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WILLINGNESS TO COMMUNICATE, SOCIAL SUPPORT, AND LANGUAGE-LEARNING ORIENTATIONS OF IMMERSION STUDENTS

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Willingness to communicate (WTC) has been defined as the intention to initiate communication, given a choice. It was hypothesized that orientations toward language learning as well as social support would influence students' WTC in a second language. Grade 9 students of L2 French immersion, living in a relatively unilingual Anglophone community, participated in the study. WTC was measured in each of four skill areas: speaking, writing, reading, and comprehension. Five orientations or reasons for studying an L2 were examined: travel, job related, friendship with Francophones, personal knowledge, and school achievement. Results showed that endorsement of all five orientations for language learning was positively correlated with WTC both inside and outside the classroom. Results also showed that social support, particularly from friends, was associated with

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higher levels of WTC outside the classroom but played less of a role inside the classroom. The support of friends was also associated with higher orientations for travel and for friendship with Francophones. Results are discussed in terms of an emerging situated model.

Past research has shown that learner characteristics such as aptitude, attitudes, motivation, and language anxiety correlate with a wide range of indices of language achievement (Gardner & Clément, 1990). In a context where modern language pedagogy places a strong emphasis on authentic communication as an essential part of language learning it would follow, therefore, that individual differences in communication tendencies will play a meaningful role in language-learning outcomes, both linguistic and nonlinguistic. Following a social psychological approach to these issues, the combined effect of these and other variables has recently been described in a theoretical model (MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1998) that proposes willingness to communicate (WTC) as a construct synthesizing their effects on authentic communication in the L2. The present study focuses on WTC inside and outside the classroom context, specifically as it relates to motivational orientations and social support for L2 learning.

WTC was originally developed to describe individual differences in L1 communication. The origin of WTC can be seen in a number of related constructs. Burgoon (1976) described the construct "unwillingness to communicate" as a predisposition to chronically avoid oral communication based on such factors as introversion, lack of communication competence, alienation, anomie, and communication apprehension. Mortensen, Arntson, and Lustig (1977) postulated a consistency across situations in the global features of speech, labeling their construct "predisposition toward verbal behavior." McCroskey and Richmond (1982) used the term "shyness" to investigate this predisposition and defined it as the propensity to be timid and reserved and to do less talking. These constructs were designed to describe regularities in communication patterns across situations, with some success. McCroskey and Baer (1985) offered WTC as a slightly more specific construct, defined as the intention to initiate communication given the opportunity. This subtle change in definition allows for clear links to the broad behavioral-intention literature and focuses research on the multiplicity of factors that lead to such an intention, including the case of communication in a second language.

In their adaptation of WTC to the L2 situation, MacIntyre et al. (1998) have proposed a conceptual "pyramid" model designed to account for individual differences in the decision to initiate L2 communication (see Figure 1). At the top of the pyramid is the intention to communicate with specific persons at a specific time (WTC) and this is regarded as the final step before starting to speak in the L2. The rest of the model supports this intention to initiate com-

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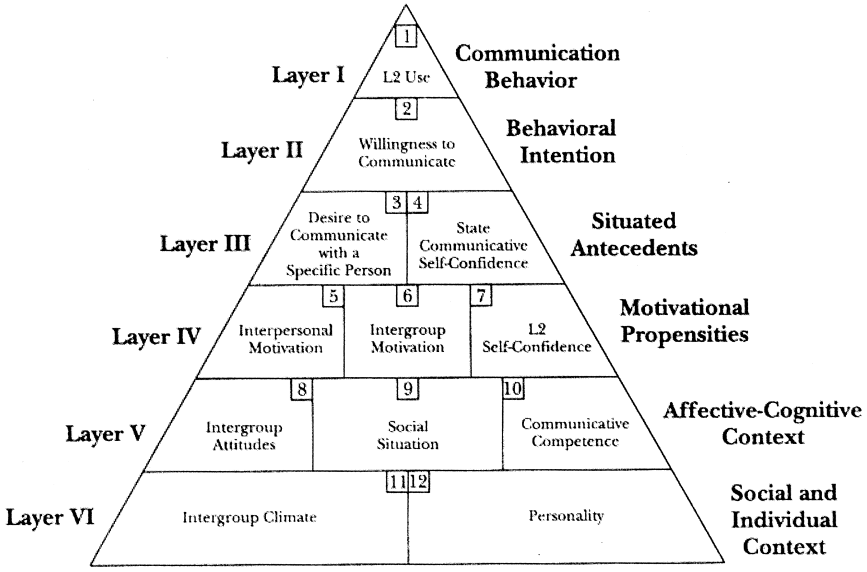


