although Smit and Dalton stated that their instrument was modelled on Oller et al.'s, this does not appear to be the case. The attributes incorporated in the scales in the previous studies were all positive (with the possible exception of "nervous" and "shy"), whereas Smit and Dalton used negative attributes, such as "arrogant", "boring", "grumpy", "intolerant", "selfish" and the like, as well. Recently, social psychologists have warned that research may suffer from a confound between measures of prejudice toward a group, defined as a person's overall

positive or negative view of a group, and group stereotypicality, defined as the ascription of particular attributes to a group (Paolini et al., 2004). One of the conditions under which the two co-vary perfectly is when they are assessed using attributes that are all positive (Paolini et al., 2004). Thus, the mixture of positive and negative attributes might be a possible confound in Smit and Dalton's measure.

In the present research the five-point Likert-type scales consisted of 28 positive attributes and had a verbal response range from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. A score of 5 was assigned to 'strongly agree' and a score of 1 was assigned to 'strongly disagree'. Higher scores indicated more positive attitudes. The ratings for the target Ideal Self were used as the quasi norm against which the other targets were compared. The Spolsky identity scales technique was used here to elicit both evaluations and stereotypes of the TL group.

Australian Behavioural Stereotype scales (question B7)

In addition to the identity scales (a global indirect evaluative measure), the present researcher considered that there was a need for a more context specific direct and descriptive measure of respondents' attitudes toward Anglo-Australians. Therefore, a set of 28 statements was designed of the type "Australians are trying hard to understand migrants", "Australians care about the environment", "Australians are good at sport" and the like. These were again five-point Likert-type scales with a verbal response range from 'strongly agree', assigned a score of 5, to 'strongly disagree', assigned a score of 1. Higher scores indicated more positive attitudes. There were four scales that were not flattering to Australians ("Australians drink a lot", "Australians watch TV a lot", "Australians are big spenders", and "Australians are snobs"). The scoring for these four items was reversed yielding a score of one for a response of 'strongly agree' and a score of five for a response of 'strongly disagree'. The reliability of these five scales and the formation of indices shall be discussed in detail in chapter 6. The reliability coefficients of scales and subscales are summarised in Table 6 in section 5.2.4.

5.2.2.4. Part C: Motivation

The construct of motivation, being conceptualised as an 'umbrella' term over micro-context related variables, was expanded to add the factors of beliefs about

language, use of language learning strategies and confidence with English to Gardner's four main facets of motivation (goals, effort, persistence, and affect). The measurement of each of these factors is discussed below.

Motivational Orientation (Goals)

Motivational orientation, understood as reasons for studying English, was measured with a checklist of 10 items (question C20) whose content was based on Gardner's Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (Gardner, Tremblay and Masgoret, 1997). However, the section of the battery which measures orientation was not used in its entirety as the wording of its items demanded greater mastery of English than anticipated to be encountered among the participants. For example, Gardner et al. (1997) use statements such as "Studying French is important because it will give me an edge in competing with others" as a measure of instrumental orientation, and "Studying French is important because it will allow me to participate more freely in the activities of French Canadians" as a measure of integrative orientation (Gardner et al., 1997: 359). Besides, during the piloting stage (as will be discussed in section 5.3.2), it emerged that respondents took a long time to rank their reasons for studying English. Also, since the grouping of items into instrumental and integrative was logical rather than empirical (Gardner & Lambert, 1972), the addition of variables, such as learning the language to be more independent or to feel more confident, to either one group or the other could be controversial. There was a degree of uncertainty as to whether they were instrumental, integrative, or something else altogether. Therefore, a respondent was assigned a score of one for each item he or she marked in the checklist. Any items that were unmarked were scored as zero. A higher score was assumed to indicate greater degree of motivation (at least in the case of the present sample).

Persistence

Reasonable indicators for persistence in language learning were thought to be: class attendance in the past, at the time of the interview and in the future (questions A7, C3 and C22); perceived improvement in the four macro skills of speaking, listening, reading, and writing (question C6); and the methods a respondent used to achieve this improvement in the level of English language skills (questions C5 and C21). Given that

the focus was on the process of socialisation into another culture, the methods for language learning were scored in the following way: one was assigned to self-tuition and reading, two to watching television or listening to the radio, three to attending formal English language classes, four to work contact, and five to social contact. Since the questions measuring persistence came in different formats, the scores had to be standardised. Higher scores signified a greater amount of effort invested in language learning.

Affect

The conceptualisation of affect here differed from Gardner's. Gardner and his colleagues (1997) measured affect with both positively and negatively worded attitudinal statements toward the behaviour of learning L2, such as "I really enjoy learning French", "I love learning French", or "I find the study of French very boring". In the present study Affect was thought of as comprising the elements of attitudes toward the English language instructor (question C23) and toward the English language (C24:1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 10, 12, and 16). The attitudes toward the English instructor were measured with thirteen Osgood semantic differential scales. Their content was based on Wlodkowski's 1999 work on adult learners' motivation in which he stated that "the five pillars of motivating instruction [are] expertise, empathy, enthusiasm, clarity, and cultural responsiveness" (Wlodkowski, 1999:65). A higher score meant more positive attitude toward the language instructor. Attitudes toward English and learning it were measured with eight positively worded 5-point scale items such as "Learning English is fun", "English sounds very nice" etc. (see C24:1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 10, 12, and 16). The higher the respondents scored on these scales, the more positive their attitude toward the English language and its learning was taken to be.

Beliefs about Language Learning

Beliefs were understood in this study as a subset of the learner's metacognitive knowledge which consisted of what the learner had, consciously or unconsciously, come to know about language learning (Wenden, 1999). The pool of 21 five-point scale items in question C24 that measured beliefs in the present sample was loosely based on the Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory (BALLI) developed by Horwitz

(1988). The changes made to the original inventory were dictated by the design of the study as well as the necessity to make the instrument more context specific. Thus, whereas Horwitz' inventory "contains thirty-four items and assesses student beliefs in five major areas: 1) difficulty of language learning; 2) foreign language aptitude; 3) the nature of language learning; 4) learning and communication strategies; and 5) motivations and expectations" (Horwitz, 1988: 284), in the present investigation only the first three areas were considered. Learning and communication strategies formed a separate sub-construct in accordance with the latest version of the socio-educational model (Gardner et al., 1997), whereas the area of motivations and expectations overlapped with the subconstruct of motivational orientation. Horwitz aimed to describe the variety of beliefs students held about language learning. Therefore, no composite score was derived from the BALLI. The present research aimed to correlate beliefs with proficiency and other subconstructs and it seemed reasonable to use composite scores for (rather than individual items from) the three areas of Beliefs about Language Learning which were labelled here Beliefs about LL in Immigration (e.g. "If a person lives in an English speaking country for a long time, he/she can simply pick up the language"), Beliefs about the Nature of LL (e.g. "Learning correct pronunciation is as important as learning the grammar of a second language"), and Beliefs about LL Aptitude (e.g. "Some people have a special ability for learning languages"). Since the BALLI questions "do not necessarily have clear-cut right and wrong answers" (Horwitz, 1988:284), the response 'strongly agree' was scored as 5 and 'strongly disagree' was scored as 1 for all items that assessed beliefs in the present study. A higher score was taken to indicate that a respondent held stronger or more numerous beliefs about the role of ability in LL, the nature of LL, and LL in naturalistic context.

Second Language Learning Strategies

For the purpose of this research, strategies (measured with questions C8 to C12) were defined as "the steps or actions consciously selected by learners either to improve the *learning* of a second language, the *use* of it, or both" (Cohen, 1998: 5, emphasis in the original). Thus strategies for the purpose of the present research were understood as conscious behaviours, rather than as cognitive procedures. Cohen's solution to the problem of labelling the various cognitive or metacognitive processes was adopted here by referring to "all of these simply as *strategies*, while still acknowledging that there is

a continuum from the broadest categories to the most specific or low-level” (Cohen, 1998:10, emphasis in the original). Since the targeted population were migrants from a wide range of educational backgrounds and it was anticipated that some participants might not have formal education, the questions that measured this sub-construct explored strategies at the specific or low-level end of the continuum. Although strategies are often described in terms of the dichotomy of communication and learning, the literature suggests that this division of strategies into communication strategies (CS) and learning strategies (LS) is problematic (Cohen, 1998). Tarone (1981) suggested that CS and LS could be distinguished on the basis of the motivation for the use of the strategy. The motivation behind CS is the desire to negotiate meaning between interlocutors, i.e. CS have an interaction focus. The motivation behind LS is not the desire to communicate meaning but to learn the target language. This study adopted Tarone’s view, and, in order to avoid ambiguity and to facilitate the description of the items in this section, strategies will be discussed in terms of interactive and non-interactive.

Questions C8 measured the degree to which respondents used interactive strategies and questions C9, C10, C11, and C12 measured the degree to which non-interactive strategies were used. The majority of items were five-point frequency scales with a verbal response range from ‘always’ to ‘never’. The boxed items in question C8, asking respondents how well they understood and made themselves understood by TL speakers, were used as a measure for the subconstruct of Confidence with English. Thematically, however, they seemed to belong with this section of the questionnaire. The focus in part (a) of question C8 was on avoidance or ‘shielding’ strategies such as using the help of interpreters or family members and friends, avoiding situations in which difficulties with English were anticipated, and pretending to understand what native speakers were saying. For these four items the answer ‘always’ was assigned a score of 1 and the answer ‘never’ was assigned a score of 5. Interestingly, the scale reliability analysis revealed that this group of items did not belong with the rest of the scales that measured second language learning strategies and for this reason the four scores were not included in the composite index. The scale reliability analysis suggested that the items under the label of ‘avoidance strategies’ belonged with the pool of items that measured confidence with English instead, suggesting perhaps that avoidance is affective rather than behavioural or cognitive in nature. Part (b) of C8 looked at what

respondents did in order to make themselves understood by TL speakers. The scales comprised items asking respondents whether they spoke more slowly, paraphrased, tried to articulate more clearly or used gestures. Questions C9 and C10 examined the degree to which television/video and radio, respectively, were used as means for improving one's listening comprehension of English by asking respondents whether they recorded TV programmes or movies, whether these were watched more than once, whether there was a conscious effort to memorise words and phrases and whether the radio was listened to for specific information. Questions C11 and C12 focussed on reading by asking respondents whether a dictionary was used to look up every unfamiliar word or unfamiliar key words only, whether attempts were made at guessing the meaning of unfamiliar words, and whether the preference was for reading fiction or non-fiction. The answer 'always' was assigned a score of 5 and 'never' a score of 1. A composite score for L2 Learning Strategies was derived and a higher score was taken to indicate more frequent use of strategies.

Confidence with English

Drawing on the 1997 version of the socio-educational model, Confidence with English was operationalised along the dimensions of Self Assessed Ability and Lack of L2 Use Anxiety (the coping with situations where difficulties with English were experienced). It should be noted that in the present research self assessed abilities did not include self rated English language proficiency. Gardner and his colleagues (1997) admit that there is a debate even within their team as to whether self-rated proficiency is an index of self-confidence or of L2 achievement and report that tests run on models with versus without the self-rated proficiency variable displayed comparable coefficients and fit indices (Gardner et al., 1997: 356, *Notes* section of the article). Here, as Figure 1 showed, self-assessed proficiency was considered as an indicator of achievement. In other words, it was considered a dependent variable and one of the aims of the analyses was to establish what individual difference, acculturation, and other motivation variables it was specifically related to.

Here, indicators of the Self Assessed Ability dimension were thought to be the participants' beliefs that they had improved their English without too much effort (question C5), that they were good at learning languages (C24_33), that they did not

need to improve their English any further (C19), that they could understand Australians and could make themselves understood by Australians (the boxed items in C8).

To measure the Lack of L2 Use Anxiety dimension, participants were presented with a checklist of 12 items (question C7) and asked to identify the situations, such as going to the doctor's, banking, shopping etc., in which difficulties with English were experienced. A respondent was given a score of 0 for every marked item and 1 for an unmarked one. Since the 12 items had good internal consistency ($\text{Alpha} = 0.76$), a sum composite score was derived so that a higher score indicated fewer situations in which language difficulties were experienced. Additional indicators for language use anxiety were considered to be the four items in part (a) of question C8 that examined avoidance or 'shielding' strategies (use of interpreters, help from family and friends) as well questions C15 and C16 asking respondents whether they felt uncomfortable speaking English to their children or fellow-countrymen, and whether they felt like different people when they spoke English. Greater detail on the composition of the construct of motivation is provided in chapter 8, discussing the analyses and results involving the motivation construct.

As the exposition above showed, although the questionnaire was designed to measure constructs explored by previous research, different indicators had to be used in order to better suit the sample and the focus of the present investigation. This necessitates the discussion of its validity and reliability.

5.2.3 Validity of the Questionnaire

Writing on the validity of psychological tests, Gregory (2000: 97) stated that validity "is not easily captured by neat statistical summaries but is instead characterized on a continuum ranging from *weak* to *acceptable* to *strong*." Peers and supervisors judged the survey to have acceptable face and content validity - that is, the questions appeared to measure language attitudes and language learning motivation, and the items comprising these questions were representative and covered an adequate number of phenomena pertaining to different aspects of the main constructs. The issue of construct and criterion-related validity is addressed in the Results and Discussion chapters of the thesis since these two kinds of validity are concerned with correlations, predictions, and interpretation of results in a meaningful way.

5.2.4 Reliability

Unlike validity, “regardless of the method used, the assessment of reliability invariably boils down to a simple summary statistic, the reliability coefficient” (Gregory, 2000:95). There is no hard and fast answer to the question as to an acceptable level of reliability (Gregory, 2000:90). Psychologists agree that it is desirable for reliability coefficients to fall in the .80 or .90 when decisions about individuals have to be made (Anastasi and Urbina, 1997). Since this study is interested in how individuals and groups of individuals differ in major rather than subtle ways on a number of characteristics, Dörnyei’s (2001) guidelines are adopted:

Internal consistency estimates for well-developed attitude scales containing as few as ten items ought to approach 0.80. L2 motivation researchers typically want to measure many different motivational areas in one questionnaire, and for that reason they cannot use very long scales (or the completion of the questionnaire would take several hours), which necessarily depresses the alpha coefficient. However, even with short scales of three or four items we should aim at reliability coefficients in excess of 0.70, and if the Cronbach alpha of a scale does not reach 0.60, this should sound warning bells. (Dörnyei, 2001: 204)

The preliminary reliability coefficients for the main subconstructs are presented in Table 6 below.

Table 6 *Preliminary Reliability Coefficients for the Main Subconstructs*

Sub-construct	Items	Question Label	Alpha
Motivation for Immigration	11	A4 [^]	.78
Australian Adaptation	14	A11, A14 - A19, C24: 6, 7, 17, 18, 19	.78
Depth of Contact with Australians	6	B4a [^]	.74
Desired Depth of Contact with Australians	6	B4b [^]	.74
Attitudes toward the Self	28	B5a	.94
Attitudes toward the Ideal Self	28	B5b	.95
Attitudes toward People in NC	28	B6a	.93
Attitudes toward Australians	28	B6b	.94
Australian Behavioural	28	B7	.85

Stereotype			
Motivational Orientation	10	C20 [^]	.72
Effort invested in LL	12	A7, C3, C5, C6(a- b), C21	.77
Attitudes toward the L2 Instructor	13	C23	.95
Attitudes toward English	8	C24: 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 10, 12, 16	.78
Beliefs about LL in Immigration	7	C24: 4, 14, 15, 25, 26, 34, 35	.52
Beliefs about the Nature of LL	6	C24: 11, 13, 21, 22, 23, 36	.60
Beliefs about LL Aptitude	8	C24: 20, 24, 27 - 32	.71
SL Learner Strategies	25	C8a_4, C8b(1-5), C9 [^] – C12 [^]	.78
Confidence with English	16	C5, C7, C8a: 1, 2, 3, 5; C8b_6, C15, C16, C19, C24_33	.87

Note: [^] indicates that not all items in the question were used in computations. NC=Native Country.

In view of Dörnyei's recommendation, coefficients above .60 were taken to indicate a reasonable level of reliability for the purpose of this research. The subconstructs are further refined and discussed in chapters 6, 7, and 8.

5.3 Procedure

5.3.1 Piloting

After ethics clearance was obtained in November 2000 (HREC Approval No. H-995-1100), the questionnaire was piloted on ten migrants of whom two were from Bulgaria, one from each Chile, Indonesia, Japan, Poland, Russia, Sri Lanka, and two from the Ukraine. Two of these were interviewed, four took the survey home to fill out independently, and the other four filled out the questionnaire in a group sitting. One of the interviews took forty minutes, whereas the other took four hours. Those who self-administered the questionnaire took between two and six weeks to get back to the researcher. The participants in the group sitting tended to talk to each other and to digress into lengthy discussions. Therefore, group administration was ruled out as a method for the large project. Apart from alerting the researcher first hand to difficulties with the different modes of administration, the piloting stage provided valuable feedback on the general content, wording, and layout of the survey.

5.3.2 Recruiting of Subjects

Since the target population for the study were adult non-English speaking migrants reported in the literature to be a difficult population to recruit from (see section 2.2.1), the decision was made to use *snowball sampling* which “involves a ‘chain reaction’ whereby the researcher identifies a few people who meet the criteria of the particular study and then asks these participants to identify further members of the population” (Dörnyei, 2003b: 72).

In the middle of the 2001 academic year, gatekeepers (head teachers and managers) were contacted at places such as the local TAFE and the Multicultural Neighbourhood Centre, where migrants congregated to take English lessons. The aim was for this researcher to obtain permission to approach the people attending these institutions. One-hour meetings were held at which the purpose of the research was explained and information was collected as to who might be suitable participants. Gatekeepers received assurances that the research would not be disruptive to courses since prospective participants would not be required to prepare anything and would be asked to schedule the interview outside of class time. The researcher also gave a ten-minute presentation at the beginning or end of English lessons to introduce the project to those who attended. At these presentations, listeners were assured of the confidentiality of the collected information and were also asked to refer family and friends, who might be interested in participating, to the researcher (see information sheet in Appendix A1). Some individuals scheduled interviews on the spot, some took the questionnaire home, others said they were going to pass it to a third party. Altogether 140 questionnaires were distributed by the end of the 2002 academic year and only 17 (12.14%) of those were not returned. No rewards were promised or given for participation in the research.

5.3.3 Administering the Survey

The questionnaire was administered in an interview schedule to 56 (45.53%) of the respondents. Of these, 26 (46.43%) were conducted on the premises of the Multicultural Neighbourhood Centre, 16 (28.57%) on TAFE premises, 8 (14.29%) in respondents’ private homes, and 6 (10.71%) in the researcher’s home. The interviews took on average of two hours and a half, with four of the interviews lasting for less than an hour and six lasting for about four hours. The length of the interviews appeared to be

a function of both subjects' proficiency levels and ambience. For example, those at the higher end of the proficiency scale could finish the interview rather quickly in formal settings, whereas those at similar level but interviewed in informal settings were willing to share more of their experiences with English language learning and life in Australia, thus taking longer to complete the interview schedule.

The rest of the sample ($n = 67$, 54.48%) self-administered the questionnaire. Of these 67 subjects, 46 (68.66%) made appointments with the researcher to hand in the survey. These appointments took approximately twenty minutes and presented an opportunity for the investigator to check whether all questions had been answered and all boxes ticked. The rest of the 67 subjects ($n = 21$, 31.34%) handed in their completed surveys through a third party. Since all of them had provided contact details, it was possible for the researcher to contact them in order to fill in any missing information, ask for clarification, as well as to thank them for their participation. The phone calls were also an opportunity to evaluate the level of English speaking and listening proficiency of this particular group of subjects.

The ASLPR scales, as described in sections 4.4.3 and 4.4.4, were chosen for their unobtrusiveness and ease of administration in the natural context of an interview. During the interview, respondents had to read items from the questionnaire and write short answers to the open-ended questions and this presented an opportunity for assessing the level of their reading and writing proficiency. The speaking and listening proficiency of those who self-administered the questionnaire was assessed during the conversations that occurred upon the collection of the completed survey and on the telephone. In addition, the teachers at TAFE, who had had years of experience in administering the scales, were consulted about the scores assigned to the subjects attending classes at the time. This helped the researcher to calibrate her use of the ASLPR and contributed to the validity of the measurement. Also, the level of education and type of training that the respondents had received in Australian institutions (which have strict requirements about candidates' level of English language proficiency) were used as yet another source of information that helped to establish respondents' English language proficiency levels.

5.4 Data Analyses: An Overview

As the previous section showed, the items thought to comprise the subconstructs were analysed for internal consistency (see section 5.3.5). Whenever the scales consisted of items that were of heterogeneous formats (e.g. some checklists, some scales, some yes/no questions), the scores were standardised first. The items that significantly reduced the internal consistency of a scale and/or whose item-total correlations were less than .03 were omitted. Once the reliability of the scales was established, indices were formed, these were then screened for normality, and the relevant scales were factor analysed afterwards in order to uncover the constructs' underlying dimensions. The resulting factors were in turn tested for internal consistency and if the reliability coefficient was found to be adequate (.60 and above), composite scores were calculated for each factor. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was then performed in order to establish how the respondents (by groups of length of residency, region of origin, age, etc.) differed on these variables. Pearson Product-Moment correlations were also run on these factors in order to establish the size and the direction (positive or negative) of the relationships among them. Finally, a series of regressions -- Path Analysis was performed in an attempt to uncover the existence of possible causal relationships among these variables. The analyses were carried out using SPSS, version 13 of the package. The next chapters will present and discuss the results obtained upon the application of these analyses.

CHAPTER 6

6 Attitude Variables: Preliminary Analyses

The aim of the preliminary analyses was to screen the attitude measures for normality and reliability as well as to uncover their underlying dimensions. Migrants' attitudes toward the Anglo-Australian group as a target language (TL) group were measured indirectly with the Spolsky identity scales technique and directly with a set of ad hoc scales labelled Australian Behavioural Stereotype (ABS) which were designed by this researcher (see section 5.2.2.3 for details). Both measures were first subjected to scale reliability analysis and then to Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA). Whereas the conduct of reliability analysis is an obligatory first step toward the formation of indices, the rationale for conducting EFA here was three-fold.

As noted in section 4.2.2, Eagly and Chaiken (1998:286) noticed that research has neglected the attitudinal structure of, and the values underlying minority groups' attitudes toward majority groups. The importance of the individualist-collectivist cultural dimension has already been emphasised at several points in the thesis as helpful in explaining community shielding and interpreting the stereotypes of the native language group and the TL group in Oller et al.'s (1977) and Pierson et al.'s (1980) studies. Western culture (Australia, North America, and North and Western Europe) is individualistic and as such emphasises the independence of the individual from others and from societal constraints, whereas Eastern culture (Africa, Asia, South America, and South and Eastern Europe) is collectivistic and as such emphasises the importance of others and interpersonal harmony (Sedikides et al., 2003). Members of individualistic cultures are idiocentrics and as such are striving to express self, whereas members of collectivistic cultures are allocentrics and as such are trying to restrain self and maintain social harmony (Sedikides et al., 2003). Sedikides and his colleagues propose that the two cultures endorse different evaluative dimensions so that idiocentrics (individualists) internalise the value of agency, defined as "concern with personal effectiveness and social dominance" (Sedikides et al., 2003: 63), whereas allocentrics (collectivists) internalise the value of communion, defined as "concern with personal integration and

social connection” (Sedikides et al., 2003: 63). Hence, revealing the underlying structure of the identity scales and the ABS scales could offer an insight into the dimension that capture, and the values which underlie migrants’ attitudes toward the majority Anglo-Australian group.

The results from the EFA could also be used to attest to or refute the construct validity of the attitude measures used in present research. Within mainstream social psychology, researchers have argued that stereotypes (be they gender, racial, or social groups) are captured by two dimensions, namely: competence and warmth (Fiske et al., 2002). Thus, the emergence of similar dimensions within the identity scales and ABS scales could be taken to attest to these instruments’ construct validity.

In addition, the sample’s level of integrativeness could be inferred from these EFA results. According to the stereotype content model (Fiske et al., 2002) where specific groups fall with relation to the above mentioned dimensions depends on the social structure of the intergroup relations. Competence would be a function of status, so that high-status groups are usually perceived as competent. Warmth would be a function of the competition between groups, so that non-competitive outgroups are usually seen as warm and competitive outgroups are seen as ‘not warm’. In Fiske et al.’s (2002) work, the crossing between the competence and warmth dimensions gives rise to four possible combinations. Two of these are mixed: outgroups are either perceived as high on competence but low on warmth (envious stereotype; e. g. Jews and Asian immigrants in the US), or as being low on competence but high on warmth (paternalistic stereotype; e. g. African-Americans, the elderly, and housewives). The other two combinations are unmixed. Outgroups are perceived as being low on both competence and warmth (contemptuous stereotype; e.g. welfare recipients), or as being high on both competence and warmth (admiration stereotype; e.g. cultural default groups: middle class, Christian). Thus, if similar dimensions are found to underlie the identity scales, they can provide additional basis for comparison among the four targets and hence can help to elaborate on the present sample’s level of integrativeness. The results from these preliminary analyses are presented and discussed, as they emerge from these analyses, in the following sections.

6.1 Scale Reliability Analysis and Computation of Positivity Indices

6.1.1 Spolsky Identity Scales Technique

The Spolsky identity scales technique, as already described in section 5.2.2.3, is a multi-scale instrument whereby respondents are asked to rate their selves, their ideal selves, the speakers of their native language, and the speakers of the target language on the same set of usually positive personality attributes, such as kind, friendly, helpful. The number and wording of attributes has varied among studies. Spolsky (1969) and Oller et al. (1977) used 30 positive attributes in their scales; Pierson et al. (1980) used 20 positive attributes; Smit and Dalton (2000) used 30 both positive and negative attributes. In the present study, the four sets of scales for the targets Self, Ideal Self, People in Native Country, and Australians consisted of 28 positive attributes (questions B5 and B6). The scales had a verbal response range from ‘strongly agree’, assigned a score of 5, to ‘strongly disagree’, assigned a score of 1. Higher scores indicated more positive evaluations.

The 28 items in each of the four scales were subjected to reliability analysis. Items whose item-total correlation was less than .30 were discarded. As a result, the item ‘want to be rich’ was dropped from the scales measuring attitudes toward the targets Self and People in Native Country. Based on Dörnyei’s (2001) recommendation, the minimum level of reliability was set at Cronbach’s alpha of .60. The four scales were found to possess good internal consistency, with alpha coefficients of .94 for the target Self, .95 for Ideal Self, .93 for People in Native Country, and .94 for Australians. Based on this, positivity indices were formed as the average of 28 items for the targets Ideal Self and Australians and as the average of 27 items for the targets Self and People in Native Country. Higher scores indicated more positive evaluations.

The descriptive statistics for these indices revealed that, whereas all four were negatively skewed, the Ideal Self index and the Australians index departed noticeably from normality. These two indices were successfully normalised (*Skewness* = .515 for Ideal Self and .294 for Australians), using first a reflected transformation and then square root transformation (see Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007: 86-88 for details on these and other common data transformation procedures). To ease interpretation and to equate their meaning to the untransformed indices, the indices for Ideal Self and Australians were finally reverse scored, so that a higher score once again indicated more positive

attitudes (see also Table 9 for means and standard deviations). These indices were used in their transformed form in all subsequent analyses.

6.1.2 Australian Behavioural Stereotype (ABS) Scales

Whereas the Spolsky identity scales technique was used as an indirect global evaluative measure, the ad hoc Australian Behavioural Stereotype scales were used as a direct and descriptive measure, designed by this researcher with specific reference to Anglo-Australians as a TL group. As explained in section 5.2.2.3, this instrument consisted of 28 statements (question B7 in the survey). The items had a verbal response range from ‘strongly agree’, assigned a score of 5, to ‘strongly disagree’, assigned a score of 1. Higher scores indicated more positive stereotype. Four of the statements were not complimentary to Australians (“Australians drink a lot”, “Australians watch TV a lot”, “Australians are big spenders”, and “Australians are snobs”). These four items were reversed scored, so that the response ‘strongly agree’ was given a score of 1 and the response ‘strongly disagree’ was given a score of 5. The 28 scales were then subjected to scale reliability analysis. The results showed that seven items had low item-total correlations (less than .30). Therefore, the four reverse scored items as well as “Australians take pride in their homes”, “Australians are religious”, and “Australians have good sense of humour” were discarded. The Cronbach’s alpha coefficient for the remaining items was found to be satisfactory at .90. Based on this, a positivity index for the Australian Behavioural stereotype was computed as the average of 21 items. Higher scores indicated more positive Anglo-Australian stereotype. The descriptive statistics for the ABS index showed that it was normally distributed (see also Table 9 in section 6.3).

6.2 Exploratory Factor Analyses (EFA) results

6.2.1 Spolsky Identity Scales Technique

The aim of EFA in the present research was to uncover dimensions on which the four targets can be compared, with Ideal Self serving as a quasi norm. This was thought to allow for inferences to be made about the sample’s integrativeness. As noted in section 5.2.2.3, the four scales have been previously factor analysed in Oller et al.’s 1977 study (the only one, to this researcher’s knowledge, that used EFA on the scales).

However, they used the analyses as a means to a different end – the aim was show what factors within each target were good predictors of proficiency (meaning that the researchers looked for uncorrelated factors). In Oller et al.'s study, eight orthogonal factors emerged in the target Ideal Self and nine orthogonal factors emerged in the other targets. The factors differed from target to target and some consisted of only one item. Here, the target Australians was analysed first and the results were then imposed by extension on the other targets in order to facilitate the necessary comparisons among targets (described in chapter 7).

Initial EFA revealed that of the 28 components potentially extracted from the 28-item scale, five components had eigenvalue greater than one and explained 65.67% of the variance. The scree plot, however, suggested a two-factor solution, which was imposed during the extraction of a second factor analysis (rotation method: varimax with Kaiser normalisation). These two factors explained 41% of the variance (22.97% and 18.43%, respectively). Because the majority of items loaded on both factors, suggesting that the factors were substantially correlated, EFA with oblimin rotation was performed and preferred to orthogonal rotation. Again, the extraction of two factors was imposed on this new EFA procedure. The two factors explained 46.71% of variance (39.44% and 7.27%, respectively) and correlated at .60. Only items that loaded unequivocally on a factor were retained. The procedure required that 11 items be dropped from the original 28. The remaining items are presented in Table 7.

