

Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development



ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rmmm20

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To cite this article: Peter Neff & Matthew Apple (2020): Short-term and long-term study abroad: The impact on language learners' intercultural communication, L2 confidence, and sense of L2 self, Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, DOI: 10.1080/01434632.2020.1847125

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2020.1847125

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Short-term and long-term study abroad: The impact on language learners' intercultural communication, L2 confidence, and sense of L2 self

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ABSTRACT

Study abroad (SA) has recently become an increasingly popular option for language learners who wish to engage in an immersive educational experience while living in a different culture, but not all SA programmes are created equal. Length of time can vary significantly, from a days or weeks up to a year or more spent in the target culture, and this can affect not only linguistic development but also non-linguistic factors such as intercultural communication, confidence using the second/ foreign language (L2), and a sense of L2 self. The purpose of this study was to examine how two groups of Japanese learners of English going abroad for different lengths of time (one month (n = 79) and one year (n = 70) respectively) were affected across a range of non-linguistic variables. Pre- and post-SA survey data were collected, and results indicate that both groups achieved significant benefits in increased L2 speaking confidence and a strengthening of sense of an ideal L2 self, while also undergoing a weakening of ought-to L2 self. However, the degree of change was not uniform across groups. Moreover, the shortterm SA participants demonstrated a decrease in ethnocentricity whereas the long-term participants did not.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 8 September 2020 Accepted 29 October 2020

KEYWORDS

Intercultural communication; L2 confidence; L2 self; study abroad; ethnocentricity

Introduction

For as long as language education has been a component of school curriculums, select learners have chosen to travel abroad to study in places where the target language is widely spoken. Whereas this used to be an opportunity mostly limited to the elite (or very determined), that is clearly no longer the case. The last half century has seen a democratisation of opportunity for language learners, spurred on by numerous factors, including increasingly affordable air travel, greater efforts by host institutions to welcome foreign learners, and stronger links between schools in different nations. Study abroad is now within reach of millions of learners (OECD 2019), and the multitude of options available to them, from preferred destination, to length of stay, to residential choices, virtually guarantees an appropriate match for students of adequate means who desire an offshore language-study experience.

Along with the growth of language-learning study abroad (SA) programmes has been an attendant increase in research focusing on those who go through the experience. During the past several decades, scholars have examined various linguistic benefits brought about by studying in a second/foreign language (L2) environment, including: improvements in fluency (Segalowitz and Freed 2004), grammar and vocabulary knowledge (Collentine 2004; Dewey 2008), lexical development

(Isabelli 2004), reading and writing ability (Freed, So, and Lazar 2003; Sasaki 2011), and sociolinguistic skills (Regan 1998; Hassall 2006). These are of course natural avenues for research to take, the primary purpose of linguistically-oriented SA being, after all, to study a language, and students and instructors (not to mention paying parents) may begin to cry foul if there was not at least a modicum of linguistic improvement. However, few would argue that the sole purpose of SA is merely to improve language skills and nothing more. Recent research suggests that motivations for learners to study abroad are multitudinous and can include such factors as social considerations, an interest in travel, and the desire to 'escape' (Nyaupane, Paris, and Teye 2011). Along with language learning comes the chance to 'broaden one's horizons' and, hopefully, grow a bit as a person, and indeed evidence suggests that that is what many learners perceive to be the greatest positive outcome of the experience (Cheng 2014). Beyond purely linguistic and 'self-development' gains, however, studying in an L2 environment has the potential to enhance other facets of the language learning self and the learner's worldview - effects that may carry through their return to the home country and perhaps even for the lifetime of the learner.

Review of the literature

Non-linguistic outcomes of SA

Intercultural competence, intercultural communication, ethnocentricity, and intergroup approach-avoid tendencies

Contact with native speakers of the target culture and/or learners from other cultures is an inevitable outcome of study abroad, and with such opportunities comes the potential to increase one's intercultural competence. This is a widely used term with nonetheless broad and complex interpretations and implications, frequently comprising such variables as knowledge of and respect for other cultures and possession of effective intercultural communication strategies (Deardorff 2006). Those considered to be 'interculturally competent' enjoy interaction with people from other cultures without experiencing undue stress (Brislin 1993), and although the strength of this characteristic differs from person to person, intercultural competence is also a trait that can be enhanced through training (Bhawuk and Brislin 2000). Therefore, an increase in intercultural competence would seem to be a natural attribute beyond pure linguistic improvement for SA learners to develop.

In terms of measurable effects, however, intercultural competence can present challenges due to its complexity and multivariate nature. Moreover, prior research into the impact of SA on participants' intercultural competence has resulted in mixed findings. Some researchers have claimed that time spent abroad clearly leads to improvements, including those staying only a short time away (Anderson et al. 2006). Others have been more circumspect in their conclusions, asserting that factors such as participants' cultural background (Nguyen, Jefferies, and Rojas 2018) and length of stay (Dwyer 2004; Behrnd and Porzelt 2012) are significant variables in intercultural development. Still others have found almost no evidence of growth, regardless of length (Medina-Lopez-Portillo 2004; Bloom and Miranda 2015). Some potential reasons for these mixed claims may be intercultural goals not being clearly defined for SA (Gillespie 2002; Engle and Engle 2003), or that merely going abroad to study by itself is not enough to lead to gains (Williams 2005).

