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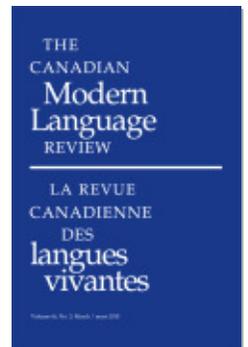
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Motivation, Ethnic Identity, and Post-Secondary Education Language Choices of Graduates of Intensive French Language Programs

Erin Goldberg
Kimberly A. Noels

Abstract: This study investigates the motivation for learning French, the ethnic identities, and the decision to pursue post-secondary education in French of anglophone graduates of intensive French language programs in high school. Sixty-two graduates of either French immersion, Advanced Placement French, or the International Baccalaureate French program enrolled at an English-language post-secondary institution and 29 graduates of the same programs enrolled at a French-language facility completed a questionnaire including the Situated Ethnic Identity Scale (Noels, Saumure, Pino, Clément, & MacIntyre, 2005), the Language Learning Orientation Scale (Noels, Pelletier, Clément, & Vallerand, 2000), and a language use index. Results provided some evidence that students in the francophone institution were motivated to learn French for more self-determined reasons and that they also felt more strongly francophone and less strongly anglophone in some situations.

Résumé : La présente étude porte sur la motivation à apprendre le français, l'identité ethnique et la décision de poursuivre des études post-secondaires en français des étudiants anglophones diplômés ayant suivi des programmes intensifs de français au secondaire. Soixante-deux étudiants ayant obtenu un diplôme en immersion française, en *Advanced Placement French* ou dans le cadre du programme de baccalauréat international francophone, qui se sont inscrits dans un établissement post-secondaire anglophone, ainsi que vingt-neuf étudiants issus des mêmes programmes et inscrits dans un établissement francophone, ont rempli un questionnaire comprenant le *Situated Ethnic Identity Scale* (Noels et al., 2005), le *Language Learning Orientation Scale* (Noels et al., 2000) et un outil d'évaluation de l'utilisation de la langue. Les résultats semblaient démontrer que les étudiants des établissements francophones avaient une motivation à apprendre le français qui reposait davantage sur des raisons personnelles, et qu'ils se sentaient également plus francophones et moins anglophones dans certaines situations.

Background

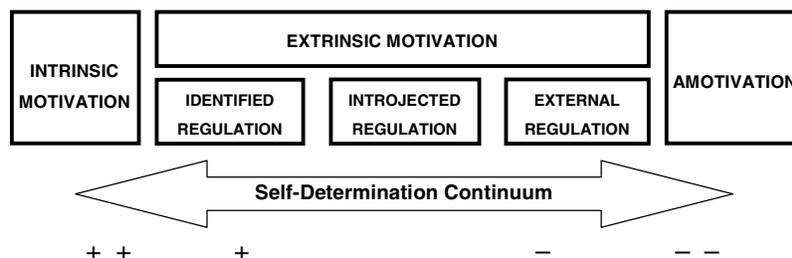
Millions of English-speaking Canadian students have participated in French as a second language programs at the elementary, junior high, and high school levels; for example, in 1999, more than 323,000 students were enrolled in a second language (L2) immersion program, more than three-quarters of them outside Québec (Statistics Canada, 2004). To date, much of the research on students of such intensive¹ L2 programs has focused on cognitive, linguistic, and educational outcomes, while relatively few have addressed social psychological variables. At the same time, many studies with students in more traditional classroom contexts (e.g., core French programs; LeBlanc, 1990) have demonstrated that motivational and attitudinal factors influence L2 acquisition and proficiency (Clément, Smythe, & Gardner, 1978; Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1994; Gardner, Tremblay, & Masgoret, 1997; Gardner, Lalonde, & Moorcroft, 1985; Van der Keilen, 1995; Speiller, 1988; Wright, 1999). Little current research, however, has examined students' motivations for continuing or discontinuing their L2 education past the high school level (see Wesche, Morrison, Ready, & Pawley, 1990). The present study attempts to redress this omission by considering how the motivation and ethnic identity of graduates of secondary-level intensive French language programs are linked to these students' decisions to attend a French- or English-language post-secondary institution. We will use two conceptual frameworks to examine the relations between intensive French programs, motivation and ethnic identity: Self-Determination Theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985) and the Situated Ethnic Identity approach of Clément and Noels (1992; Noels, Clément, Côté, & Gaudet, 2002).

Motivational orientations

Noels and her colleagues (e.g., Noels Pelletier, Clément, & Vallerand, 2000; Noels, 2001a) have argued that an understanding of language learning motivation is enhanced by considering Deci and Ryan's Self-Determination Theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Deci, Vallerand, Pelletier, & Ryan, 1991; see Figure 1). This theory maintains that motivation can be broadly categorized in terms of two orientations: intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. *Intrinsic motivation* refers to the desire to perform an activity because it is enjoyable and personally satisfying to do so. These feelings of pleasure are suggested to be derived from the sense that one has freely chosen to perform an activity in which one is developing skill.