By exploring the meaning of the selected items, it was established that the first factor tapped into an Intelligent-cultured dimension since it attracted loadings from items such as “well-mannered”, “well-informed”, “clever and smart”, “logical and wise” and the like. The second factor tapped into an Amiable dimension since it attracted loadings from items such as “friendly”, “cheerful”, “easy to get along with” and the like.

The nine items in the Intelligent-cultured factor and the seven items in the Amiable factor were subjected to reliability analysis. Since the alpha coefficients were found to be satisfactory at .89 and .86, positivity indices were formed for Anglo-Australians as intelligent-cultured and as amiable as the average of the nine and seven items, respectively. Higher scores indicated more positive evaluations of Anglo-Australians on these two dimensions.

Table 7 *Pattern Matrix (Oblimin Rotation) of Factors Underlying the Scale for the Target Australians*

	Factor 1	Factor 2
	Intelligent-cultured	Amiable
Logical and wise	.88	-.11
Gentle and graceful	.83	-.09
Well-mannered	.82	-.11
Humble and polite	.81	-.03
Clever and smart	.76	.09
Well-informed	.76	-.06
Open-minded	.62	.06
Presentable in appearance	.59	.07
Cool and clear-headed	.58	.06
Friendly	-.06	.86
Easy to get along with	-.12	.86
Cheerful	.04	.73
Hospitable	-.16	.71
Loyal to their family	-.01	.70
Energetic	.02	.70
Good mixers	.09	.63

Note: The factors explain 46.71% of variance and $r = .60$.

The descriptive statistics for the newly formed indices showed that they too (just like the main Anglo-Australians positivity index) noticeably departed from normality. This was successfully corrected using first a reflected transformation and then a square root transformation. Finally, the transformed indices were reverse scored, so that a higher score once again indicated a more positive evaluation. The transformed forms were used in all subsequent analyses. The descriptive statistics for the two indices revealed that Australians were rated highly positively on both the Intelligent-cultured ($M = 4.47$, $SD = 0.22$) and the Amiable dimensions ($M = 4.54$, $SD = 0.21$).

These EFA results suggest that the Anglo-Australian stereotype is captured by two dimensions: Intelligent-cultured and Amiable. In Fiske et al.'s (2002) stereotype content model intelligence is part of the competence dimension and amity is part of the warmth dimension. The fact that the results fit in with the stereotype content model could be taken to attest to the construct validity of the scales. The fact that Australians were rated high on both dimensions suggests that migrants' evaluate the TL group's

stereotype as mixed, combining both idiocentric (individualistic) and allocentric (collectivistic) attributes. In line with Sedikides et al.'s theorising, this suggests that the values underlying the participants' attitudes as members of a minority group toward Anglo-Australians as the majority group could be related to agency (personal effectiveness and social dominance) and communion (personal integration and social connection).

Since the focus of the present investigation was on attitudes toward the speakers of the target language and how the other attitudes objects related to that, the two factor solution obtained for the target Australians was imposed on the rest of the targets (Self, Ideal Self, and People in Native Country). The nine items in the Intelligent-cultured factor and the seven items in the Amiable factor within each target were subjected to reliability analyses. Since the lowest Cronbach's alpha coefficient was found to be satisfactory at .83, Intelligent-cultured and Amiable positivity indices were formed for the targets Self, Ideal Self, and People in Native Country as the average of the nine and seven items, respectively. Higher scores indicated more positive evaluations of self, desired self, and speakers of native language as intelligent-cultured and as amiable. Inspection of the descriptive statistics for the newly formed indices revealed that the two indices for the target Ideal Self deviated noticeably from normality. Again, they were successfully corrected using reflected and square root transformations. The transformed scores were then reversed to keep the meaning of all indices uniform. Means, standard deviations, and alpha coefficients are summarised in Table 9 in section 6.3.

6.2.2 The Australian Behavioural Stereotype Scales

In order to uncover the underlying structure of the attitudes toward the Australian Behavioural Stereotype, the twenty-one items forming this scale were subjected to EFA in the same manner as the items that formed the scales for the target Australians. Initially, out of the 21 potential factors five were extracted with eigenvalues greater than 1 and they explained 60.00% of the variance. The scree plot, however, suggested a two factor solution, which was imposed during the extraction of a second factor analysis with varimax rotation. After rotation the factors explained 41.40% of variance (22.97% and 18.43%, respectively). Since a lot of the items loaded on both factors, suggesting that the two were correlated, EFA with oblimin rotation was

performed with the extraction of two factors imposed on this new EFA procedure. The two factors again explained 41.40% of variance (33.12% and 8.28%, respectively) and correlated at .44. Again, only items that loaded unequivocally on a factor were retained. This procedure required that six of the 21 items that formed the scales be discarded. An inspection of the items revealed that the first factor tapped into a Competence dimension since it attracted loadings from items such as “Australians try to be precise and accurate at what they do”, “Australians are punctual”, and the like. The second factor seemed to tap into a Sociability dimension since it attracted loadings from items such as “Australians like to socialise”, “Australians are outspoken”, and the like. These items as they load on the factors are summarised in Table 8 below.

Table 8 *Pattern Matrix (Oblimin Rotation) of the Factors Underlying the Australian Behavioural Stereotype Scale*

	Factor 1 Competence	Factor 2 Sociability
Australians try to be precise and accurate at what they do.	.86	-.28
Australians are punctual.	.77	-.17
Australians are conscientious.	.69	-.05
Australians have good work ethics	.66	.06
Australians are trying hard to understand migrants.	.63	.06
Australians read a lot.	.58	.14
Australians care about the environment.	.58	.18
Australians care about politics.	.52	.02
Australians are brave.	.15	.73
Australians like to socialise.	-.11	.66
Australians are outspoken.	-.06	.64
Australians are good at sport.	-.09	.59
Australians support each other.	.063	.55
Australians are physically fit.	.19	.52
Australians are proud people.	.17	.50

Note: The factors explain 41.40% of the total variance and $r = 0.44$.

The eight items in factor Competence and the seven items in factor Sociability were subjected to reliability analyses which revealed that both had adequate internal consistency with Cronbach’s alpha coefficients at .82 and .75, respectively. Based on

this, positivity indices for Australians as competent and Australians as sociable were formed as the average of the eight and seven items loading on the two factors. Higher scores indicated more positive evaluations. Australians were rated moderately positively on both dimensions ($M = 3.35$, $SD = 0.63$ on competence and $M = 3.81$, $SD = 0.59$ on sociability).

These EFA results are similar to the results presented in the previous section. The two dimension uncovered in the Australian Behavioural Stereotype (ABS) measure seem to fit in with Fiske et al.'s (2002) claim that all stereotypes are captured by the dimensions of competence and warmth. This could be taken as an indication that the ABS instrument possesses construct validity. The fact that Australians were rated positively on both dimensions suggests once again that migrants evaluate the TL group's stereotype as a combination of idiocentric and allocentric attributes which research by Sedikides et al. (2003) has linked to the values of agency (emphasising personal effectiveness and social dominance) and communion (emphasising personal integration and social connection).

The similarity between results raised the issue of whether the two measures (the identity scales for the target Australians and the ABS scales) converged to the point of rendering the ABS scales redundant. Correlations of above .80 between two measures indicate that one (usually new) measure lacks discriminant validity - that is to say, it is a mere alternative of another (Gregory, 2000). In order to establish whether this was the case, Pearson correlation analysis was conducted on the positivity indices for the target Australians and its underlying dimensions and ABS and its underlying dimensions. The results showed that whereas all indices correlated significantly with each other (all $ps < .01$), suggesting that they all measured the Anglo-Australian stereotype, none of the correlations exceeded .65, suggesting that they measured different aspects of the stereotype.

6.3 Summary

The results from the reliability analyses and EFA conducted on the Spolsky identity scales technique and the Australian Behavioural Stereotype (ABS) scales are summarised in Table 9.

Table 9 *Descriptive Statistics and Reliability Coefficients for the Attitude Variables*

	Items	α	M	SD	$Min.$	$Max.$
Self	27	.94	4.13	.53	2.93	5.00
Intelligent-cltured	9	.87	4.00	.61	2.67	5.00
Amiable	7	.86	4.23	.60	3.00	5.00
Ideal Self_a	28	.95	4.79	.18	4.40	5.00
Intelligent-cltured _a	9	.89	4.79	.20	4.33	5.00
Amiable _a	7	.87	4.82	.19	4.31	.5.00
People in Native Country	27	.93	3.84	.54	2.19	5.00
Intelligent-cltured	9	.85	3.76	.61	2.22	5.00
Amiable	7	.83	4.01	.62	1.71	5.00
Anglo-Australians_a	28	.94	4.50	.18	3.76	5.00
Intelligent-cltured _a	9	.89	4.47	.22	3.76	.5.00
Amiable _a	7	.86	4.54	.21	3.76	5.00
Au Behavioural Stereotype	21	.90	3.55	.54	1.52	4.76
Competence	9	.83	3.35	.63	1.60	4.80
Sociability	7	.75	3.81	.59	1.43	5.00

Note: _a = transformed variables (first reflected, then square root transformations; scores were then reversed to equate meaning to untransformed indices). The data is for transformed variables. Scores range between 1 and 5, with higher scores indicating more positive attitudes.

As Table 9 shows, all attitude variables were found to possess adequate internal consistency, with Cronbach's alpha coefficients ranging between .75 and .94. The dimensions found to underlie the identity scales for the target Australians and the ABS scales fitted in with the stereotype content model (Fiske et al., 2002), suggesting that both the direct and indirect measures possessed construct validity. The fact that Australians were rated positively as intelligent and amiable, and competent and sociable suggested that for the present sample the TL group stereotype combined attributes from Western culture (individualistic/idiocentric) and Eastern culture (collectivistic/allocentric). These findings indicated that migrants' attitudes toward

Anglo-Australians could be related to the values of agency and communion. In addition, within Fiske et al.'s 2002 stereotype content model, the positive ratings on both dimensions suggested an admiration stereotype – that is, Australians were likely to be perceived as the cultural default group. The next chapter (chapter 7) will further elaborate on these initial findings through the juxtaposition of these evaluations with evaluations of self, ideal self, and speakers of native language.

CHAPTER 7

7 Attitude Variables: Main Analyses

The main analyses were conducted with the aim to answer the research questions concerning the sample's level of integrativeness, differences in attitudes among groups by region of origin and length of residence, and the relationship among attitude measures and measures of self-rated and objective English language proficiency. The questions on differences required the use of analysis of variance (ANOVA) procedures, whereas the questions on the relationship among attitude and proficiency variables required the use of Pearson correlation and regression procedures.

However, the present chapter is not limited to the discussion of the attitude variables alone. The contact measures (questions B1 to B4; see section 5.2.2.3) are analysed and discussed in parallel to support findings and allow for various inferences to be made. There were at least two reasons for this approach. First, in the social psychological models of SLA attitudes are seen as important because they bring the second language (L2) learner in contact with members of the TL group (e.g. Schumann, 1976b, 1978, 1986; Clément, 1980; Giles & Byrne, 1982; see chapter 1). In the acculturation model of SLA interaction is important because it provides learners with L2 input which ultimately influences the level of L2 proficiency. Schumann's lack of specificity (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991; cited in section 4.2.5) is more than made up for in Gass's (1997) work which asserts that "all input is potentially important for building up through experience the automatic processes necessary to deal with fluent language" (Gass, 1997: 100). Interaction is important because it forces the learner to produce comprehensible output – that is, the learner has to go beyond the semantic level to the levels of morphology and syntax. Interaction provides learners with the opportunity to test their hypotheses about L2, receive feedback, adjust their grammars, and develop automaticity in L2 production (Gass, 1997). Thus, interaction causes L2 acquisition. However, interaction between linguistic non equals may not be easy. Second, social psychological research on intergroup contact has empirically established that, although the relationship between attitudes and contact is bidirectional (positive attitudes increase/negative attitudes decrease contact; contact improves attitudes), "the

path from friendship to reduced prejudice is significantly stronger than the prejudice to less friendship path” (Pettigrew, 1998: 75). In addition, SLA research has found that contact leads to identification with the TL group (Clément et al., 2001). Hence, it was important to see whether the positive attitudes toward Anglo-Australians at which the preliminary analysis hinted translated into quantity and quality of contact with the TL group. In search of plausible explanations for some of the results, additional analyses on groups by level of education are also presented.

Since attitudes in the present study were conceptualised as a part of acculturation, the results from the analyses on the attitude variables are discussed in terms of their implications for acculturation theory as well.

On a technical note, one way within subjects repeated measures ANOVAs were followed up with *t*-tests in order to exactly locate existing differences. Whenever Mauchly’s test of sphericity was found to be significant when running ANOVA, Greenhouse-Geisser correction was used to adjust the degrees of freedom for violations in the sphericity assumption (J. Foster, 2001). Between subjects ANOVAs were followed up with Tukey post hoc tests with the aim to pinpoint existing differences. However, the assumption for equal group variances (also known as homogeneity of variance) was occasionally violated (i.e., the significance for the Levene Statistic was less than .05). Of the various ways to deal with the issue, this researcher has chosen to use .025 instead of .05 as a more stringent criterion for α and Games-Howell instead of Tukey post hoc test whenever violations of the homogeneity assumption occurred when running ANOVA (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007:86). Another note is in order on the conduct of the within and between subjects analyses. The higher order ANOVAs were carried out first in order to examine the effects of, and interactions between target, dimension, and various groupings of participants. The follow up one way ANOVAs on significant effects and interactions, however, were carried out on the expanded indices computed as the average of 27 items for the Self, 28 items for the other targets, and 21 items for the Australian Behavioural Stereotype, not as the sums of the 9 and 7 items that made up their dimensions. This was done with the intention to preserve the integrity of the identity scales technique and stay close to Spolsky’s (1969) original conceptualisation of it as a measure of integrativeness.

7.1 What is the Present Sample's Level of Integrativeness in Terms of Attitudes toward Anglo-Australians?

In Gardner's socio-educational model of SLA integrativeness is defined as "willingness and interest in having social interaction with members of the L2 group" (Gardner et al., 1997) and as "emotional identification with another cultural group" (Gardner, 2001: 5). In Gardner's work integrativeness is a complex of three lower level variables, namely: interest in foreign languages, attitudes toward the TL group, and integrative orientation toward learning L2 (see chapter 3). According to Csizér and Dörnyei (2005) although integrativeness is one of the most researched concepts in L2 motivation, it is still an enigma. Research until the early 1980s appears to have been concerned with the utility of the concept as a predictor of L2 proficiency and produced variable and complex for interpretation results (Spolsky, 1969; Oller et al., 1977; Pierson et al., 1980; see section 5.2.2.3), prompting the observation about the futility of effort to predict individual level variables (L2 achievement) from intergroup level phenomena (Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991). The early research into integrativeness seems to have ignored Gardner's postulation that integrativeness, as one of the three components forming the integrative motive, only acts as support to motivation. In fact, Csizér and Dörnyei's 2005 publication reported that integrativeness was central to their subjects' motivation (13-14 years of age schoolchildren in Hungary). Since integrativeness was found to be strong in the absence of a salient TL group, the researchers proposed that integrativeness be considered within the framework of the "Ideal L2 Self".

The present research stayed within the tradition – that is to say, attitudes toward the TL group were considered as intergroup level variables. Their discussion is fairly autonomous and relates to their implications for immigrants' acculturation and intergroup relations. This approach stemmed from the propositions that, from the perspective of harmonious intergroup relations, the outcome of acculturation depends on the host community as much as it does on immigrants (Bourhis et al., 1997, see section 4.1.2; Schumann, 1978) and that there is a need for explicit instruction in cultural awareness as much among the Anglo-Australian majority as among the migrant minority (FitzGerald, 2003). The results from the analyses on the attitude variables could be of interest to those involved in policy making, English language program design, education, and social work.

As for the measurement of attitudes toward the TL group, whereas Gardner and his colleagues have always measured attitudes with direct positively and negatively worded statements (such as “Most French Canadians are so friendly and easy to get along with that Canada is fortunate to have them” and “By promoting French to the exclusion of English, French Canadians in Quebec have shown that they deserve less, not more, consideration from the rest of Canada”), other researchers have employed the Spolsky identity scales technique as an indirect attitude measure (Spolsky, 1969; Oller et al., 1977; Pierson et al., 1980; Smit & Dalton, 2000; see section 5.2.2.3).

In the present study, as noted at several points in the thesis, the identity scales were used in the way described in Smit and Dalton’s (2000) publication, whereby the target Ideal Self was used as the quasi norm against which the other attitude objects were compared. In the Spolsky identity scales technique attitudes toward the TL group seem to be understood best in juxtaposition with attitudes toward the other targets. The discussion of the Australian behavioural stereotype scales does not fit in with this section. Suffice it to say at this point that, as the results from the preliminary analyses revealed in the previous chapter, the stereotype and both of its underlying dimensions were positively evaluated.

In order to determine whether differences in evaluations existed, a 4 (target: Self, Ideal Self, People in Native Country, Australians) x 2 (dimension: Intelligent-cultured, Amiable) repeated measures within subjects ANOVA was carried out on the positivity index. The results revealed a significant effect of target, $F(2.19, 122) = 176.38, p < .001$, significant effect of dimension, $F(1,122) = 71.13, p < .001$, and a significant Target X Dimension interaction, $F(2.07, 122) = 15.45, p < .001$. The significant effect of target was followed up with a 4 target (Self, Ideal Self, People in Native Country, and Australians) one-way repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) performed on the positivity index, Greenhouse-Geisser correction, $F(2.18, 265.36) = 214.92, p < .001$. This significant effect was on its part followed up using a series of paired-samples *t*-tests. All pair-wise comparisons among the four targets were statistically significant, all $ps < .001$.

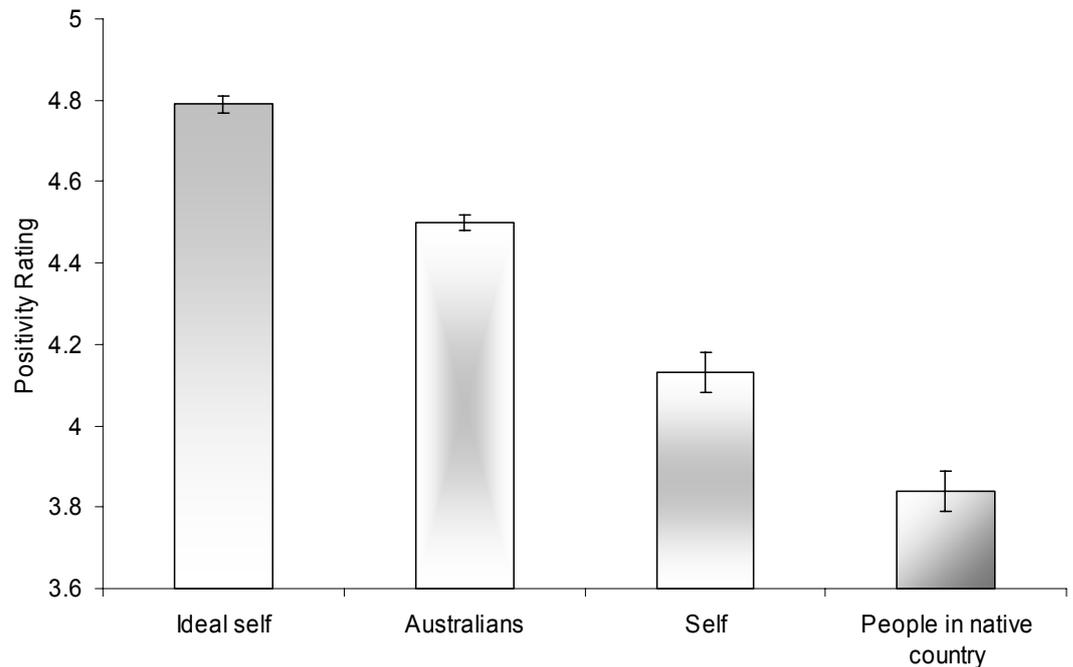


Figure 25. Positivity ratings for the four targets. The error bars represent the standard error of the mean. All pair-wise comparisons are statistically significant, all $ps < .001$. The scores range between 1 and 5 and higher scores indicate more positive attitudes.

As the order of targets in *Figure 25* shows the target Ideal Self ($M = 4.79$) was judged as most favourable, followed by the target Australians ($M = 4.50$), followed by the target Self ($M = 4.13$), and finally followed by the target People in Native Country ($M = 3.84$), all $ps < .001$.

These results suggest that the present sample's level of integrativeness was high since Anglo-Australians ranked second to ideal self and above self. As noted in section 5.2.2.3, Smit and Dalton (2000) reported that their results on integrativeness were inconclusive because their respondents saw self as closest to the ideal and above the TL group. The results here seem to be rather unequivocal: Anglo-Australians were without doubt a desirable group for the present participants.

The significant effect of dimension was ascertained with a 4 target (Self, Ideal Self, People in Native Country, and Australians) one-way within subjects repeated measures ANOVAs carried out on the Intelligent-cultured and on Amiable positivity indices separately. The targets were found to be significantly differently evaluated on both the Intelligent-cultured dimension, $F(2.24, 273.43) = 195.75$, $p < .001$ and the

Amiable dimension, $F(2.18, 266.48) = 106.86, p < .001$. These significant differences were followed up using t -tests. All paired comparisons were significant, all $ps < .001$. The means for these two indices have already been summarised in Table 9 and are graphically presented in *Figure 26*.

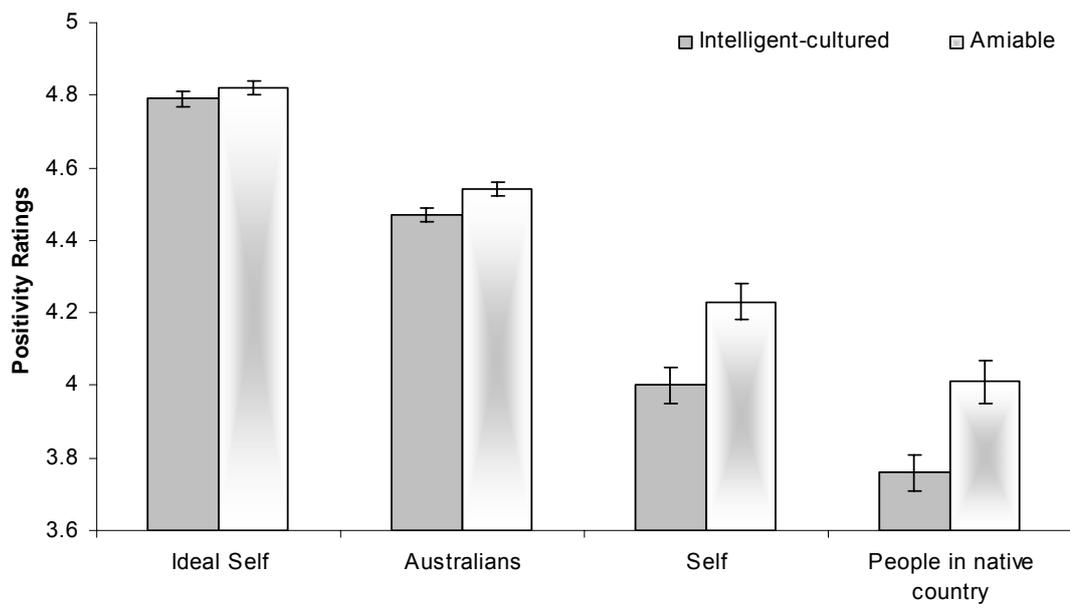


Figure 26. Ratings on the Intelligent-cultured and Amiable dimensions as a function of target (all $ps < .001$). The error bars represent the standard error of the mean. The scores range between 1 and 5 and higher scores indicate more positive attitudes.

As *Figure 26* shows, the targets are ordered in a similar manner along these sub-level variables as they were for the overall positivity index. Ideal Self ($M = 4.79$) scored the highest for Intelligent-cultured and higher than Australians ($M = 4.47$), followed by Self ($M = 4.00$), and finally followed by People in Native Country ($M = 3.76$). Similarly, the Ideal Self ($M = 4.82$) scored the highest on Amiable and higher than Australians ($M = 4.54$), followed by Self ($M = 4.23$), and finally followed by People in Native Country ($M = 4.00$). *Figure 26* also shows that the Amiable dimension consistently attracted higher ratings than the Intelligent-cultured dimension for all the targets (in the Ideal Self the difference between the two was not statistically significant). Considering that the majority of the sample ($n = 98, 80\%$) came from collectivistic cultures (Africa, Asia, South and Central America, South and Eastern Europe), the accentuation of Amiable was in accordance with Sedikides et al.'s (2003)

theorising that the relevant evaluative dimension for collectivists was communion (concern with personal integration and social connection). Finally, as the magnitude of the difference between the two bars within each target in *Figure 26* suggests, People in Native Country and Self were stereotyped as allocentrics/collectivists to a much greater degree than Ideal Self and Australians were. This type of Target X Dimension interaction conforms to Oller et al.'s (1977) and Pierson et al.'s (1980) results which showed that the Chinese students in their samples attributed allocentric/collectivistic traits to the native language group and idiocentric/individualistic traits to the English speaking TL group (see section 5.2.2.3).

The fact that Anglo-Australians ranked closest to ideal self and above self in terms of Intelligent-cultured and Amiable confirmed the preliminary findings that migrants held an admiration stereotype of the TL group. Within Fiske et al.'s (2002) work, this was the stereotype reserved mainly for societal reference groups.

Since Gardner's concept of integrativeness is defined in terms of willingness to interact (Gardner et al., 1997), it was important to establish whether the positive attitudes related to contact with the TL group. Pearson correlation analysis was performed on the contact indices and the positivity indices for the target Australians as means to this end. Contact was measured with questions asking respondents about the number of Australian friends they had (B1), about the frequency and quantity of contact with Australians (B3a; computed as the sum of 5 weighted items), and about current (B4a) and desired (B4b) depth and variety of contact with Australians (each computed as the average of 6 items scored 0/1 with higher scores indicating greater variety of contact). The results revealed that attitudes toward the TL group and contact with its members were positively correlated. The main positivity index for Australians and its Amiable dimension correlated with all of the above specified contact indices, with correlation sizes ranging between .21 and .34, $ps < .05$ and $.01$. The Intelligent-cultured index for Australians correlated weakly but significantly only with desired variety of contact ($r = .19$, $p < .05$; $N = 123$). Parenthetically, no relationship was found to exist between the main Australian Behavioural Stereotype (ABS) index, or any of its underlying dimensions, and the contact indices involving Australians. The ABS indices, as Table 9 showed, were found to be moderately positive or close to neutral, with mean scores ranging between 3.33 for Australians as competent and 3.81 for Australians as sociable, whereas the mean scores for the target Australians ranged between 4.47 for intelligent-cultured and 4.54 for amiable. This pattern of correlations lends empirical

support to the premise of the social psychological models that the more positive the L2 learners' attitudes toward the TL group are, the greater the contact learners have with members of that group.

In order to see what contact indices were likely to outweigh others in importance the following procedure was employed. After inspection of the ratings on the overall positivity index for the target Australians, respondents were divided into two groups: those with scores equal or greater than 4.50 in a 'highly positive' group ($n = 61$) and those with scores less than 4.50 in a 'positive' group ($n = 62$). The groups were compared on the contact indices, using an independent-samples t -test. The results showed that the only statistically significant difference between the groups existed on the 'current depth and variety of contact with Anglo-Australians' index, $t(121) = 2.27$, $p = 0.025$, with respondents in the highly positive attitude group experiencing contact at significantly deeper level ($M = .50$, $SD = .27$) than respondents in the positive attitude group ($M = .39$, $SD = .27$). This result suggests that highly positive attitudes are related to depth of contact with members of the TL group rather than to mere number of friends or chance encounters.

Finally, a comparison between scores on the 'current depth and variety of contact' index (B4a) and 'desired depth and variety of contact' index (B4b), each computed as the average of 6 items scored 0/1, was deemed as suited to provide further insight into the sample's level of integrativeness. The results from the paired-samples t -test showed that respondents desired to have significantly greater depth of contact with Anglo-Australians ($M = .59$, $SD = .25$) than they were experiencing at the time of the survey ($M = .45$, $SD = .27$), $t(122) = -7.70$, $p < .001$. This result seems to provide further evidence for the sample's high level of integrativeness.

In summary, the level of integrativeness among the present sample was found to be very high. This was reflected in the positioning of the target Ideal Self to the left of the target Australians on the overall positivity index and on its Intelligent-cultured and Amiable dimensions, suggesting that migrants' selves were oriented toward the TL group, not the native language group. In addition, the admiration stereotype that migrants held of Australians suggested that for the present sample the TL group was a desirable societal reference group. In line with Gardner's and Schumann's theories of SLA, the highly favourable evaluations of the attitude object positively related to contact with members of the Anglo-Australian community and were reflected in the desire for more social interaction. How these positive attitudes and their relationship

with contact might influence the level of English language proficiency shall be discussed in section 7.4 of the present chapter.

7.2 Do Migrants from Different Ethnic Backgrounds Differ in Their Attitudes toward Anglo-Australians?

In essence, this question continues to elaborate on the sample's integrativeness (more specifically its 'attitudes toward the TL group' component) by examining whether integrativeness was a function of ethnicity. As noted in chapter 2, the eleven studies on the English language needs of migrants commissioned by the government in response to a Galbally Report recommendation and conducted in the early 1980s found that migrants from Asia and Southern Europe (e.g. Chinese and Greeks, respectively) scored consistently lower on the Australian Second Language Proficiency Rating (ASLPR) scales than migrants from Western and Central Europe (e.g. Dutch, Germans, and Poles). This was attributed to factors such as size and cohesiveness of the immigrant communities as well as to similarity between native language and English language scripts. Similarly, research on ethnic language maintenance found that the shift to English progressed at a much slower rate among the Asian and Southern European communities than among the Western and Central European ones (C. Stevens, 1999). Additional factors this was attributed to were congruence between cultures (Clyne & Kipp, 1996; see section 2.4) and shift in social identity (McNamara, 1987; see section 2.3). Congruence between TL group and native language group cultures was also found to influence the preference of acculturation strategy in Australia, such that New Zealand immigrants favoured assimilation over integration whereas Hong Kong Chinese and Vietnamese immigrants favoured integration over assimilation (Nesdale, 2002; see section 2.4). Thus, these findings seem to suggest that level of English language competence, rate of shift to English, and preference of one acculturation strategy over another could be a function of immigrants' region of origin. Migrants' attitudes toward the majority Anglo-Australian group were not the focus of any of these investigations. The English language needs-based studies examined respondents' demographic characteristics such as age, gender, age at arrival, length of residence, level of education, and employment status as correlates of English language proficiency and sought to gather data to inform providers of English language instruction in terms

of program content and place and time of classes. The ethnic language maintenance research examined migrants' attitudes toward their native language and native language group. Although intergroup attitudes are considered a remote rather than proximate or immediate cause of SLA, they are nonetheless an important link in the chains of causality that the social psychological models of SLA propose. In Schumann's (1978) acculturation model and Clément's (1980) social context model attitudes toward the TL group are thought to determine the amount of contact L2 learners have with members of the TL community whereas in Gardner's (1985) socio-educational model positive attitudes support the motivation to learn L2. The present research attempts to contribute to filling in the gap left by research in Australia by looking at whether migrants from various regions in the world who had permanently settled in Australia differed in the way they stereotyped and evaluated the dominant Anglo-Australian group. The results could be useful in identifying groups whose attitudes were likely to facilitate or, conversely, inhibit the acquisition of English.