Figure 1. Heuristic model of variables influencing WTC. From "Conceptualizing willingness to communicate in a L2: A situational model of L2 confidence and affiliation," by P. D. MacIntyre, R. Clément, Z. Dörnyei, and K. A. Noels, 1998, *The Modern Language Journal, 82,* p. 547. Copyright 1998 by the National Federation of Modern Language Teachers Association. Reprinted with permission.

munication with influences tied to the specific situation and more enduring influences as well. The model refers to situations in which there is a specific person with whom to communicate, and both the desire and self-confidence to speak to him or her. This desire comes from affiliation or control motives, or both. Affiliation motives are directed toward persons who are attractive in some way or frequently encountered, such as one's friends. Control motives refer broadly to any situation in which people seek to influence each other's behavior. The other major immediate influence, self-confidence, is composed of perceived competence and a lack of anxiety (Clément, 1980, 1986). In this conceptualization, WTC exerts a more direct influence on communication than does either anxiety or perceived communicative competence, allowing for explanation of cases wherein competent speakers refuse to use the L2 and where learners struggle along with whatever competencies they have as a means of talking in order to learn. Some evidence has been obtained to suggest that WTC consistently predicts the initiation of communication in both the L1 (MacIntyre, Babin, & Clément, 1999) and the L2 (MacIntyre & Carre, 2000) in cases where the effects of competence and anxiety are highly inconsistent. For example, one task used by MacIntyre and Carre was "count to 10

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in the L2 in front of the class," which several speakers refused to do in spite of more than adequate competence. This supports the assertion that WTC is not isomorphic with perceived competence or anxiety about communicating, though the three variables should be significantly correlated (see MacIntyre & Charos, 1996). The model also proposes several layers of enduring influences on WTC based on several variables including motivation, intergroup issues, and the social situation.

Following McCroskey and Richmond (1991), we have so far discussed WTC as "trait-like" in the sense that it is fairly stable over time and across situations. McCroskey and Richmond argued that WTC is relatively consistent across contexts and receivers, as evidenced by strong correlations among measures of WTC taken in different contexts. They suggested that this personality variable explains why one person will speak and another will not in similar situations. However, the use of an L2 introduces the potential for significant situational differences based on potentially wide variations in competence and intergroup relations (MacIntyre et al., 1998). The present study focuses on two potentially important situational variables: the L2 skill required for communication, and whether learners are using the L2 to communicate inside or outside the classroom. If we consider speaking, listening, reading, and writing as the four major skill areas, it is conceivable that WTC in one area (e.g., reading) will not correlate with WTC in another area (e.g., speaking). The extent to which WTC correlates across these types of situations is an unanswered empirical question.

A further situational distinction refers to the classroom versus "real world" contexts in which WTC arises. Many of the variables proposed to underlie WTC (MacIntyre et al., 1998) are uniquely relevant to L2 communication contexts, of which the immersion classroom is an interesting example. When enrolled in such academic programs, students are expected to use the L2 inside the classroom. Learners might also use it outside the classroom, providing a useful complement to their academic experience, with consequences for their linguistic self-confidence (see Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1994). It should, therefore, be important to delineate factors that differentially promote WTC inside and outside the classroom.

An inroad to such a distinction may be provided by the theoretical propositions put forward by Fishbein and Ajzen (1975). The conceptualization of L2 WTC employed in the pyramid model of MacIntyre et al. (1998) is consistent with Ajzen and Fishbein's (1980; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) more general concept of behavioral intentions. The theory underlying behavioral intentions is described in the well-known Theory of Reasoned Action and its successor, the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1991). In the Theory of Reasoned Action, Ajzen and Fishbein (1980; Fishbein, 1980) proposed that behavior itself is determined by intentions to act, with two factors that combine to determine one's intention to engage in a behavior—a personal factor (attitudes toward a behavior) and a social factor (subjective norms). Attitudes represent an individual's positive or negative evaluation of the consequences of performing a

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particular behavior and desire to experience those consequences (see also Eagly & Chaiken, 1993). Beliefs about specific behavior and evaluations of particular outcomes determine attitudes. In general, a person who intends to behave in a particular manner and who holds the belief that positive consequences will result has a positive attitude toward that behavior. Like attitudes, subjective norms are determined by beliefs, but they are beliefs of a different nature. In this case, the beliefs are socially based, meaning that a person turns to important individuals or groups for their evaluation of a particular behavior. These "significant others" serve as a point of reference to guide behavior and are therefore called referents. A behavior is more likely to be performed when a person perceives that salient referents approve of the behavior.