Conversely, many students may be *extrinsically motivated*, such that a reason external to the activity itself serves as the goal for performing

FIGURE 1
 Motivational orientations on the Self-Determination Continuum
 (adapted from Deci & Ryan, 1985)



the activity. Deci and Ryan (1985) suggest that there are several types of extrinsic motivation that vary in the extent to which the goal is controlled by the individual or by external contingencies. *Identified regulation* means performing an activity because that activity is considered to be important for attaining a valued goal, while *introjected regulation* means performing an activity because of some internal pressure, such as guilt or self-aggrandizement. The least self-determined form of extrinsic motivation is *external regulation*, whereby the person performs the activity to achieve some instrumental end, such as to gain a reward or to avoid punishment. Externally regulated students have not incorporated L2 learning into their identities and are not self-determined (Noels et al., 2000). Finally, *amotivation* is the lack of any reason, intrinsic or extrinsic, to perform a particular activity.

Deci and Ryan (2000) argue that there is an innate tendency for humans to perform activities that they enjoy and to integrate these activities into their self-concepts. Consistent with this claim, Noels (2001a) maintains that students who are learning the language for intrinsic and/or more self-determined extrinsic reasons (i.e., identified and integrated regulation) will invest more effort and be more persistent in language learning than students who are learning the language for less self-determined reasons (i.e., external and introjected regulation). This process of performing an activity and incorporating it into one's identity is a cyclical process; the more one enjoys an activity, the more one will perform it, and the more one performs an activity, given a self-determined orientation, the more it will be enjoyed.

Another type of motivational model is presented by Gardner and Lambert (1959; Gardner, 1985), who differentiate between instrumental and integrative orientations. The *instrumental orientation* corresponds closely with notions of extrinsic motivation, particularly external

regulation (Noels, Clément, & Pelletier, 2001), such that one learns a L2 to meet concrete educational, vocational, or economic goals. An *integrative orientation* refers to learning a L2 because one wants to have contact and communicate with members of a different culture out of respect for and appreciation of that culture. Although these two orientations are positively correlated (MacIntyre, Baker, Clément, & Conrod, 2001), some research demonstrates that while instrumental motivation promotes learning in an L2 context (Speiller, 1988), to go beyond an intermediate grasp of the language, it helps to be integratively motivated as well (MacFarlane & Wesche, 1995), and that French immersion students have both a greater integrative and a greater instrumental motivation to learn French than other students (Van der Keilen, 1995).

Noels and her colleagues argue that these two theoretical paradigms are complementary. Indeed, work by Noels (2001b, 2005) indicates that although they are intercorrelated, the intrinsic and more self-determined forms of motivation better predict learning-specific outcomes, such as effort and persistence, while the integrative orientation is a better predictor of intergroup variables such as contact with members of the language community and feelings of ethnic identity. Most of this research has used self-report questionnaires of learning outcomes; the present study extends the examination of the link between students' motivation for learning French, their actual language choices in post-secondary education, and how these two variables are associated with feelings of ethnic identity.

Ethnic identity

The motivational perspective offered by Noels (2001a) suggests that the more an activity is freely chosen by an individual and incorporated into the self-concept, the more often the individual will engage in that activity. Once language learning has been well integrated into a person's self-concept, it would seem reasonable to believe that he or she will also come to identify with that language community. Research suggests that competence and use in an L2 predicts greater identification with that group (Landry & Allard, 1998; Lambert, 1978; Noels & Clément, 1998). Because L2 programs have potential social and personal effects, it is important to examine the relationship between learning an L2 and ethnic identity (see Norton, 2000). As Genesee (1987) asserts, 'to learn another group's language may influence one's perception of oneself or of other groups insofar as one is acquiring a salient and distinctive characteristic of another group' (p. 101).

Although conceptualizations of ethnic identity vary widely (for overviews, see Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Leets, Giles, & Clément, 1996; Rummens, 2003), it is widely defined as a subjective experience of belonging with an ethnic group (Barth, 1969; Phinney, 1990). Many social science researchers maintain that at least two groups are relevant for ethnic identity, including the ancestral ethnic group and any other relevant ethnic group(s) (see Berry, 1990); in the case of L2 learners, the other relevant group is the L2 community. Lambert identified two possible patterns of relations between language and identity, each determined by the sociocultural dominance of the language groups in question (Lambert, 1974, 1978; Genesee, 1987; see also Clément, 1980). In subtractive bilingualism (also termed 'assimilation'; Clément, 1980), members of an ethnolinguistic minority learn the language of the socially dominant linguistic group, resulting in a replacement of their identity with the language and culture of the dominant group. Subtractive bilingualism may elicit negative feelings toward the original language and culture of the minority group. In additive bilingualism (also termed 'integration'; Clément, 1980), members of a dominant language group learn the language of a minority ethnolinguistic group. In this instance, the new language and culture do not replace the original language and culture, and the individual now has two languages and ethnic groups as cultural reference groups. Given that English has greater vitality than French in most parts of Canada, anglophone students enrolled in intensive French programs (outside Québec) can be expected to add the French language and culture to their existing cultural and linguistic frameworks, resulting in a state of additive bilingualism.