It is perhaps necessary at this point to remind the reader that respondents were divided into six groups by region of origin, namely: Eastern Europe (Bosnia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Poland, Russia, and the Ukraine, Yugoslavia), Western Europe (Austria, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain and Switzerland), South-East Asia (Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, and Viet Nam), North-East Asia (China, Japan and Korea), South and Central America (Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, El Salvador, and Peru), and North Africa and the Middle East, and Southern and Central Asia (the acronym NAMESCA is used for this group from this point onwards) which included countries such as Egypt, Iran, Turkey, India, and Sri Lanka. This grouping was mostly based on the Australian Bureau of Statistics 1998 classification of countries (see section 6.1.2.). Modifications were made with a view to facilitate statistical analyses by evening up the number of participants across groups. The reader is again reminded that the definition of language attitudes as evaluations of TL speakers notwithstanding, in the present research these can be understood best in juxtaposition with attitudes toward the self, ideal self, and people in native country.

In order to answer the research question concerning attitudes as a function of ethnicity, a 6 (group by region of origin: Eastern Europe, Western Europe, South-East Asia, North-East Asia, South and Central America, NAMESCA) x 4 (target: Ideal Self, Self, People in Native Country, Australians) x 2 (dimension: Intelligent-cultured, Amiable) repeated measures between subjects ANOVA was performed on the positivity

index obtained with the Spolsky identity technique. The results showed that the Group X Target interaction was significant, $F(2.25, 262.96) = 2.41, p < .01$, whereas the Group X Dimension and Group X Target X Dimension interactions were not ($p > .12$ and $p > .23$, respectively). The significant Group X Target interaction was followed up with a 6 group between subjects ANOVA carried out on the full positivity index for each target. The results revealed that no differences existed among the groups in the attitudes toward the targets Australians and Ideal Self, both $ps > .24$. The groups did, however, differ in the attitudes toward the target People in Native Country – $F(5,117) = 3.65, p < .01$, and toward the target Self – $F(5,117) = 2.45, p < .05$. The significant effects were followed up with Tukey post hoc tests which showed that North-East Asians (Chinese, Korean, Japanese) evaluated the Self ($M = 3.83$) significantly less positively than South-East Asians did ($M = 4.32$). The former also evaluated People in Native Country ($M = 3.52$) significantly less positively than the latter ($M = 4.02$) and the participants in the NAMESCA group ($M = 4.14$). The results from these analyses are summarised in Table 10.

Table 10 also presents the results from the analyses on the Australian Behavioural Stereotype (ABS) index on which a 6 (group: Eastern Europe, Western Europe, South-East Asia, North-East Asia, South and Central America, NAMESCA) x 2 (dimension: Competence, Sociability) repeated measures between-subjects ANOVA yielded a significant effect, $F(1,117) = 63.91, p < .001$, and a significant Group X Dimension interaction, $F(5,117) = 4.98, p < .001$. The follow up one way between subjects ANOVA showed that South-East Asians were significantly more positive in their evaluation of the ABS ($M = 3.89$) than Western Europeans ($M = 3.40$) and Eastern Europeans ($M = 3.27$), $F(5,117) = 5.19, p < 0.001$. The latter were significantly less positive in their evaluation than South and Central Americans as well ($M = 3.79$). South-East Asians ($M = 3.83$) and South and Central Americans ($M = 3.79$) evaluated Australians as competent significantly more positively than did Eastern Europeans ($M = 3.09$) and Western Europeans ($M = 3.03$), $F(5, 117) = 7.54, p < .001$. South-East Asians evaluated Australians as sociable significantly more positively ($M = 4.02$) than Eastern Europeans ($M = 3.55$), $F(5,117) = 2.32, p < .05$.

Table 10 Means (Standard Deviations) of the Positivity Index across the Four Targets and the Australian Behavioural Stereotype (ABS) as a Function of Respondents' Region of Origin

Region of Origin	Target				ABS		
	Ideal Self	Australians	Self	People in NC	ABS (Overall index)	Competent	Sociable
Eastern Europe <i>n</i> = 29	4.80 (0.17)	4.47 (0.22)	4.08 (0.54)	3.74 (0.65)	3.27 _b (0.53)	3.09 _a (0.54)	3.55 _a (0.62)
Western Europe <i>n</i> = 25	4.80 (0.16)	4.49 (0.18)	4.12 (0.56)	3.95 (0.41)	3.40 _{bc} (0.58)	3.03 _a (0.66)	3.83 (0.60)
South-East Asia <i>n</i> = 24	4.77 (0.23)	4.53 (0.16)	4.31 _b (0.54)	4.02 _b (0.37)	3.89 _{ac} (0.52)	3.83 _b (0.60)	4.02 _b (0.62)
North-East Asia <i>n</i> = 21	4.75 (0.17)	4.47 (0.12)	3.83 _a (0.51)	3.52 _a (0.49)	3.51 (0.35)	3.40 (0.37)	3.74 (0.53)
S & Central America <i>n</i> = 13	4.78 (0.17)	4.47 (0.16)	4.22 (0.35)	3.74 (0.45)	3.79 _c (0.50)	3.79 _b (0.56)	3.85 (0.52)
NAMESCA <i>n</i> = 11	4.88 (0.13)	4.60 (0.19)	4.34 (0.44)	4.14 _b (0.62)	3.66 (0.46)	3.32 (0.76)	4.06 (0.38)

Note: NC = native country; ABS = Australian Behavioural Stereotype; NAMESCA = North Africa, the Middle East, & South & Central Asia. Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations. In the columns, means with different subscripts are statistically significantly different. The mean differences were significant at the .05 level. Measurement is on a scale 1 to 5 and higher scores indicate more positive attitudes.

The lower evaluations of the Self among North-East Asians could have been attributed to the fact that they were the group with the shortest period of residence in Australia ($M = 8.87$, $SD = 7.38$) and, at the time of the survey, could still have been struggling to gain control over their new environment. This seemed to be supported by the fact that the group generated the lowest score on the composite Australian Adaptation index (see section 5.2.2.2 for details on the index). Similarly, Eastern Europeans, who had the second shortest period of residence ($M = 10.24$, $SD = 11.66$), had the second lowest score on the Self positivity index (as TABLE 10 shows), and the second lowest score on the Australian Adaptation index. Besides, length of residence was found to correlate weakly but significantly with evaluations of the Self ($r = .23$, $p < .05$), People in Native Country ($r = .25$, $p < .01$), and Australian adaptation ($r = .25$, $p < .01$). However, the results from an Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) showed that length of residence (LOR) did not mitigate at all the effects of ethnicity. Thus, North-

East Asian and Eastern Europeans appear to be the least confident and the least adapted to life in Australia ethnic groups.

Table 10 also reveals that within all groups by region of origin Ideal Self seems to have attracted the highest ratings, followed by Australians, followed by Self, and finally followed by People in Native Country. That this was indeed the order in which the targets were rated was confirmed with 4-target one way within subjects repeated measures ANOVAs performed on the positivity index for each group by region of origin and followed up with paired samples *t*-tests. All paired comparisons were significant (all *ps* < .05) except for one: respondents in the NAMESCA group did not rate their selves as significantly different from the speakers of their native language (*p* > .33). The fact that the pattern for the whole sample was replicated within each group suggested that, on the one hand, all groups by region of origin were high on integrativeness. On the other hand, it also suggested that level of integrativeness as measured with the Spolsky identity technique was not a function of ethnicity since all the groups rated ideal self the highest, Australians the second highest and higher than the self and people in native country.

The differences in the evaluations of the Australian Behavioural Stereotype, as presented in Table 10, seemed to suggest that it was the groups racially and culturally more similar to the TL group (Western and Eastern Europeans) that were less positive toward the TL speakers than the more dissimilar groups (South-East Asians and South and Central Americans). The highly positive evaluations of Anglo-Australians by all the groups notwithstanding, this observation prompted the application of Pearson correlation analyses on the positivity indices for the four targets within each group by region of origin in order to examine which groups were likely to identify with the speakers of the target language. The results showed that for Western and Eastern Europeans the Self positivity index correlated with the People in Native Country index (respectively, $r = .76$ and $r = .67$, $ps < .01$) and Ideal Self index (respectively, $r = .48$, $p < .05$ and $r = .55$, $p < .01$) but not with the Australians index. For the South and Central America group there was a single significant correlation between the Self positivity index and the Ideal Self index ($r = .64$, $p < .05$); in the NAMESCA group ($n = 11$) the Self correlated with People in Native Country and Australians ($r = .59$ and $r = .58$, both $ps = .06$); and for the South-East Asia and North-East Asia groups all of the indices were significantly intercorrelated. The failure of the first three groups to identify with the Anglo-Australian group could be attributed to the rigidity of its boundaries. A

qualitative study by Colic-Peisker (2005) on the issues surrounding the social identity and integration of Bosnian refugees in Australia found that at the initial stages of settlement racial similarity gave his subjects a sense of belonging and raised their expectations about their prospects in Australia. In later stages of settlement, being an audible minority, the Bosnian immigrants were found to have limited social interaction with the TL community, as well as limited social and economic inclusion. Colic-Peisker's subjects "sometimes perceived their difficulties in finding adequate or at least full-time employment as a rejection from the initially friendly host society, or as its 'hypocrisy'" (Colic-Peisker, 2005: 630). The subjects did, however, have an extensive ethnic network. Colic-Peisker's findings could be framed within social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978, 1981; see section 1.3.1): when group boundaries are perceived as impassable one of the strategies individuals can employ in order to achieve positive psychological distinctiveness from the other group is reinterpreting the own group's characteristics so that they become more positive. In the present study, the magnitude of the correlation between self evaluations and native language group evaluations among Western Europeans ($r = .76, p < .01; n = 25$) and Eastern Europeans ($r = .67, p < .01; n = 29$) could be the result of such a process. Colic-Peisker also notes that "within the current immigration intake, highly qualified and English-speaking urban Sri-Lankan, Indian or Taiwanese migrants for example – as bearers of a dominant culture which can nowadays be described as global, middle-class, English-speaking, computerised and 'cyberspaced' – are culturally closer to urban Australians than Bosnian villagers" (Colic-Peisker, 2005: 632). Thus, in the present study the pattern of the correlations among the positivity indices and of the differences in the ABS evaluations might reflect the disillusionment of the racially similar to Australians groups on the one hand and the aspirations of the dissimilar to Australians groups on the other.

In the way that there were few differences in attitudes toward Anglo-Australians, there were few differences among the groups by region of origin on the contact indices, such as number of migrant and Australian friends (questions B1 and 2), quantity and frequency of contact with migrants and Australians (B3; sum of 5 weighted items), and current and desired variety and depth of contact with Australians (B4; average of 6 items scored 0/1). At the time of the survey, Western Europeans experienced significantly more variety and depth of contact with the TL group ($M = .59$) than did Eastern Europeans ($M = .38$) and North-East Asians ($M = .35$), $F(5,117) = 2.77, p < .05$. All of the groups, including the Western Europeans, desired to have significantly

greater variety of contact with the TL group than they did at the time they responded to the survey (all paired comparisons were significant, $ps < .05$). The fact that the respondents in the group with the most contact wanted to have still more of it speaks perhaps again of the rigidity of the Anglo-Australian group's boundaries. Considering that, unlike attitudes toward the self and people in native country the contact indices (number of friends excepted) did not correlate with length of residence, the combination of lower self esteem and lower contact with Australians among Eastern Europeans and North-East Asians suggests that these two groups might not receive the quantity and quality of input necessary to facilitate the achievement of high levels of English language proficiency.

In summary, integrativeness, measured with the Spolsky identity technique, was not found to be a function of ethnicity. Regardless of ethnic background, migrants saw Anglo-Australians as the closest to their ideal selves and as better than their selves and their native language group. The desire for social interaction with members of the TL group also transcended ethnic group boundaries. However, the lack of relationship between the evaluations of Anglo-Australians and the selves of migrants whose ethnic backgrounds were racially similar to the TL group suggested that membership in it is problematic for those who were audibly different. They might have no choice but revert to identifying with their former ingroup. From an SLA social psychological perspective, this would inhibit the attainment of native-like proficiency among Eastern and Western European and South and Central American migrant groups in Australia.

7.3 Do Migrants at Different Lengths of Residence Differ in Their Attitudes toward Anglo-Australians?

In essence, this question examines the 'attitudes toward the TL group' component of integrativeness as a function of length of residence (LOR). Parenthetically, the role of length of residence in SLA appears to be a rather complex issue (G. Stevens, 1999; Flege & Liu, 2001; Chiswick et al., 2004; Moyer, 2004). The relationship between LOR and L2 proficiency has been the subject of research by linguists and psycholinguists, and social scientists (see G. Stevens, 1999 for overview). G. Stevens (1999) noted that linguists and psycholinguists focused on immigrants' age of arrival in the L2 speaking country as a major factor in the study of maturational constraints in, and critical periods

for the acquisition of L2 phonology, syntax, and aural comprehension to the exclusion of demographic and social characteristics such as level of education, occupation, and the like. Social scientists on their part focused on length of residence and bluntly equated time spent in the L2 speaking country with opportunities to learn L2. The work of G. Stevens (1999), Flege and Liu (2001), Chiswick et al. (2004) and Moyer (2004) bridged the three disciplines by incorporating age of arrival, length of residence, and social and demographic factors in their statistical and modelling procedures to show that the strong effect of age of arrival on proficiency was mitigated and in some cases obliterated by the other factors. Based on the results from a study with Chinese participants divided into groups by occupation (student vs. non-student) and LOR (short vs. long), Flege and Liu further suggested that LOR could be an index of L2 input for some learners but not for others and that “adults’ performance in an L2 would improve considerably over time, but only if they received a substantial amount of native speaker input” (Flege & Liu, 2001: 527).

Flege and Liu’s proposition seems to echo a proposition from Schumann’s acculturation model, namely: length of residence is an important social distance factor because the longer the L2 learners reside in the TL country the more likely they are to experience contact with TL speakers and hence to receive L2 input (Schumann, 1976, 1978, 1986; see section 3.2.3). Attitudes are an important social distance factor in the acculturation model as well because L2 learners with positive attitudes toward the TL group are more likely to seek contact with TL speakers. Although Schumann (1976) suggests that the social distance factors may be correlated, the relationship between length of residence and attitudes has not been investigated and neither has been the relationship between contact and LOR. Rather, researchers appear to assume that contact between the language groups increases with length of residence (e.g. Schumann, 1976b; Noels et al., 1996; Nesdale, 2002). The present research seeks to make a contribution by analysing these relationships. ANOVAs and Pearson correlation analyses were used as means to this end. In addition, acculturation researchers are debating what the shape of the function capturing the relationship between acculturation and LOR is. Positive acculturation is usually described in terms of a U-shaped curve and conceptualised in terms of phase-like phenomenon: initially, settlement is accompanied by optimism and positive feelings, later, disorientation and culture shock set in, the development of coping mechanisms and new skills follows, and, finally, sojourners begin to feel at home in their new culture (Triandis, 1994: 265-266).

However, some acculturation researchers have argued that there is not enough empirical evidence to support the description of the relationship between positive acculturation and time in terms of a U-curve and have further proposed the consideration of specific experiences as they change with time as an alternative to the stage-like conceptualisation of acculturation (Berry, 1997b: 23-24). Therefore, it was important to determine the shape of the function describing the relationship between length of residence and attitudes and other acculturation variables. Trend analyses were used as means to this end. The results could be used to raise the awareness of those working with migrants about fluctuations in acculturation and perhaps help them to calibrate their expectations of the time and outcomes of the process.

In order to answer the research question concerning language attitudes as a function of length of residence in Australia, a 4 (group: through 1 year of residence, 2 to 5 years, 6 to 15 years, 16 years & more) x 4 (target: Self, Ideal Self, People in Native Country, Australians) x 2 (dimension: Intelligent-cultured, Amiable) repeated measures between subjects ANOVA was carried out. The results showed significant target and dimension effects ($p < .001$) as well as significant Target X Dimension ($p < .001$) and Target x Group ($p < .005$) interactions. The Group X Dimension and Group x Target x Dimension interactions were not significant ($ps > .07$). The follow up 4 (group by years of residence) one-way between subjects ANOVAs performed on the positivity index for each target revealed that no significant differences existed among the groups in the evaluations of the target Ideal Self and the target Australians, $ps > .15$, whereas respondents in the '16+ years of residence' group scored significantly higher ($M = 4.34$) than the respondents in the '2 to 5 years' group ($M = 3.97$) on the Self positivity index, $F(3,119) = 3.33$, unequal variances $p < .025$, and significantly higher ($M = 4.07$) than respondents in the '6 to 15 years' group ($M = 3.70$) on the People in Native Country index, $F(3,119) = 3.64$, $p < .05$. No significant differences were registered among the groups in the evaluations of the Australian Behavioural Stereotype (ABS) or its Competence and Sociability dimensions with the 4 (groups by years of residence) x 2 (ABS dimension: Competence, Sociability) between subjects ANOVA ($ps > .20$). The means and standard deviations of the positivity indices for the four targets and the Australian Behavioural Stereotype as a function of length of residence are summarised in Table 11 below.

Table 11 Means (Standard Deviations) of the Positivity Index across the Four Targets and the Australian Behavioural Stereotype (ABS) as a Function of Length of Residence

Groups by years of residence	Target				
	Ideal Self	Australians	Self	People in NC	ABS
Through 1 year <i>n</i> = 18	4.71 (0.22)	4.49 (0.17)	4.00 (0.66)	3.82 (0.42)	3.60 (0.61)
2 to 5 years <i>n</i> = 28	4.78 (0.18)	4.49 (0.15)	3.97 _a (0.43)	3.74 (0.47)	3.43 (0.39)
6 to 15 years <i>n</i> = 40	4.80 (0.19)	4.47 (0.19)	4.10 (0.54)	3.70 _a (0.63)	3.48 (0.64)
16 + years <i>n</i> = 37	4.83 (0.15)	4.54 (0.18)	4.34 _b (0.48)	4.07 _b (0.46)	3.69 (0.48)

Note: NC = Native Country; ABS = Australian Behavioural Stereotype. Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations. Means with different subscripts in the columns are statistically significantly different. Measurement is on a scale 1 to 5 and higher scores indicate more positive attitudes.

On the one hand, the fact that respondents in groups by years of residence in Australia, did not differ significantly in their attitudes toward the target Australians or toward the Australian Behavioural Stereotype suggests that attitudes toward the TL group are formed very early into the period of residence. It is also likely that migrants might have arrived with an already preconceived stereotype of Australians. On the other hand, the fact that the groups differed significantly in the attitudes toward the Self and People in Native Country, suggests that in the presence of a new and dominant reference outgroup, migrants come to re-evaluate gradually the attributes of the Self and those of their former ingroup.

Table 11 reveals the already familiar pattern of integrativeness whereby ideal selves attract the highest ratings, followed by Australians, followed by selves and speakers of the native language. Other ANOVAs (repeated measures within subjects, followed up with *t*-tests) confirmed that this was indeed the order in which the four targets were rated within each group by length of residence. All paired comparisons were significant except for one: respondents in the 'through 1 year of residence' group did not evaluate their selves significantly differently from the speakers of their native language. Thus, in the present study attitudes toward Anglo-Australians are neither a function of ethnicity nor of length of residence. The fact that the '16 + years' group scored the highest on all of the indices suggests that it may take at least 16 years for

migrants to achieve positive acculturation. The results from all ANOVAs on the attitude indices by groups by length of residence are graphically presented in *Figure 27* below.

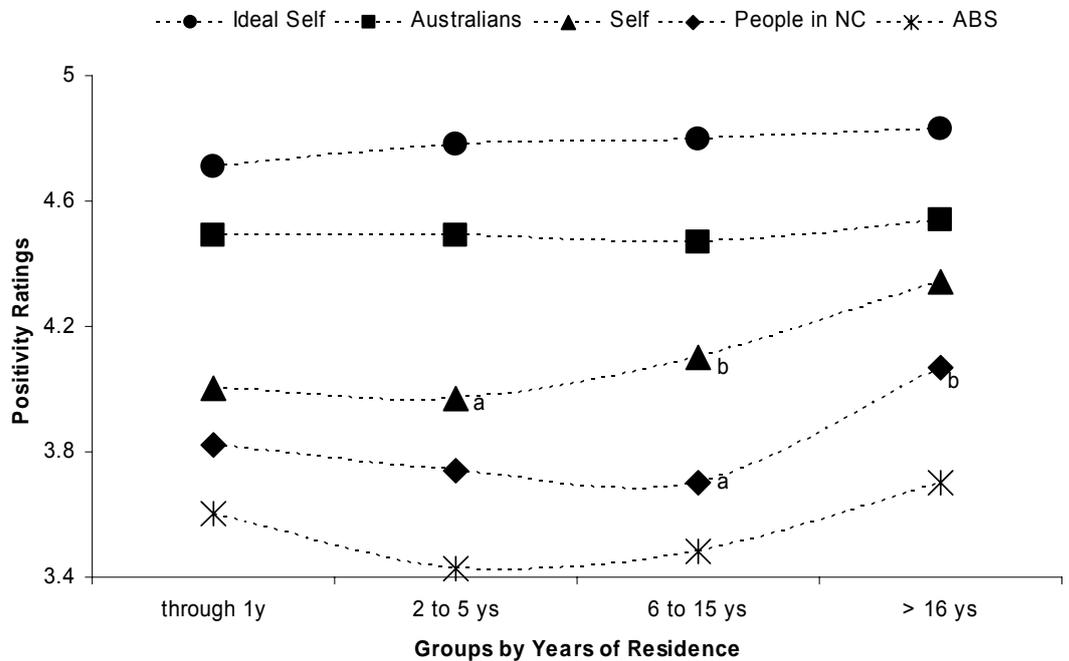


Figure 27. Positivity ratings for the four targets and the Australian Behavioural Stereotype (ABS) as a function of length of residence. Measurement is on a scale of 1 to 5 and higher scores indicate more positive attitudes. Means with different subscripts along the lines are statistically significantly different ($ps < 0.05$). NC = Native Country, ABS = Australian Behavioural Stereotype.

As *Figure 27* shows, the shapes of the lines representing attitudes as a function of LOR differ across the four targets and the ABS: some appear to be straight, others appear curved. In order to detect the existence of linear and quadratic components in the relationship between LOR and attitudes trend analyses were performed on the positivity indices for the four targets and the Australian Behavioural Stereotype. The results are summarised in Table 12.

Table 12 *F and p Values for Linear and Quadratic Components in the Relationship between Attitudes toward the Four Targets and the Australian Behavioural Stereotype (ABS) and Length of Residence.*

Term	Target				
	Ideal Self	Australians	Self	People in NC	ABS
<i>F, (p)</i>					
Linear	5.31 (0.02)	0.68 (0.41)	6.05 (0.02)	2.34 (0.13)	0.47 (0.50)
Quadratic	0.38 (0.54)	0.94 (0.34)	1.94 (0.17)	5.13 (0.03)	3.47 (0.07)

Note: NC = Native Country; ABS = Australian Behavioural Stereotype; *p* values in parentheses.

Table 12 above shows that the relationships between attitudes toward Ideal Self and LOR and attitudes toward the Self and LOR are linear, $ps < .05$; the relationship between attitudes toward People in Native Country and LOR is quadratic, $p < .05$; and the relationships between attitudes toward Australians and LOR and attitudes toward the Australian Behavioural Stereotype and LOR are flat (i.e. neither linear nor quadratic), $ps > .05$. In other words, attitudes toward Ideal Self and Self improve gradually with length of residence, attitudes toward People in Native Country decrease gradually in positivity, until they reach their lowest point in the 6 to 15 years of residence group, after which the trend is reversed, whereas attitudes toward the target Australians and the Australian Behavioural Stereotype remain unchanged throughout the length of residence. The fact that the relationships between the five attitude indices and length of residence are captured by differently shaped functions seems to support Berry's (1997b) contention for insufficient evidence for a U-shaped curve description of acculturation.

The proposition that different elements of acculturation are likely to follow different trends seems to find further support in the results from the analyses on the Australian Adaptation index and the contact variables. Australian adaptation was indicated by factors such as travel in Australia, citizenship, and satisfaction with life (see Table 5 in section 5.2.2.2 for details). Contact was indicated by factors such as number of Australian and migrant friends (questions B1 and B2), quantity and frequency of contact with migrants and Australians (question B3), and current and desired variety of contact with Australians (question B4). The groups displayed a predictable pattern of differences on the composite Australian Adaptation index with the 'through 1 year' group (standardised score, $M = -4.31$) being significantly less adapted than the '6 to 15 years' group (standardised score, $M = 1.59$) and the '16 +

years' group (standardised score, $M = 2.36$), the latter (16 +) also being significantly more adapted than the '2 to 5 years' group (standardised score, $M = -2.62$), $F(3,119) = 6.26$, $p = .001$. Predictably, Australian adaptation tended to increase with length of residence. The increase happened in a linear fashion, $F = 16.42$, $p < .001$. Predictably also, the '16 + years of residence group' had a significantly greater number of Australian friends ($M = 22.83$) than did the 'through 1 year' ($M = 7.33$) and the '2 to 5 years' ($M = 8.43$) groups, unequal variance $F(3,117) = 4.64$, $p < 0.025$. The significant differences initially found to exist among the groups in the number of migrant friends, unequal variance, $F(3,117) = 3.30$, $p < .025$, were obliterated by the Games-Howell post hoc tests. The increases in number of Australian and migrant friends also happened in a linear fashion ($F_{linear} = 8.40$, $p < .01$ for Australian friends and $F_{linear} = 5.47$, $p < .025$ for migrant friends). In other words, the level of adaptation and the number of both Australian and migrant friends tended to increase gradually with length of residence. Interestingly, however, these increases were not accompanied by any significant change in the frequency of contact with either migrants or Australians (each frequency of contact variable was computed as the sum of five weighted 1 to 5 items in question B3; see section 5.2.2.3 for details). Neither was there any statistically significant change from one group to another in either the current or desired variety of contact with Anglo-Australians (each of these was computed as the mean of six items scored 0/1 in question B4), all $ps > .10$. However, respondents across all groups reported that the depth and variety of contact they were having with members of the TL group at the time the survey was conducted fell significantly short of what they would have desired (all paired comparisons were significant, $ps < .005$). Furthermore, no significant trends were detected in the relationships between these variables and length of residence (all $ps > .10$) – that is, the relationships can be represented by flat lines. Importantly, the results from bivariate correlation analysis revealed that length of residence was not associated with these frequency and variety of contact indices (all $r \leq 0.12$, all ps non-significant).

The implications of these findings are twofold. One implication relates to the work of Noels and her colleagues (1996; section 3.2.5) who proposed that in bilingual (e. g. Canada) and multilingual contexts a chain of causality was in operation whereby length of residence was seen to influence acquisition indirectly through contact with the TL group. In the present study the absence of a relationship between length of residence and the contact indices suggests that this may not be the case in the monolingual Australian context. The astounding number of friends reported by the longest term

residents ($M = 46.09$ and $M = 22.83$ for migrant and Australian friends, respectively) could partially be attributed to semantics. According to Wierzbicka (1997), the meaning of the word 'friends' in English has changed from denoting a personal and exclusive relation between individuals to denoting a multiplicity of people, "a large number of possible 'friends', who can even be classified into various collective categories" (Wierzbicka, 1997: 45). Wierzbicka's work shows that languages such as Russian and Polish use different words to denote the degree of depth and intimacy of the relationship between individuals, whereas in English this is done with modifiers, such as 'good', 'real', and 'close', for the word 'friend'. Since this researcher was not specific about the kind of relationship the word was meant to express, it is likely that respondents in the '16 + years' group had acquired the modern meaning of 'friends' as a multiplicity of people and had responded accordingly. Thus, in the present study number of friends was not a good indicator of contact since "constructive contact relates more closely to long-term relationships than initial acquaintanceship" (Pettigrew, 1998: 76).

Another implication of the findings relates to research on intergroup contact which has established that it is more likely for contact to determine the valence of attitudes than it is for attitudes to determine the amount of contact (Pettigrew, 1998). The lack of changes in the evaluations of Anglo-Australians among the groups by years of residence in Australia suggests that there may not be sufficient intergroup contact. Given that the respondents' desire for interaction remained strong even among the '16 + years' group, the lack of sufficient social interaction could be attributed to the rigidity of the TL group's boundaries.

The impossibility of gaining membership into the dominant group appears to be reflected in the way the evaluations of the self related to the evaluations of Australians and the speakers of the native language. In the early stages of settlement migrants seemed to identify with both groups. In the 'through 1 year' group ($n = 18$) the Self index was correlated at $.67$, $p < .01$ with the People in Native Country index and at $.58$, $p < .05$ with the Australians index. In the '2 to 5 years' group ($n = 28$) the Self correlated with People in Native Country and Australians at $.41$ and $.47$, respectively (both $ps < .05$). In the later stages of settlement the association between migrants' selves and Australians disappeared whereas the association between their selves and the speakers of their native language remained ($r = .74$ for the '6 to 15 years' group, $n = 40$, and $r = .47$ for the '16+ years' group, $n = 37$, both $ps < .01$). If to this is added the fact that attitudes toward People in Native Country improve with length of residence ($r =$

.25, $p < .01$; $n = 123$) in a curvilinear fashion ($F_{quadratic} = 5.13$, $p < .05$, see previous paragraphs), then it becomes very likely that, in accordance with Tajfel's (1978) social identity theory, the impassable boundaries of the desirable societal reference group force migrants to reinterpret the characteristics of their former ingroup and, eventually, to revert to their old membership.