Due to this inherent complexity, it arguably makes sense to consider intercultural competence in terms that are somewhat narrower, more clearly defined, and practical for evaluating the effects of study abroad. For this we turn to the related concept of intercultural communication theory as first proposed by Gudykunst (1983). Gudykunst defined intercultural communication by suggesting discrete underlying variables that relate to, or help comprise, the larger construct. One of these, ethnocentricity, can in a sense be considered an inverse or contrary variable to intercultural competence since those who display this tendency more strongly see the world through the lens of their own culture, with the latter being unquestioned and 'central to reality' (Bennett 2004). There is some evidence that studying abroad helps learners to become more accepting of cultural differences (Saghafi 2001;

Williams 2005; Gullekson et al. 2011), although again, these assertions are qualified by other research results. Kehl and Morris (2007) found no significant differences in learners' 'globalcentrism' when comparingthose who studied abroad and those who did not. In a different study also comparing two similar groups of learners, those who were going abroad actually exhibited greater ethnocentricity prior to departure than those who were going to study at home (Gullekson et al., 2011). Speculation regarding variables that might effect changes in ethnocentricity include learner sensitivity (Engle and Engle 2004), the influence of pre-departure courses (Gullekson et al. 2011), and homestay opportunities (Allen, Dristas, and Mills 2007). The question of length of stay and its impact on such attitudes, which has been variously studied in relation to intercultural communication, may also be a significant contributing factor to the degree to which SA learner ethnocentricity changes.

A second component of the intercultural communication model - intergroup approach-avoid tendency - is less well researched than ethnocentrism. Also proposed by Gudykunst (1991) as part of his Anxiety-Uncertainty Management theory of intercultural communication, intergroup approach-avoidance delineates a person's willingness (or lack thereof) to engage in interaction with people from other cultures. Yashima (2002; Yashima, Zenuk-Nishide, and Shimizu 2004) later described this variable as a core component of international posture, defined as 'a tendency to relate oneself to the international community rather than any specific L2 group' (Yashima 2009, 2). In terms of SA, one would assume, or at least hope, that most participants would increase their international posture, and thus move toward the 'approach' end of the approach-avoid continuum, but here again a scan of the literature indicates results are far from conclusive. Matschke and Sassenberg (2010) contended that successful adjustment primarily depends on whether those entering the new environment (such as learners staying in a foreign country) focus on positive or negative group experiences. While there are claims that those who study abroad are more likely to already possess higher than average levels of agreeableness and openness to new experiences (Niehoff, Petersdotter, and Freund 2017) and are thus better prepared for approach behavior, Wilkinson (1998) discovered that students who, prior to departure, assumed SA would include a great deal of non-classroom L2 interaction often found themselves avoiding such interaction once there. Although they were not explicitly researching approach-avoidance in their study, one proposal put forth by Segalowitz and Freed (2004) is that length of stay during SA could have an effect on the development of social networks. Indeed, when examining factors that can have the greatest impact on SA outcomes, length of stay quickly emerges as a key variable.

L2 confidence, speaking anxiety and perceived speaking self-competence

In addition to, and also related to, intercultural variables, another area of interest in language learners' development overseas includes the degree to which their confidence in using the L2 increases, particularly over varying lengths of stay. As with the intercultural communication, it is again helpful to consider this broad concept by looking at two discrete variables that together help comprise learners' sense of their own confidence in using the target language. The first of these - L2 speaking anxiety - has long been regarded as an impediment to intercultural communication. While L2 anxiety can exist in various forms, including reading and testing, L2 speaking anxiety is regarded as the most salient form of L2 anxiety in the foreign language classroom (Young 1991; Phillips 1992; Kim 2009) and often one with a cultural basis as well. For instance, learners in Japan may be particularly susceptible to L2 speaking anxiety due to a culturally-based fear of mistakes and loss of face (King 2013b; King and Smith 2017). Results from research into Japanese students participating in even relatively short stints abroad indicate that SA can help alleviate this anxiety to some degree (Tanaka and Ellis 2003; Matsuda and Gobel 2004). However, those from later studies (with non-Japanese LLs) suggest that while learners' L2 confidence improves when speaking with other non-natives, it does not when interacting with L2 native speakers (Kalocsai 2009; Kaypak and Ortaçtepe 2014). Thus, the L1 of the interlocutor may be an intervening variable affecting learners' L2 anxiety. Less is also known about the degree to which length of stay contributes to this effect because most research, especially with Japanese learners, has not focused on long-term SA participants.