These expectations regarding ethnic identity might be modified, however, by the situation in which intergroup contact takes place (see Nagata, 1969; Okamura, 1981; Yip & Fuligni, 2002). As Heller (1984) argues, ethnicity is not fixed but is instead socially negotiable; identity cannot be separated from the context of the social interaction in which it originates (see Norton & Toohey, 2002, for a related discussion). In a similar vein, Clément, Noels, and their colleagues (Clément & Noels, 1992; Noels, Clément, & Gaudet, 2004) propose that 'identity is constructed through language negotiations in different situations, such that the degree of identification with each group depends upon with whom one interacts and the normative expectations of that situation' (Noels & Clément, 1998, p. 114). Sociolinguists and other scholars interested in the social nature of language behaviour suggest that the setting, the relationship between the interlocutors, and the activity or topic of con-

versation are three key aspects that define interpersonal situations (Brown & Fraser, 1979; Downes, 1998; Fishman, 1972a, 1972b).

Moreover, situational domains generally vary in their level of intimacy (Côté & Clément, 1994; Noels et al., 2005), and the intimacy of the situation has implications regarding cultural changes. Edwards (1985) suggests that individuals are more likely to encounter members of other ethnic groups in public situations (e.g., at school, in the community) and are hence faced with the possibility of acculturative changes to their ethnic identity in those situations. The lower level of intergroup contact in more private situations (e.g., with friends and family members) is posited to shelter language and identity from acculturative processes. Identification with the L2 group should therefore be stronger in less intimate than in more intimate domains, while the converse should be true with regard to identification with the L1 group.

Intensive French language programs in Alberta

In the interest of expanding students' exposure to French beyond core French language instruction, various other types of French programs have been developed, the most well known being French immersion. Statistics Canada defines French immersion as a program that offers instruction in the minority language to students of the majority language group for a minimum of 25% of the day. Since 1975, there have been over 5 million enrolments in French immersion programs by English Canadians (Statistics Canada, 2004). Certainly, many studies have investigated issues related to French immersion in the elementary and junior high levels of education (but see Kaufman & Shapson, 1978). This important initiative, however, has rarely been examined past the high school level, or outside Québec and Ontario. This gap is particularly disconcerting because the vast majority of French immersion high school graduates enrol in post-secondary institutions (Harley, 1994). It is important to study students' choice of post-secondary institution, as the choice between pursuing one's education in the primary language and doing so in the secondary language is a clear indication of commitment to L2 learning and maintenance. Furthermore, for many students, language use is the foundation of a developmental trajectory *vis-à-vis* ethnic identity, intergroup attitudes, and contact with French speakers.

As in other areas of Canada, there are two principal types of French immersion education in Alberta, the province in which the current investigation took place: (1) the early immersion program, which begins in elementary school, and (2) the late program, which begins in junior high or high school. The goals of all French immersion programs include

high proficiency in English, functional fluency in French, and mastery of the required skills and abilities in all other subjects (Edmonton Catholic School District, 2006). Other intensive French programs include Academic Placement French and International Baccalaureate French, two senior high school programs for highly motivated students that provide L2 instruction for a greater amount of time than core French programs, across a range of contexts and for many purposes. These courses often focus on written and spoken communication and may result in advanced standing at the university level (Edmonton Public School Board, 2005; International Baccalaureate Organization, 2005; Advanced Placement, 2005).

Upon high school graduation, French-language students who want to live in Edmonton have the option of continuing their education either in English, at the main campus of the University of Alberta (U of A) or at local colleges, or in French at the Faculté Saint-Jean (FSJ), the only university campus west of Manitoba with an exclusively French curriculum. Approximately 60% of students who attend FSJ come from Edmonton; many others travel from Saskatchewan, British Columbia, Québec, and the Maritimes, as well as from Francophone countries elsewhere (e.g., in Africa). Because FSJ is located in a Francophone district of Edmonton, the students' opportunities for community involvement and intercultural contact are enhanced. Thus, if they so desire, students can thoroughly immerse themselves in French at the post-secondary level. Alternatively, because Faculté Saint-Jean is a campus of the University of Alberta, all students have the option of taking some of their courses on the main campus (and vice versa), allowing for the possibility of studying in both official languages (Faculté Saint-Jean, 2003; J. Boeglin, personal communication, January 20, 2003).

Objectives of the present study

Combining the approaches of Self-Determination Theory and the Situated Ethnic Identity approach, we hypothesize that intensive French program graduates who choose to continue their post-secondary education at a French or English campus differ in their motivational orientation. More specifically, we hypothesized that students who attend FSJ have greater levels of self-determination for language learning, possibly stemming from a greater interest in and enjoyment of learning French before entering university, making L2 learning more self-determined. Indeed, Ramage (1990) found that continuing students were more motivated than discontinuing students to learn language for language's

sake. We also predicted that FSJ students would have a stronger Francophone identity than U of A students, particularly in situations involving school and friends, which parallels patterns of language use. Since highly self-determined and intrinsically motivated students are purported by Self-Determination Theory to have integrated the activity into their self-concept, we reasoned that such students would likely also have greater identification with the language community.