In summary, the results suggested that it might take at least 16 years for migrants to achieve positive acculturation and that the different components of acculturation followed different trajectories with length of residence: attitudes toward, and contact with Anglo-Australians were flat, adaptation and evaluations of the self were linear, whereas attitudes toward the speakers of the native language were curvilinear. This variability of shape did not seem to support the classical U-curve description of acculturation. The level of integrativeness of the present sample was not a function of length of residence. Australians were unanimously rated as the closest to the respondents' ideal selves and evaluated more positively than the selves and people in native country. However, the pattern of correlations among the positivity indices within the groups, the lack of differences on the contact indices among the groups, and the tendency toward more positive evaluations of the native language group suggested that, although Australians were perceived as a desirable reference group, they were also perceived as a group with impermeable boundaries. Therefore, the outcome of acculturation for the present sample was likely to be identification with the native language, not the TL group. According to the social psychological models of SLA (e.g. Schumann, 1978; Gardner; 1985, Giles & Byrne, 1982) the failure of learners to identify with the speakers of L2 inhibits the achievement of native-like levels of L2 proficiency.

7.4 Do Attitudes Influence English Language Proficiency?

Within the social psychological theories of SLA attitudes toward the TL group are generally considered a remote rather than proximate or immediate cause of L2 achievement. As noted at various points in the thesis, for Schumann (1976, 1978, 1986), Clément (1980), and Noels et al. (1996) positive attitudes toward the TL community cause intergroup contact to occur, for Gardner (e.g. 1985, 1997, 2001) integrativeness, incorporating attitudes, acts as support to motivation, whereas for Dörnyei (2001;

Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005) integrativeness is a key component in L2 learning motivation. Gardner, Dörnyei and their colleagues have used complex statistical techniques, such as Structural Equation Modelling, to propose possible causal paths among variables. Research specifically investigating attitudes as predictors of proficiency employed factor and regression techniques to analyse the relationship between English language proficiency and direct measures of attitudes based on Gardner's Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) and indirect measures based on Spolsky identity scales technique (Oller et al., 1977; Pierson et al., 1980). Oller and his associates (1977) concluded that the indirect measures were better predictors of proficiency whereas Pierson and his associates (1980) reached the converse conclusion. This was attributed to the difference in social context in which the studies were conducted: the former was carried out with Chinese speaking graduate students in American universities whereas the latter was carried out with Chinese speaking secondary school students in Hong Kong (Pierson et al., 1980). The discrepancy in the conclusions could also be attributed to the fact that the two groups of researchers used the statistical techniques differently. As described in section 5.2.2.3, Oller and his colleagues factor analysed the 'self', 'ideal self', 'speakers of native language', and 'Americans' scales separately and entered the composite variables distilled from the factor analyses into multiple regression analyses with a cloze test score as a dependent variable. Pierson and his colleagues entered individual scale items for each target into their regression analyses. Either way, both groups of researchers agreed that the results from these analyses were not easy to interpret. The present research adopted a different approach whereby the target 'Australians' scale was factor analysed first and the solution was imposed by extension onto the other targets (see section 6.2.1 for details). Therefore, it seemed reasonable to examine briefly the relationship between attitudes and English language proficiency measured with the Australians Second Language Proficiency Ratings (ASLPR) scales and respondents' self ratings.

In order to answer the research question concerning the relationship between language attitudes and measures of English language proficiency, bivariate Pearson correlation analyses were performed on the ASLPR and self assessed scores for speaking, listening, reading, and writing and the positivity indices for the four targets, their Intelligent-cultured and Amiable dimensions, the Australian Behavioural Stereotype index, and its Competence and Sociability dimensions. The results are summarised in Table 13 below.

Table 13 *Bivariate Correlations between Attitude Variables and Measures of English Language Proficiency*

Attitude variables	Measures of English Language Proficiency							
	ASLPR				Self-rated proficiency			
	<i>Speak</i>	<i>Listen</i>	<i>Read</i>	<i>Write</i>	<i>Speak</i>	<i>Listen</i>	<i>Read</i>	<i>Write</i>
	<i>M</i> =6.82 (1.80)	<i>M</i> =6.94 (1.77)	<i>M</i> =6.89 (1.93)	<i>M</i> =6.46 (2.07)	<i>M</i> =3.23 (0.68)	<i>M</i> =3.32 (0.66)	<i>M</i> =3.34 (0.66)	<i>M</i> =3.12 (0.74)
Ideal Self <i>M</i> =4.79 (0.18)	0.11	0.09	0.06	0.00	0.34**	0.32**	0.28**	0.28**
Intelligent <i>M</i> =4.79 (0.20)	0.08	0.07	0.04	-0.01	0.30**	0.28**	0.25**	0.27**
Amiable <i>M</i> =4.81 (0.19)	0.15	0.11	0.07	0.01	0.36**	0.36**	0.25**	0.25**
Self <i>M</i> =4.13 (0.53)	0.01	-0.02	-0.09	0.13	0.35**	0.25**	0.21*	0.20*
Intelligent <i>M</i> =4.00 (0.61)	-0.04	-0.07	-0.13	-0.17	0.34**	0.23*	0.19*	0.16
Amiable <i>M</i> =4.23 (0.60)	0.03	-0.01	-0.07	-0.12	0.36**	0.29**	0.21*	0.17
Pple in NC <i>M</i> =3.84 (0.54)	-0.10	-0.12	-0.15	-0.20*	0.14	0.12	0.05	-0.02
Intelligent <i>M</i> =3.76 (0.61)	-0.10	-0.13	-0.16	-0.21*	0.21*	0.17	0.07	0.02
Amiable <i>M</i> =4.01 (0.63)	-0.08	-0.10	-0.12	-0.16	0.07	0.08	0.01	-0.03
Australians <i>M</i> =4.50 (0.18)	-0.03	-0.04	-0.08	-0.11	0.16	0.07	0.10	0.17
Intelligent <i>M</i> =4.47 (0.22)	-0.13	-0.15	-0.18*	-0.18*	0.03	-0.03	0.00	0.05
Amiable <i>M</i> =4.54 (0.21)	0.10	0.09	0.05	0.01	0.18	0.13	0.12	0.22*
ABS <i>M</i> =3.55 (0.54)	-0.14	-0.14	-0.17	-0.19*	0.14	0.02	0.00	0.13
Competent <i>M</i> =3.37 (0.65)	-0.22*	-0.23*	-0.24**	-0.26**	0.04	-0.09	-0.04	0.07
Sociable <i>M</i> =3.81 (0.59)	0.05	0.06	0.03	-0.01	0.25**	0.22*	0.15	0.23*

Note: ** $p < .01$. * $p < .05$. ASLPR = Australian Second Language Proficiency Ratings scale; Pple in NC = People in Native Country; ABS = Australian Behavioural Stereotype. Numbers in parenthesis are standard deviations.

The results in Table 13 above reveal an interesting pattern, whereby self-rated English language proficiency correlates positively with various attitude indices but predominantly so with evaluations of the targets Ideal Self and Self and their underlying dimensions, whereas some ASLPR scores correlate negatively with evaluations of aspects of the targets People in Native Country and Australians, and the Australian behavioural stereotype. As expected (based on the findings by previous research), the majority of correlations between attitudes and English language proficiency, although significant, were weak.

As Table 13 shows, it was the writing ASLPR scores that correlated negatively with evaluations on the Intelligent-cultured dimension for the targets People in Native

Country and Australians (the reading ASLPR scores were also negatively correlated with the latter). Considering that of the four macro-skills writing takes the longest to develop, it seemed likely that respondents' level of education could underlie this relationship. To test the supposition that it was education rather than attitudes that might predict writing proficiency, the Intelligent-cultured positivity indices for the targets People in Native Country and Australians, the Australian Behavioural Stereotype index, and respondents' level of education (question A6) were entered as independent variables in linear regression analyses. The results confirmed that the relationship between attitudes and writing/reading proficiency was a spurious one. When level of education was entered into the equation, the significance of attitudes as predictors of proficiency was obliterated. For example, the beta coefficient for the Intelligent-cultured index for the target Australians as a predictor of writing proficiency scores dropped from $-.18$ ($p < .05$) to $-.12$ ($p > .16$) when respondents' level of education was entered into the regression, whereas the beta coefficient for level of education was $.27$ ($p < .01$). The predictive power of the model increased from $r^2 = .03$ to $r^2 = .10$, suggesting that more educated migrants held less positive attitudes than their less educated counterparts. Indeed, the better educated migrants tended to be less positive in their attitudes toward Australians as intelligent-cultured and warm ($F_{linear} = 5.54$ and $F_{linear} = 4.41$, both $ps < .05$), toward the Australian behavioural stereotype ($F_{linear} = 4.71$, $p < .05$), and toward their selves ($F_{linear} = 4.54$, $p < .05$). Thus, this pattern of results from trend analyses seems to confirm the supposition that the predictor of the objective measures of English language proficiency is level of education rather than attitudes.

However, level of education on its own could not explain away the relationship between the ASLPR scores for speaking, listening, reading, and writing and the evaluations of Australians as competent. For example, it was only when length of residence ($\beta = .84$, $p < .001$) and respondents' age at the time of the survey ($\beta = -.62$, $p < .001$) were added to level of education ($\beta = .31$, $p = .001$) as predictors of ASLPR speaking scores that the significance of the Competence dimension disappeared. The pattern was mirrored in the regression analyses for the listening, reading, and writing ASLPR scores. The more complex pattern of this relationship may be due to the nature of the Competence factor in the ABS (see TABLE 8 in section 6.2.2 of the previous chapter for the composition of the factor). The factor attracted loadings from items which were statements about Anglo-Australians' interest in politics, immigration, the

environment, as well as about Anglo-Australian's work-related behaviour. The nature of the items appears to target the responses of mature migrants who had resided in Australia long enough to have found work or come to take an interest in news and current affairs. To do the latter, respondents' would have reached at least level three in ASLPR (labelled "Minimum vocational proficiency" and assigned a score of 8 in the present investigation). In the ASLPR, this is the level at which the learner "has reasonable comprehension of radio and television news readers (180 w.p.m.)" (Ingram, 1984:128) and can read standard newspaper items. Thus, respondents at higher proficiency levels appear to be in a better position than those at lower proficiency levels to critically evaluate this dimension of the Anglo-Australian behavioural stereotype. Interestingly, the Competence index was the only one (out of the total of fifteen positivity indices) on which statistically significant differences emerged among groups by proficiency level (4 groups were formed by merging ASLPR levels) for speaking, listening, and writing, all $ps < .05$. Although no differences were found to exist among the four groups by reading proficiency, trend analysis revealed, as it did for the other three macro-skills, that a linear component existed in the relationship between reading proficiency level and scores on the ABS Competence index ($F_{linear} = 4.28, p < .05$). In other words, the higher the English language proficiency level was, the less positive the evaluations of Australians as competent were. The negative associations between level of L2 proficiency and the evaluations of Australians as intelligent and competent accord with Oller et al.'s findings that as their subjects became more proficient in English, they rated Americans lower on traits such as "clever", "intellectual", "stable", and "successful". Thus, it would appear that it is intuitively easier to interpret these negative associations as directed from proficiency to attitudes rather than the other way around. In other words, it is more likely for attitudes toward the TL group to be a function of proficiency than it is for objectively measured proficiency to be a function of attitudes. Or, there may be a dynamic as Gardner & MacIntyre (1992) have suggested (see section 3.1.2) such that the outcomes of the L2 learning process may feed back into the very variables that initiate it. Longitudinal studies would be very useful in resolving the issue.

Rather unlike the objective proficiency measures which, as described above, correlated negatively and spuriously with the competence dimensions of the ingroup and outgroup stereotypes (see TABLE 13), the self-rated proficiency measures correlated positively with attitudes toward Ideal Self, Self, and the Amiable dimension of the

outgroup stereotype. Regression analyses were run to test for mediating effects of other variables but none were found. Respondents in groups by self-rated English language proficiency on speaking, listening, reading, and writing (question C6b) were found to differ systematically in their attitudes toward the targets Self and Ideal Self, with F ranging between 3.73 and 8.29, all $ps < .05$, suggesting that the evaluations of the self are a function of perceived English language proficiency. The fact that the self-rated proficiency measures correlated with attitudes toward the targets Ideal Self and Self and their underlying dimensions rather than with attitudes toward the Anglo-Australian outgroup or the former ingroup, seems to lend support to Dörnyei and Csizér's (2002) proposition that the motivation to master a second language is related to the perception of the self rather than to the perception of the TL group. The size of the correlations between the attitude indices for the targets Ideal Self and Self and the self-rated speaking scores was larger than the size of the correlations between the attitude indices and the self-rated listening, reading and writing scores. This could perhaps reflect the importance respondents attributed to proficiency for social interaction.

In addition, out of the five contact indices, both self-rated and objective English language proficiency measures for the four macro-skills were found to correlate statistically significantly only with the 'current depth and variety of contact' measure (question B4a), with r ranging between .19 for the association between self-rated speaking and the contact index to .27 for the association between ASLPR listening scores and the contact index (all $ps < .05$ and .01).

In summary, in line with the findings of previous research, objectively measured level of English language proficiency was negatively associated with attitudes toward Anglo-Australians as intelligent and competent. However, this was found to be a spurious relationship driven by the respondents' level of education. The results suggested that although the path between attitudes and proficiency was bidirectional it was likely that the path from proficiency to attitudes was larger than the path from attitudes to proficiency. Thus, whereas attitudes were found to be poor predictors of proficiency, they were at the same time a function of it.

7.5 Brief Chapter Summary

In summary, the results from the analyses on the attitude indices revealed that, regardless of ethnicity, Anglo-Australians were perceived as a dominant societal group, in reference to which throughout the length of residence migrants adjusted the

evaluations of their former ingroups and their own selves. The Anglo-Australian outgroup was perceived as highly desirable, suggesting that participants' level of integrativeness was high. This perception was reflected in the order in which respondents rated their ideal selves, selves, speakers of the TL and speakers of the native language. Australians were evaluated as the closest to the ideal selves and as better than the self and the speakers of the native language. The desirability of the TL group was also reflected in the respondents' never diminishing desire for contact with its members. Yet, Anglo-Australians were perceived as a group with impermeable boundaries. This was reflected in the failure of respondents of similar to it racial backgrounds and of long period of residence to identify with it and in the lack of sufficient intergroup contact. From a SLA perspective this prohibits and inhibits the achievement of native-like proficiency. From a social psychological perspective this promotes the re-evaluation of former ingroups in a more positive ways

It appeared easier to discuss attitudes as a function of proficiency than to discuss proficiency as a function of attitudes. Attitudes were related to proficiency in two ways: negatively with objectively measured proficiency and positively with self-rated proficiency. The negative relationships were spurious and driven by factors such a level of education. The positive relationships lent support to the push to reconsider integrativeness in terms of individual level rather than intergroup level phenomenon, relating it to the perception of the self rather than to the perception of the TL group.

CHAPTER 8

8 Motivation Variables: Preliminary and Main Analyses

The present chapter presents the results from both the preliminary and the main analyses performed on the motivation variables. As noted in previous chapters, in the present study, both acculturation and motivation were conceptualised as ‘umbrella’ constructs. This conceptualisation was prompted by the desire to organise the multitude of variables that the present investigation employs thematically and by level of analysis, such that acculturation variables pertain to the macro-context (social/intergroup level variables) whereas the motivation variables pertain to the micro-context of SLA (individual/interpersonal level variables). Therefore, as was the case with acculturation, a sum aggregate score for motivation was never computed.

The starting point for operationalising the construct was Gardner’s view of motivation as involving the facets of goals, effort, persistence, and attitudes toward L2 learning (Gardner, 1985: 50). To these facets, self confidence with English and beliefs about L2 learning were added. The attitudinal component in Gardner’s model was expanded to include attitudes toward the English language and the English language instructor. L2 learning strategies were equated with effort, since they were understood as behaviours/actions rather than as cognitive procedures that learners employed to improve their English (Cohen, 1998; see Dörnyei & Skehan, 2003 for critical review of conceptualisations).

The aim of the first section of the present chapter is to show how the different indices were computed. It also describes how these were intercorrelated and shows their relationship with the objective and self-rated measures of English language proficiency.

The main analyses, described in the second section of the present chapter, were conducted in order to answer the research questions concerning (1) the sample’s motivational orientation (integrative vs. instrumental), (2) the differences in motivation among respondents in groups by length of residence, and (3) the relationship among attitudes, motivation, and second language proficiency. Exploratory factor analyses were employed in order to find the answer to the first research question, ANOVAs to

the second research question, and correlation and regression to find the answer to the third question. The results revealed that in tune with previous research (Dörnyei, 2005) the two orientations were difficult to disentangle, that the subconstructs of motivation followed different trajectories with length of residence, that the relationships among some variables were rather complex and while some accorded with the results from previous research (Gardner et al., 1997), others did not.

8.1 Preliminary Analyses

The aim of the preliminary analysis was to establish whether the items thought to cluster onto the different proxies of the motivation construct possessed adequate internal consistency – a necessary precondition for the formation of indices. Reliability coefficients (Cronbach's alphas), and means and standard deviations for these variables are presented in Table 14. The majority of scores had to be standardised due to the difference in metric of their constituent elements.

As was the case with the attitude scales, indices were formed for all the indicators of motivation that had a Cronbach's alpha coefficient of .60 and above. Thus, the scales English in Immigration and Instrumental Orientation were not used in subsequent analyses due to their low reliability coefficients. The exposition below elaborates on how the indices were formed.

As Table 14 shows, Goals (reasons for studying English) were conceptualised in terms of the integrative vs. instrumental dichotomy. Integrative orientation was measured with a list of 7 items of the type, 'feel more confident', 'meet and converse with more and varied people', 'become friends with Australians', and the like. The items were scored 0/1. The Integrative Orientation index was computed as the average of the seven items and a higher score indicated a more integratively oriented learner. Instrumental orientation was measured with three items also scored 0/1: 'get/keep a good job' ($M = .54$, $SD = .50$), 'start a business' ($M = .15$, $SD = .36$) and 'further my education' ($M = .56$, $SD = .50$). The item 'start a business' was highly positively skewed ($Skew = 2.03$, $SE Skew = .22$) and, therefore, was not given any further consideration. However, as Table 14 showed, the two remaining items lacked internal consistency and therefore an Instrumental Orientation index was not formed. Orientations shall be discussed in section 8.2.1.

Table 14 *The Motivation Construct by Subconstructs*

Motivation					
Index	Question	N of items	α	Mean (SD)	Min - Max
Goals					
Integrative	C20	7	.76	.51 (.31)	0-1
Instrumental	C20	3	.39		0-1
Persistence _a :					
Past experience _a	A7, C3	4	.77	.00 (.76)	-1.57-1.08
Current experience _a	C21, C22	3	.71	.00 (.80)	-1.59-.95
Effort (Strategies) _a :					
Interactive strategies	C8b: 1-5	5	.80	3.37 (.87)	1-5
Non-interactive:					
TV/video _a	C9: 2-6	5	.64	.00 (.64)	-1.59-1.42
Radio _a	C10	4	.88	.00 (.85)	-1.13-1.34
Print _a	C11: 3-5, 7	4	.74	.00 (.75)	-1.52-1.91
Library use	C12: 1 & 3	2	.79	.00 (.91)	-1.51-1.39
Attitudes toward:					
The L2 instructor	C23	13	.95	4.08 (.80)	1.23-5.00
The English language	C24: 1-5, 8, 10, 12, 16	8	.78	3.82 (.62)	1.88-5.00
Beliefs about					
Language:					
Language ability	C24: 20,24, 27-32	8	.71	3.38 (.54)	1.88-4.88
Nature of L2 learning	C24: 22, 23	2	.82	4.11 (.78)	2.00-5.00
English in immigration	C24:13, 15, 25, 26, 35	5	.56		2.00-5.00
Confidence with					
English _a					
Lack of L2 anxiety _a	C7; C8a: 1 [^] -3 [^] , 5 [^] ;	5	.70	.00 (.67)	-2.00-.92
Self-assessed ability _a	C8a_6, C8b_6; C19 [^] ; C24_33	4	.67	.00 (.71)	-1.44-1.74

Note: _a = standardised scores; [^] = reverse scored items so that, to be consistent with the direction of the other indices, higher scores indicate greater confidence with English. Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations.

Persistence was conceptualised in terms of past and current English language learning experience. Past experience with English language learning was measured with two questions. One of the questions (A7) asked respondents whether they had undertaken any educational courses in Australia ('no' = 1, 'yes' = 2). Further, scores to the type of educational course were assigned in the following way: 'vocational' = 1, 'language' = 2, 'both vocational and language' = 3, 'school' = 5 and 'university' = 6. The other question (C3) asked about enrolment in an English course upon arrival ('no' = 1, 'yes' = 2). The period of participation was also taken into account: 'up to 6 months' (score = 1), '6 months through 1 year' (score = 2), 'more than a year' (score = 3). The scores were standardised first and then averaged so that a higher score indicated greater persistence with English language learning in the past. An indicator of current

experience with English was thought to be respondents' attendance of any kind of educational course at the time of the survey, with non-participation scored as 1 and participation as 2. The subjects' choice of ways to improve English such as watching television, going to classes, and the like (question C21) was also used as an indicator of persistence. From the perspective of socialisation and interaction, the items in question C21 were weighted so that the non-interactive approaches were assigned lower scores than the interactive ones. Thus, self instruction and reading were scored as 1, watching television and listening to the radio as 2, going to classes as 3, and talking to Australians as 4. The thus weighted items were summed up and a higher score was taken to indicate greater persistence. The intention to attend English classes in the future (C22) was also taken into account ('no' = 1, 'yes' = 2). All the scores were standardised and then averaged to form the Current Experience index, with a higher score indicating greater persistence in learning and improving English at the time of the survey.

As already noted, effort was equated with strategies in the present research. Interactive strategies (C8b) were measured with 5-point frequency scales with verbal response ranging between 'always' (assigned a score of 5) to 'never' (assigned a score of 1), and asking respondents whether they spoke more slowly, rephrased etc. when communication was problematic. The scores were averaged and a higher score indicated greater use of strategies. The indices for the non-interactive strategies were formed in a similar way. The scores for Use of Television and Use of Radio had to be standardised since the items in their scales came in different formats. The answers to the questions 'does TV help you to improve your English' in question C9 and 'does radio help you to improve your English' in C10 were scored 1 for 'no', 2 for 'I'm not sure', and 3 for 'yes'. Those who did not listen to the radio were given a score of 1 and those who listened were given a score of 2 (regardless of the nature of the radio programs).

The Attitudes toward the L2 Instructor index was computed as the average of the 13 Osgood semantic differential scales (C23) in which a score of 5 was assigned to the point closest to the positive pole and a score of 1 was assigned to the point closest to the negative pole. Higher scores indicated more positive attitudes. The Attitudes toward English index was formed as the average of 5-point Likert-type scales ('strongly agree' = 5 to 'strongly disagree' = 1) and higher scores were indicative of more positive attitudes. The scales consisted of items such as 'learning English is fun' (C24_1), and 'I enjoy speaking English' (C24_3).

Beliefs about language ability and the nature of L2 learning were also computed as the average of scores on 5-point Likert-type scales ('strongly agree' = 5 to 'strongly disagree' = 1) and higher scores indicated stronger beliefs about L2 ability and the nature of L2 learning. The scales in the Beliefs about Language Ability index consisted of items such as 'learning languages requires a special ability' (C24_20), 'some people have a special ability for learning languages' (C24_28), whereas the scales in the Beliefs about the Nature of L2 Learning index consisted of the items 'learning vocabulary words is as important as learning the grammar of a second language' (C24_22) and 'learning correct pronunciation is as important as learning the grammar of a second language' (C24_23).

Confidence with English, as previously noted, did not include self-rated proficiency in the present study. This subconstruct had a Lack of L2 Use Anxiety component and a Self-assessed Ability component. The following items went into the computation of the Lack of L2 Use Anxiety index: In question C7 respondents were presented with a list of 11 situations such as going to the doctor, bank, shops etc. and asked to mark the situations in which they experienced difficulties with English. A score of 1 was assigned to the unmarked items only so that a higher sum-composite score indicated less perceived difficulties with English. The scales in question C8a (except for C8a_4) were used to determine the degree to which the respondents were shielded with use of interpreters, friends, or simply avoided difficult situations. The verbal responses from 'always' to 'never' in the 5-point frequency scales were assigned a score of 1 to 'always' and 5 for 'never', so that a higher score indicated less shielding/avoidance. Upon standardising the sum composite C7 and the scores on question C8a scales, a Lack of L2 Use Anxiety index was formed as their average with higher scores indicating less L2 use anxiety. Self assessed ability was measured with items asking respondents how confident they were that they understood Australians (C8a_6; 'always' = 4 and 'never' = 1), that they were understood by Australians (C8b_6; 'always' = 4 and 'never' = 1), whether they felt the need to improve their English (C19, 'yes' = 1 and 'no' = 2) and the statement 'I am good at learning languages' (C24_33, 'strongly agree' = 5 and 'strongly disagree' = 1). These were also standardised before they were averaged to form a Self-assessed Ability index in which higher scores indicated greater confidence.

In order to determine the degree to which these indices were correlated, all were entered into a Pearson correlation analysis. The results for the higher order indices are summarised in Table 15 below.

Table 15 *Intercorrelations among Major Motivation Variables*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Integrative orientation	--						
2. Persistence	.33*	--					
	*						
3. Effort (Strategies)	.06	.15	--				
4. Attitudes to the L2 Instructor	.07	.20	.09	--			
5. Attitudes to English	.27*	.08	.09	.33**	--		
	*						
6. Beliefs about ability	.08	.09	.07	.07	.16	--	
7. Beliefs about the nature of L2 learning	.16	.04	.09	.11	.43**	.24**	--
8. Confidence with English	-.13	-.46**	-.18*	.09	.30**	-.26**	.06

Note: $N = 123$; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

As shown in the table, in line with the conceptualisation of motivation as an umbrella over various proxies, not all of the indices were associated with one another. The statistically significant correlations showed that the more integratively oriented the learners were toward studying the language the more likely they were to persist with going to classes and interacting with Australians. They were also likely to have more positive attitudes toward the English language. Predictably, the more linguistically confident the respondents were the less likely they were to persist with, and expend effort on learning English. With increased English language confidence the strength of the beliefs about ability in L2 learning. The more positive attitudes toward the English language were coupled with more positive evaluations of the language instructor, greater linguistic self-confidence, and stronger beliefs that the nature of L2 learning ascribed equal importance to pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar. The latter index was also coupled with stronger beliefs about L2 ability.

A brief look at the relationship between these motivation indices and objective and self-rated English language proficiency is presented in Table 16 below.

Table 16 *Bivariate Correlations Between the Higher Order Motivation Variables and Measures of English Language Proficiency*

Motivation variables	Measures of English Language Proficiency							
	ASLPR				Self-rated proficiency			
	Speak	Listen	Read	Write	Speak	Listen	Read	Write
Integrative orientation	-.15	-.16	-.17	-.21*	.01	-.10	-.09	-.03
Persistence	-.46**	-.44**	-.48**	-.48**	-.32**	-.39**	-.36**	-.29**
Effort (Strategies)	-.06	.02	.03	.07	-.05	-.10	-.11	.05
Attitudes to the L2 instructor	-.29**	-.32**	-.37**	-.38**	.09	-.03	-.12	-.07
Attitudes to English	.09	.03	-.01	-.04	.32**	.20*	.17	.24**
Beliefs about ability	-.32**	-.34**	-.36**	-.32**	-.22*	-.19*	-.19*	-.21*
Beliefs about the nature of L2 learning	.06	.07	.01	-.00	.14	.13	.15	.08
Confidence with English	.53**	.49**	.45**	.43**	.71**	.67**	.63**	.59**

Note: $N = 123$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

As Table 16 shows, the more proficient the learners were the less they persisted with attending formal classes, the less they believed in the role of ability in SLA, and the less positive attitudes they had toward the English language instructor. The more proficient learners were also more confident with English. Those who self-rated their proficiency higher had more positive attitudes toward the English language.

Although, in general the more proficient the respondents were the less integratively oriented toward L2 learning they reported to be ($r = -.25$, $p < .01$), ancillary analyses revealed that this negative association between integrative orientation and ASLPR writing scores was in fact spurious in nature. When the respondents' level of education obtained in the country of origin was entered into the regression equation, integrative orientation was no longer a reliable predictor of ASLPR writing scores ($\beta = -.15$, $p > .11$). Thus, it appears that the influence of integrativeness on proficiency is mediated by respondents' level of education.

In summary, the reliability analyses identified the Instrumental Orientation index and Beliefs about English in Immigration index as weak indicators of motivation

thus precluding their use in further statistical analyses. The limited number of relationships between the remaining indices prohibited the computation of a single aggregate score for the motivation construct. Confidence with English increased with higher levels of proficiency whereas it decreased with higher levels of persistence, more positive attitudes to the language instructor and stronger beliefs about ability.

8.2 Main Analyses

8.2.1 The Present Sample's Motivational Orientation

Integrative orientation toward studying L2 is defined as a genuine interest in, and desire to associate with the members of another cultural group, whereas instrumental orientation toward studying L2 is defined as the desire for personal social advancement and economic benefits (Gardner & Lambert, 1972; see section 3.1.1). The issues pertaining to the importance of one orientation over the other or the existence of other possible orientations (Clément & Kruidenier, 1983) are not of relevance to the present research. The relevant issues here are the issues pertaining to the difficulties in disentangling the two orientations as well as to the social contexts in which they appear.

In order to explore the influence of social milieu on the emergence of orientations to L2 learning, Clément and Kruidenier (1983) designed their own instrument of 37 six-point Likert-type scales. The instrument was administered to eight groups of grade eleven students. The groups covered all possible combinations of setting (multicultural, unicultural), ethnicity (English, French), and target language (official, minority). The scales were factor analysed for each group. The results revealed that four stable orientations emerged across the eight groups, namely: knowledge, travel, friendship, and instrumentality. Integrative orientation emerged only in multicultural settings among members of a dominant group who had immediate contact with the TL group. Based on these results, the researchers concluded that the emergence of orientations was determined by “who learns what in what milieu” (Clément & Kruidenier, 1983:288).