The pyramid model proposes a complex of motivational and attitudinal factors that could determine WTC (MacIntyre et al., 1998). Gardner (1985) argued that a key component of motivation—the goals endorsed by the student—help to define the particular language-learning orientation he or she takes. It is hypothesized that a more positive orientation taken by a student will tend to increase WTC. Given the importance of orientations in supporting—and especially in giving direction to—language-learning motivation, it seemed beneficial to include orientations in the present study. Although other orientations are possible, Gardner and Lambert (1959, 1972) discussed two key orientations that direct motivation: instrumental and integrative. On the one hand, an integrative orientation reflects a desire "to acquire the language of a valued second-language community in order to facilitate communication with that group" (Gardner, Smythe, Clément, & Gliksman, 1976, p. 199). Integrative orientation also reflects an open and positive regard for outside groups who speak the L2. On the other hand, an instrumental orientation reflects the learner's interest with the pragmatic, utilitarian value of language proficiency (Dörnyei, 1990). With an instrumental orientation, one performs an activity because it is likely to lead to gaining some valued outcome. Although these two concepts have been very useful in identifying L2 learners' orientations, they are extremely broad, are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and may not fully account for the influence of linguistic environment on an individual's motivation (Clément & Kruidenier, 1983).

As a result, recent research within L2 learning has attempted to expand on Gardner and Lambert's (1959, 1972) model of L2 motivation (e.g., Brown, 1990; Clément & Kruidenier, 1983; Crookes & Schmidt, 1991; Skehan, 1991). Clément and Kruidenier conducted a large-scale survey, investigating a variety of learning orientations, and found four orientations common to several groups of language learners: job related, travel, friendship, and increased knowledge (about the target language group). The present study focused on these four orientations along with a fifth, school achievement orientation, because they seemed particularly relevant, given that the context of this study was a late immersion program. Students who voluntarily enrolled in such a program would be expected to demonstrate sensitivity to the academic outcome of their fluency in

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the L2. Similarly, the knowledge orientation may be more related to academic activities allowing access to the characteristic features of the target language group. It is therefore hypothesized that school achievement and knowledge orientations would be correlated more positively with high WTC inside the classroom. The social interaction implied by job-related, travel, and friendship orientations, on the other hand, should foster a stronger positive correlation with WTC outside the classroom. Furthermore, social support for language learning influences a number of orientations. The orientation for friendship, for example, implies the desire for communication with the target language group. If the student's friends do not actively seek out interactions with Francophones, it is likely that the student, too, will not endorse such an orientation. Social support can therefore influence students' perceived opportunities to possess a particular orientation and, in turn, the value placed on that orientation.

In addition to the attitudinal aspects, Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) have hypothesized the influence of normative or social factors on behavioral intentions, which would include L2 WTC. This is particularly relevant here because language acquisition is eminently bound to a social context (Clément, 1986). The present study was conducted among a group of late immersion students (approximately age 14) who were living at home and studying French in a predominantly Anglophone community. Social support for language learning should be particularly important in developing a willingness to communicate among these learners. Such support and the opportunity for L2 communication might come from several sources, including parents, teachers, and peers. These persons are also defined as the key referents for attitudes within the Theory of Planned Behavior (Ajzen, 1988). In particular, social support from friends offers a student the opportunity to use the L2 for authentic communication, especially outside the classroom. Without the support of one's friends, opportunities for authentic language use seem less probable and WTC is likely to be relatively low.

In summary, the focus of this research is on the relations among WTC, social support, and language-learning orientations. Particular attention is given to the WTC inside and outside the classroom.

METHOD

Participants

The participants included 79 ninth graders from a junior high school in Sydney, Nova Scotia, located in eastern Canada. According to the 1996 census, the local sociolinguistic context can best be described as predominantly English-Canadian (39.3%), with a strong ethnic heritage (Scottish [26.7%], Irish [13.2%], and, to a lesser extent, Acadian French [11.5%]). Although English alone is the language used in 99.4% of the homes in the area, the community provides for L2 (French) communication opportunities in the form of music,

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television, film, and literature. Canada is officially bilingual and supports the French language in various ways, including bilingual signs, bilingual product information on most packaging, and bilingual government services. Immersion students frequently take the opportunity to travel to places like Quebec, which is predominantly Francophone. The school from which the data were collected accommodates students in grades 7–9 and has both standard French-as-an-L2 and late French immersion programs. The students were living at home and were not taking immersion as part of an excursion program. Therefore, the opportunity for authentic L2 communication was present at all times, but L2 use would require some effort on the part of the student because of the predominance of English.