The inverse of a language learner's sense of anxiety when using the L2 is a perception of their own L2 self-competence in communication, and in fact some definitions of L2 speaking confidence include both variables in a complementary fashion (Clément and Kruidenier 1985; Clément, Dörnyei, and Noels 1994). The perceived self-competence variable describes the feeling that one is capable of communicating using the target language, and it stands to reason that if SA experiences result in decreased L2 anxiety, the same experiences should also result in increased perceived competence. As with approach-avoid tendencies, perceived speaking self-competence is a lesser-studied component of its broader construct (in this case, L2 confidence) and therefore of interest for further inquiry in order to achieve a fuller picture of the effect of SA on L2 confidence as a whole.

Possible L2 selves

Pursuant to the notion that SA enhances one's opportunities to 'grow' as a person is the concept of possible L2 selves. In an L2 framework, the L2 Motivational Self System (Dörnyei 2005, 2009) has come to represent this concept, stemming from earlier theories of possible selves (Markus and Nurius 1986; Higgins 1987) that postulate that individuals have different visions of themselves in the future which help to guide their motivations and behaviors in the present. Likewise, the L2 Motivational Self System comprises three components: the ideal L2 self, or the learner's vision of him- or herself as a person who is a fluent L2 user; the ought-to L2 self, or the learner's vision of the self who must use the L2 because of obligations or to avoid failure; and L2 experience, which is the L2 learning that occurs within the immediate learning environment and influences learning behaviours.

In this system, the ideal L2 self is theorised to have the strongest, longest lasting influence on L2 motivation and L2 identity formation, whereas ought-to L2 self, while being influential in the shortterm, is not seen as powerful a motivator once the immediate threat of failure or reward for success has been achieved. Previous studies using the L2 motivational self system have largely borne out the theory, while emphasising that future visions of possible L2 selves need to be vivid, plausible, and reinforced by L2 learning experience successes (e.g. Ryan 2009; Taguchi, Magid, and Papi 2009; Lamb 2011; Dörnyei and Chan 2013). It should be pointed out that this model of viewing the L2 learner's 'selves' was originally constructed to explain motivated behaviour; it has, however, been argued that possible L2 selves partly account for learner L2 identity construction in relation to L2 communities of practice and are thus salient to uncovering how L2 learners perceive themselves now and in the future in relation to SA experiences (Lamb 2009).

Study abroad length of stay

Short-term study-abroad programmes, commonly defined as lasting a few weeks to a few months (Milton and Meara 1995), are increasingly popular options for learners, and this trend has only become stronger in the last two decades (Sachau, Brasher, and Fee 2010). On a practical level this makes sense as short-term SA allows students to engage in the experience of a foreign sojourn without the commitments of an extended length of stay, which can impact considerations such as planned graduation from university and job hunting. But to what degree do short-term stays truly impact learners? An SA experience measured in weeks would naturally seem to limit intercultural interaction and linguistic gains. On the other hand, longer-term stays of up to a year (or more) appear to accrue more potential advantages to the language learner, including creation of stronger social networks (Segalowitz and Freed 2004) and exposure to standard university content courses in the L2 (Yashima and Zenuk-Nishide 2008).

Further examination of the linguistic and non-linguistic benefits gained by leaners in each type of SA reveals some strong trends. Several researchers have contended that far more development occurs during stays that last a full year (Dwyer 2004; Isabelli 2004), including stronger linguistic gains (Pearson, Fonseca-Greber, and Foell 2006) and greater student autonomy (Amuzie and Winke 2009). Other claims include more emotional development and cross-cultural communication and intercultural sensitivity (Tanaka and Ellis 2003; Engle and Engle 2004; Medina-Lopez-Portillo 2004). These assertions as to the benefits of long-term over short-term are not



universal, however. Engle and Engle (2004), for instance, suggest that the linguistic progress of SA students is 'front loaded' and begins to level off after a few weeks once learners are comfortable enough in their surroundings. Moreover, most of the studies comparing long- and short-term SA outcomes have tended to focus on a single factor, such as linguistic progress or changes in intercultural stances rather than a combination of variables as the current study has done.

Research questions and hypotheses

As stated above, most research into SA length of stay has resulted in claims of significant differences between those who stay for longer or shorter lengths of time in the target culture, but there are gaps and limitations in the literature. Many, if not most, prominent studies of SA have been conducted with American students as participants, visiting countries for non-English language study. Fewer studies have included the opposite - English as a Foreign Language (EFL) learners visiting nations where English is the primary language, despite a recent pronounced increase in learners from Japan, for instance, choosing to study abroad (JAOS 2017). Of existing research into the effects of SA on Japanese learners, results have indicated the potential for SA to change learner beliefs for the better but with some limitations. As an example, Tanaka and Ellis (2003) found that a semester abroad led to notable gains in participants' self-efficacy and L2 confidence. Of the research involving Japanese participants, however, the majority have either focused on a relatively limited number of participants (Sasaki 2007; Wood 2007), only those on short-term stays, or both (Tanaka and Ellis 2003; Tanaka 2007). While there have been studies that included learners studying abroad for differing lengths of time (Hyland 1993; Sasaki 2011; Taguchi 2011), the researchers in those cases focused on variables distinct from the current study.