However, Dörnyei's (1990) study, which was conducted in Hungary with students learning English as a foreign language, found that his subjects were integratively oriented in the absence of a salient TL group. Similar results were obtained by recent research carried out with learners of English in Indonesia and Japan

(for an overview, see Dörnyei, 2005). In addition, the analyses conducted on the Hungarian study showed that instrumentality and attitudes toward the TL speakers were the immediate antecedents of integrativeness (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005). Based on these findings, Dörnyei has proposed to re-interpret integrativeness in terms of “possible and ideal selves” paradigm. More specifically, he argues that “looking at ‘integrativeness’ from the self perspective, the concept can be conceived of as the L2-specific facet of one’s ideal self: If one’s ideal self is associated with the mastery of an L2, that is, if the person that we would like to become is proficient in the L2, we can be described as having an integrative disposition” (Dörnyei, 2005: 102). Within this framework the high correlation between instrumentality and integrativeness was not surprising “because the idealized language self is a cognitive representation of all the incentives associated with L2 mastery” (Dörnyei, 2005: 103).

In view of the above, it seemed important to establish whether instrumental or/and integrative orientations emerged among the present sample, consisting of respondents who resided in an area with low migrant density in multicultural Australia. Motivational orientation was measured here with ten items asking respondents to identify the reasons for which they wanted to improve their English (question C20). These items were designed with a view to tap into the integrative-instrumental distinction. The items were scored 0/1 and entered into Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA). The initial non-rotated solution extracted three factors, out of the potential ten, with eigenvalues greater than one. The three factors explained 53% of the variance, with Factor 1 responsible for 30.56% alone. This first factor received the highest loadings from items ‘become friends with Australians’ (.77), ‘understand Australian ways’ (.76) and ‘meet and converse with more and varied people’ (.68). This result suggested a very strong integrative component. Factor 2 was responsible for 12.46% of variance and received the highest loadings from items like ‘get/keep a good job’ (.64), followed by ‘start a business’ (.61) and ‘further my education’ (.53), suggesting that this was an instrumental orientation factor. However these three items also loaded appreciably at .30 and above on either Factor 1 or Factor 3. Factor 3 appeared to be a weak factor (10.72% variance) since it received the highest loading from ‘feel more confident’ (.63; but it also loaded at .51 on Factor1), followed by ‘get/keep a good job’ (.47).

To ease interpretation, EFA was re-run asking for a two-factor rotated solution (Varimax with Kaiser normalisation). The two factors explained 43.02% of the variance

(28.66% and 14.36%, respectively). The results from this procedure are summarised in Table 17 below.

Table 17 *Rotated Component Matrix (Varimax with Kaiser Normalisation) of the Factors Underlying the Motivational Orientation Measure*

	Factor1 ($\alpha = .76$)	Factor2 ($\alpha = .39$)
Become friends with Australians	.74	.20
Understand Australian ways	.73	.23
Meet and converse with more and varied people	.69	.10
Express feelings/opinions freely	.63	-.17
Take full part in Australian life	.58	.03
Be more independent	.53	.12
Feel more confident	.52	.08
Start a business	.09	.67
Get/keep a good job	-.01	.67
Further my education	.17	.62

Note: The factors explained 43.02% of the variance (28.66% and 14.36%, respectively).

The content of the items loading on the two factors suggested that Factor 1 captured integrative orientation toward learning English whereas Factor 2 captured instrumental orientation. Thus, both integrative and instrumental orientations emerged in the present sample, lending support to Dörnyei's proposition that the two go together in a variety of social contexts.

The percentage of variance explained by the two factors and the size of their Cronbach's alpha coefficients showed that the integrative factor was stronger than the instrumental one. The fact that integrative orientation emerged among the present sample -- a minority migrant group in the Australian multicultural setting, does not accord with Clément and Kruidenier's (1983) finding that in multicultural contexts (e.g. Canada) integrative orientation emerged among members of a clearly dominant group - that is, among "individuals who are assured of their first language and culture" (Clément & Kruidenier, 1983: 287). The differences in findings between this study and Clément and Kruidenier's work could be a function of measurement or social milieu, or both. In the present research fewer items were used as indicators of instrumentality than of integrativeness (3 vs. 7). It could also be that, although Canada is officially bilingual

and Australian officially monolingual, migrants in Australia are assured of their first language and culture, as the overview of ethnic language maintenance research suggested in section 2.3.

The descriptive statistics (integrative orientation, $M = .51$, $SD = .31$; instrumental items ‘get a job’, $M = .54$, $SD = .50$, ‘further my education’, $M = .56$, $SD = .50$; $range = 1$) suggested that the sample were to a degree both integratively and instrumentally oriented. Integrative orientation was positively associated with attitudes toward the target Australians ($r = .20$, $p < .05$) and more specifically with its Amiable dimension ($r = .24$, $p < .01$). Integrative orientation was also positively associated with attitudes toward the Australian Behavioural Stereotype (and $r = .22$, $p < .05$) and more specifically with its Competence dimension ($r = .20$, $p < .05$). These results add to the description of the present sample’s level of integrativeness. The participants in the present study had highly positive attitudes toward the TL group and were integratively oriented toward learning English, with integrative orientation being associated with the evaluations of the TL group as both amiable and competent. Instrumental orientation item ‘further my education’ was weakly but significantly correlated with the Integrative Orientation index ($r = .22$, $p < .05$). Instrumental orientation item ‘get/keep a good job’ was weakly but significantly correlated with the evaluations of Anglo-Australians as amiable ($r = .21$, $p < .05$). These results suggest that both integrative and instrumental orientations toward learning L2 are related to Integrativeness.

The argument for the inclusion of instrumentality into Integrativeness appears to find further support if several elements of the results on integrative orientation in the present investigation are interpreted within a cross-cultural psychological framework (Sedikides et al., 2003; for more details, see the introduction to chapter 6).

As TABLE 17 showed, three of the items in the Integrative Orientation factor involved Australians directly and four indirectly. The most frequently endorsed reason for studying English was ‘feel more confident’ ($n = 94$, 76.4%) followed by ‘express feelings/opinions freely’ ($n = 69$, 56.1%). The least frequently endorsed reasons were ‘become friends with Australians’ ($n = 48$, 39%) and ‘understand Australian ways’ ($n = 46$, 37.4%). As noted in section 7.1, the majority of the sample ($n = 98$, 80%) came from collectivistic cultures. These cultures emphasise the individual’s ability to adjust and restrain their self in order to maintain social harmony; whereas the dominant Anglo-Australian culture is individualistic and as such emphasises the individuals’ ability to express their selves and validate their internal attributes (Markus & Kitayama,

1991, as cited in Sedikides et al., 2003: 61). The frequency with which the different goals were endorsed appeared to reflect a shift in emphasis among respondents from the allocentric/collectivistic attributes of their country of origin to idiocentric/individualistic attributes of their host country. Perhaps in the multicultural Australian context, monolingual with a dominant Anglo-Australian group, being more like the speakers of Australian English (but not necessarily identifying with them) is instrumental in achieving positive social and psychological acculturation. As explicated in chapters 1 and 2, migrants in Australia are encouraged to maintain their native languages and cultures. Thus, the learning of English adds to their social identities and enriches their value systems, rather than replace them. Hence, altogether the results presented so far seem to suggest that respondents had come to internalise (and partly recognise) the individualistic value of agency in addition to the collectivistic value of communion.

To summarise, in an individualistic social milieu like the Australian, it might be difficult to disentangle integrative from self-fulfilment and instrumental reasons for learning English. The most frequently endorsed integrative reasons for L2 learning among the present sample seemed to derive from the value of agency which by definition focuses on the self rather than the community. Such an interpretation of the descriptive statistics for integrative orientation coupled with the associations between the instrumental orientation items and the Integrative Orientation index and evaluations of Anglo-Australians seems to lend support to Dörnyei's proposition to subsume Instrumentality under Integrativeness and to reconceptualise Integrativeness as an individual level variable. From a practical perspective, the fact that the respondents were both instrumentally and integratively oriented should signal educators that migrants need English to enhance their job prospects as well as to express their selves.

8.2.2 Do Migrants at Different Lengths of Residence Differ on Motivation

Variables?

With a focus on the temporal dimension of motivation, Dörnyei (2005) overviewed six empirical studies conducted with junior, high school and university L2 learners in Japan, China, Israel, Canada, and Britain over a period of one or two academic years to show that all of them registered significant small to moderate decreases in students' motivation. The Canadian study carried out by Gardner and his colleagues (2004) demonstrated that the potential for change was "almost twice as great

for attitudes toward the learning situation than for integrativeness” (Gardner et al., 2004: 28). As reported in section 7.3, ANOVA and trend analysis results in the present investigation suggested that changes over time in attitudes toward Anglo-Australians as a function of length of residency were sparse among the present sample either. The present section examines evolutions of integrative orientation and other motivation variables as a function of length of residence (LOR).

Dörnyei’s process model of L2 motivation (see, e.g. Dörnyei, 2005) breaks down the process of motivation into three temporal stages: Preactional Stage (also referred to as “choice motivation”), Actional Stage (referred to as “executive motivation”), and Postactional stage (“motivational retrospection”). The first stage involves setting goals, forming intentions, and launching action; the second stage involves generating and fulfilling tasks, ongoing evaluation of one’s performance, and self-regulation; in the third stage causal attributions are formed, standards and strategies are elaborated, and intentions are dismissed and further plans are made (Dörnyei, 2005: 85).

Dörnyei’s review of four studies conducted within the process paradigm revealed how goals changed with time, and how the learners’ motivational dispositions were restructured as a result of life events such as maturation, entering a new life phase, relationship with significant others, or time spent in the TL environment (Dörnyei, 2005: 88). Dörnyei’s work eloquently concluded this review stating that, “while empirical results are still scarce, the available evidence indicates that examining the temporal progression of L2 motivation is a potentially fruitful research direction that can significantly enrich our understanding of the attitudinal/motivational basis of language learning” (Dörnyei, 2005: 88).

In the present study, in order to answer to Dörnyei’s call and address the research question concerning motivation as a function of time, the sample was partitioned in 4 groups (years of residence: through 1 year, 2 to 5 years, 6 to 15 years, 16+ years). One way Length of Residence between subjects ANOVAs were conducted on the indices for integrative orientation, persistence, effort (strategies), attitudes toward the language instructor, attitudes toward the English language, beliefs about ability, beliefs about the nature of L2 learning, and confidence with English. Length of residency had a reliable effect on persistence, $F(3, 119) = 5.48, p = .001$; effort, $F(3,119) = 3.77, p < .05$; attitudes toward the English language instructor, $F(3,92) = 3.09, p < .05$; and confidence with English, $F(3,119) = 7.65, p < .001$. The differences among the groups

by length of residence on the four motivational indices are summarised in Table 18 below.

Table 18 *Means (Standard Deviations) of Selected Motivation Variables as a Function of Length of Residence (LOR)*

Groups by LOR	Persistence	Effort	Attitudes to L2 Instructor	Confidence
Through 1 year <i>n</i> = 18	.34 _a (.63)	-.08 (.49)	.53 _a (.69)	-.39 _a (.53)
2 to 5 years <i>n</i> = 28	.27 _{ab} (.62)	.04 (.44)	-.35 _b (.91)	-.22 _{ab} (.48)
6 to 15 years <i>n</i> = 40	-.16 _c (.66)	.15 _a (.38)	-.14 (1.04)	.07 _{bc} (.60)
16+ years <i>n</i> = 37	-.19 _{cd} (.62)	-.16 _b (.43)	.17 (1.07)	.28 _{cd} (.57)

Note: means are the average of standardised items; numbers in parenthesis are standard deviations; means with different subscripts in the columns are statistically significantly different.

In general, the pattern of differences that Tukey post hoc tests revealed was such that the respondents with the longest LOR tended to be significantly less persistent and expended less effort than the respondents with shorter LOR. On the one hand, and, on the other, respondents with the longest LOR were significantly more confident than respondents with shorter LOR. This finding was supported by the negative associations of years of residence with persistence and effort ($r = -.24$ and $r = -.23$, both $ps < .01$) and the positive association of years of residence with confidence ($r = .35$, $p < .01$).

The differences among the groups by length of residence on the four motivational indices are graphically represented in *Figure 28*.

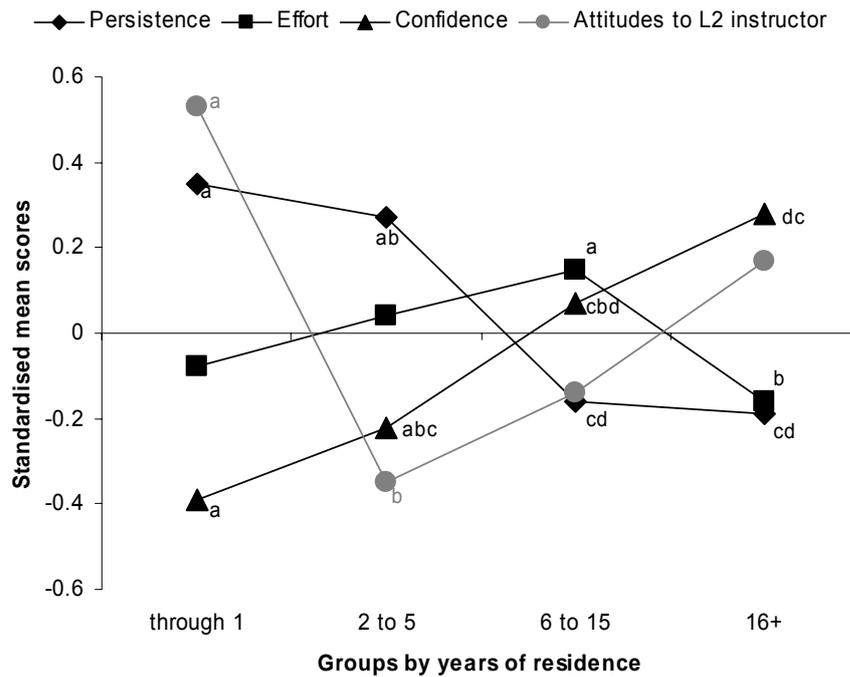


Figure 28. Persistence, Effort, Confidence with English and Attitudes toward the English language instructor as a function of length of residence. All scores are standardised. Data points with different scripts along the lines are statistically significantly different ($p < .05$).

Trend analysis revealed that, consistent with eye-balling of the trend lines in *Figure 28*, persistence decreased gradually in a linear fashion with increases in length of residence, $F_{linear} = 12.93$, $p < .001$, whereas effort did so in a curvilinear way, $F_{quadratic} = 7.29$, $p < .01$. Persistence and effort converged in magnitude in the ‘16+ years’ group at their lowest point. Confidence gradually and linearly increased with length of residence, $F_{linear} = 21.04$, $p < .001$, to reach its highest in the ‘16+ years’ group.

Altogether, this pattern of results suggests that the respondents with 16 years plus of residence might have reached their ‘comfort zone’ and L2 learning for them was likely to have ceased at this point. It is worth noting that, as indicated in Table 15, linguistic self-confidence was negatively associated with both persistence and use of strategies. With the exception of the ‘through 1 year’ group, this was the pattern found in all other length of residence groups. In other words, the more the confidence with language grew the less likely migrants were to be found in formal classroom settings and less likely they were to use the library and the different forms of media with a specific focus on L2 mastery.

There was a significant quadratic component also in the relationship between length of residence and attitudes toward the language instructor, $F_{quadratic} = 8.49$, $p < .005$, starting high in the ‘through 1 year’ group ($M = .53$), dipping low in the ‘2 to 5 years’ group ($M = -.35$) and then gradually rising again in the other two groups ($M = -.14$ and $M = .17$, respectively). This trend combined with the finding that respondents at two to five years of residence were also the ones with the lowest self-esteem (see section 7.3) suggests that migrants might need more supportive and responsive instruction during this particular period than at any other time.

No differences among the groups were registered on integrative orientation, attitudes toward English, beliefs about ability, or beliefs about the nature of language learning (all $ps > .18$). No trend fluctuations as a function of length of residence were registered on these indices either (all $ps > .19$). This is in support of Gardner et al.’s (2004) proposition that general attitudes were less likely to change with time than micro-context specific variables such as attitudes toward the English instructor and persistence.

In summary, the results showed that some of the variables included under the umbrella of the motivation construct tended to change with length of residence whereas others did not. The ones that tended to change, such as persistence, effort, attitudes to the English instructor, and confidence pertained to the micro-context of L2 learning. The ones that did not, such as integrative orientation, attitudes to English, beliefs about ability and the nature of L2 learning pertained to more general attitudes. The increase in linguistic self-confidence was accompanied by a decrease in persistence and effort. Although the relationship between the latter two and length of residence was captured by differently shaped functions, they both reached their lowest point among the respondents who had resided in Australia for more than sixteen years. This group emerged as the most confident among the others, suggesting that they had reached a comfort level that inhibited further L2 acquisition.

8.2.3 What is the Relationship among Motivation, Acculturation, and English Language Proficiency Measures?

The analyses of the relationship among the acculturation, motivation and English language proficiency measures drew on Gardner et al.’s (1997) approach which proceeded in four stages. First, with the aim to explore relationships, Gardner and his

colleagues submitted to factor analyses 29 measures that were used in their investigation as potential predictors of L2 achievement (see Appendix C2 for their results). Second, based on how the measures clustered on the five-factor solution, the researchers computed eight sum aggregate scores. Third, the aggregates were correlated with measures of L2 achievement. Finally, having hypothesised about possible ‘causal’ paths suggested by theory and the results from their factor and correlation analyses, the researchers submitted the aggregate scores to structural equation modelling (see appendices C1, 2, and 3).

Similarly, in the present research, the measures on the different indicators of acculturation and motivation were subjected to Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) first. Based on the factor solution, aggregate scores were formed and then entered into a series of regressions (path analysis) with measures of proficiency as the ultimate dependent variables in order to explore causal links.

Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA)

As a first step, 21 measures for Acculturation and Motivation were submitted to EFA. Out of the potential 21 factors identifiable by EFA, initial EFA extracted seven factors with eigenvalues greater than 1.00. These factors explained 67.48% of the variance. Since the scree plot suggested a maximum of five factors, EFA was re-run asking for a five-factor solution with Varimax rotation. The five factors explained 57.33% of the total variance (17.16%, 12.77%, 9.92%, 8.95%, and 8.53%, respectively). The results from this procedure are summarised in Table 19 (see Appendix C2 for Gardner et al.’s EFA results).

The evaluations of all attitude objects, including attitudes to the L2 instructor and the English language, loaded substantially on Factor I. The positive evaluations were also related to level of Australian adaptation and lack of anxiety in using L2. This factor was labelled Language Attitudes.

Factor II appeared to be a Confidence with English factor, since it received the highest loadings from Self-assessed Ability with English and Lack of L2 Use Anxiety. This is similar to Gardner et al.’s Confidence factor which also received the highest loadings from comparable to these two variables. Self-assessed Ability and Lack of L2 Use Anxiety here were positively related to level of adaptation, contact with Australians, attitudes toward the English language, and the use of the public library. The latter is of interest here. Of the ‘borrow fiction’ and ‘borrow non-fiction’ items in

question C12, the Library Use index included only the ‘borrow non-fiction’ item. The fact that respondents borrowed non-fiction rather than fiction suggests that linguistic self-confidence might be related to a general inquisitive disposition. However, Reading Strategies loaded appreciably negatively on this factor as well. This pattern seemed to suggest that linguistic confidence among the present sample might be related to general knowledge rather than the specific knowledge of the English language. In addition, the negative loading from Beliefs about Ability on this factor suggested that confident learners were not likely to attribute L2 achievement to talent. Again, confident respondents were not likely to persist with L2 learning in formal settings.

Table 19 *Rotated (Varimax) Matrix of Factors Underlying the Acculturation and Motivation Measures*

Variables	Factors				
	I	II	III	IV	V
Australian Adaptation	.39	.53	.17	.07	.35
Contact with Australians	.14	.40	.02	.28	.57
Contact with Migrants	.17	-.04	.09	-.21	.75
Ideal Self	.48	.20	-.15	.39	.11
Australians	.70	.14	.21	.08	.15
Self	.76	.24	-.12	.22	.13
People in Native Country	.72	-.10	-.04	-.11	.24
Australian Behavioural Stereotype	.78	-.06	.03	.17	.03
Lack of L2 Anxiety	.31	.66	-.36	-.14	-.12
Self-assessed Ability (Can Do)	.17	.73	-.14	.14	.10
Integrative Orientation	.09	-.19	.06	.64	.46
Persistence	.13	-.46	.21	.42	-.11
Interactive Strategies	-.04	.01	.63	-.04	.40
Use of TV	.13	-.09	.73	-.03	.06
Use of Radio	.13	.26	.51	.04	-.38
Reading Strategies	-.05	-.33	.71	-.06	-.04
Library Use	-.11	.64	.10	.18	-.18
Attitudes to L2 instructor	.71	-.08	.11	.04	-.17
Attitudes to English	.43	.34	.05	.61	-.01
Beliefs about Ability	.26	-.42	.12	.21	-.04
Beliefs about the Nature of L2 learning	.04	.08	-.20	.66	-.25

Factor III could be defined as L2 Learning Strategies since it received appreciable loadings from the measures on interactive and non-interactive strategies. This factor is similar to Gardner et al.’s Language Learning Strategies factor. The negative loading from Lack of L2 Use Anxiety here suggested that it was the more anxious learners that tended to use all of the strategies.

Beliefs about the Nature of L2 Learning, Integrative Orientation, and Attitudes to English clustered appreciably on Factor IV. In addition, there were substantial loadings from the evaluations of Ideal Self (.39) and Persistence (.42). This factor appeared to tap into the Orientation to Learn English. Although it appears to resemble a factor from Gardner et al.'s study, it does so in label only. Here it can be described in terms of integrative orientation to, and love for the English language, belief that pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar are equally important and they are best acquired through persistence with formal instruction. Unlike in Gardner et al.'s (1997) study, integrative orientation here was related to the attitudes toward the Ideal Self, not attitudes toward the TL group. This suggested, once again, that English was learnt for reasons related to the idealised vision of the self rather than for identification with the TL group (e.g. Dörnyei, 2005; Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005).

Finally, the nature of the variables that clustered on Factor V pointed towards a Contact/Acculturation factor. Contact with both migrants and Australians was related to level of adaptation, integrative orientation to learning English, and use of interactive over non-interactive L2 learning strategies.

Formation of Sum Aggregate Scores

As a second step in the analyses, based on the above EFA results five sum aggregate scores were computed. Since these aggregates were going to be entered further into correlation and regression analyses, they were tested for internal consistency and only items that formed reliable measures with Cronbach's alphas at .60 and above were included in the final aggregates. The results are summarised in Table 20.

As shown in the table, an aggregated score for Language Attitudes was formed as the sum of the scores for attitudes toward the Self, People in Native Country, Australians, the Australian Behavioural Stereotype, and Attitudes to L2 Instructor (Cronbach's alpha = .76). The aggregate score for Confidence with English was the sum of the scores on Lack of L2 Use Anxiety and Self-assessed Ability measures (alpha = .70). The aggregate for L2 Learning Strategies was the sum of Interactive Strategies, Use of TV, and Reading Strategies (alpha = .60). An aggregate score for an Ideal L2 Self was formed as the sum of the measures for Beliefs about the Nature of Language Learning, Integrative Orientation, Attitudes to English and Ideal Self (alpha = .60). Finally, the aggregate for Contact/Acculturation was the sum of the measures for

Contact with Migrants, Contact with Australians, and Australian Adaptation (alpha = .61).

Table 20 *Sum Aggregate Scores by Variables and Cronbach's alpha coefficients*

Sum Aggregate Scores by Constituting Variables	
	Language Attitudes (.76)
Self	
People in Native Country	
Australians	
Australian Behavioural Stereotype	
L2 Instructor	
	Confidence with English (.70)
Lack of L2 Use Anxiety	
Self-assessed Ability	
	L2 Learning Strategies (.60)
Interactive	
Use of TV	
Reading	
	Ideal L2 Self (.60)
Integrative Orientation	
Beliefs about the Nature of Language Learning	
Attitudes to English	
Ideal Self	
	Contact/Acculturation (.61)
Contact with Migrants	
Contact with Australians	
Australian Adaptation	

The five aggregates scores were subjected to a correlation analysis. Results for these analyses are summarised in Table 21 below.

Table 21 *Intercorrelations between the Aggregate Scores*

	1	2	3	4
1. Language Attitudes	--			
2. Confidence with English	-.05	--		
3. Strategies	.17	-.34**	--	
4. Ideal L2 Self	.34**	.22*	-.03	--
5. Contact/Acculturation	.30**	.35**	.07	.30**

Note: * p < .05; ** p < .01.

Most of the bivariate correlations were consistent with Schumann's acculturation model, Clément's social context model and Dörnyei's re-interpretation of integrativeness. In particular, consistent with both the acculturation and social context models was the positive relationship between attitudes and contact indicating that the more positive the evaluations of the attitude objects, the shorter the social distance

between the L2 learners and the TL community in terms of contact and adaptation. Consistent with Dörnyei's re-interpretation of integrativeness was the positive relationship between Ideal L2 Self and Language Attitudes indicating that the more positive the attitudes toward the TL group, the more integrated into the ideal self the mastery of the TL was. In accord with the social context model contact and confidence were positively associated suggesting that the more contact the learners had with both TL speakers and other migrants, the more linguistically confident they became. There was a negative relationship between confidence and strategies suggesting that more confident learners used less of them. The positive relationship between Ideal L2 Self and Confidence suggested that the more the learners visualised themselves as competent L2 users, the more linguistically confident they were. Finally, the positive association between contact and the idealised vision of the self indicated that social interaction increased the probability for L2 mastery to become integrated into the Ideal Self.

Correlations of the Aggregate Scores with Proficiency

As a third step in the analyses following Gardner et al.'s procedure, the five aggregate scores were further correlated with the objective and self-rated indicators of proficiency in order to establish to what degree the different aggregates related to the outcomes of L2 learning. The results from the correlation analysis are summarised in Table 22.

Some of these results accorded with Gardner et al.'s, whereas others did not (see Appendix C3 for Gardner et al.'s results). Similarly to the 1997 study, Confidence with English was significantly positively associated with both measures of proficiency, whereas the L2 Learning Strategies aggregate was weakly and negatively associated with them. In addition, just as in the 1997 study the correlations between Confidence and proficiency were by far the highest. Unlike the 1997 study, however, the sign of the correlation between language attitudes and the objective measures of proficiency was negative and the size of the correlation was larger (.23, $p < .05$ in Gardner et al's), suggesting that the nature of the sample (adult migrants here vs. university students in Gardner et al's) might have had an effect on the relationship.

Table 22 *Bivariate Correlations of the Aggregate Scores with English Language Proficiency*

Variables	Measures of English Language Proficiency							
	ASLPR				Self-rated proficiency			
	Speak	Listen	Read	Write	Speak	Listen	Read	Write
Language Attitudes	-.34**	-.35**	-.41**	-.41**	-.01	-.11	-.12	-.08
Confidence	.53**	.49**	.45**	.42**	.72**	.67**	.63**	.59**
Strategies (Effort)	-.12	-.15	-.14	-.10	-.16	-.25**	-.21*	-.06
Ideal L2 Self	.04	.01	-.04	-.09	.30**	.20*	.19*	.21*
Contact/ Acculturation	.28**	.22*	.19*	.20*	.28**	.34**	.25**	.33**

Note: * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

Of the aggregates that were not comparable with Gardner et al.'s Ideal L2 Self was associated only with measures for self-rated proficiency which was in accord with Dörnyei's re-interpretation of integrativeness. Finally, in line with the acculturation model of SLA, the Contact/ Acculturation aggregate was consistently associated with both measures of proficiency.

Path Analysis

As a fourth and final step in the analyses, the aggregate scores were entered into a series of regressions with objective and self-rated speaking, listening, reading, and writing scores as the ultimate dependent variables. The aim was to explore possible causal links among the aggregates and the proficiency measures.

Most generally, here direct paths were hypothesised to exist between proficiency and (a) each Attitudes and Contact, based on the acculturation model, (b) Confidence, based on Clément's (1980) social context model and Noels et al.'s (1996) work, (c) Strategies, based on Gardner et al.'s 1997 findings (see Causal Model diagram in Appendix C1). Based on the correlations in TABLE 22, a direct path from Ideal L2 Self to self-rated proficiency was also likely to emerge. Based on the correlations described in the previous paragraphs, the Strategies aggregate was likely to be determined by Contact and Confidence. In line with the social context model, Confidence on its part was likely to be determined by Attitudes and Contact and, in view of the correlations in TABLE 21, by Ideal L2 Self as well. Finally, in light of Dörnyei's (2005) theorising and the correlations in Table 21, Ideal L2 Self appeared likely to be determined by Attitudes and Contact.

In view of the above, the regression analyses proceeded in the following order: (1) the Ideal L2 Self aggregate was regressed on Attitudes and Contact; (2) the Confidence aggregate was regressed on Ideal L2 Self, Attitudes and Contact; (3) the Strategies aggregate was regressed on Confidence, Ideal L2 Self, Attitudes and Contact; (4) the objective and self-rated speaking, listening, reading and writing scores were regressed on Strategies, Confidence, Integrative Orientation, Attitudes and Contact. The results for the objective proficiency measures are presented first in Figures 29 - 32 and then they are discussed. The presentation of the results for the self-rated proficiency measures in Figures 33 – 36 and their discussion follow.