Materials

The data for the present study were collected using a four-part questionnaire, which was presented in English. Following a consent form, students responded to the sets of items discussed in the following subsections.

Willingness to Communicate in the Classroom. (See Appendix A.) A total of 27 items were presented, all of which referred to the students' willingness to engage in communication tasks during class time. Students were asked to indicate on a scale from 1 to 5 how willing they would be to communicate (where 1 = almost never willing, 2 = sometimes willing, 3 = willing half of the time, 4 = usually willing, and 5 = almost always willing). The items, written for the present study, were grouped into four skill areas (alpha levels indicate reliability estimates): speaking (8 items, $\alpha = .81$), comprehension (5 items, $\alpha = .83$), reading (6 items, $\alpha = .83$), and writing (8 items, $\alpha = .88$). The items were written by the fourth author, a graduate from the immersion program studied here, and were vetted by a current immersion teacher as authentic L2 communication activities available to the present sample of students. The four major L2 skill areas were included to gain a more complete understanding of both the more active (e.g., speaking) and more receptive (e.g., reading) engagement with the L2. Even receptive language use implies a commitment by an individual to authentic language use and might foster a willingness to communicate in other areas, if given the opportunity. The degree of correlation among measures of WTC in these four areas constitutes an empirical question addressed by the present research.

Willingness to Communicate Outside the Classroom. (See Appendix B.) A total of 27 items were presented, all of which referred to the students' willingness to engage in communication outside the classroom. Students were asked to indicate how willing they would be to communicate using the same scale described in the previous subsection. The items, written for the present study, were again grouped into four skill areas: speaking (8 items, $\alpha = .89$), comprehension (5 items, $\alpha = .90$), reading (6 items, $\alpha = .93$), and writing (8 items, $\alpha = .96$).

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Orientations for Language Learning. (See Appendix C.) Items were chosen from the ones used by Clément and Kruidenier (1983). Students were asked to indicate, on a scale from 1 to 6, the extent to which particular reasons for learning French applied to them (where 1 = strongly agree, 2 = moderately agree, 3 = mildly agree, 4 = mildly disagree, 5 = moderately disagree, and 6 = strongly disagree). Five orientations were presented, each with four items: travel ($\alpha = .71$), knowledge ($\alpha = .70$), friendship ($\alpha = .81$), job related ($\alpha = .73$), and school achievement ($\alpha = .66$).

Social Support. (See Appendix D.) Following Ajzen's (1988) method for testing subjective norms, students were asked to respond "yes" or "no" to six questions about who offered support for their L2 learning: mother, father, teacher, favorite sibling, best friend, and other friends. These items were used individually, not as a scale. For this reason, reliability estimates cannot be calculated.

Procedure

With the permission of the school administration and the teachers, students were given questionnaires to complete during their regularly scheduled class time. The students were informed that any information they gave would be recorded anonymously. Once the students consented to take part in the study, testing required approximately 30 minutes.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The objectives of this study were to (a) assess the correlations among language-learning orientations and WTC both inside and outside the classroom; (b) examine the effects of social support on WTC inside and outside the classroom; and (c) investigate the effects of social support on orientations. Each of these objectives will be discussed in turn.

WTC and Orientations

Preliminary analyses show that all intercorrelations between WTC inside and outside the classroom are significant ($p < .001$) and vary from .55 to .85 (median $r = .63$). The correlations show a substantial overlap between WTC inside and outside the classroom for all four skills: speaking, reading, writing, and comprehension. The correlations among the WTC scales show some stability in individual differences in the potential for L2 communication. McCroskey and Richmond (1991) argued that WTC functions like a personality trait, being stable over time and across situations. MacIntyre et al. (1998) argued in favor of a "situated" model where WTC is more closely tied to the type of situation in which one might communicate. Given the consistent and strong correlations among WTC measures in different skill areas and different contexts (in-

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Table 1. Correlations among orientations and WTC inside and outside the classroom

	Orientations				
Skills	Job	Travel	Friendship	Knowledge	School
WTC Inside					
Speaking	.39**	.33*	.39**	.36**	.42**
Reading	.28	.44**	.36**	.32*	.31*
Writing	.28	.29	.36**	.36**	.36**
Comprehension	.29	.23	.36**	.31*	.28
WTC Outside					
Speaking	.48**	.36**	.41**	.44**	.44**
Reading	.42**	.28	.31*	.34*	.38**
Writing	.36**	.30*	.28	.36**	.42**
Comprehension	.52**	.34*	.41**	.37**	.38**

*$p < .01$; **$p < .001$

side vs. outside the classroom), support for the traitlike quality of WTC has been obtained. However, given that thinking about communicating in the L2 is different from actually doing it, the methodology used here might be tapping into the traitlike reactions. Future research should focus on observing learners in the situations, rather than simply asking them what they would do in those situations, in order to assess the predictive strength of traitlike ratings versus WTC related to a specific task (for a similar study in the L1, see MacIntyre et al., 1999).