Method

Participants

The participants were 91 students registered either at the University of Alberta's main campus or at Faculté Saint-Jean in Edmonton, Alberta. All participants had been registered in an intensive French L2 program in high school (74 in French immersion, 5 in Advanced Placement French, and 12 in International Baccalaureate French; there was no overlap among the three groups, as the participants were asked to choose the option that best described their program),² and all participants spoke only English as their L1; those who spoke only French, both French and English, or a non-official language as their L1 were not included in the sample. All the participants lived in Canada, and most (85.7%) were permanent residents of Alberta. Seven (24.1%) FSJ students and 17 (27.9%) U of A students had at least one parent with a French language background. Chi-square analysis did not find any significant difference in the distribution across institutions of students with parents of French language background ($\chi^2 = 0.14, p > 0.05$).

The U of A group consisted of 62 participants with a mean age of 19.02 years ($SD = 1.45$), of whom 72.1% were female. The FSJ group consisted of 29 participants with a mean age of 18.07 years ($SD = 0.75$), of whom 72.4% were female. U of A participants were currently enrolled in a mean of 0.14 French-language classes ($SD = 0.77$) while FSJ participants were enrolled in a mean of 3.25 French-language classes ($SD = 1.51$) out of a possible full course load of four or five classes. Finally, the mean year of post-secondary education of the U of A participants was 1.82 ($SD = 0.90$), and the mean year of education of the FSJ participants was 1.14 ($SD = 0.35$).

Materials

The questionnaires consisted of closed-ended instruments to assess motivational orientations, ethnic identity, and language use, followed

by an open-ended question regarding motivational orientations. For the closed-ended instruments, Cronbach's alpha indices of internal consistency are presented in parentheses for each subscale.

Language learning orientations

The Language Learning Orientation Scale (LLOS; Noels et al., 2000) was included to examine the reasons why students study French. The items were scored on the basis of six dimensions: *amotivation* (e.g., 'I can't think of any good reason for why I study French'; $\alpha = 0.93$); *external regulation* (e.g., 'I am learning French in order to get a more prestigious job later on'; $\alpha = 0.80$); *introjected regulation* (e.g., 'I would feel embarrassed or ashamed if I didn't know French'; $\alpha = 0.88$); *identified regulation* (e.g., 'I think learning French is good for my personal development'; $\alpha = 0.88$); and *intrinsic regulation* (e.g., 'I enjoy the challenge of learning French'; $\alpha = 0.96$).³ The *integrative orientation* (e.g., 'It will allow me to participate more freely in the activities of French speakers'; $\alpha = 0.84$) was assessed using Gardner's (1985) instrument. The orientations were scored on a scale of 1 to 7, such that a high mean score indicates a strong endorsement of that orientation.

Situated Ethnic Identity

An adaptation of the Situated Ethnic Identity scale (Noels et al., 2005; see also Clément & Noels, 1992) assessed the student's identification with francophone (fra) and anglophone (ang) groups across four situational domains that varied in levels of intimacy. This scale includes 16 situations, of which four represent family situations (e.g., 'I am chatting about a family matter with my brother or sister'; $\alpha_{ang} = 0.87$, $\alpha_{fra} = 0.81$), four represent situations with friends (e.g., 'I am taking a walk in the evening, talking with my friend about my life'; $\alpha_{ang} = 0.95$, $\alpha_{fra} = 0.90$), four represent school situations (e.g., 'I am talking with my teacher in his/her office about an upcoming test'; $\alpha_{ang} = 0.93$, $\alpha_{fra} = 0.91$), and four represent general public situations (e.g., 'I am talking with the bus driver about the route I wish to take'; $\alpha_{ang} = 0.95$, $\alpha_{fra} = 0.72$). For each situation, participants were asked to indicate both how strongly they felt anglophone and how strongly they felt francophone, each on a separate 7-point Likert scale, such that a high score indicates stronger identification with that group. They were instructed to use the scales independently, such that they could identify with one group and not the other, with both groups simultaneously, or with neither group.

Language use

Language use was assessed using four items that evaluated how often participants used French across the four situational domains represented by the Situational Ethnic Identity scale (with friends, with family, at school, and in the general public). This was scored on a scale of 1 to 5, such that a high score indicates more language use in that domain.

Open-ended questions

In addition to the quantitatively scored scales, the questionnaire included an open-ended question: 'Are you continuing your French language training? If so, why, and if not, why not?' Three independent coders scored the responses based on Deci and Ryan's (1985) motivational orientations (intrinsic regulation, identified regulation, introjected regulation, and extrinsic regulation) as well as Gardner's (1985) integrative orientation. In addition, responses that articulated a lack of interest for continuing to learn French were coded as *amotivation*. Finally, several of U of A participants indicated that they were not currently interested in studying French but might do so in the future. Because this sentiment did not clearly represent any of the theoretical categories, it was coded separately as *future intentions*. Regarding the reliability analysis of the coding, Fleis (1981) asserts that kappa values of between 0.4 and 0.6 are considered fair, values between 0.6 and 0.75 are considered good, and values above 0.75 are considered excellent. The results of this content analysis can therefore be considered reliable: the kappa values for the first author and coder 1 ranged from 0.52 to 0.82 (on 7 variables) with a mean of 0.63, and kappa values for the first author and coder 2 ranged from 0.41 to 0.84 with a mean of 0.64 (on the same 7 variables).