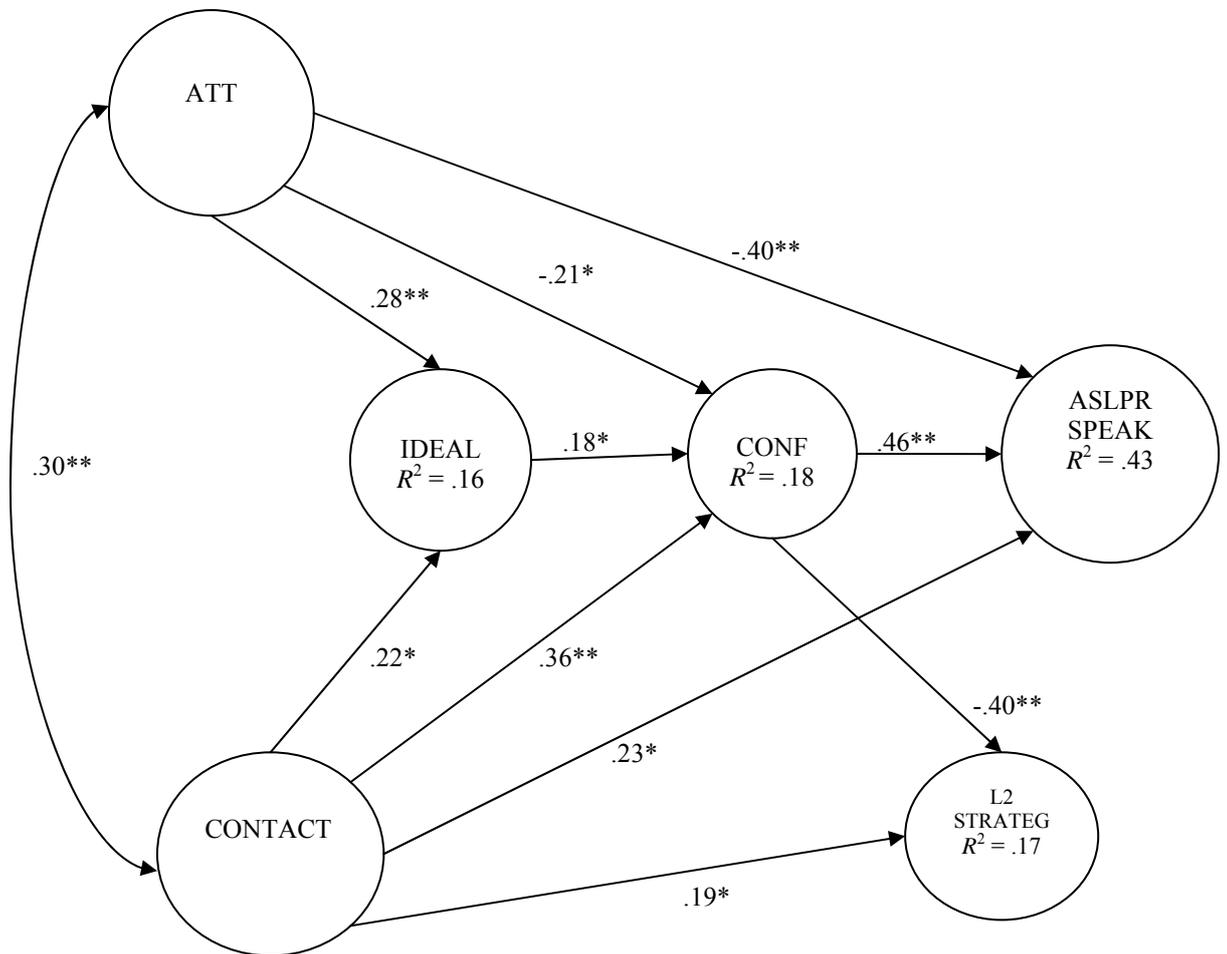


Figure 29. Path model of the five aggregate scores as predictors of ASLPR speaking scores (* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$). Coefficients are standardised beta coefficients.

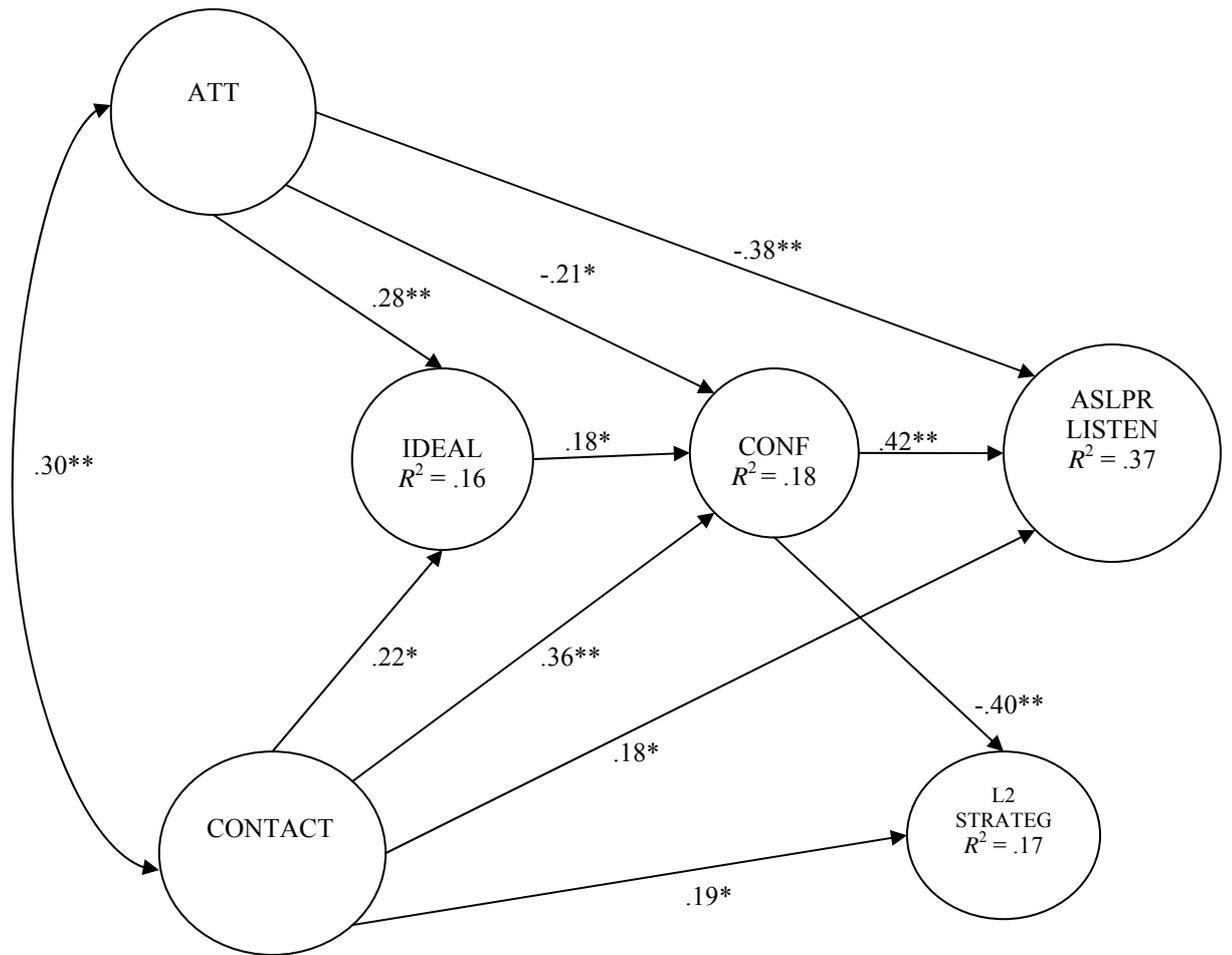


Figure 30. Path model of the five aggregate scores as predictors of ASLPR listening scores (* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$). Coefficients are standardised beta coefficients.

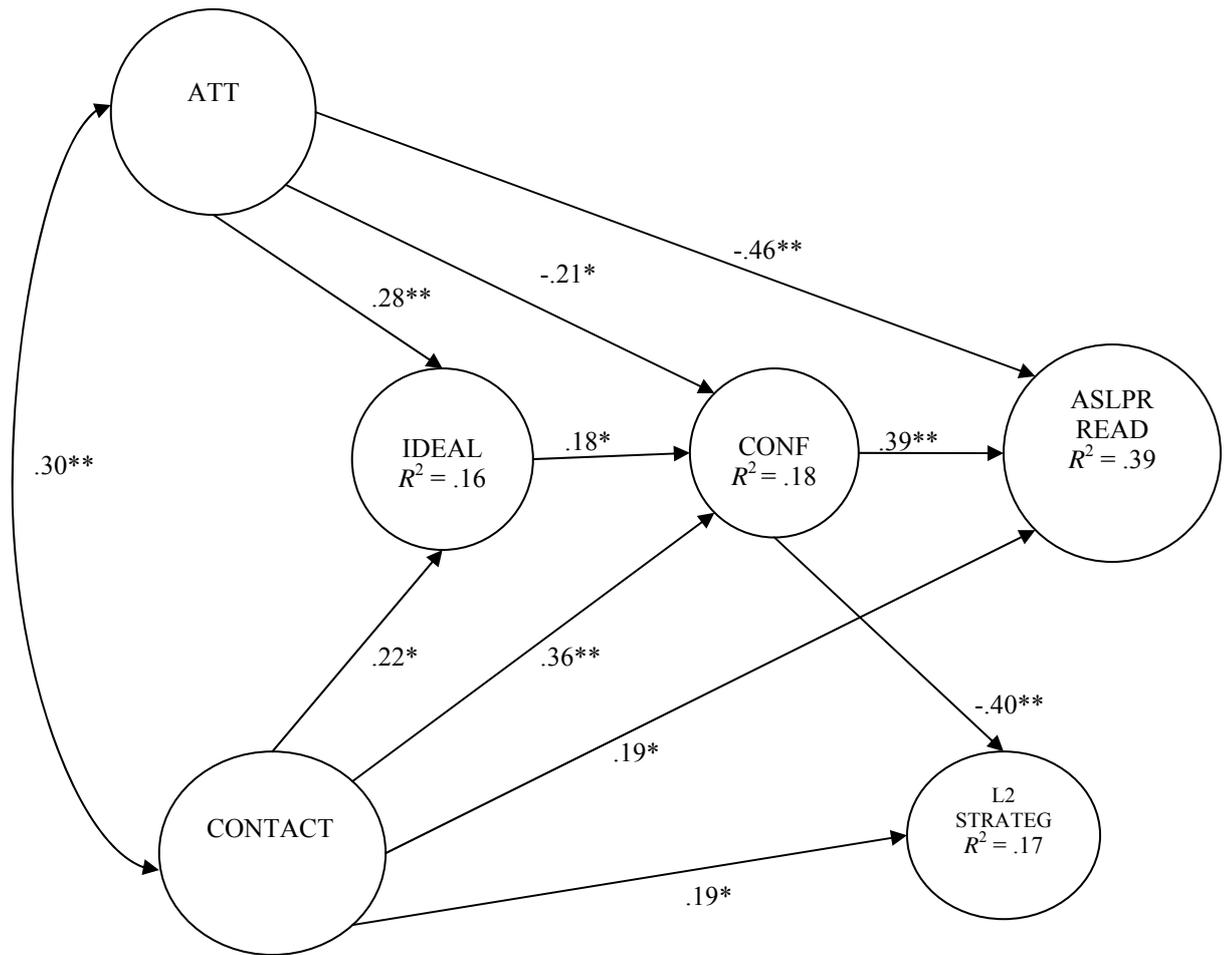


Figure 31. Path model of the five aggregate scores as predictors of ASLPR reading scores (* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$). Coefficients are standardised beta coefficients.

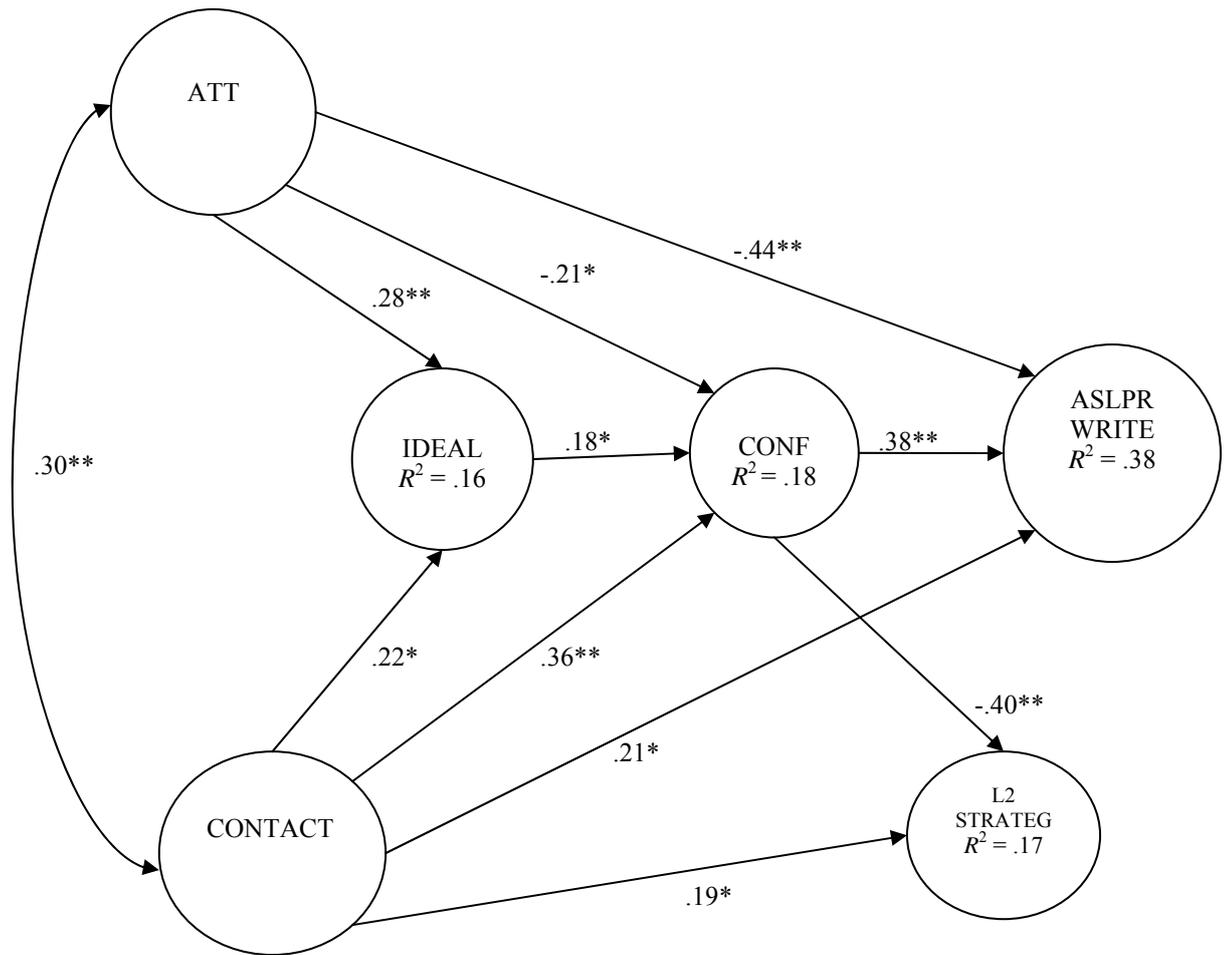


Figure 32. Path model of the five aggregate scores as predictors of ASLPR writing scores (* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$). Coefficients are standardised beta coefficients.

As the figures show, the path models explained similar proportion of the variance in the four objective proficiency scores, ranging from 37% for listening to 43% for speaking. The size of the coefficients was similar and the direction of the paths was identical for all four scores. Attitudes and Contact exerted their influence on proficiency directly and indirectly through Confidence with English. Ideal L2 Self also influenced proficiency indirectly through Confidence with English. The only path that did not emerge as expected (based on Gardner et al.'s 1997 findings) was the link from Strategies to proficiency. This could have been due to the differences in measurement. As noted previously, strategies in the present research were conceptualised in terms of conscious behaviours that learners engaged in to improve their English language skills. These behaviours were rather elementary in nature (e.g. asking for clarification in verbal interaction, use of dictionary, etc). Hence, the lack of a relationship between

Strategies and proficiency here suggests that these elementary level behaviours were unlikely to affect proficiency levels to any appreciable degree.

The rest of the paths emerged as expected. Attitudes ($\beta = .28$, $b = .30$, $p < .01$) and Contact ($\beta = .22$, $b = .07$, $p < .05$) predicted Ideal L2 Self and explained 16% of the variance ($R^2 = .16$). Hence, the more positive the attitudes toward the attitude objects and the greater the contact with both migrants and Anglo-Australians, the more attractive the learner's idealised L2 self was. Ideal L2 Self ($\beta = .18$, $b = .08$, $p < .05$), Attitudes ($\beta = -.21$, $b = -.10$, $p < .05$) and Contact ($\beta = .36$, $b = .05$, $p < .001$) together predicted the Confidence aggregate and explained 18% of the variance ($R^2 = .18$). Hence, the greater the social interaction, the more attractive the idealised L2 self, and the more critical the evaluations of the attitude objects, the more linguistically self-confident the participants were. Confidence ($\beta = -.40$, $b = -.55$, $p < .001$) and Contact ($\beta = .19$, $b = .04$, $p < .05$) predicted the Strategies aggregate and explained 17% of the variance ($R^2 = .17$). The lower the confidence with English on the one hand and, on the other, the greater the social interactions the greater the use of L2 learning strategies was. Attitudes, Contact, and Confidence together predicted directly the ASLPR scores for speaking, listening, reading and writing. Hence, the greater the social interaction, the higher the confidence with English and the more critical the evaluations of the attitude objects the higher the level of English language proficiency was. Despite a degree of circularity (Moyer, 2004), in terms of causality the relationship among contact, linguistic self-confidence and proficiency was meaningfully captured by Noels et al. (1996) who proposed that:

Aspects of contact with the second language group, such as the frequency and quality of contact, lead to variations in the individual's level of linguistic self-confidence. Self-confidence, defined as self-perceptions of communicative competence and concomitant low levels of anxiety in using the second language, leads to an increased usage of, and communicative competence in, the second language. (Noels et al., 1996:248, as cited in Moyer, 2004:111)

The negative direction of the path from the Attitudes aggregate to the objective proficiency scores, however, was difficult to interpret in causal terms. This result was in line with parallel results discussed in section 7.4. In this early section of the thesis, the present research found negative associations between proficiency and the evaluations of Australians as intelligent and competent. These evaluations were exactly for the attributes on which previous research (e.g. Oller et al., 1977) had found more proficient

learners to have less positive evaluations. The reader might recollect that, mediation analyses revealed that the negative relationship between proficiency and the evaluations of Australians as intelligent was explained away by respondents level of education received in the country of origin whereas level of education in combination with length of residence and respondents' age explained away the negative relationship between proficiency and the evaluations of Australians as competent (see section 7.4).

A similar analytical approach as the one taken in chapter 7 was taken to follow up the negative relationship between the Attitudes aggregate and the ASLPR speaking, listening, reading, and writing scores. Based on the results from previous research, age at immigration (G. Stevens, 2006; Moyer, 2004; Flege & Liu, 2001), level of education on arrival and level of occupation in Australia (Chiswick et al., 2004; Evans, 1986) were identified as possible mediators of the negative relationship since they had been found to be the sources of immigrants' L2 proficiency. As a first step, the four ASLPR scores were each regressed on the Attitudes aggregate to produce the following coefficients for attitudes as predictors of proficiency: $\beta = -.34$, $b = -.24$, $p < .001$, for speaking scores; $\beta = -.35$, $b = -.25$, $p < .001$, for listening scores; $\beta = -.41$, $b = -.31$, $p < .001$, for reading scores; and $\beta = -.41$, $b = -.34$, $p < .001$, for writing scores. As a second step in the mediational analyses, Age at Immigration, Level of Education on Arrival and Level of Occupation in Australia were entered into the regression equation. The following changes in the beta-weights were observed: $\beta = -.14$, $b = -.11$, p ns, for speaking scores; $\beta = -.14$, $b = -.10$, p ns, for listening scores; $\beta = -.19$, $b = -.14$, $p < .05$, for reading scores; and $\beta = -.18$, $b = -.15$, $p < .05$, for writing scores. Thus, the block of sociodemographic variables completely obliterated the significance of attitudes as predictors of speaking and listening proficiency and appreciably reduced their importance as predictors of reading and writing proficiency. The same block of variables obliterated the significance of attitudes as predictors of confidence with English as well. These results suggest that it is sociodemographic variables rather than attitudes that influence proficiency directly. Attitudes still influenced proficiency indirectly through the Ideal L2 Self and Contact. This is in accord with Schumann's and Gardner's theories which propose that attitudes are a remote, rather than proximate, cause of proficiency.

The paths models for the self-rated speaking, listening, reading and writing scores are presented in *Figure 33*, *Figure 34*, *Figure 35* and *Figure 36*.

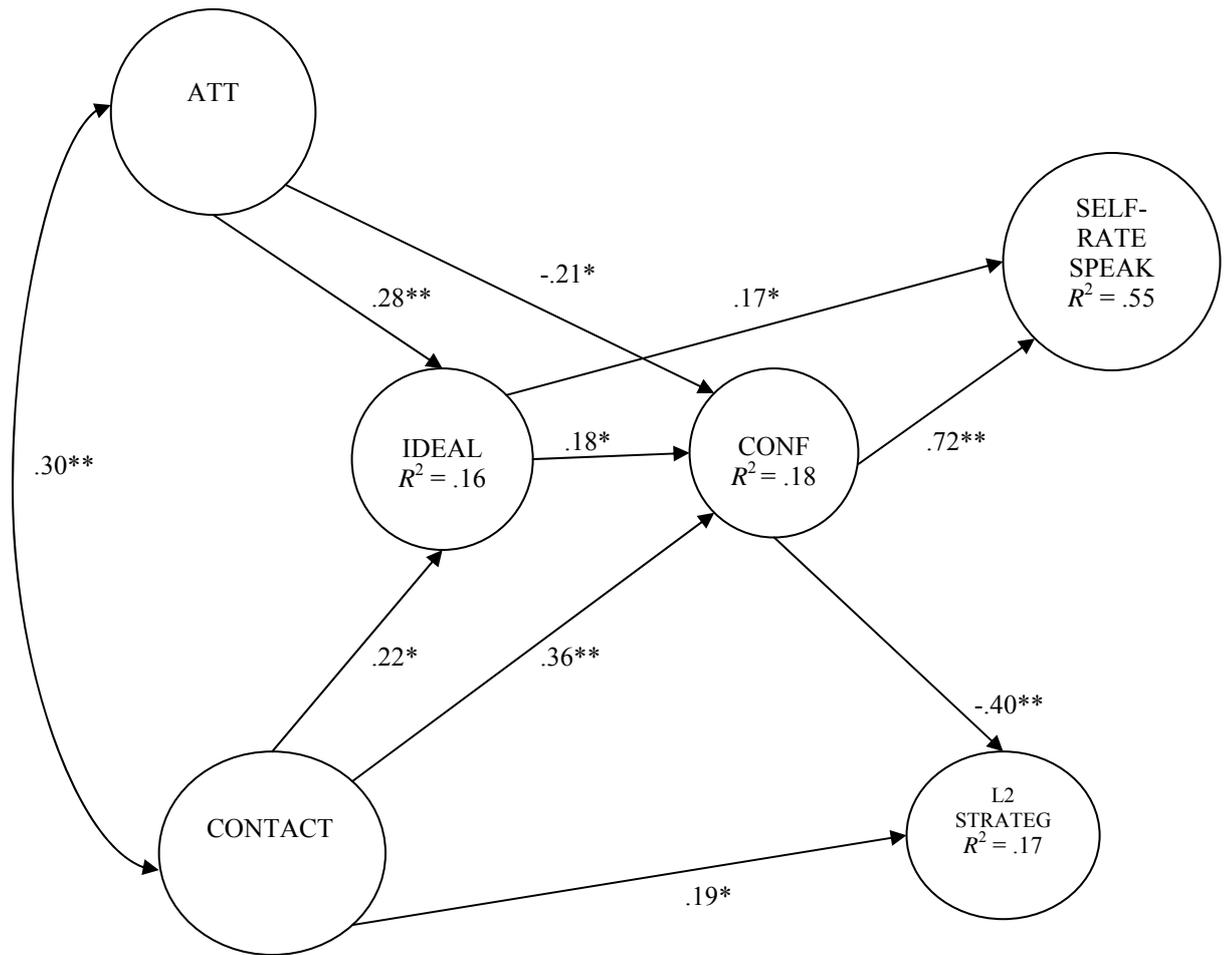


Figure 33. Path model of the five aggregate scores as predictors of self-rated speaking scores (* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$). Coefficients are standardised beta coefficients.

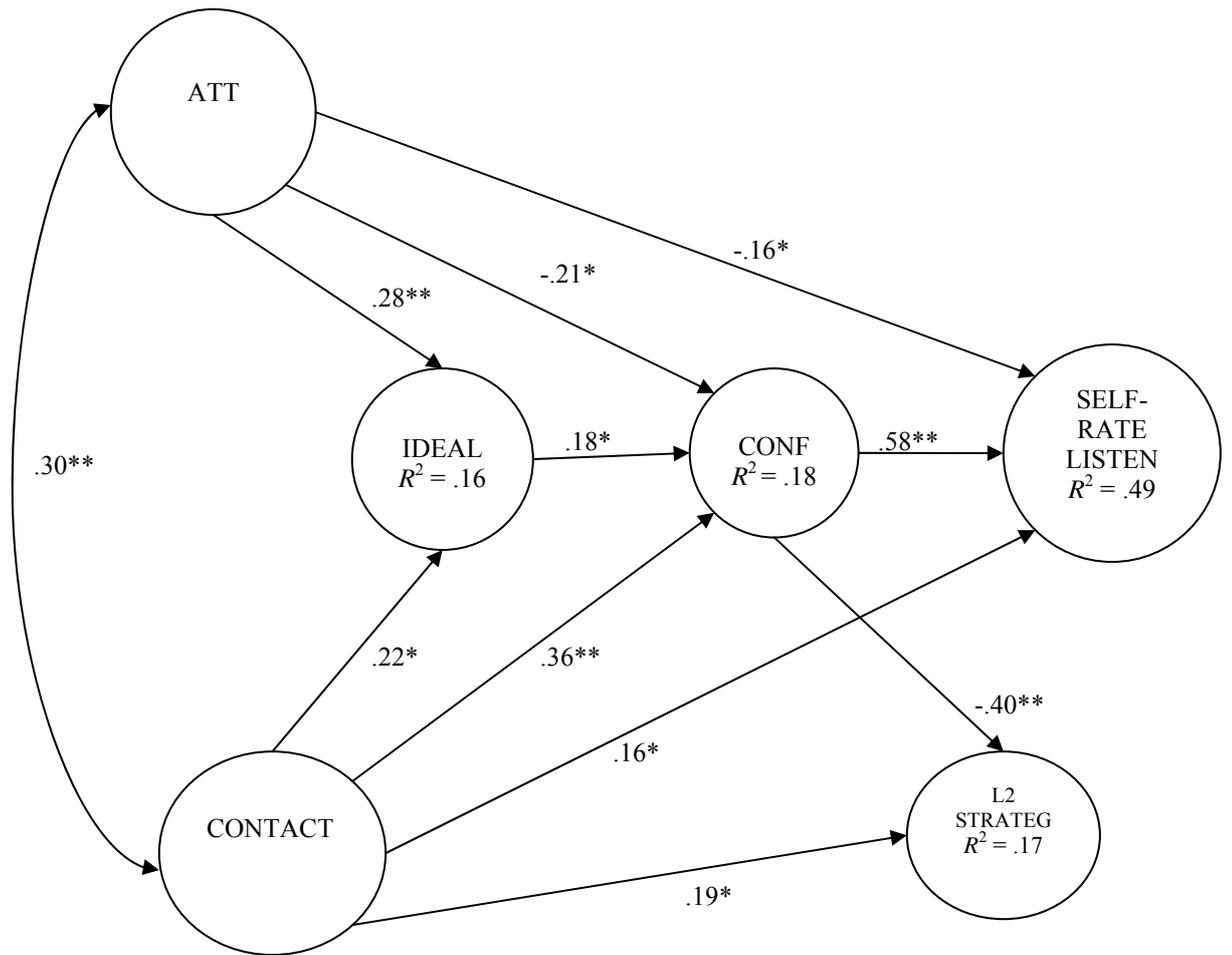


Figure 34. Path model of the five aggregate scores as predictors of self-rated listening scores (* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$). Coefficients are standardised beta coefficients.

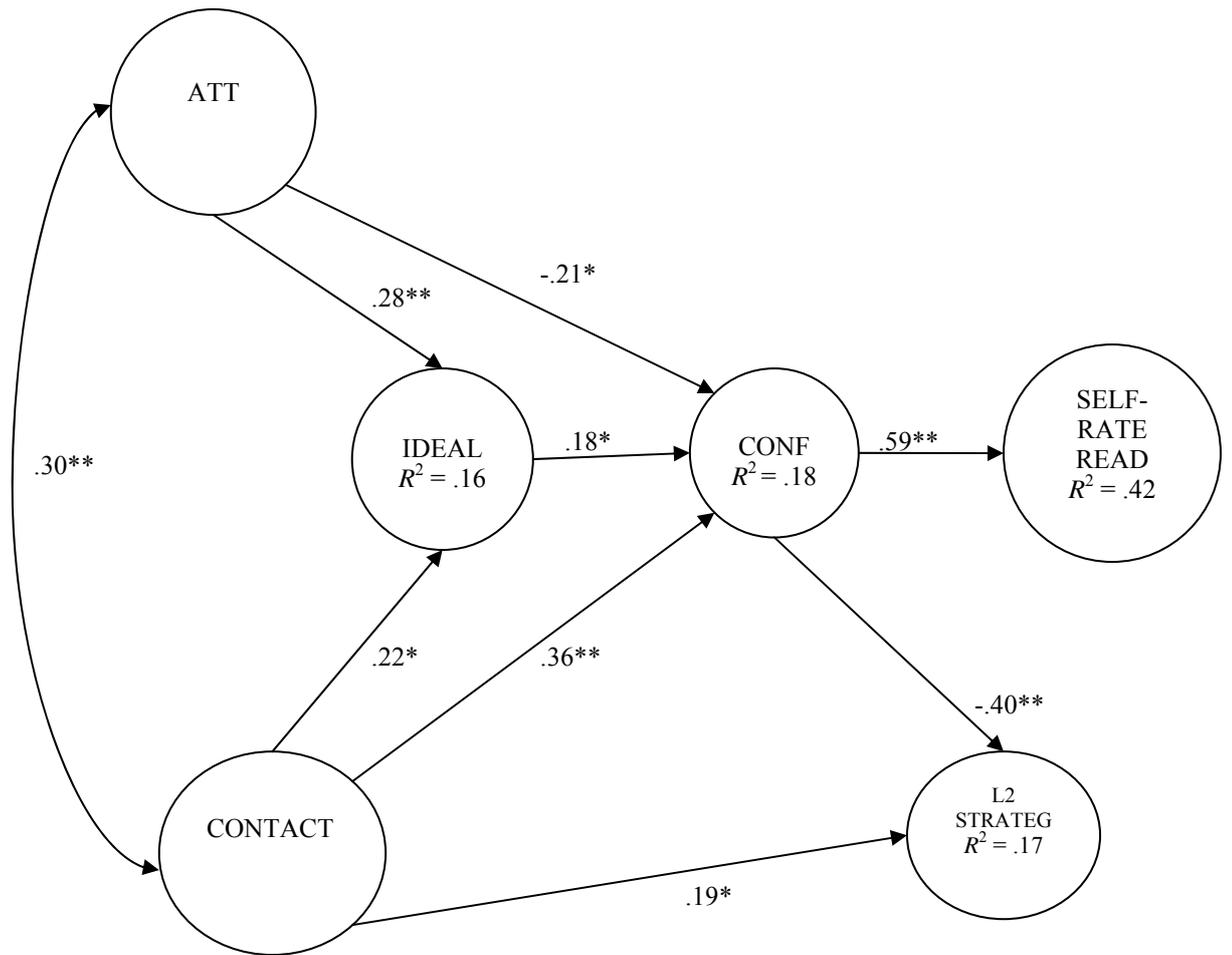


Figure 35. Path model of the five aggregate scores as predictors of self-rated reading scores (* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$). Coefficients are standardised beta coefficients.