Likewise all intercorrelations among orientation scales are significant ($p < .001$), except for one (job related and friendship, $r = .26$), varying from .35 to .77 (median = .46). These rather strong correlations among the orientation scales are not surprising. Gardner (1985) has suggested that different orientations can be highly correlated. A false dichotomy of integrative versus instrumental orientations seems to have grown over the years (for example, see Spolsky, 1989). Indeed, in light of these and other results (e.g., Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1994; MacIntyre, MacMaster, & Baker, 2001), there is good reason to think that the two orientations should be correlated.

The correlations among the WTC scales and the language-learning orientations are presented in Table 1. Using an alpha level of .01 for this analysis, the friendship, knowledge, and school achievement orientations are consistently correlated with WTC both inside and outside the classroom. In particular, job-related orientation scores were consistently correlated with WTC outside the classroom. Overall, there are 14 significant correlations of orientations with WTC inside the classroom and 18 significant correlations with WTC outside the classroom, although in all but 3 cases the correlation is stronger with WTC outside the classroom. It would appear that stronger orientations for language learning tend to be more highly related to WTC outside than inside the classroom. The following analysis tests for the significance of those differences.

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To test for significant differences in the magnitude of the correlations of each orientation with WTC inside the classroom and the same orientation with WTC outside the classroom, we employed the test developed by Meng, Rosenthal, and Rubin (1992). Comparisons of the correlation involving WTC inside versus WTC outside the classroom resulted in only 5 significant differences out of 20 comparisons. No differences were found for correlations involving the friendship and knowledge orientations. As predicted, however, the job-related orientation correlated more highly with WTC reading and comprehension outside than inside the classroom. Likewise, the travel orientation correlated more strongly with WTC comprehension outside than inside the classroom. Contrary to expectations, however, a travel orientation was more highly correlated with WTC reading *inside* than *outside* the classroom. Also contrary to expectations, the school achievement orientation was more highly correlated with WTC comprehension *outside* than *inside* the classroom. In the majority of comparisons, these results show the stability of WTC irrespective of the particular orientation goal targeted by the students. The few exceptions support expectations in three cases out of five.

The first of the two unexpected correlations suggests that, although students' perspective on travel may stimulate them more to seek occasions to comprehend speech outside the classroom, gathering information on that issue might still be more highly related to reading in the classroom. It is likely that materials describing travel destinations written in the L2 would be more readily available at school than at home. In the second case, it seems likely that the school achievement orientation is more characteristic of students who mainly make an effort at comprehending French material outside the classroom, possibly as extra work to support their achievement in school. It might be the case that some students realize the value of authentic oral communication, outside of school, as opportunity for practice that can improve their grades. This clearly suggests a role for social support in the development and maintenance of WTC.

WTC and Social Support

Following Ajzen and Fishbein (1980), social support of parents, teachers, friends, and siblings was examined, where social support was defined simply as "does Person X (e.g., your best friend) want you to learn French?" Students indicated an overwhelming level of support from parents and teachers: 92.1% reported that their mother supported them in their learning of French, 85.3% reported that their father supported them, and 94.8% reported that their teacher supported them. With so few students indicating a lack of perceived support from these three sources, these data will not be subjected to further analysis.

In contrast to the adult referents, the students reported less support from their peer referents. Only 48.6% reported their best friend supported them, 44.3% said that their other friends supported them, and 44.3% reported that

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Table 2. Location by skill interaction

Location and skill	*M*	*S*
Inside		
Speaking	29.707	.678
Reading	23.405	.662
Writing	28.719	.910
Comprehension	19.875	.549
Outside		
Speaking	22.269	.996
Reading	17.995	.939
Writing	20.148	1.257
Comprehension	17.155	.726

their favorite sibling supported their learning French. Each of these three sources of support will be analyzed in its own $2 \times 2 \times 4$ split-plot ANOVA. For each analysis, the between-subjects factor consisted of social support (yes or no), combined with the within-subjects factors of location (WTC inside vs. outside class), and skill area (WTC speaking, comprehension, reading, and writing). The dependent variable was the total WTC score on the subscale subjected to analysis. The only difference among the three analyses is the source of social support factor and its interactions; the within-subjects factors remain constant across the three analyses, and results can be described as follows: A significant main effect of skill, $F(3, 198) = 72.27$, $p < .001$, and a significant interaction between skill and location, $F(3, 198) = 21.48$, $p < .001$, were obtained. Each of the three analyses produced slight variations in these results, and no differences in interpretation were evident.