Procedure

The U of A participants were recruited from introductory psychology classes. They completed the questionnaire during scheduled sessions and received course credit upon completion. The FSJ participants were recruited from introductory classes in psychology, mathematics, biology, chemistry, and history; they completed the questionnaire on their own time and received a small honorarium (\$5) in exchange for their participation. All participants completed the questionnaire in English.

Results

Statistical analyses

Preliminary statistical analyses compared the demographic characteristics of the participants. The major analyses considered the differences in motivational orientation, ethnic identity, and language use between the two groups.

Preliminary analyses

With regard to demographic information, chi-square tests and *t*-tests revealed that one of the few significant differences between the U of A group and the FSJ group was in the number of years of post-secondary education: students at U of A had a mean of 1.82 ($SD = 0.90$) years of university study, while students at FSJ had a mean of 1.14 ($SD = 0.35$) years. As might be expected, FSJ participants were also significantly different from the U of A participants in terms of the number of courses that they were currently taking in French, with a mean of 0.14 ($SD = 0.77$) for the former group and a mean of 3.25 ($SD = 1.51$) for the latter. Finally, the groups differed significantly in the frequency with which they speak Canada's official languages: 100% of U of A students spoke English most frequently, while 89.7% of FSJ students spoke English most often and 7.1% of FSJ students spoke French and English equally. There were no significant differences between the groups in terms of the number of years they spent learning French, their parents' language backgrounds, or their sex.

Major analyses

Variations in motivational orientation

Motivational orientation was compared between the participants at the two institutions (Institution: U of A vs. FSJ) using a 2×6 repeated-measures ANOVA. Although the *Orientation* (Amotivated vs. External Regulation vs. Introjected Regulation vs. Identified Regulation vs. Intrinsic vs. Integrative) main effect was significant ($F_{(5, 445)} = 120.58$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2 = 0.58$), neither the *Institution* main effect ($F_{(1, 89)} = 0.53$, $p = 0.47$, $\eta^2 = 0.01$) nor the *Orientation* \times *Institution* interaction effect ($F_{(5, 445)} = 1.86$, $p = 0.10$, $\eta^2 = 0.02$) was statistically significant.

Post-hoc Tukey tests examining the main effect of *Orientation* indicated that both groups of participants were learning French for

identified regulation reasons more than for any other reason (see Figure 2). In addition, the participants endorsed the integrative orientation more strongly than the intrinsic orientation. Endorsement of external regulation fell midway between these two orientations and was not significantly different from either. They least strongly endorsed the introjected orientation and amotivation; both were viewed equivalently and endorsed significantly less than all other orientations.

Although the analyses of the quantitative data yielded no significant differences between groups, content analysis of the open-ended question concerning motivation revealed that U of A students were significantly different from FSJ students in the identified regulation domain ($\chi^2 = 26.52, p < 0.01$): more FSJ students than U of A students reported an identified regulation reason for learning French. In addition, more U of A students than FSJ students reported being amotivated in their desire to continue learning French ($\chi^2 = 32.78, p < 0.01$) or indicated that although they were not currently studying French, they planned to continue their French language education in the future ($\chi^2 = 10.85, p < 0.01$; see Table 1).

Variations in ethnic identity

A mixed-model ANOVA compared the anglophone and francophone identities across the four situational domains for the two groups of students, such that *Identity* (Anglophone vs. Francophone) and *Domain* (Family vs. Friend vs. School vs. Public) served as within-subjects factors and *Institution* (University of Alberta vs. Faculté Saint-Jean) as the between-subjects factor. The significant effects included the *Institution*

FIGURE 2
Mean orientation score as a function of orientation types (full sample)

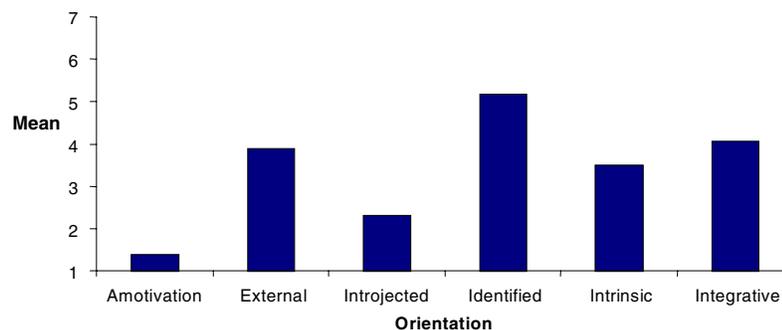


TABLE 1
Distribution of respondents who indicated a reason for language learning corresponding with theoretical orientation categories

| | Intrinsic motivation | Identified regulation* | Introjected regulation | External regulation | Integrative orientation | Amotivation* | Future intention* |
|---------------|----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| U of A | | | | | | | |
| <i>N</i> | 4 | 6 | 12 | 3 | 10 | 42 | 17 |
| % | 6.5 | 9.7 | 19.3 | 4.8 | 16.1 | 67.7 | 27.4 |
| SR | -0.9 | -2.3 | 0.1 | -0.8 | -0.1 | 2.3 | 1.6 |
| FSJ | | | | | | | |
| <i>N</i> | 5 | 16 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 0 |
| % | 17.2 | 55.2 | 17.2 | 13.8 | 17.2 | 3.4 | 0.0 |
| SR | 1.3 | 3.4 | -0.2 | 1.2 | 0.1 | -3.4 | -2.3 |