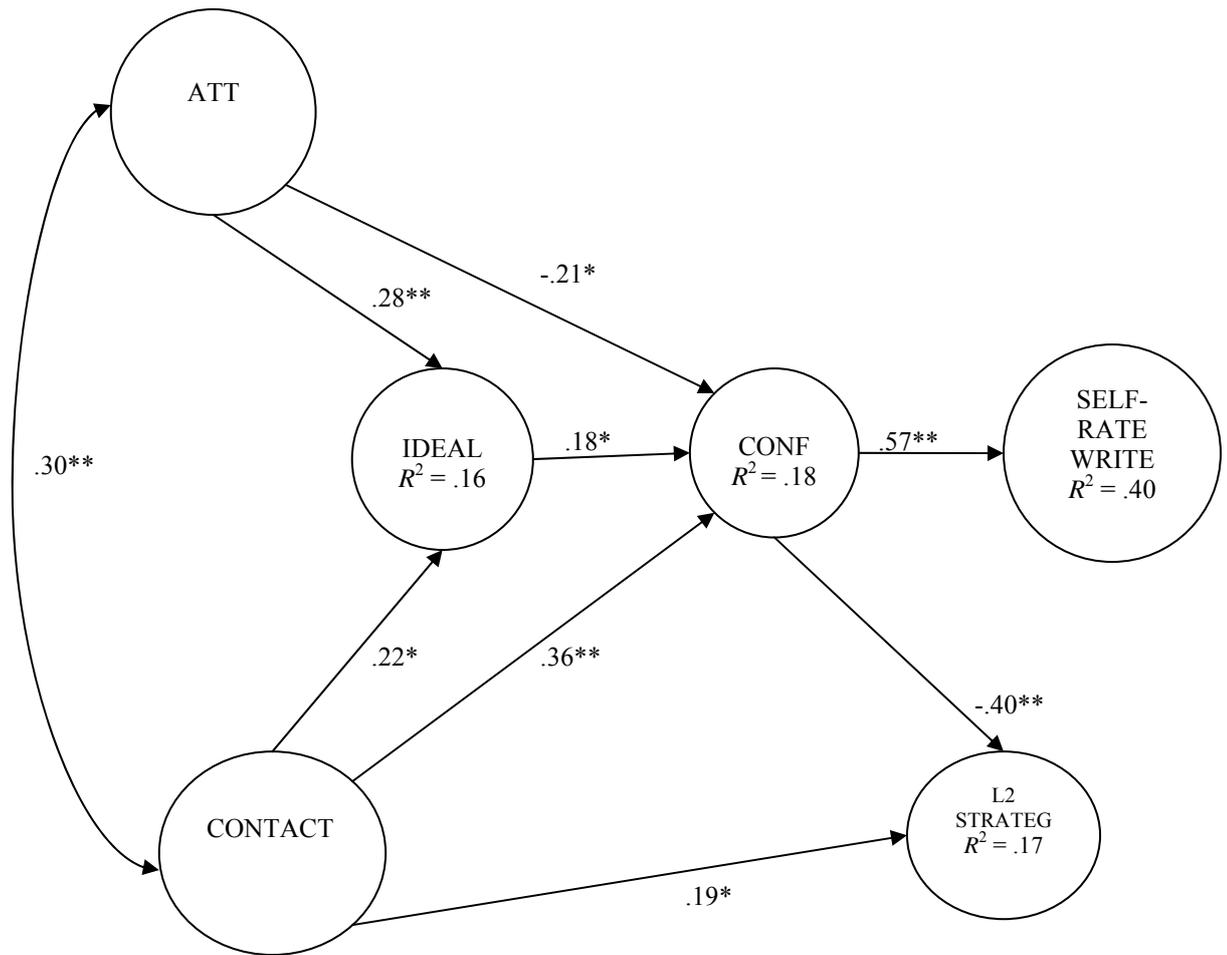


Figure 36. Path model of the five aggregate scores as predictors of self-rated writing scores (* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$). Coefficients are standardised beta coefficients.

As these figures show the five aggregates of acculturation and motivation variables explained a fair proportion of the variance in the self-rated scores for speaking (55%), listening (49%), reading (42%) and writing (40%). Except for the self-rated listening scores, the lack of direct paths from Attitudes and Contact to proficiency suggested that perceived proficiency was less dependent on social context than objective proficiency. The social variables exerted their influence indirectly through confidence with English and, in the case of self-rated speaking scores, the idealised L2 self as well. Hence, the greater the confidence with English and the more positive the evaluations of the Ideal L2 Self the higher the level of perceived proficiency was. These results seemed to suggest that the learners might tend to overestimate their L2

proficiency. However, the size of the correlations between the objective and self-rated proficiency measures (ranging between .56 and .59, $ps < .01$) suggested that respondents were more or less realistic about their English language proficiency levels.

Overall, the results from the path analyses showed that the group level acculturation variables (Attitudes and Contact) predicted the individual level motivation variables (Ideal L2 Self and Confidence with English), lending support to Gardner et al.'s 1997 version of the socio-educational model in which attitudes predicted motivation. In addition, the possibility to interpret in a meaningful way the relationship of an Ideal L2 Self construct with the other constructs of interest seemed to lend support to Dörnyei's proposition that Gardner's Integrativeness could be re-interpreted in terms of Ideal L2 Self. Intergroup level and individual level variables together predicted objective and self-rated proficiency sometimes directly and sometimes indirectly, hinting at the structural complexity of the relationship and the impossibility to explain L2 attainment on a single level of analysis.

8.3 Brief Chapter Summary

Both integrative and instrumental orientations toward learning English emerged in the present sample. Integrative orientation was found to be the stronger and more stable factor of the two and, therefore, only an Integrative Orientation index was formed. However, the descriptive statistics for this index and the two instrumental items ('get/keep a good job', 'further my education') showed that the respondents were to a degree both integratively and instrumentally oriented. These results were in accord with Dörnyei's (2005) proposition that the two orientations were likely to emerge in a variety of contexts. The present sample's level of integrativeness was thus high both in terms of positive attitudes toward Anglo-Australians and in terms of integrative orientation toward learning English.

Some of the variables under the umbrella of motivation, such as attitudes toward English and beliefs about ability and the nature of L2 learning, tended not to change with length of residence whereas others, such as attitudes toward the language instructor, persistence, effort (use of strategies), and confidence with English were susceptible to change. These results supported Gardner et al.'s (2004) proposition that it

was the specific micro-context, rather than the general attitude variables, that were likely to change as a result of the time spent under instruction in, and exposure to, L2.

Finally, the multitude of acculturation and motivation variables clustered on five factors on the basis of which five aggregates could be formed: Attitudes, Contact/Acculturation, Ideal L2 Self, Confidence with English, and L2 Learning Strategies. Their structural relationship was such that the acculturation variables (Attitudes, Contact) predicted the motivation variables (Ideal L2 Self, Confidence with English). Together, they predicted the use of L2 learning strategies and English language proficiency both directly and indirectly, hence suggesting a complex relationship between social level and individual level factors and a need to take them both into account.

CHAPTER 9

9 Contributions, Limitations, Implications

The present chapter brings the work to a conclusion. The first part overviews the chapters and summarises the major findings. The second part emphasises the contribution this investigation makes to the understanding of migrants' attitudes toward the dominant majority and the understanding of the concept of integrativeness in second language acquisition (SLA). The third part points to the limitations of the present research and identifies areas for further research. The final part describes the implications of the results for educators and policy makers.

9.1 Integration

The question overarching the present research was whether first generation adult migrants to Australia were likely to aim for the attainment of native-like proficiency in English. Of the various perspectives on ultimate attainment in SLA the social psychological was chosen since, while linguistic approaches contribute data on *what* is acquired and psycholinguistic approaches on *how* second languages are acquired (Gregg, 1993), sociolinguistic and social psychological approaches contribute to understanding *why* second languages are acquired only to the degree that they are (Spolsky, 1969).

Chapter 1 showed how the social psychological approaches to SLA incorporated factors such as ethnolinguistic vitality, identity, social and psychological distance, contact and motivation into their theoretical frameworks and argued, echoing Schumann (1993), that they contributed to the understanding of SLA phenomena at a different level of analysis. These approaches link the attainment of native-like proficiency in a second language (L2) to the learner's desire to identify and associate with the members of the TL community. Given the importance that these social psychological theories ascribe to social milieu, chapter 2 examined the multicultural Australian social context. More specifically, it provided a description of the post-war immigration policy, the development of the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP), the research by the

Department of Immigration into the English language needs of migrants and the research by Australian universities into the role of social identity in the shift from ethnic languages to English among the various migrant communities. It was pointed out that, while there was a rich tradition in examining migrants' attitudes toward their own ethnicity, there were no studies that focussed specifically on migrants' attitudes toward the dominant Anglo-Australian group. Drawing on Schumann's (1978) acculturation model and Gardner's (1985) socio-educational model the present research set out to investigate migrants' attitudes toward the TL group and their motivation to improve their English language skills. The basic premise was that the acquisition of English was only one aspect of the immigrants' acculturation (Schumann, 1978). The two models were described and appraised in chapter 3 and further shown to be aligned with recent developments in the theory of acculturation, attitudes and motivation in chapter 4. In the absence of agreed upon definitions and the theory of these constructs being in a state of flux, chapter 4 also emphasised the difficulties in operationalising and measuring them. Acculturation in the present research was operationalised in terms of two domains. The domain of Australian Adaptation incorporated factors such as Citizenship, Travel in Australia, and Satisfaction with Life, whereas the domain of Social Distance consisted of factors such as Attitudes and Contact. Motivation was conceptualised as an umbrella construct and incorporated Persistence, Effort (L2 Learning Strategies), Confidence with English, Motivational Orientation (goals), Attitudes to English and the L2 Instructor, and Beliefs about L2 Learning. As the description of the survey in chapter 5 revealed, the great diversity in the nature of the items used as indicators of these factors did not warrant the computation of sum aggregate scores for either Acculturation or Motivation. Attitudes were measured indirectly with the Spolsky (1969) identity scales technique which allowed for a more fine-grained grasp of the respondents' integrativeness through the juxtaposition of attitudes toward the TL group with attitudes toward the ideal self, self, and the speakers of the native language. However, the instrument was used differently from previous research. As described in chapter 6, the scales for the target Australians were submitted to Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) first and the two-factor solution was imposed by extension onto the other targets. This approach eased the comparison of the evaluations of the four targets on an Intelligent-cultured dimension and an Amiable dimension. Attitudes were measured directly with a set of scales designed by this researcher with specific reference to Australians. The EFA performed on them yielded a Competence dimension and a Sociability dimension.

The results, as presented in chapters 7 and 8, seemed to suggest that, within the socio-educational and acculturation frameworks, the respondents to the survey were not likely to aim for native-like levels of English language proficiency. Despite the highly positive evaluations of Anglo-Australians and the desire for interaction with them, the results suggested that in actual fact there was insufficient intergroup contact and that the state of positive acculturation entailed identification with the former ingroup, not the TL group. The Australians were rated the closest to the target Ideal Self and significantly higher than the targets Self and People in Native Country. This pattern was not a function of either ethnicity or length of residence. The fact that the groups by length of residence differed in their evaluations of the self and the speakers of the native language but not in the evaluations of Anglo-Australians suggested that Anglo-Australians were perceived as the societal dominant group in reference to which migrants adjusted the evaluations of their selves and the speakers of their native language. However, the disappearance of the association between the Self positivity index and the Australians index in the '6 to 15' and '16+' years of residence groups and the lack of such an association in the groups culturally (Western Europeans) and racially (Eastern and Western Europeans) similar to Anglo-Australians suggested that the boundaries of the desirable societal reference group were perceived as impassable. In addition, and contrary to expectations, the groups by length of residence did not differ significantly on any of the contact indices, suggesting that longer residence did not necessarily lead to more contact with members of the TL group. However, regardless of ethnicity and length of residence, respondents desired to have significantly greater variety of contact with Anglo-Australians than they were having at the time of the survey, suggesting that migrants' search for interlocutors was not an easy endeavour. The fact that attitudes toward the speakers of the native language improved with length of residence was also taken to attest to the perceived impermeability of the Anglo-Australian group's boundaries. According to Tajfel's (1978, 1981) social identity theory, reinterpreting the attributes of one's former ingroup in more positive ways is a strategy that individuals employ when faced with the impossibility of crossing over into a desirable outgroup. Finally, although attitudes were directly associated with English language proficiency, the relationship was found to be complex and mediated by other individual difference variables such as level of education on arrival, level of occupation in Australia, age, age at immigration, and length of residency. It was these variables rather than attitudes that were the source of proficiency (Evans, 1986; Chiswick et al., 2004). The finding that

the better educated, better qualified and more proficient migrants tended to have less positive evaluations of the attitude objects suggested that the integration with the Anglo-Australian group may be as difficult for them as it is for their less educated, less qualified and less proficient counterparts (Colic-Peisker, 2005; Jupp, 2002). In summary, respondents to the survey in the present research were not likely to attain native-like levels of English language proficiency because they perceived the boundaries of the Anglo-Australian group as impassable.

9.2 Contributions

9.2.1 Understanding the Minority Group's Attitudes

The present study explored the structure of migrants' attitudes toward Anglo-Australians and an attempt was made to relate these attitudes to broader cultural values (see chapter 6). Research in the United States found that the dimensions of Competence and Warmth captured the stereotype content of social groups by gender, employment/occupation status, religion, and race (Fiske et al., 2002). To recap from chapter 6, in Fiske et al.'s (2002) stereotype content model the interaction between the two dimensions yielded four types of stereotypes. Two of the stereotypes were mixed: high on warmth – low on competence (paternalistic) stereotype reserved for low status non-competitive groups and high on competence – low on warmth (envious) stereotype reserved for high status competitive groups. Two of the stereotypes were unmixed: low on competence – low on warmth (contemptuous) stereotype reserved for low status competitive groups and high on competence - high on warmth (admiration) stereotype reserved mostly for societal reference groups. Still in the US, research on the value bases of attitudes revealed that the values of individualism and communalism underlay the majority's attitudes toward minorities and pointed out that the attitudes of minorities toward the majority were severely neglected (Eagly & Chaiken, 1998: 286). From a cross-cultural perspective, individualistic cultures were found to nurture idiocentrics who valued agency whereas collectivistic cultures nurtured allocentrics who valued communion (Sedikides et al., 2003).

In the present investigation, the dimensions of Intelligent-cultured and Amiable were found to underlie the indirect measure of attitudes toward Anglo-Australians. The former consisted of traits such as 'logical and wise', 'well-mannered', 'well-informed',

‘clever and smart’, and the like. The latter consisted of traits such as ‘friendly’, ‘easy to get along with’, ‘cheerful’, ‘hospitable’, and the like. The two dimensions were highly correlated and Australians were rated highly positively on both. The dimensions of Competence and Sociability were found to underlie the direct attitude measure (the Australian Behavioural Stereotype scale). The former consisted of items such as ‘Australians try to be precise and accurate at what they do’. The latter consisted of items such as ‘Australians like to socialise’. The two dimensions were moderately correlated and Anglo-Australians were moderately positively evaluated on both. These results had a twofold interpretation. On the one hand, that the TL group were rated positively on both dimensions in the indirect and direct measures suggested that migrants held an admiration stereotype of Anglo-Australians. In Fiske et al.’s (2002) work this was the stereotype reserved for the societal reference group. On the other hand, the Intelligent-cultured and Competence dimensions seemed to reflect the individualistic value of agency, whereas the Amiable and the Sociability dimensions seemed to reflect the collectivistic value of communion. The size of the correlations between the two dimensions in each measure suggested that migrants’ stereotype of Anglo-Australians was a mixture of individualistic/idiocentric and collectivistic/allocentric attributes. The conclusion from these results was that migrants evaluated Anglo-Australians as an admirable societal reference group and that these attitudes were likely to derive from the values of agency and communion.

9.2.2 Understanding Integrativeness

Gardner (1985) defined Integrativeness in terms of psychological identification with the TL group and operationalised it as a tri-partite component incorporating attitudes toward other ethnolinguistic groups, attitudes toward the TL group, and integrative orientation toward learning L2. The problems surrounding the concept appear to relate mostly to the dichotomy between integrative and instrumental orientation. Rather than the existence of other orientations, such as knowledge, friendship and travel (Clément & Kruidenier, 1983), of relevance to the present investigation were the issues surrounding the social contexts in which integrative and instrumental orientations appeared and the difficulties in distinguishing between the two. As noted at various points in the thesis, Clément and Kruidenier (1983) found that integrative orientation emerged only in multicultural contexts among the members of a

clearly dominant group who had first hand contact with the TL group. However, research in Hungary, Indonesia, Japan, and Taiwan found that students of English in these countries were both integratively and instrumentally oriented, suggesting that the two orientations were difficult to disentangle (Dörnyei, 2005 for overview). Based on these results and the observation that Integrativeness had no parallel in mainstream motivational psychology, Dörnyei and his colleagues proposed to extend the concept to include instrumentality, to re-conceptualise it in terms of a ‘self’ framework, and re-label it altogether as “Ideal L2 Self” (Dörnyei 2005; Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002). The idea that integrativeness could be better understood in relationship to how the learner viewed the self and ideal self may not be new since it had been the rationale behind the design of the identity scales technique (Spolsky, 1969). Dörnyei and his colleagues go further than Spolsky and, in essence, propose to switch the level of analysis – that is, the proposition seems to be that Integrativeness be explored as an individual level rather than a group level variable. The learner could be described as having an integrative disposition if the mastery of L2 was integrated into the idealised vision of the self and the desire to reduce the discrepancy between the actual and ideal selves would constitute motivation (Dörnyei, 2005). Dörnyei argues:

This self interpretation of integrativeness is fully compatible with the direct relationship of the concept with ‘attitudes toward members of the L2 community’ in that L2 speakers are the closest parallels to the idealized L2-speaking self, which suggests that the more positive our disposition toward these L2 speakers, the more attractive our idealized L2 self. (Dörnyei, 2005: 102)

Dörnyei’s argument was supported by the results from the present investigation. As described in chapter 6, the target Ideal Self attracted the highest ratings, followed by Australians, and these were followed by Self. This specific order of targets suggested that the respondents in general aspired to have a self that mimicked and bettered Anglo-Australians. In addition, the Ideal Self and Australians indices were positively correlated, suggesting that the more positive the attitudes toward Anglo-Australians, the more positive the evaluations of the ideal selves were. Moreover, Integrative Orientation, Attitudes to English, Beliefs about the Nature of L2 Learning, Persistence, and Ideal Self all clustered substantially on the same factor (TABLE 19), supporting Dörnyei’s proposition that the motivation for L2 learning was related to the idealised vision of the self. An Ideal L2 Self aggregate fitted in with the interpretation of results presented in chapter 8. Finally, the pattern of correlations presented in Table 14 also

showed that perceived proficiency was associated with the evaluations of the selves and ideal selves rather than with the evaluations of the TL group. All of this points to the utility of subsuming the concept of Integrativeness under the concept of Ideal L2 Self for the sake of simplicity and generality of explanation.

However, in multicultural contexts such as Australia, the re-conceptualisation of L2 motivation in terms of actual and ideal selves may be incomplete. The concept of ‘reflected identity’, defined as an identity assigned by others, seems to be of relevance here (Clément et al., 2001). The Indian participants in Clément et al.’s (2001) study were found to endorse and desire Canadian identity to a greater extent than Canadians reflected on them and, conversely, desired Indian identity to a lesser extent than Canadians reflected on them. The discrepancies between the self and reflected identities are considered “as potentially debilitating because they represent the limits imposed by others on the development of the self in cross-cultural situations” (Clément et al., 2001: 566). It seems important to take into account how migrants think they are perceived by Anglo-Australians. Further research may explore how migrants’ reflected selves relate to intergroup contact, other attitudes, and English language proficiency.

Dörnyei is not specific about the role of social milieu in this new conceptualisation of integrativeness. As noted in chapter 3, an assumption of the socio-educational model was that social milieu could override individual difference variables (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993), whereas an assumption of the acculturation model was that psychological factors could override social ones (Schumann, 1976b). The discourse surrounding the Ideal L2 Self of ideal, possible and ought selves, of imagined communities and global identity seems to suggest that the psychology of the learner tips the scales. Research in Japan (cited in Dörnyei, 2005: 105) suggested that learners who were able to visualise their “English-using selves” clearly might be more motivated to attain higher levels of English language proficiency. Within the new framework social context may perhaps determine the clarity with which migrants visualise themselves as socially and professionally successful users of Australian English.

9.3 Limitations

The present research has some limitations associated with sampling, the survey method, cross-sectional designs, some conceptual and measurement issues.

As described in chapter 5, the present study utilised ‘snow-balling’ as the recruiting method. Although the sample was found to match the characteristics of the general migrant population in respect to age, employment rate, education, the use of non-probability sampling precluded the generalisation of results to the migrant population as a whole. Although a heterogeneous group of people were needed in order to allow for comparisons among groups by years of residence, ethnicity, education, immigration category, and the like, the heterogeneity resulted in unequally sized groups. This was controlled for by using a probability level of .025 instead of .05 (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007) and Games-Howell instead of Tukey post hoc tests when running between subjects ANOVAs. Greenhouse-Geisser correction was used to adjust the degrees of freedom when repeated measures ANOVAs were used.

Respondents to the survey might have given socially desirable answers when asked to evaluate the dominant group. The positive wording of the majority of items might have produced an overall halo effect and elicited more positive evaluations than migrants actually had of all attitude objects. Although the questions were presented in a variety of formats to avoid monotony, the length of the instrument might have affected answers due to fatigue. In the end, however, the analyses of the data gathered with this instrument produced meaningful relationships and the results could be interpreted within existing theoretical frameworks. This suggested that despite its shortcomings the survey did not lack validity.

The cross-sectional design of this research prohibited the discussion of causal relationships. However, the heterogeneity of the sample made it possible to uncover existing trends in the data. Trend Analysis was used as a means to this end. Of particular importance might be the findings that neither attitudes toward Anglo-Australians nor contact with them tended to change with length of residence. The latter undermined the assumption that contact between the L2 learning and TL groups increased with length of residence (Noels et al., 1996; Nesdale, 2002). This result could be a function of context. As described in chapter 2, Newcastle is an area with low migrant concentration. Participants might not have been shielded and could have experienced in the early years of residence the maximum amount of contact that Anglo-Australians were prepared to engage in. As a reminder, all the groups by length of residence demonstrated a desire for significantly greater contact than what was being experienced at the time of the research, suggesting that it was the Anglo-Australian group who were the less enthusiastic partner. Further research is needed in areas with

low and high migrant populations to confirm, or otherwise, this pattern. A relationship that appeared to merit further investigation was the negative association between attitudes and English language proficiency. As described in chapter 7, the finding that there was a negative relationship between the learners' evaluations of the TL speakers as intelligent/competent and proficiency was not unfamiliar to SLA research and neither was the finding that it was intuitively easier to speak of more proficient learners having less positive attitudes than to speak of learners with less positive attitudes having higher proficiency (Oller et al., 1977). However, as the path models showed in chapter 8, the Attitudes aggregate was the predictor of objective English language proficiency and the direction of the path was negative. Although the relationship was found to be mediated by respondents' background characteristics such as level of education on arrival, level of occupation in Australia and age at immigration, longitudinal and experimental research is needed to establish the directionality of the association between attitudes and proficiency.

On hindsight, the Contact domain of the Acculturation construct could have been more elaborately conceptualised and operationalised. As noted in chapter 7, this researcher was not specific enough about the meaning of the word 'friend' which rendered the respective variable useful for descriptive purposes only. It was not included in the ANOVA, correlation, and regression analyses since there were a number of outliers which had to be dropped before a square root transformation could successfully bring it to normality. Since the sacrifice of cases did not seem warranted the Number of Friends variable was excluded from the analyses (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). The fact that the two groups by positivity of evaluations of the target Australians (highly positive, moderately positive) differed significantly on the depth and variety of contact (question B4a), not on the frequency of contact index (question B3a), suggested that among the other contact variables the former was likely to carry the most weight in influencing intergroup attitudes. Overall, cross-group friendship could/should have been conceptualised in terms of extensive and repeated interaction which could make self-disclosure possible (Pettigrew, 1998: 76). Further research may include other indicators of contact such as duration of the interactions and topics of the conversations.

9.4 Implications

The results from the present investigation might provide useful information to those involved with policy making, English language program design, educators and community workers.

9.4.1 Research on Fossilization

The conceptual and methodological issues surrounding L2 fossilization are numerous and complex and include the lack of an agreed upon definition of the concept (see Han, 2004; Moskovsky, 2004 for comprehensive overviews). The findings from the present research may have implications for the use of length of residence as a criterion for identifying fossilized learners (Han, 2004: 98). Studies (cited in Han, 2004 and Moskovsky, 2004) had used informants at 2 to 50 years of residence in a TL environment. Han (2004) flatly rejected the suggestion that five years of residence be used as an index of ultimate attainment. Instead she proposed that the cut off limit for years of residence should be determined in relation to the types and intensity of interaction learners had in the L2 environment (Han, 2004: 172).

The answer to the question as to how long individuals should have resided in the TL environment before they become suitable participants might also depend on the assumptions that researchers make about what factors cause fossilization. Drawing on research which explored learners' (in)ability to notice mismatch between TL input and L2 output as a possible cause of fossilization, it has recently been proposed that self-monitoring be considered as a factor in fossilization since it is an important component in the ability to notice input-output mismatch and that:

The amount of self-monitoring has been found to decrease over time: usually, but not necessarily, alongside an increase in SL proficiency. It seems that the level of self-monitoring is a reflection not so much of actual proficiency levels, but of the learner's self-confidence in the use of the SL – the more self-confidence ..., the less self-monitoring. (Moskovsky, 2004: 9)

The results from the present investigation lend support to the above proposition. As described in chapter 8, Confidence with English increased with length of residence whereas Persistence and Effort/Strategies decreased (see Figure 8.2.2.1). Moreover, these three variables were related so that more confident learners were less likely to

engage in formal language learning (used here as an indicator of Persistence) and less likely to use communication with Anglo-Australians and the media with a specific focus on L2 mastery (see correlations in Table 15). Except for the ‘through 1 year’ of residence group this was the pattern for all other groups (‘2 to 5’, ‘6 to 15’, ‘16+’, see section 8.2.2 for details), suggesting perhaps that self-monitoring was likely to decrease with increase in linguistic confidence. The lack of fluctuation in the contact indices with years of residence suggests that in the present context a respondent’s interlanguage was likely to show signs of fossilization not too long into the length of residence. Added to this could be the finding that the rate of acquisition diminished with length of residence in general and dramatically so between the end of the first and third year of residence (Chiswick et al., 2004: 622). All of this appears to support Han’s (2004) position that the imposition of any arbitrary number for years spent in a TL environment as a criterion for the selection of participants would be limiting to research on L2 fossilization.

9.4.2 English as a Second Language (ESL) Teaching

The statement that immigrants’ acculturation takes a long time perhaps sounds obvious to those who have been involved with the provision of English language instruction and community services to migrants. The results from the present research suggested that it took respondents over 16 years to achieve positive acculturation (see section 7.3). Variables such as Australian Adaptation, Attitudes toward Self, Attitudes toward people in Native Country, Confidence with English, and Attitudes toward the Language Instructor improved with length of residence to reach their highest in the ‘16+’ years of residence group. Some variables improved linearly with period of residence (Australian Adaptation, attitudes toward Self, Confidence with English) whereas others did so in a curvilinear fashion (attitudes toward People in Native Country, attitudes toward the Language Instructor). Within this time frame, respondents at between two and five years of residence emerged as a group who might be ‘difficult’ to teach. Among the groups by years of residence (‘through 1’, ‘2 to 5’, ‘6 to 15’, ‘16+’) they had the lowest self-esteem and the least positive attitudes toward the English language instructors. Although further research on this particular group is needed to establish the source of this pattern, one possible explanation could be that migrants experience the most stress during this period. Whether to take up Australian citizenship

is a decision that is likely to be made after the second year of residence. A residence requirement for Australian citizenship is for a migrant to “have resided in Australia as a permanent resident for a total of at least two years in the last five years including a total of at least 12 months in the last two years” (www.citizenship.gov.au). This is also the period during which migrants become eligible for social benefits (Jupp, 2002). Compiling documentation and dealing with officials may be daunting enough without the complications of a language barrier. Despite the availability of interpreter services, only 31.6% of the sample ($n = 39$) reported ever having used interpreters whereas 65.0% ($n = 80$) reported having asked family and friends to help in such situations. It emerged from the interviews that respondents worried about their privacy considering that the interpreters belonged to the same ethnic community. Perhaps program content, or at least some of its modules, for the group of learners at between two and five years of residence could be developed in close co-operation with the government agencies providing services to migrants. Or, conversely, AMEP teachers could be involved with the wording of the verbal and written information that these agencies provide to migrants who are unwilling to use the interpreter services.