In light of our interest in the impact of varying SA lengths on the variables described above, we have formulated the following three research questions:

RQ1: To what degree do long-term and short-term SA affect intercultural communication (as defined by intergroup approach-avoid tendencies and ethnocentricity)?

RQ2: To what degree do long-term and short-term SA improve L2 speaking confidence (as defined by speaking anxiety and perceived self-competence)?

RQ3: To what degree do long-term and short-term SA change perceptions of the L2 self (as defined by ideal and ought-to L2 selves)?

The three research questions were predicated upon the following hypotheses. These hypotheses arose from a careful reading of existing research studies concerning the effects of SA on students from other language learning contexts (e.g. North America and Europe).

Hypothesis 1: Students in long-term ESL programs will experience lower ethnocentricity and higher approach tendencies, and hence increased intercultural communication, compared to students in short-term ESL programs.

Hypothesis 2: Students in long-term ESL programs will experience increased speaking self-competence and reduced speaking anxiety compared to students in short-term ESL programs.

Hypothesis 3: Students in long-term ESL programs will experience a greater increase in the development of their sense of ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self compared to students in short-term ESL programs.

The study

Data collection for this study was conducted over a span of two years. Pre- and post-SA Likert-scale surveys were given to study participants before departure and after return from their SA programmes. Study participants were informed both orally and in writing that the data collection would be kept in strict confidence, that their participation (or lack thereof) had no effect on course grades either in the home institution or the SA institution, and that they could withdraw their participation at any time during the study.

Participants and context

The participants in this study were 149 university students, ages ranging from 18 to 21, from three private universities in Japan, all of whom studied abroad for varying lengths of time during their first or second year at university. Of the 149 participants, 70 were members of one university's Global Communications department and joined long-term ESL programmes at 14 universities located in the five English-speaking nations with residencies lasting between 10 and 12 months, depending on the overseas programme (details of the number of long-term participants by host country: Canada: 32; USA: 19; UK: 7; Australia: 6; New Zealand: 6). The university department that these long-term participants belonged to emphasises communication skills in English as a core part of its curriculum, and the ESL SA experience is actually a graduation requirement of the four-year programme. Because it is still relatively uncommon for Japanese university students to participate in long-term study abroad due to societal and employment pressures to graduate within four years, the fact that these 70 students from one department all studied overseas for such a length of time is relatively rare.

In contrast, the remaining 79 participants, who engaged in short-term ESL SA, are representative of the far more common route taken by Japanese university students who wish to gain overseas English-study experience. With an average length of stay for these programmes being three weeks, usually during winter or summer holidays, it is far easier for Japanese students to participate without impacting major study requirements, graduation timeline, and employment prospects; and it is the recent proliferation of these programme offerings that accounts for the dramatic growth in overall SA numbers seen during the past decade. The participants in the short-term programmes, which took place at two universities in the USA, were members of a variety of academic departments, including Law, Economics, Engineering, and English Literature, at two separate universities. As with nearly every young person in Japan, all of the participants had previously studied English for at least six years at secondary school level prior to studying abroad.

Preparation for the SA experience varied by university and programme in Japan. Those in the long-term programme were required to participate in a collection of year-long classes focused on academic writing and reading in English as well as an intensive spoken communication course. The students studying abroad for short term stays, however, had more limited preparation, usually in the form of attendance at a handful of pre-sessional lessons at which they were introduced to practical aspects of living in the SA country, including safety, living conditions, and educational requirements.

The overseas study that students engaged in also differed between the long-term and short-term programmes. Those in the short-term programmes participated in 'General English' type coursework tailored for learners only staying for a few weeks, with the emphasis on verbal communication skills as well as some cultural activities and excursions. In most cases, participants lived with a local family – a so-called 'homestay' situation – for the duration of their stay.

The long-term SA learners also participated in ESL skills-focused study for the first half/term of their sojourn before moving into standard university content courses for the latter half. They had relative freedom to select courses based on interest and availability as long as there were no prerequisite requirements or other registration hurdles. Of the 14 SA options, all but two (in the UK) included homestay residence instead of dormitory stays.

Instrumentation

In order to measure the quantitative variables under study, two 6-point, Likert-scale survey instruments were developed: one for pre-SA and one for post-SA. Both surveys included items targeting six non-linguistic variables, with pairs of variables representing a broader non-linguistic factor (see Table 1). Components of the survey were derived from existing instruments. Items measuring the intercultural communication variables (intergroup approach-avoid tendency and ethnocentricity) came from Yashima (2002), having been originally developed by Gudykunst (1991). L2 speaking confidence variables (L2 speaking anxiety and perceived speaking self-competence) came from studies by Apple (2011, 2013). Items measuring possible L2 selves variables (ideal- and ought-to L2 self) came from a study by Apple, Falout, and Hill (2013). All items had previously been used and validated using Rasch model analysis in a pilot study, which examined 47 Japanese students before and after a mandatory three-week EFL study-abroad programme to Thailand as part of their English teacher-training degree programme (Apple and Aliponga 2018).