Given that the main effect of skill is modified by its interaction with location, only the interaction will be interpreted. The skill by location interaction (see Table 2) shows that there is a greater difference between WTC inside and outside the classroom for the two output tasks, speaking and writing, than the two input tasks, reading and comprehension. Students are more willing to speak and write French inside the classroom than outside the classroom, whereas that difference is not so great for reading and comprehension.

This result might have arisen because speaking and writing are more public tasks, where L2 competence is on display for observers. This leads to a higher probability of becoming embarrassed if performance is not as effective as the student wishes. Students might be more willing to speak and write inside the classroom because it is a more controlled environment, with a small, familiar audience. Also, there may be some security in knowing that other students are being faced with similar communicative tasks—after all, misery loves company.

We may now turn our attention to the effects of the social support in the three $2 \times 2 \times 4$ ANOVAs. Before proceeding, it should be noted that none of the three-way interactions (social support $\times$ location $\times$ skill) were significant and

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Table 3. Source of support by location interactions

	Best friend		Other friends	
Location	*M*	*S*	*M*	*S*
Inside				
Supportive	26.672	.870	26.782	.888
Nonsupportive	24.181	.820	22.323	1.306
Outside				
Supportive	21.984*	1.291	24.263*	.802
Nonsupportive	16.799*	1.218	16.803*	.179

*Contrast of supportive versus nonsupportive is significant at $p < .05$.

corresponding F ratios were < 1.0: best friend, $F(3, 198) = 0.623$; other friends, $F(3, 201) = 0.698$; and favorite sibling, $F(3, 201) = 0.911$. The rest of the main effects and interactions were observed as follows.

Best Friend Support. When the effect of best-friend social support was examined, a significant main effect for source of support was obtained, $F(1, 66) = 7.46$, $p < .01$, as well as a significant main effect for location, $F(1, 66) = 115.63$, $p < .001$, and a significant interaction between source of support and location, $F(1, 66) = 5.76$, $p < .05$. Post hoc analysis of means from this interaction (using the Least Significant Difference *t*-test, see Table 3) shows no significant difference in the mean WTC of those who indicated best friend support and those who did not indicate best friend support inside the classroom ($t = 0.823$, $p > .05$). Outside the classroom, however, students who perceived social support from their best friend showed significantly higher WTC than those who did not perceive social support ($t = 1.713$, $p < .05$).

Other Friends' Support. The second analysis of variance found a significant main effect of source of support, $F(1, 67) = 8.23$, $p < .01$, a significant main effect of location, $F(1, 67) = 117.96$, $p < .001$, and a significant interaction between source of support and location, $F(1, 67) = 7.48$, $p < .01$. Post hoc analysis of means from this interaction (see Table 3) reveals no significant effect of other friends' support inside the classroom ($t = 0.837$, $p > .05$). Outside the classroom, there was a significant effect of other friends' support, which indicates that those with perceived support had higher WTC than those without perceived support ($t = 1.834$, $p < .05$).

Sibling Support. The final analysis of variance found a significant main effect of sibling support, $F(1, 67) = 4.87$, $p < .05$, a significant main effect of location, $F(1, 67) = 111.81$, $p < .001$, but no significant interaction between sibling support and location, $F(1, 67) = 3.39$, $p > .05$. The F tests for these main effects show significantly higher WTC for students who perceive support from their sibling ($M = 23.8$) versus those without sibling support ($M = 20.7$), as well as higher WTC within the classroom ($M = 25.2$) as compared to outside the classroom ($M = 19.2$).

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Table 4. Point-biserial correlations between orientations and sources of support

	Orientations				
Support	Job	Travel	Friendship	Knowledge	School
Sibling	.00	.19	.12	.13	.19
Best friend	.15	.23*	.24*	.14	.09
Other friend	.13	.20*	.26*	.18	.07

*$p < .05$

In all four skill areas, the results indicate that students have higher WTC in the L2 inside the immersion classroom than in the social milieu outside the classroom setting. Therefore, to engage the L2 outside the classroom, a student must expend additional effort to actively seek out communication opportunities; clearly the support of friends would be most beneficial in that endeavor. Activities such as conversing in French, watching a French film, or listening to French music seem more likely to occur with the involvement of friends, especially during adolescence. A study by MacIntyre, Gouthro, and Clément (1997) asked students, of a similar age and social situation to those participating in the present research, to describe a situation in which they were most willing to communicate and one in which they were least willing to communicate. Results showed that adolescent students do employ the L2 outside the classroom, particularly when speaking to relatives, using the L2 as a secret code between friends, and when being mischievous (to annoy unilingual listeners). The situations in which they were least willing to communicate tended to emphasize performance, error correction, and being formally evaluated. The extent to which the students communicate with their friends, and the topics discussed, is a potentially interesting topic for future research. Such research might also make use of a more detailed measure of social support than the forced-choice dichotomous items we adopted from Ajzen's (1988) research.