In terms of ethnic background, the present research identified North-East Asians and Eastern Europeans as groups who appear to have unaddressed needs. They had the lowest self-esteem, the least positive evaluations of their former ingroups, and the lowest levels of Australian adaptation among the groups by region of origin (Western Europe, Eastern Europe, North-east Asia, South-east Asia, NAMESCA - Northern Africa/the Middle East/ South and Central Asia, and South and Central America). These two groups more than any of the others are likely to need explicit cultural awareness instruction “that presents cultural information in terms of both understanding one’s own cultural predispositions and seeing them as relative positions within a range of alternative behaviours” (Liddicoat in the foreword to FitzGerald, 2003:viii). Perhaps suitably qualified and/or experienced individuals from different ethnic backgrounds who personify Liddicoat’s proposition could be invited into the classroom. Alternatively, their stories can be adapted and turned into reading comprehension texts. Such real life stories could supplement FitzGerald’s (2003) excellent materials and exercises in intercultural communication. In addition, educational researchers have come to realise that the approaches to learning and the expectations of its outcomes are grounded in the culture one is socialised in (see Yates, 2003 for overview of literature and comparative analysis). Research conducted within AMEP has revealed

discrepancies between teachers' and students' perceptions on issues concerning the organisation of the classroom, the role of the teacher, and the participation of the student (Yates & Williams, 2003). Hence, explicit statements about the approach to learning in Australia in general and about the approach adopted by the specific educational organisation could help learners to calibrate their expectations of the L2 learning process in Australia.

Another finding that may be of interest to ESL teaching professionals is that both integrative and instrumental orientations toward learning English emerged among the present sample. Migrants wanted to improve their English proficiency in order to associate with, and be more like, the Anglo-Australian group as well as in order to improve their job prospects and their education. This appears to suggest that a balanced approach to program content is needed. Although it is stated that within AMEP "both oracy and literacy are seen as important in order to prepare learners for the workplace, further education and training, and life in general in modern technological societies" (Yates & Williams, 2003: 185), the history of the AMEP documents a shift from spoken language as a major focus of ESL teaching in the early years of the program to focus on ESL literacy in the 1980s and on competencies in the 1990s (Martin, 1998). These shifts in focus happened in response to "changes in the economy, in the organisation of the workplace and in society" (Martin, 1998: 139). However, theories and research in SLA emphasise the centrality of contact and verbal interaction between L2 learners and TL speakers for the acquisition of L2 to occur (Schumann, 1978; Gass, 1997; Flege & Liu, 2001; Moyer, 2004). The fact that the migrants who participated in the present research desired to have significantly more contact with Anglo-Australians than they had at the time of the survey suggested that there was insufficient intergroup contact. In addition, the fact that one of the most frequently endorsed reasons for learning English was the desire to express feelings and opinions freely suggested that the respondents wanted to use the expressive function of L2 in addition to its communicative function. As one of the interviewees noted, when she spoke in her native language she spoke in colour, when she spoke in English she spoke in black and white. In the absence of contact with TL speakers, the language classroom should perhaps nurture these desires if first generation migrants are not to remain a 'mute' group in Australian society. Other research had also emphasised the importance of the formal classroom as a factor in sustaining migrant's motivation for L2 learning. Moyer's (2004) work with immigrants in Germany revealed that in the absence of contact with the TL speakers migrants were

likely to make greater use of the formal language classroom. Similar was the case with some of the present participants whose English language teachers testified that it was not unusual for familiar faces to re-appear after a long hiatus. This suggests that whereas for the majority of migrants AMEP teachers might be the first point of contact with Australians (Wigglesworth & Nicholas, 2003), for some migrants they may remain, from an SLA perspective, the *only* point of constructive interaction with the TL group. In view of all of the above and for the sake of acquisition and harmonious intergroup relations, spoken language should be given a priority in the classroom or at least should not be eclipsed by other considerations.

9.4.3 Policy

While languages may not be the only markers of ethnic membership, “their particular impact on framing of relationships and social representations make them powerful instruments of societal harmony” (Clément et al. 2001: 573). Research (reviewed by Dörnyei, 2005:76) has shown that individuals who were involved in language learning had more positive attitudes than individuals who were not. The present sample had highly positive attitudes toward the TL group. Anglo-Australians were rated as significantly better than the self and the speakers of the native language. Respondents had the desire to interact with Anglo-Australians and were both integratively and instrumentally oriented toward learning English. In terms of propensity for integration with the TL group what else could possibly be asked of this group of people? Perhaps in addition to encouraging migrants to learn English, policy should encourage Anglo-Australians to learn languages other than English. Research in Canada found that in multicultural contexts the promotion of second language learning benefited the majority group members most since they showed integrated/additive identity profile (Clément et al. 2001: 572). In view of this, if language is to be used as a tool to improve intergroup relations, both the majority and the minority groups should get actively involved in second language learning.

Although the Anglo-Australian group were perceived as a desirable outgroup they were also perceived as a group with impermeable boundaries. Social psychologists found that intergroup contact generally improved attitudes (Pettigrew, 1998) and led to identification with the TL group (Clément et al. 2001: 572). In the present investigation the results from the analyses on groups by length of residence showed that neither the

attitudes toward Australians nor the contact variables tended to change with length of residence. Moreover, the positive association between the Self and Australians positivity indices disappeared in the '6 to 15' and '16+' years of residence groups. In addition, there was a tendency for attitudes toward the speakers of the native language to improve with length of residence which accorded with Tajfel's (1978, 1981) social identity theory. These patterns suggested a lack of constructive interaction between the dominant and the minority groups. An important social psychological ramification (apart from the linguistic ones) of ignoring migrants' desire for interaction with the Anglo-Australian group is that former ingroups begin to be re-evaluated in more positive ways. Whereas this may not trigger an identity crisis in first generation migrants, it might bring about one in their descendants. Therefore, the results suggest that at the level of policy making and English as a second language program planning responsible governance cannot afford to divorce language from the broad social context and the social psychological processes underlying intergroup relations.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A1: Information Sheet

Information about Research Project

My name is Silvia Ratcheva and I invite you to take part in a research project called *Language Attitudes and Motivation of Adult Migrants in Newcastle*. This is a study toward a doctoral degree at the University of Newcastle, Department of Linguistics. The work is being supervised by Dr Peter Peterson, Head of the Department of Linguistics.

I invite you to share with me your experiences with English language learning and life in Australia. I am most interested to find out what it is you like or do not like about language, people and culture in Newcastle and whether the way you think about these things has changed over the years. The research project aims to establish whether changes in attitude affect the motivation for learning or improving English language skills.

I would like to meet you for an interview that may take up to two hours of your time. The interview will consist of:

- Conversation
- Filling out a questionnaire

The findings of this research will pinpoint the sensitivities of migrants and find application in the education and training of teachers, social workers and business leaders.

The information is confidential. Your names will not appear on the answer sheets, your information will be given code numbers instead. You may:

- Stop the interview at any time without giving a reason
- Choose to not answer some of my questions

I would like to assure you that the only people with access to the information I collect will be my supervisor and myself. After completion, if you are interested in the results, my thesis will be available in the library of the University of Newcastle or if you want me to send you a summary of the results, let me know.

I am looking for people who are:

- From non-English-speaking countries
- Permanent residents or Australian citizens
- Twenty-five years of age or older

If you are willing to participate but are uncertain about your English speaking skills, you may bring a friend or a family member along to help. I understand the following languages: Bulgarian, Russian, Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian and Spanish.

Your participation will be most welcome and appreciated.

If you would like more information, or if you want to let me know that you want to participate in this project, please contact Silvia Ratcheva on (02) 4921 6424 or e-mail silvia.ratcheva@studentmail.newcastle.edu.au

Signed:

(Silvia Ratcheva)
Researcher

(Peter Peterson)
Research Supervisor (02 4921 5155)

Complaints:

The University requires that all participants are informed that if they have any complaint concerning the manner in which a research project is conducted it may be given to the researcher, or if an independent person is preferred, to the University's Human Research Ethics Officer, Research Branch, the Chancellery, University of Newcastle, Callaghan NSW 2308, telephone (02) 4921 6333

Appendix A2: Questionnaire

A1 How long have you lived in Australia?

A2 How old were you when you immigrated to Australia?

A3 What was your immigration category? *Please tick one of the options below.*

- Refugee
- Family
- Skills
- Other (specify)

A4 What were the things that attracted you to Australia? (*You may tick more than one*)

- Political stability and political rights
- Freedom of expression
- Human rights – legal protection against discrimination
- Access to good business opportunities
- Availability of well-paying jobs
- Rewards for hard work and ability
- Affordable housing and cars
- Social welfare system (Medicare; government pensions for senior citizens, unemployed, single mothers, disabled; public housing)
- Access to all kinds of information
- Climate
- Physical environment – wide open spaces
- Other (please specify)

A5 Please write the name of your occupation (e. g. teacher, office worker) or a short description under each (a), (b) and (c). Leave the boxes in the table empty if you are not sure where your occupation belongs.

(a) What kind of work did you do back in your native country?

(b) What kind of work do you do now?

(c) What job would you like to have?

Occupation	(a) Native country	(b) Australia	(c) Would like to have
Professional			
Executive/managerial			
Trade and related (skilled vocational)			
Clerical, sales and service			
Production and transport			
Unemployed			
Retired			
Housewife			
Other			

A6 For how many years did you study in your native country? Please tick the box corresponding to the highest level you had completed before coming to Australia.

- No formal schooling
- 1 – 6 (primary)
- 7 – 10 (junior high)
- 11 – 12 (senior high school)
- 13 – 15 (certificate/diploma)
- 13 – 16 (tertiary)
- 17 or more (postgraduate)

A7 Have you had any experience with education in Australia?

Yes

No

What courses have you done and where?

Did you learn much?

Yes

No

I'm not sure

NA

Do you have children/grandchildren who have been to/are at school in Australia?

Yes

No

A8 In your opinion, how does the Australian educational system compare with the one in your native country at the level of primary school, high school and university?

A8 Please tick a box that best corresponds to your opinion.	Primary school	High school	University
The Australian system is better than the one in my native country.			
The Australian system is worse than the one in my native country.			
The educational systems in Australia & my native country are about the same .			
I am not sure.			

--

A9 What year did you arrive in Australia?

A10 Have you lived in Newcastle all this time?

- Yes
- No (If not in Newcastle – where else? How would you compare that place with Newcastle?)

A11 Have you ever visited/travelled to other places in Australia?

- Yes
- No (**Go to A12**)

If **Yes**, do you think that travel has made you change the way you view Australia and Australians?

- Yes
- No
- I am not sure

A12 Since your arrival in Australia, how many times have you been back to your native country?

A13 Do you think your country has changed since you left?

- It has changed for the better. (In what way?)

- It has changed for the worse. (In what way?)

- It has not changed much.
- I am not sure.

A14 Do you intend to migrate back to your country of origin?

- Yes.
- No.
- I am not sure.

A15 Are you an Australian citizen?

- Yes

Do you have dual citizenship? ► Yes No

- No

Do you intend to apply? ► Yes No I am not sure

A16 Do you feel at home in Australia? *Please tick one answer.*

- Yes.
- No.
- Sometimes.
- I am not sure.

A17 Do you feel accepted by Australians? *Please tick one answer.*

- Yes.
- No.
- Sometimes.
- I am not sure.

A18 Would you like to be considered a true Australian? *Please tick one answer.*

- Yes.
- No.
- I am not sure.

A19 If you had a choice of places to immigrate to, would you choose Australia again?
Please tick one answer.

- Yes.
- No. (Which country would you choose? Record comment.)
- I am not sure.

B. B1 Approximately how many Australian friends do you have? (*Please write a number.*)

List some of the things that you like about them:

List some of the things you don't like about them:

B2 Approximately how many migrant friends do you have in Australia? (*Please write a number.*)

List some of the things that you like about them:

List some of the things you don't like about them:

B3 What sort of contact do you mostly have with:

(a) Australians**(b)** Fellow migrants

<i>Please tick a box.</i>	(a) Australians	(b) Fellow migrants
Have no contact at all.		
Say 'hello' or smile or nod when you see each other.		
Chat together if you happen to see each other.		
Visit each other sometimes (once a month or less).		
Visit each other at home often (once a fortnight).		
Visit each other at home and help each other or do things together.		

B4 (a) Which of the following things do you do with the Australian people you know?

(b) Which of the following things would you be happy to do together with your Australian friends/acquaintances?

<i>You may tick more than one box.</i>	(a) Doing now	(b) Would be happy to do
Drop in casually without prior notice		
Meet for coffee/tea/beer		
Visit for meals		
Go to or invite over for BBQs		
Lend or borrow things		
Give or get help or advice in emergencies		
None of these		
Other (specify)		

B7 The following statements have been made about Australians. By ticking a box in the appropriate column, indicate how much you agree or disagree with these statements.

B7 By ticking a box indicate how much you agree or disagree.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Australians are trying hard to understand migrants.					
Australians have high moral values.					
Australians value education.					
Australians are a proud people.					
Australians care about politics.					
Australians care about the environment.					
Australians have good work ethics.					
Australians are good at science.					
Australians are good at art.					
Australians are good at sport.					
Australians dress nicely.					
Australians are physically fit.					
Australians are outspoken (not afraid to voice their opinions).					
Australians take pride in their homes.					
Australians like to socialize.					
Australians support each other.					
Australians are religious.					
Australians have a good sense of humor.					
Australians are brave.					
Australians are charitable.					
Australians read a lot.					
Australians drink a lot.					
Australians watch TV a lot.					
Australians are big spenders.					
Australians are snobs.					
Australians are punctual.					
Australians try to be precise & accurate at what they do.					
Australians are conscientious.					

--

C1 Did you study English before coming to Australia?

- Yes No (**Go to C2**)

If **Yes**, where did you study it? For how long?

C2 Did you study another language (other than your native language) before coming to Australia?

- Yes No (**Go to C3**)

If **Yes**, how do you think English and the language you studied compare? Which one is more difficult?

C3 When you arrived in Australia did you enrol in an English course?

- Yes No (**Go to C4**)

If **Yes**, for how long did you study English?

Did you finish that course or did you give up? (Why did you give up?)

What were some of the things you liked about the course?

What were some of the things you did not like about the course?

C4 Did Australian English sound strange to you?

Yes

No

C5 Do you feel that some of your English language skills have improved with time, and without effort?

Yes

No

If **Yes**, which skills do you think have improved:

Speaking Listening Reading Writing

What, in your opinion, was the cause for the improvement? *You may tick more than one.*

- Social contact
- Work contact
- Self tuition
- Television/radio
- Formal English classes
- Other (please specify)

C6 (a) How well could you speak, understand, read and write English before coming to Australia?

(b) How well do you think you can speak, understand, read and write English now?

C6 Please tick the box that you think applies to you.	(a) Before coming to Australia				(b) Now			
	Not at all	A little	Well	Very well	Not at all	A little	Well	Very well
Speak								
Listen								
Read								
Write								

C7 In what situations do you experience difficulties with English?
You may tick more than one option.

- Doctors
- Banks
- Shops
- Post office
- Pharmacies
- Travel/transport
- Insurance
- RTA
- Real estate
- Making appointments over the telephone
- Talking to strangers
- None of these
- Other (please specify)

C8a How do/did you overcome these difficulties? *Please tick a box in each row.*

1. Have you ever used interpreters?

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

2. Have you ever asked friends or family to help?

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

3. Have you ever avoided these situations?

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

4. When you don't understand what other people are saying, do you use phrases like 'Pardon?' 'I'm sorry I don't understand.' 'Would you speak more slowly?' 'Could you repeat that?'

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

5. Even if you don't understand what is being said do you still smile and nod (pretend to understand) to end the conversation quickly?

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

What other things do you do or say when you don't understand what other people are saying?

6. In general, do you understand when Australians speak to you? *Please tick one box.*

- Always
- Most of the time
- Sometimes
- Never

C8b When other people don't understand what you are saying do you try to do any of the following: *Please tick a box in each row*

1. Speak more slowly

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

2. Use different words

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

3. Pronounce more clearly

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

4. Use gestures

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

5. Check whether people understand by asking 'Do you understand?' 'You know what I mean?' 'OK?'

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

What other things do you do or say to make others understand you?

6. In general, do you think that Australians understand what you are saying? *Please tick one box.*

- Always
- Most of the time
- Sometimes
- Never

C9 What TV programs do you enjoy watching in English?

Please tick a box in each row:

1. Do you watch SBS?

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

2. If you own a video recorder, do you record TV programs or movies in English?

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

3. Do you borrow tapes from the video rental?

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

4. If you don't understand certain parts from these recordings/tapes, do you watch them over and over again so that you can finally understand?

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

5. Do you try to memorize words or phrases from movies or TV programs?

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

6. Does TV help you to improve your English?

Yes No I'm not sure

C10 What radio programs do you most often listen to? *You may tick more than one box.*

- Do not listen at all (**Go to C11**)
- Music only (**Go to C11**)
- News
- Talk
- Ethnic programs

Please tick a box in each row:

(a) If you listen to the radio programs in English do you listen for specific information?

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

(b) Do you ever leave the radio on to just hear the sound of English?

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

(c) Does radio help you to improve your English?

Yes No I'm not sure

C11

1. Do you read the ethnic papers/magazines? *Please tick a box in each row:*

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

2. Do you read the English papers/magazines?

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

3. If you read in English do you use a dictionary?

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

4. Do you try to look up every word you don't know?

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

5. Do you look up only the words that are often repeated throughout the text?

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

6. Do you try to guess the meaning of words you don't know?

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

7. Do you read paragraphs or whole articles more than once to get the meaning?

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

8. Do you read out loud?

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

How would you compare the ethnic papers/magazines with the Australian ones?

C12 Do you borrow English books from the library?

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never (**Go to C13**)

If you do, what do you borrow? *Please tick a box in each row.*

• Fiction

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

• Non fiction

Always Often Sometimes Rarely Never

C13 Do you feel uncomfortable when you speak your native language in public?

Yes.

Sometimes. (Why? Do people stare?)

No

C14 How do you feel when shop assistants ask where you come from?

- I feel angry.
- I feel annoyed.
- I feel pleased.
- I don't mind.
- I am not sure.

C15 Do you feel uncomfortable when you speak English to your children or people from your native country?

- Yes.
- Sometimes. (Why?)
- No.

C16 Do you feel like a different person when you speak English?

- Yes.
- Sometimes. (Why?)
- No.

C17 (a) When you first arrived in Australia, how important did you think learning English **WAS**?

(b) How important would you say learning English **IS NOW**?

<i>Please tick the appropriate</i>		
------------------------------------	--	--

<i>box in each column.</i>	(a) Was	(b) Is now
Vital		
Very important		
Important		
Not important but desirable		
Not important at all.		

What has made you change your mind?

C18 How important is it to you to maintain your native language?
Please tick one option.

- Vital
- Very important
- Important
- Not important but desirable
- Not important at all

C19 Do you feel that you need to improve your English?

- Yes No

If **Yes**, what areas of your English do you feel you need to improve?

- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Speaking | <input type="checkbox"/> Listening | <input type="checkbox"/> Reading | <input type="checkbox"/> Writing |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|

C20 What are / were the most important reasons that you have / had for wanting to improve your English? *You may tick more than one option.*

- Get/keep a good job
- Start a business
- Further my education/training
- Be more independent
- Feel more confident
- Express feelings/opinions freely
- Meet and converse with more and varied people
- Become friends with Australians
- Understand Australian ways (e. g. social rules)
- Take full part in Australian life
- Others (specify)

C21 Which do you feel is the best way for you to learn or improve your English? *(More than one of the following may be ticked.)*

- Going to classes

- Watching TV
- Listening to the radio
- Talking to Australians
- Self-instruction
- Reading
- Other (please specify)

C22 Do you intend to go/continue going to English classes in the future?

- Yes.
- No. (Why not?)

C23 Would you please rate the English language instructors you have had in Australia in terms of the following characteristics (I am interested in your general impression). ►

C23 How would you rate the English language instructors you have had in Australia in terms of the following characteristics?
 (Please tick a box in each line that best corresponds to your general impression.)

Competent	<input type="checkbox"/>	Incompetent				
Competent and I could learn a lot from her/him	<input type="checkbox"/>	Competent but I could not learn much from her/him				
Organized	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disorganized				
Aware of what we wanted to learn	<input type="checkbox"/>	Unaware of what we wanted to learn				
Able to adapt teaching style to the students' level	<input type="checkbox"/>	Unable to adapt teaching style to the student's level				
Emotional and expressive	<input type="checkbox"/>	Reserved and boring				
Displaying energy and vitality	<input type="checkbox"/>	Not enthusiastic				
Able to explain things simply	<input type="checkbox"/>	Unable to explain things simply				
Able to set just the right pace for the lesson	<input type="checkbox"/>	The pace was/is too fast or too slow				
Able to give us enough time for practice	<input type="checkbox"/>	Unable to give us enough time for practice				
Able to prepare us for what we will be doing next	<input type="checkbox"/>	Every lesson was for its own sake				
Interested in students' opinions	<input type="checkbox"/>	Indifferent to students' opinions				
Worked with all students in the class equally	<input type="checkbox"/>	Worked with only some of the students				

C24 By ticking a box in the appropriate column indicate how much you agree or disagree with these statements.	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1 Learning English is fun.					
2 Learning English is intellectually stimulating & challenging.					
3 I enjoy speaking English.					
4 English is a difficult language to read & write because there are no rules.					
5 English sounds very nice.					
6 Australian English sounds nicer than American English.					
7 Australian English sounds nicer than British English.					
8 Learning English is more beneficial/useful than learning other languages.					
9 Learning a second language should not be compulsory in Australian schools. English is enough.					
10 English can express everything that my native language can.					
11 Some languages are easier to learn than others.					
12 English will be a second mother tongue to me one day.					
13 Correct pronunciation is very important.					
14 Speaking English is more important than reading or writing.					
15 Life in Australia is very hard for migrants who cannot speak English well.					
16 Migrants who are fluent in English are usually better educated and have a higher social status than migrants who aren't.					
17 Even people who speak English with an accent can succeed in education & employment in Australia.					
18 People who speak more than one language have better job opportunities in Australia.					
20 Even people who speak English with an accent are considered truly Australian by native Australians.					
21 Learning languages requires a special ability.					
22 Learning languages requires hard work, not a special ability.					
23 Learning vocabulary words is as important as learning the grammar of a second language.					
24 Learning correct pronunciation is as important as learning the grammar of a second language.					
25 Language learning involves a lot of memorization.					
26 If a person lives in an English-speaking country for a long time he/she can simply pick up the language (doesn't have to really study it).					
27 It is easier to speak & understand English than to read & write it.					
28 People who speak more than one language are very intelligent.					
29 Some people have a special ability for learning languages.					
30 Women are better than men at learning languages.					

C24 By ticking a box in the appropriate column indicate how much you agree or disagree with these statements.		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
32	People who are good at mathematics and science are not good at learning languages.					
33	It is easier for someone who already speaks a second language to learn a third one.					
34	Learning a language is different from learning other subjects.					
35	I am good at learning languages.					
36	Native speakers of English are good at speaking other languages.					
37	People from my native country are good at speaking other languages.					
38	In order to understand Australian culture I have to speak English well.					

Thank you for your participation!

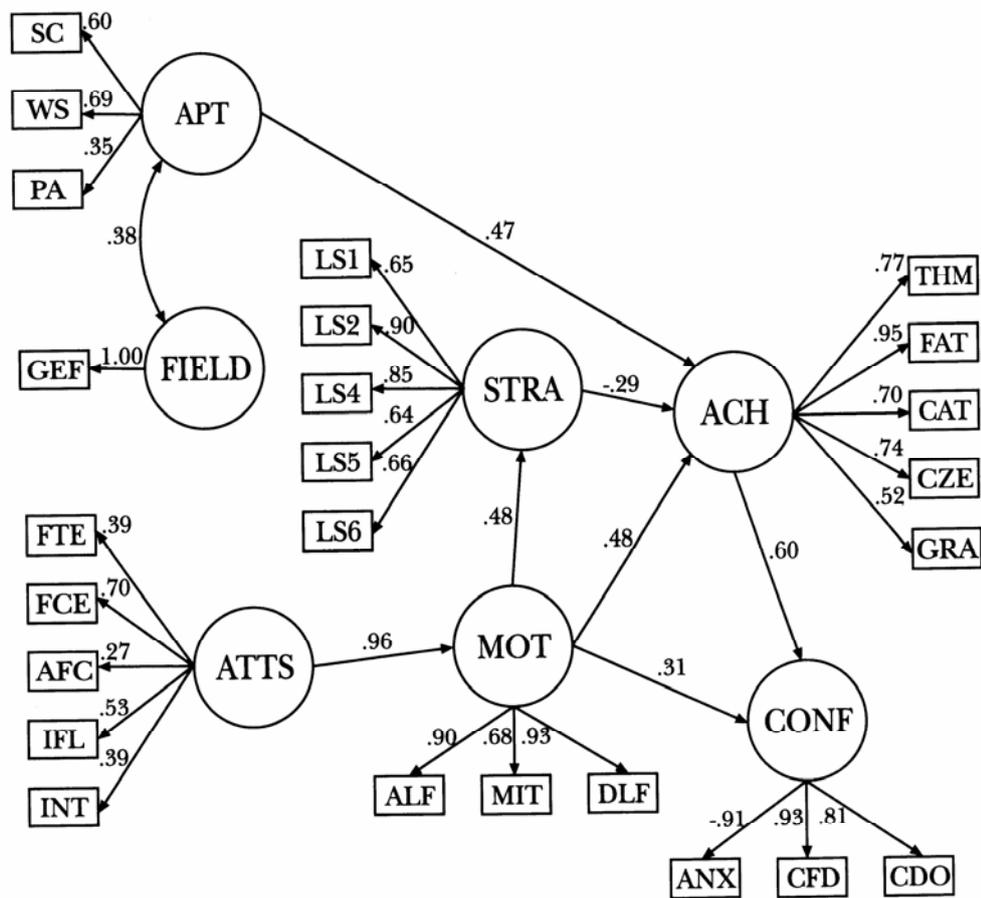
Appendix B: Countries of Respondents' Origin

Country	Frequency	Valid Percent	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
Argentina	1	.8	.8
Austria	2	1.6	2.4
Bosnia	3	2.4	4.9
Bulgaria	5	4.1	8.9
Chile	5	4.1	13.0
China	6	4.9	17.9
Colombia	2	1.6	19.5
Croatia	1	.8	20.3
Cuba	1	.8	21.1
Egypt	2	1.6	22.8
El Salvador	2	1.6	24.4
France	2	1.6	26.0
Germany	5	4.1	30.1
Greece	1	.8	30.9
Holland	3	2.4	33.3
Hong Kong	2	1.6	35.0
India	2	1.6	36.6
Iran	2	1.6	38.2
Italy	4	3.3	41.5
Japan	4	3.3	44.7
Korea	8	6.5	51.2
Macedonia	5	4.1	55.3
Malaysia	3	2.4	57.7
Peru	2	1.6	59.3
Philippines	10	8.1	67.5
Poland	3	2.4	69.9
Russia	3	2.4	72.4
Singapore	1	.8	73.2
Slovenia	1	.8	74.0
Spain	5	4.1	78.0
Sri Lanka	4	3.3	81.3
Switzerland	3	2.4	83.7
Taiwan	1	.8	84.6
Thailand	6	4.9	89.4
Turkey	1	.8	90.2
Ukraine	3	2.4	92.7
Vietnam	4	3.3	95.9
Yugoslavia	5	4.1	100.0
Total	123	100.0	100.0

Appendix C1: 1997 Version of the Socio-Educational Model

The 1997 version of the socio-educational model as it appears in Gardner, Termblay and Masgoret (1997:354)

FIGURE 1
The Causal Model



Appendix C2: Gardner et al.'s 1997 EFA Results

Results from factor analysis as they appear in Gardner, Tremblay & Masgoret (1997: 351)

TABLE 1
Rotated Factor Matrix

Variables	<i>FACTORS</i>				
	I	II	III	IV	V
Spelling Clues	.01	-.07	.23	.65	-.08
Words in Sentences	.04	.03	.10	.73	.08
Paired Associates	-.11	.05	.03	.51	-.10
Instrumental Orientation	.21	.06	.05	-.27	.55
French Use Anxiety	-.82	-.08	-.27	.03	-.21
French Class Anxiety	-.86	.16	-.28	-.15	-.09
French Language Anxiety	-.81	.05	-.34	-.13	-.05
Attitudes toward French Canadians	.06	.12	.07	-.06	.77
Interest in Foreign Languages	.01	.26	.42	.28	.25
Integrative Orientation	.12	.14	.15	.02	.85
Motivational Intensity	.20	.52	.59	-.16	.01
Attitudes toward Learning French	.27	.33	.73	.05	.20
Desire to Learn French	.33	.36	.73	-.03	.15
Self-Confidence (SCC)	.87	.00	.23	-.02	.03
Self-Confidence (SCAC)	.87	.07	.17	-.11	.27
Self-Confidence (SCGA)	.87	-.03	.26	-.04	.14
French Class Evaluation	.27	.03	.82	-.05	.03
French Teacher Evaluation	.11	-.24	.63	.19	.00
Memory Strategies	-.07	.68	.11	-.06	-.05
Processing Information Strategies	.16	.86	.03	.10	.06
Missing Information Strategies	.10	.20	-.30	.36	.14
Meta-Cognitive Strategies	.03	.83	.17	-.09	.09
Emotion Management Strategies	.01	.75	.04	.00	.08
Learning with Others Strategies	.10	.72	-.11	.10	.27
Group Embedded Figures Test	.01	-.11	-.17	.60	-.09
Can Do – Writing	.80	.18	-.03	.00	-.05
Can Do – Reading	.83	.05	-.01	-.12	.02
Can Do – Understanding	.86	.05	-.04	-.05	.07
Can Do – Speaking	.91	.13	-.02	.05	.01

Appendix C3: Gardner et al.'s Correlation Analysis Results

Results from correlation analysis as they appear in Gardner, Tremblay & Masgoret (1997: 352)

TABLE 2
Correlations of the Aggregate Scores
with Achievement

Variables	Objective Measures	French Grades
Motivation	.27**	.36***
Language Attitudes	.23*	.09
Language Anxiety	-.66***	-.33**
Self-Confidence	.64***	.29**
Can Do	.64***	.33**
Learning Strategies	-.10	.04
Language Aptitude	.37***	.35**
Field Independence	.14	.17

Note. * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$