Each variable was represented on the survey by five items, and response categories ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) on the Likert scale. The following is a list of sample items representing each variable:

Intergroup Approach-avoid Tendency: 'I try to talk to foreigners whenever I can'.

Ethnocentricity: 'I feel uncomfortable with what foreigners do or say'.

L2 Speaking Anxiety: 'I feel nervous when I can't express my opinion in English'.

Perceived Speaking Self-competence: 'I can give a speech in English on a topic I choose'.

Ideal L2 Self: 'I imagine myself using English effectively in the future'.

Ought-to L2 Self: 'I need to learn English in order to get a good job'.

After finalising the survey in English, survey items were professionally translated into Japanese and then re-checked by a third party for accuracy.

Data collection and analysis

Survey data was collected during preparatory classes several weeks before the participants' departure and once again several days to weeks after their return. For all participants, pre-SA surveys were distributed in paper form during preparatory classes while post-SA survey data were collected after their return to Japan, either in class (when possible) or, alternately, with an online version of the survey. Of the 179 participants who took at least one of the surveys, data from 30 of them were not used, most often due to these participants not taking the post-SA survey. Participation was strictly voluntary, and students who did not wish to have their results included in the study were given the opportunity not to participate. No students declined to have their survey results used in the study.

Once the survey data was collected it was input into a spreadsheet and then analysed. As a first step, Rasch model analysis was undertaken, utilising Winsteps software (Linacre 2009) in order to determine an individual measure for each participant in relation to each of the six variables. Rasch model analysis subjects data (in this case in the form of a survey responses) to probabilistic modelling measurement in order to rank the participants according to their likelihood of endorsing a group of survey items representing variables in the survey. For each participant, output from Rasch analysis results in data points called 'person measures', each representing the degree to which that participant is likely to endorse a group of items representing one of the survey variables. Using the Rasch person measures for each variable, further analysis was conducted by subjecting

Table 1. Non-linguistic factors and representative survey variables.

Non-linguistic factor	First survey variable	Second survey variable		
Intercultural Communication L2 Speaking Confidence L2 Self	Intergroup Approach-avoid Tendency (α = .76) L2 Speaking Anxiety (α = .92) Ideal L2 Self (α = .89)	Ethnocentricity (α = .70) Perceived Speaking Self-competence (α = .91) Ought-to L2 Self (α = .80)		

the data to a mixed (within-between) ANOVA for each of the six variables using SA length as the between-groups independent variable and time as the within-groups independent variable. This was followed by post-hoc pairwise comparisons in order to search for significant in-group differences pre- to post-SA. For the participants in the long-term group, we also measured for post-SA differences based on the country where they studied (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the UK, and the USA) through conducting a one-way ANOVA analysis using the person measures from the post-SA survey variables.

Results

With the Rasch person measures in hand, we conducted the mixed ANOVA on each variable in order to determine the degree to which the two groups of participants - long- and short-term SA learners - differed before and after their sojourns. As part of the analyses, interaction effects between the independent variables (SA length and time) were checked and no significant interactions were found for any of the six variables. Levene's test was also conducted in order to look for violations of the assumption of equality of variances among the pre- and post-SA surveys between the long-term and short-term groups. Three instances of the violation were found pre-SA ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self and post-SA ought-to L2 self. However, because ANOVAs tend to be robust to small violations of homogeneity so long as sample sizes are not greatly dissimilar (Blanca, Alarcón, and Arnau 2018), we continued with the analyses.

In total, six variables were measured through the mixed ANOVA (intergroup approach-avoid tendencies, ethnocentricity, L2 speaking anxiety, perceived speaking self-competence, ideal L2 self, and ought-to L2 self). Results from within-groups analyses resulted in four of the six showing significant differences for both groups pre- to post-SA while two variables showed significant betweengroups differences (Table 2).

Of the four variables that resulted in significant within-groups changes pre- to post-SA, two (L2 speaking anxiety, perceived speaking self-competence) group under the broader factor of L2 confidence. Both long- and short-term groups saw notable changes in these variables over the course of their sojourns (decrease in the case of speaking anxiety, increase for speaking self-competence).

	Table 2. Means	, Standard Deviations	, and Mixed ANOVA	Results for Stud	v Variables.
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						ANC	OVA	
	Short-term		Long-term		Within groups		Between groups	
Variable	M	SD	M	SD	F ratio	η_p^2	F ratio	η_p^2
Approach-avoid tendency					2.86	0.20	0.23	0.00
Pre	1.77	1.54	1.51	1.49				
Post	1.78	1.78	1.83	1.38				
Ethnocentricity					0.34	0.00	5.68*	0.04
Pre	-0.77	1.01	-0.52	0.88				
Post	-0.92	1.18	-0.48	1.22				
Speaking anxiety					21.31*	0.13	1.20	0.01
Pre	0.66	2.50	1.21	2.72				
Post	-0.16	3.18	0.16	2.43				
Speaking self- competence					136.45*	0.48	15.39*	0.10
Pre	0.82	2.45	1.90	1.92				
Post	2.50	2.70	4.16	2.30				
Imagined L2 self					4.52*	0.03	0.45	0.00
Pre	1.23	2.82	1.25	1.82				
Post	1.39	2.36	1.83	2.00				
Ought-to L2 self				12.44*	0.08	2.00	0.01	
Pre	0.95	1.60	0.54	1.02				
Post	0.46	1.39	0.35	0.83				

Note. N = 149 (79 short-term, 70 long-term).