Social Support and Orientations

To examine the hypothesis that social support for language learning will be associated with higher levels of language-learning orientations, a series of point-biserial correlations were computed. The dichotomous variables were support of best friend, other friend, and sibling. The continuous variables were the job, school, personal knowledge, friendship, and travel orientations. Table 4 shows that only four of the hypothesized correlations were significant. Both best friend and other friends' support were associated with increased orientations for travel and for friendship with Francophones. Given that best friends and other friends are attractive interlocutors, and that anxiety would

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likely be lowest and self-confidence highest when speaking with them, students are likely going to be more willing to communicate with them. MacIntyre et al. (1998) argued that desire and self-confidence to speak to a particular person determine the willingness to initiate communication. It can be noted that travel and friendship with Francophones are the two most social orientations. The support of a best friend, and other friends, would allow students to perceive the opportunity to develop new friendships with people who speak French.

The correlations observed between orientations for language learning and WTC support a search for the broader connections between WTC and motivational constructs. The present results, which show the importance of friends for language learning, help to focus this search toward motives based on social orientations. There are a host of variables, such as interpersonal attraction, dominance, and need for affiliation, that might be included in future research studying the interpersonal relationships among language learners themselves.

CONCLUSION

WTC has been proposed as both an individual difference variable affecting L2 acquisition and as a goal of L2 instruction (MacIntyre et al., 1998). Using the language strongly implies a preexisting behavioral intention, a willingness to communicate in the L2. Orientations are a key component of the motivation underlying L2 learning and, ultimately, L2 use. It is also necessary to have an interlocutor for authentic communication, which implies that social support for language learning is an important consideration in developing WTC.

To the extent that higher WTC among students translates into increased opportunity for L2 practice and authentic L2 usage (see Clément, 1980, 1986), one would expect it to facilitate the language learning process. Ajzen and Fishbein (1980; Ajzen, 1991) expanded the Theory of Reasoned Action to include the notion of perceived behavioral control. This newer conceptual scheme, the Theory of Planned Behavior, takes into account some of the existing constraints on behavior. Just as the beliefs concerning consequences of one's actions influence both attitudes toward a behavior and subjective norms, we suggest that beliefs concerning opportunities, such as the opportunity for L2 communication, influence perceived control over behavior.

Modern approaches to language pedagogy place a great deal of emphasis on authentic L2 communication, and it seems quite reasonable to suggest that success will come to a student who is more willing to initiate L2 communication when such a decision is perceived to emanate from oneself. Fostering a willingness to use the L2 outside the classroom for the full range of conversational opportunities helps to direct the focus of language teaching away from purely linguistic and grammatical competence toward a learner-needs centered approach. Authentic language use is more likely to occur under the less

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normative constraints of friendly relations, hence, the importance of fostering, perhaps counterintuitively, a pedagogy of the streets.

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APPENDIX A

WILLINGNESS TO COMMUNICATE INSIDE THE CLASSROOM

Directions: This questionnaire is composed of statements concerning your feelings about communication with other people, in French. Please indicate in the space provided the frequency of time you choose to speak in French in each classroom situation. If you are almost never willing to speak French, write 1. If you are willing sometimes, write 2 or 3. If you are willing most of the time, write 4 or 5.

1 = Almost never willing

2 = Sometimes willing

3 = Willing half of the time

4 = Usually willing

5 = Almost always willing

Speaking in class, in French

_____1. Speaking in a group about your summer vacation.
_____2. Speaking to your teacher about your homework assignment.
_____3. A stranger enters the room you are in, how willing would you be to have a conversation if he talked to you first?
_____4. You are confused about a task you must complete, how willing are you to ask for instructions/clarification?
_____5. Talking to a friend while waiting in line.
_____6. How willing would you be to be an actor in a play?
_____7. Describe the rules of your favorite game.
_____8. Play a game in French, for example Monopoly.