* $p < 0.01$

Note: SR = Standardized Residual

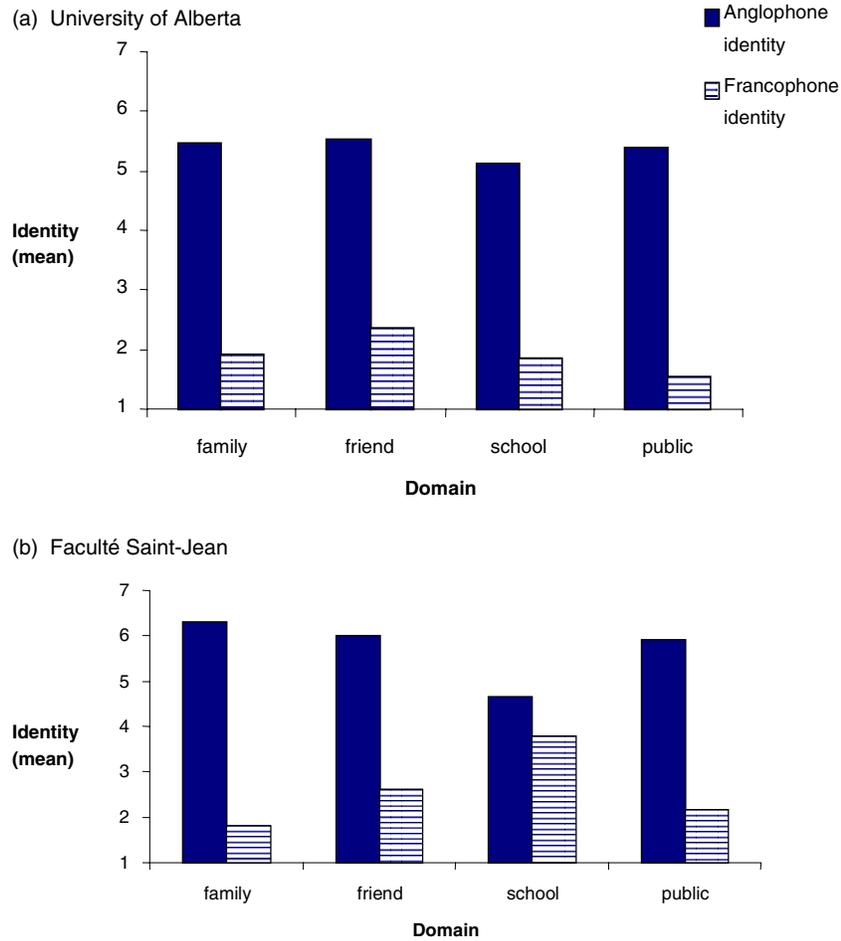
main effect ($F_{(1, 84)} = 5.64, p < 0.05, \eta^2 = 0.06$), the *Identity* main effect ($F_{(1, 84)} = 220.89, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.72$), and the *Identity* \times *Domain* \times *Institution* interaction effect ($F_{(3, 252)} = 16.43, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 1.64$). The two-way interactions were not statistically significant. As the highest-order effect, the significant three-way interaction is described here (see Figure 3).

Post-hoc Tukey tests indicated that in both groups of participants, the differences between anglophone and francophone identities were significant in all domains. U of A participants showed no significant difference in anglophone identity across the situational domains, and the only significant difference in francophone identity was between the friend and public domains, such that the participants endorsed francophone identity more strongly in the friend domain than in the public domain (see Figure 3a). The FSJ participants indicated that their anglophone identity was similar in the family, friend, and public domains but significantly lower in the school domain. In contrast, they indicated that their francophone identity was significantly higher in the school domain than in all other domains and that their francophone identity was significantly higher with friends than with family (see Figure 3b). The FSJ students had a stronger anglophone identity in the family domain and a stronger francophone identity in the school domain than the UofA students.

Variations in language use

Variations in language use were analyzed using a mixed-model ANOVA. Significant main effects for *Institution* ($F_{(1, 89)} = 27.02, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.23$) and *Domain* ($F_{(3, 267)} = 34.62, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.28$) were revealed.