^{*}p < .05.

Moreover, the effect size (partial eta square) for both was either close to large (speaking anxiety) or very large (speaking self-competence), indicating that a gain in L2 speaking confidence was the most identifiable benefit of the SA experience, regardless of SA length.

The other two significant changes for within-group variables (ideal L2 self, ought-to L2 self) fall within the larger factor of an L2 self, with effect sizes here being small for ideal L2 self and moderate for ought-to L2 self. Nevertheless, changes to the two variables diverged rather than aligned pre- to post-SA. Both groups saw increases in their sense of an ideal L2 self (more dramatically so for the long-term participants) - an indication that a vision of themselves as future L2 speakers came into clearer focus. Although the overall effect size was small, a stronger ideal L2 self can have a lasting positive impact on motivation and a sense of L2 identity. On the other hand, ought-to L2 self weakened for both groups (with a somewhat greater decrease among the short-term students) over the course of their stays. As described earlier, this sense of L2 self is more powerful in the short term but tends to weaken once an L2 goal has been achieved, in this case the SA experience.

Neither variable related to intercultural communication (intergroup approach-avoid tendency, ethnocentricity) reached statistical within-group significance, although the approach-avoid variable did come close with a p-value of .09. Moreover, the effect size statistic here was large (.20) despite not reaching the threshold for overall significance. Additionally, the ethnocentricity variable saw between-groups statistical significance, indicating variance between the two groups. Unlike the other four variables in the study, these two show more distinct shifts from pre- to post-SA when comparing the two groups, as can be viewed in the plot charts (Figure 1).

A visual inspection makes clear that both groups started and ended in different places, but whereas the direction and inclination were in rough alignment for the L2 confidence variables and, to a lesser degree, the L2 self variables, they were not for those related to intercultural communication. The long-term group started with a somewhat lower average of approach-avoid behaviour but made strides to end up higher than the short-term group, which showed little improvement overall. Measures of ethnocentricity, on the other hand, reveal again both groups starting with different averages, but in this case the long-term participants display virtually unchanged ethnocentricity post-SA while the short-term group's ethnocentricity declined. This was the only variable where this type of divergence between the groups occurred, with the surprise coming from the long-term students in particular, the expectation being that a longer SA term would lead to a deeper decrease in ethnocentricity.

Post-hoc pairwise analysis comparing pre-SA to post-SA measures assisted in determining where the largest SA effects were within each group. For the short-term SA learner group, significant pre- to post-SA measures can be seen for four variables: L2 speaking anxiety (t(78) = 2.90 p)< .05, eta-squared = .10), speaking self-competence (t(78) = -7.55 p < .05, eta-squared = .42), ideal L2 self (t(78) = -.72 p < .05, eta-squared = .006), and ought-to L2 self (t(78) = 3.37 p < .05, eta-squared)squared = .13). Of the four variables, two (L2 speaking anxiety and speaking self-competence) relate to the broader construct of L2 speaking confidence, and the moderate-to-large effect sizes of the pre to post changes indicate strong improvement after only a few weeks for these learners. The other two significant variables (ideal L2 self and ought-to L2 self) relate to learners' sense of an L2 self. Of these two, only the ought-to variable underwent a shift (down), as seen in the large effect size. The change in ideal L2 self, though statistically significant, was nonetheless quite small.

Changes in the long-term group were both similar to and distinct from those in the short-term group. Once again four variables reached the threshold for statistical significance, this time including: intergroup approach-avoid tendency, $(t(69) = -2.00 p \le .05, \text{ eta-squared} = .05), L2 speaking$ anxiety $(t(69) = 3.63 \ p < .05, \text{ eta-squared} = .14)$, speaking self-competence $(t(69) = -8.84 \ p < .05, \text{ eta-squared})$ eta-squared = .50), and ideal L2 self (t(69) = -2.14 p < .05, eta-squared = .06). Similarities with the short-term group include dramatic improvement in L2 speaking confidence, including a (large effect-size) reduction in anxiety matched with an even greater increase in perceived self-competence. Aside from these, significant increases in approach-avoid behaviour and a sense of ideal L2 self were also notable.



Figure 1. Plot charts showing variable changes Pre- to post-SA. Note: Figures represent changes in the means of person measures as opposed to raw Likert-scale scores. Rasch analysis converts raw scores to person measure scales indicative of item endorsability by respondents as opposed to fixed scales mirroring Likert means. As such, different variables are put onto numeric scales that more accurately reflect their underlying response trends.



Finally, post-SA comparative analysis of the survey variables was conducted based on which of the five countries country (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the UK, and the USA) the long-term participants had studied in. For all six variables in the post-SA survey, results from the one-way ANOVA indicated that SA country was *not* a significant independent variable as none reached the threshold of statistical significance when SA country was taken into account.