Reading in class (to yourself, not out loud)

_____1. Read a novel.
_____2. Read an article in a paper.
_____3. Read letters from a pen pal written in native French.
_____4. Read personal letters or notes written to you in which the writer has deliberately used simple words and constructions.
_____5. Read an advertisement in the paper to find a good bicycle you can buy.
_____6. Read reviews for popular movies.

Writing in class, in French

_____1. Write an advertisement to sell an old bike.
_____2. Write down the instructions for your favorite hobby.
_____3. Write a report on your favorite animal and its habits.
_____4. Write a story.
_____5. Write a letter to a friend.
_____6. Write a newspaper article.
_____7. Write the answers to a "fun" quiz from a magazine.
_____8. Write down a list of things you must do tomorrow.

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Comprehension in class

_____1. Listen to instructions and complete a task.
_____2. Bake a cake if instructions were not in English.
_____3. Fill out an application form.
_____4. Take directions from a French speaker.
_____5. Understand a French movie.

APPENDIX B

WILLINGNESS TO COMMUNICATE OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM

Directions: Sometimes people differ a lot in their speaking, reading, and so forth in class and outside class. Now we would like you to consider your use of French outside the classroom. Again, please tell us the frequency that you use French in the following situations. Remember, you are telling us about your experiences *outside* of the classroom this time. There are no right or wrong answers.

1 = Almost never willing
2 = Sometimes willing
3 = Willing half of the time
4 = Usually willing
5 = Almost always willing

Speaking outside class, in French

_____1. Speaking in a group about your summer vacation.
_____2. Speaking to your teacher about your homework assignment.
_____3. A stranger enters the room you are in, how willing would you be to have a conversation if he talked to you first?
_____4. You are confused about a task you must complete, how willing are you to ask for instructions/clarification?
_____5. Talking to a friend while waiting in line.
_____6. How willing would you be to be an actor in a play?
_____7. Describe the rules of your favorite game.
_____8. Play a game in French, for example Monopoly.

Reading outside class, in French

_____1. Read a novel.
_____2. Read an article in a paper.
_____3. Read letters from a pen pal written in native French.
_____4. Read personal letters or notes written to you in which the writer has deliberately used simple words and constructions.
_____5. Read an advertisement in the paper to find a good bicycle you can buy.
_____6. Read reviews for popular movies.

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Writing outside class, in French

_____1. Write an advertisement to sell an old bike.
_____2. Write down the instructions for your favorite hobby.
_____3. Write a report on your favorite animal and its habits.
_____4. Write a story.
_____5. Write a letter to a friend.
_____6. Write a newspaper article.
_____7. Write the answers to a "fun" quiz from a magazine.
_____8. Write down a list of things you must do tomorrow.

Comprehension outside class

_____1. Listen to instructions and complete a task.
_____2. Bake a cake if instructions were not in English.
_____3. Fill out an application form.
_____4. Take directions from a French speaker.
_____5. Understand a French movie.

APPENDIX C

ORIENTATIONS FOR LANGUAGE LEARNING

We are interested in your reasons for studying French. Please indicate the extent to which you consider each of the following to be important reasons for *you* to study French. Write the appropriate number in the space provided.

1 = Strongly agree
2 = Moderately agree
3 = Mildly agree
4 = Mildly disagree
5 = Moderately disagree
6 = Strongly disagree

Studying French is important because:

_____ 1. It will be useful in getting a good job.
_____ 2. I would like to travel in Quebec.
_____ 3. I would like to meet some French people.
_____ 4. It will help me understand French Canadians and their way of life.
_____ 5. I will need French for my career in the future.
_____ 6. I would like to go to France.
_____ 7. I would like to be friends with some French people.
_____ 8. It will help me to be successful in business.
_____ 9. It will help me to get a better paying job.
_____10. It will make me a more knowledgeable person.
_____11. It will help me if I travel.

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_____12. It will enable me to make friends more easily among French-speaking people.
_____13. It will help me acquire new ideas and broaden my outlook.
_____14. I would like to travel to a French-speaking area.
_____15. It will help me get to know French-speaking people.
_____16. It will help me learn about myself.
_____17. It will help me to get good grades.
_____18. It will help me get into better schools later in life.
_____19. It will give me a better education.
_____20. I get high marks in French.

APPENDIX D

SOCIAL SUPPORT

Circle "yes" or "no" for each of the following items. If you don't know how to answer, leave it blank.

1. My mother wants me to speak French.
2. My father wants me to speak French.
3. My favorite sister/brother wants me to speak French.
4. My best friend wants me to speak French.
5. My other friends want me to speak French.
6. My teachers want me to speak French.

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