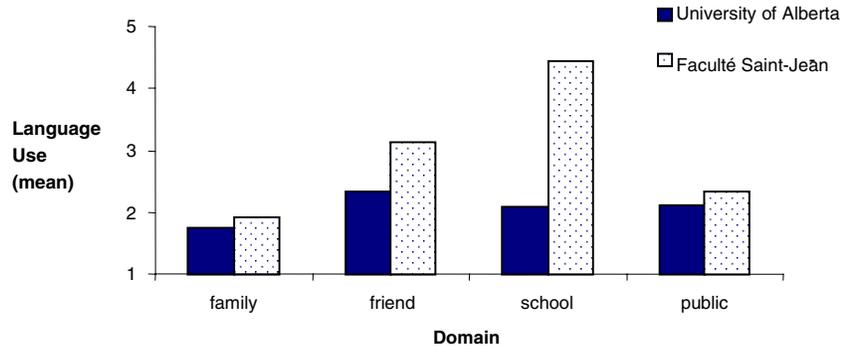
FIGURE 3
Identity as a function of institution, group, and situational domain



These were qualified by the significant interaction effect *Domain* \times *Institution* ($F_{(3, 267)} = 22.78, p < 0.001, \eta^2 = 0.20$; see Figure 4).

Post-hoc tests indicated that for U of A students, language use did not vary across domains, except that respondents indicated more French use in the friendship domain than in the family domain. However, FSJ participants reported that they used French most in the school domain, followed by the friendship domain, followed by the public and family domains equally. FSJ students used French significantly more than U of A students both at school and with friends.

FIGURE 4
Language use as a function of institution and situational domain



Discussion and conclusions

The main objective of this study was to integrate the Self-Determination and Situated Ethnic Identity approaches to examine intensive French language graduates' motivations for continuing to learn French beyond the high school level and, concurrently, their sense of identity. We hypothesized that those students who decided to attend a francophone post-secondary institution would be more self-determined in their motivation for language learning than those who decided to continue their studies in English. Moreover, we expected their ethnic self-concepts to differ in different situations in a manner consistent with their use of French in different situations.

Motivational orientations

Contrary to our expectations, there were no significant differences between the quantitatively measured motivational orientations of the University of Alberta students and those of the Faculté Saint-Jean students. Low scores on the amotivation scale indicate that these students generally had a clear reason for learning French. They were learning French primarily because they believed French to be personally valuable for them. To a lesser extent, they were learning French for pragmatic reasons (such as getting better grades or finding a job), because they wanted to interact with the francophone community, and because they believed that learning French is fun. Study participants were least motivated to learn French by any feeling of guilt about not learning French.

The content analysis of the qualitative data, however, did reveal a difference between FSJ and U of A participants, notably in the identified regulation domain. Specifically, FSJ students specified identified regulation in their responses significantly more often than U of A students did, indicating that more FSJ students than U of A students reported that French is personally valuable and important to them and likely to help them achieve their long-term goals.

The high scores on the identified scale indicate that both groups of students have, to a certain extent, internalized French into their self-concept; that is, regulation of the activity is governed more by the self than by external factors. The qualitative analysis of the motivational open-ended question demonstrates that when given the opportunity to expand on their thoughts about motivation to learn French, FSJ participants were more likely than U of A participants to claim that it is personally important for them to learn French. Thus, the results are generally consistent with the hypothesis that those graduates who are more self-determined in their reasons for language learning are more likely to pursue their studies in French at the post-secondary level.

Ethnic identity

Consistent with the finding that FSJ students had more strongly internalized French into their self-concept, members of this group also had stronger francophone identities in particular domains. More specifically, the francophone identity of FSJ students is greater than that of U of A students in the school domain. Being immersed in a French environment at school, which includes opportunities to interact in French with classmates, professors, and community members, has an enhancing effect on these students' francophone identities. Interestingly, FSJ students also have a stronger anglophone identity in the family domain. It is possible that the contrast between the French-speaking school environment and their English-speaking family environments makes these students particularly aware of their anglophone identity at home. This may be a phenomenon akin to reactance (Brehm, 1966) or ethnic affirmation (Yang & Bond, 1980), in which individuals are motivated to protect their sense of autonomy when certain behaviours are threatened with elimination or reduction; perhaps students who pursue their education in French use family time to reconnect with their anglophone identities, a possibility that merits further investigation.

Although there are some differences between groups in certain domains, it must be recognized that for both groups, and in every domain, anglophone identity was stronger than francophone identity.

This pattern indicates that learning French did not interfere with the students' feelings of identity with their culture of origin, suggesting the presence of an additive form of bilingualism: the participants graduated from these immersion-type programs maintaining a strong identification with their ethnolinguistic group. The extent of differentiation between the two identities differed across the two groups depending upon the situation. Notably, whereas U of A students' anglophone identity remained constant across the situational domains, FSJ students demonstrated a significantly weaker anglophone identity at school than in the other three domains. FSJ students also displayed a significantly stronger francophone identity at school than in the other three domains. This may be because FSJ students are immersed in a French environment at school on a daily basis, where an anglophone identity is less relevant for them. This attenuation of anglophone identity and intensification of francophone identity in the school domain relative to other domains may hint at a move toward eventual subtractive bilingualism in that domain, should the students continue to live their academic lives relatively exclusively in French.

Language use

Analysis of the Language Use Index confirms that patterns of language use parallel patterns of ethnic identity within and between the two groups. The U of A students claimed to speak French most often with their friends and least often with their families. It is possible that these students retained many peers from their high school French classes and therefore spoke French more often when together. Most of the participants in both groups claimed that neither of their parents has a French language background; it is therefore unlikely that they have opportunities to speak French with their parents and siblings.