Discussion and implications

Aside from the linguistic benefits that SA may confer upon the learner, other gains can prove to have equal, or even greater, merit upon return to the home country. One of the most significant of these appears to be a boost in L2 speaking confidence – as was the case for most of our participants – through a perceived decrease in speaking anxiety matched with a commensurate increase in self-competence. This effect was the most significant of those studied, and we feel that this should be heralded due to L2 confidence being broadly considered a precursor to learner's willingness to communicate in a foreign language (MacIntyre et al. 1998). Furthermore, improved confidence and willingness to communicate have been shown not only to enhance one's ability as a language speaker but also as a language *learner*, through greater engagement in and contribution to L2 classroom activities (de Saint Léger and Storch 2009). What this means for returnees is that the effect of learning an L2 abroad may potentially carry over into their post-SA lives as continuing students of the L2, and we believe this to be an area with strong potential for further research.

While both groups of participants experienced an improvement in L2 speaking confidence, it was clearly more pronounced for those in the long-term programme. This is particularly evident in the between-groups difference in speaking self-competence. Compared to those in the yearlong programme, the short-term learners in this study experienced a more 'sheltered' form of SA, including full-day class schedules, organised out-of-class activities, and classmates from the same nationality/school. And even if short-term SA should evoke feelings of homesickness, culture shock, or isolation, participants can at least take solace in the fact that it will all be over soon. Such is not the luxury for those studying abroad for a year (or more). Although some aspects of the aforementioned structure also existed in the early stages of participants' long-term SA (when the learning focus centred on improvement of ESL skills), at some point those learners needed to become more independent as a matter of intercultural survival. The foreknowledge of being 'in it for the long haul' will push even reticent learners out of their comfort zones and into the L2 social sphere around them, a phenomenon that was mentioned more than once when conducting follow-up interviews with a few of the long-term participants.

Changes in intercultural communication were somewhat less clear-cut than those for L2 confidence. Of the two intercultural variables we measured across the two groups – approach-avoid tendency and ethnocentricity – only one (approach-avoid) resulted in a significant change pre- to post-SA, and even then, only with the long-term group. However, this statistical improvement indicates that these learners made a clear move toward 'approach' behaviour and thus became more comfortable living and communicating with people from other parts of the world. This long-term SA benefit was further borne out by the fact that, for this same variable, the short-term group was virtually unchanged from beginning to end (although it should be noted that they started out with higher scores than those in the long-term group).

These results reinforce to some degree findings from earlier studies into the effect of SA length on development of intercultural communication. Engle and Engle (2004) for instance found that although linguistic gains plateaued after several weeks abroad, those in full-year SA programmes, in this case American learners studying in France, made much more progress in cultural understanding and cross-cultural communication during the second term compared to the first. In another study, Medina-Lopez-Portillo (2004) also found a strong relationship between the length of SA and improvements in intercultural communication, even though neither of the two researched groups' time abroad was particularly long (seven weeks and 16 weeks). Other

researchers have come to similar conclusions about the greater intercultural benefits acquired with longer stays (Bachner and Zeutschel 2009; Berg 2009).

Despite these corollaries, the trend towards greater intercultural communication was not definitive. Changes in ethnocentricity, the other intercultural variable in this study, were not uniform and contradicted our hypothesis that this trait would decrease for both groups - more so for those who were away for one year – over the course of their SA experiences. The short-term participants did experience a decrease, but the long termers did not, with their measures actually demonstrating a very slight increase in ethnocentric tendencies. While a lessening of one's ethnocentricity indicates greater acceptance of cultural differences, that would not appear to be what occurred with these participants. Undoubtedly most of them would return after a year abroad with more acknowledgement or understanding of such differences, but that does not equate to acceptance. And while some of the seventy long-term students must certainly have experienced a decline in ethnocentricity, overall they did not. Whether this is due to the structure of the university programme (everyone in the department undergoes SA for one year, leaving and returning at roughly the same time, thus not allowing for much self-determination) or other less clear-cut factors (e.g. culture) is difficult to say. Nonetheless, the result is not wholly unanticipated. Other studies have demonstrated the limited impact that SA can have on ethnocentricity (Kehl and Morris 2007; Gullekson et al. 2011), indicating that this characteristic is more of an individual trait that is not broadly affected by the SA experience.

This issue was addressed to some degree by students who participated in follow-up interviews post-SA - the subject of a separate, ongoing study (Apple, Neff, and Hood 2020). For many of these learners, lack of a downward shift in ethnocentrism during SA did not necessarily lead to a narrower and more nationalistic outlook towards the world. Instead, their mostly enjoyable experiences living for an extended period abroad appeared to deepen appreciation of their homeland and to spark a previously dormant interest in learning more about Japanese culture. As one returnee stated, "Now I can say from the bottom of my heart [that] I really love Japan because of the experience of being outside of Japan ... I really love both cultures, so it's kind of [a] positive dilemma." This sense of dual appreciation, accented with stronger positive feelings for Japan, was also expressed by another participant: "What I always tried to do was compare that culture with Japanese culture, so now I appreciate Japanese culture more [than before]." The fact that this greater appreciation and curiosity about their home culture did not come at the expense of views towards the SA culture indicates that ethnocentrism maynot be a particularly revealing variable when examining the effects of SA, particularly long-term SA. It could instead be more enlightening to examine the impact such an experience has on learners' perceptions of their own culture after their return.

The final variables investigated relate to learners' sense of an L2 self. It has been previously noted that most Japanese university students of English have rather weak images of themselves as L2 users; at best, their possible L2 selves are 'vague and hopeful rather than tangible and seen as achievable' (Irie and Brewster 2014, 185). Despite this, SA appears to have helped these learners' sense of an L2 self snap into focus. The fact that both SA groups saw an increase in their ideal L2 self scores is another indication of the benefits conferred to learners, especially those who stay abroad longer, who in this case displayed a more dramatic increase than the short-term participants. The extended length of time abroad, as well as the influence of taking content courses during their SA (something the short-term participants did not experience), likely helped these learners to gain a clearer vision of themselves as future fluent users of the L2.

On the other hand, the short-term outlook inherent in the sense ought-to L2 self was negatively affected as indicated by the decrease in this measure for both groups, and in this case more so for the short-term learners. As mentioned earlier, the concept of ought-to L2 self tends to increase with a sense of imminent challenge related to the L2. With this in mind, it is sensible that the participants would return from SA with a diminished 'ought-to' sense. For many of them, this may well have been the largest L2-related trial of their lives, and their making it through the experience will have decreased their urgency in studying English for a particular, forthcoming goal. For the long-term SA learners who started with a greater sense of L2 confidence, their sense of an

ought-to L2 self showed less change even while their ideal L2 self increased. This outcome provides support for the motivational attitude theories of Clément (1980) in which the amount of L2 contact and L2 confidence are primary factors in determining future attitudes and efforts to learn the L2. The repeated mention in nine follow-up interviews with long-term study abroad participants of positive interactions with new acquaintances in the L2 context (Apple, Neff, and Hood 2020) also support the idea of *Friendship Orientation* (Clément and Kruidenier 1985) as a motivating factor in L2 communication.

Overall, this study demonstrated several non-linguistic consequences that the SA experience can have for language learners, with length of time abroad having a varying degree of impact on sojourners. For the participating students, confidence in speaking the L2 was the clearest beneficiary, likely enhanced by the fact that they were coming from a strongly EFL environment (Japan) where opportunities to use English tend to be quite limited outside of the language-learning classroom. The fact that both groups experienced strong decreases in speaking anxiety and outsize improvement in speaking self-competence argues for encouraging SA of any length of time for EFL learners. Nonetheless, it must be noted that the long-term learners underwent more dramatic changes in these L2 confidence variables while overseas. Intergroup approach-avoid tendencies also improved more for those in the group who stayed longer, although the fact that these students started at a lower level than the short-term students confounds this result to some degree.

The lack of change in ethnocentricity among long-term SA learners additionally seems counterintuitive given their increase in L2 confidence and ideal L2 self. However, this may be partially explained by studies of Japanese returnee (kikoku-shijo) students (Kanno 2000), i.e. students that spend two or three years (or more) overseas outside the Japanese educational system and are frequently regarded as becoming 'non-Japanese' upon their return. Indeed, becoming fluent in a foreign language has been considered by many Japanese as a threat not only to one's own identity as a Japanese person but also to the larger identity of Japan as a whole (King 2013a, 79). Long-term SA learners in the present study may have felt uncomfortable at the idea of identifying themselves too closely with the L2 or the culture where they studied. This concern is reflected in Ayano's (2006) narrative study of long-term SA Japanese students in the UK, who felt that interacting too much with British friends would result in fellow Japanese SA students shunning them. Rather than experience an increased sense of an 'L2 self' or of being a 'world citizen', the Japanese students in Ayano (2006) commented that they felt more comfortable speaking with strangers, which was something they had rarely done in Japan prior to study abroad. The results of the present study align with these findings and suggest that the current model of possible L2 selves may not have been precise enough to measure changes in the pre- to post-SA self-identity of the Japanese students involved.

Limitations

There are some limitations that must be considered in relation to discussion of this study's results. First of these is the difference in circumstances between the two SA groups. Short-term participants in the study represented a variety of majors, both in the humanities and sciences, from two different universities, whereas all the long-term participants were in the same department at one university. Moreover, these learners spent more time prior to SA taking courses whose goal in part was to prepare them for the challenges they would face abroad (although this preparation was more linguistic/academic in scope than communicative/cultural). Short-term participants also took pre-SA preparatory courses, but these tended to be limited to a few class sessions designed to introduce the L2 culture and broadly deal with living issues there.

Acknowledgements

We thank Dr Michael Hood of Nihon University for his invaluable help in assisting us with this project.



Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

This work was supported through funding by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Sciences [grant number 15K02769].

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