Not surprisingly, FSJ students spoke French most often at school, to a lesser extent with their friends, and least of all in public and with their families. Faculté Saint-Jean provides an opportunity for exclusively French communication, and the classmates that students meet and befriend share this unique environment. Like the U of A participants, FSJ students were less likely to speak French in public; this may be a function of the fact that there are few public venues in Edmonton in which to speak French. FSJ students were also unlikely to speak French with their families, who did not predominantly have French-speaking backgrounds.

FSJ students spoke French significantly more than U of A students both at school and with friends. This is to be expected, since Faculté

Saint-Jean offers an exclusively French-speaking environment and the chance to meet like-minded individuals who have also opted to continue their post-secondary education in French.

Additional considerations

It is important to note that many other personal factors, such as a student's ambition, willingness to be challenged, self-confidence, ethnic background, city of origin, and other personal experiences and characteristics, surely influence his or her decision to pursue French-language education or to continue in an English program. For instance, Baker and MacIntyre (2000) found that communication anxiety is the best predictor of a student's willingness to communicate in the L2, which may affect whether or not that student enrolls in a French-language program. In addition to the motivational research considered here, many aspects of Faculté Saint-Jean may positively or negatively influence whether a student chooses to attend that institution, such as smaller class sizes, scholarship opportunities, the existence of the student's chosen program, and more interactive forms of learning. Nonetheless, this study points to a promising avenue of research by highlighting the role that self-determined motivation may play in that decision.

That said, it must be recognized that it is impossible to discover the causal direction of the relationship between motivation to learn an L2, ethnic identity, language use, and post-secondary choice in a correlational study such as this one. It is also possible that rather than the students' motivation and identity upon graduating high school influencing their choice of post-secondary institution, their experiences at Faculté Saint-Jean had affected their motivation and identity by the time they completed the questionnaire. A longitudinal study is required to more fully understand the direction of influence between multifaceted variables such as motivation to learn an L2, identity, and language use.

The findings of the present study underscore the essential premise of the Situated Ethnic Identity approach (Clément & Noels, 1992; Noels, Clément, & Gaudet, 2004): that identity is situationally variable, such that feelings of ethnic allegiance may be stronger or weaker depending upon characteristics and dynamics of the interpersonal interaction. Hence, global measures of ethnic identity that operationalize this construct as a cross-situationally constant trait would fail to capture important differences in the identification patterns between these groups of students (e.g., Phinney, 1992; Brown, Condor, Mathew, Wade, & Williams, 1986; Cameron, 2004). The Situated Ethnic Identity approach,

we argue, provides a more nuanced understanding of ethnic identity than these approaches and, moreover, proposes a mechanism for understanding acculturative change (for extended discussions of Situated Ethnic Identity, see Leets et al., 1996; Noels, 1996). That said, we recognize that pen-and-paper surveys, though informative of general tendencies in larger groups and useful in exploring relationships with theoretically meaningful variables (e.g., language proficiency and use, willingness to communicate, collective self-esteem), cannot adequately investigate the communication dynamics and processes of identity negotiation and acculturative change that, for example, the analysis of conversations in intercultural dyads and groups would better reveal. Thus, a comprehensive understanding of the creation and transformation of ethnic identity and its relationship to language will require a multi-method approach involving both quantitative and qualitative methods.

In conclusion, we maintain that it is important to examine the sociocultural effects of intensive French language programs. The finding that intensive French program graduates in Alberta do, indeed, display additive bilingualism is significant to language students, educational administrators, and teachers, as well as to parents who are trying to make responsible choices for their children's futures. A comparative analysis between students who have chosen to study in their L1 and those who have chosen to study in their L2 provides a starting point in discovering the motivational and identity differences that contribute to students' decisions about where to attend university.

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Notes

- 1 Following the terminology established by MacIntyre, Baker, Clément, and Donovan (2003), we use the term 'intensive French' to refer to immersion and other French programs, such as Advanced Placement and International Baccalaureate French, that involve greater exposure to the French language than core French programs. Hence, our use of the term broader than that of Netten and Germain's (2004) model of intensive French programming, in which intensive language instruction occurs for a limited period and does not include instruction of other curricular content in the L2.
- 2 The same data analysis was performed with a sample of 72 students exclusively from the French immersion program. The pattern of results was similar to that obtained for the full sample. We therefore decided to retain the graduates from the International Baccalaureate and Advanced Placement French programs.
- 3 Deci and Ryan (1985) describe a fourth type of extrinsic motivation, *integrated regulation*, which represents a higher degree of self-determination than the identified, introjected, and external regulations. It was not included in the present study because earlier studies of motivation in education demonstrated that younger participants, such as first-year university students, had problems distinguishing it from identified regulation (e.g., Vallerand, Blais, Briere, & Pelletier, 1989; see also Noels et al., 2000). Future research is necessary to establish the utility of the distinction between identified and integrated regulation with regard to L2 learning.

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