

THE EFFECTS OF INTERCULTURAL CONTACT AND TOURISM ON LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND LANGUAGE LEARNING MOTIVATION

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This article investigates attitude-mediated contact effects on language learners' motivational disposition by addressing the question as to whether increased intercultural contact through tourism will lead to enhanced language attitudes and language learning motivation. The analysis is based on empirical data gathered in a repeated cross-sectional survey of 8,593 13- and 14-year-old Hungarian pupils in a national sample, stratified according to regions and dwelling types whose contact parameters were specified through objective census data and expert panel judgments. The results reveal a curvilinear contact-attitude relationship, with the highest contact group/locality being associated with some of the lowest attitudinal and motivational measures.

Keywords: *contact; tourism; language attitudes; language learning motivation; ethnolinguistic vitality; Hungary*

In a recent overview of intercultural contact and communication, Brislin (2001) begins by highlighting the indisputable fact of life in the 21st century that people will increase their contact with individuals from other cultural backgrounds. Globalization affects every aspect of our social life (see Maurais & Morris, 2003) and the resulting exposure to intercultural contact has significant bearings on a host of issues, and particularly on people's interethnic attitudes. Intercultural contact is

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also a key issue in second language (L2) acquisition for at least two reasons: On one hand, one of the main aims of learning second languages has traditionally been seen to establish meaningful contact across cultures, because L2 proficiency, by definition, creates the medium of communication between members of different ethnolinguistic communities. On the other hand, interethnic contact also creates opportunities for developing language skills and acts as a powerful influence shaping the learners' attitudinal/motivational disposition, thereby promoting motivated learning behavior. Thus, intercultural contact is both a means and an end in L2 studies.

This study addresses the question of how intercultural contact, generated primarily by international tourism, is related to interethnic and language attitudes, and subsequently to L2 motivation. We are drawing on data gathered in a large-scale, repeated-measure survey in Hungary, a country that has experienced an unprecedented increase of intercultural contact since the significant political changes that took place at the end of the 1980s in Eastern Europe. We will examine how this "contact flood" affected 13- and 14-year-old schoolchildren's attitudes toward five different target languages—English, German, French, Italian, and Russian—and toward foreigners in general. In creating the theoretical background of this complex issue, we draw on various separate but related lines of research within the social sciences, including the study of the Contact Hypothesis, particularly in the context of tourism, the examination of host attitudes toward tourists in tourism research, and the investigation of contact in L2 studies. A brief overview of the three areas as well as the research site, Hungary, follows.

INTERCULTURAL CONTACT, TOURISM, AND ATTITUDE CHANGE

The study of the effects of intercultural/intergroup contact has a long history in social psychology, and the resulting Contact Hypothesis has been a high-profile and much-researched theory in the field. The theory is based on the general observation that contact changes the attitudes and behavior of groups and individuals toward one another and, in turn, those changes will influence any further contact (Allport, 1954). However, it is clear that contact in itself does not guarantee positive changes in the individual's attitudinal disposition; already, Allport pointed out that for favorable changes to take place, certain essential intergroup conditions must be met, most notably, equal status between the groups within the contact situation, the shared pursuit of common goals, the perception of common interests, and institutional support for the contact. Allport's seminal work inspired a wide variety of research projects, ranging from naturalistic field work through highly

controlled laboratory studies, to representative surveys employing nationwide samples (e.g., Cook, 1985; Desforges et al., 1997; Hamberger & Hewstone, 1997; Stephan, 1987; for recent reviews, see Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Wright, Brody, & Aron, 2005), and in an attempt to update Allport's original contact conditions, in his comprehensive review of the literature, Pettigrew (1998) outlined five conditions for optimal contact: equal group status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, authority support, and friendship potential. The last condition, which Pettigrew considered particularly important, was an addition to Allport's original framework, involving opportunities for members of one group to share of themselves and empathize with others, thereby increasing the possibility for more intimate contact than is found in casual relationships. Such an intimate relationship was, then, assumed to lead to the generalization of positive attitudes through a three-step process by promoting cross-group empathy, then cross-group identification, and finally in-group reappraisal.

Two recent theoretical contributions to the Contact Hypothesis are particularly relevant to our current study. First, van Dick et al. (2004) added a new construct to mediate optimal contact conditions, the perceived importance of contact, and proposed that this construct was the "best proximal predictor of contact's reduction of prejudice" (p. 211). As the researchers argue, superficial contact experiences that are personally unimportant (i.e., that have no value in themselves and are not instrumental in reaching a valued goal) will not bring about a significant improvement of intergroup relations. Second, in an integrative theory of intergroup contact, Brown and Hewstone (2005) proposed two dimensions of optimal contact conditions: intergroup and interpersonal salience. They argue that assigning significance to intimate intermember relationships is not incompatible with maintaining some category salience in interactions between in-group and out-group members; in other words, the intergroup and the interpersonal levels of intergroup contact are not functionally antagonistic. According to the researchers' proposed model, cross-group friendship/closeness and group salience are orthogonal dimensions and the optimal conditions occur in contact situations that are "high" on both the interpersonal and the intergroup dimensions.

Although the main principles of the Contact Hypothesis are certainly generalizable to diverse contact situations, the typical contexts in which they were conceptualized and researched have been rather different from the Hungarian contact situation on which our study focuses. Although the disappearance of the Iron Curtain expedited business and professional contacts in the country, the dominant form of direct intercultural contact for most Hungarians during the past decade has been meeting foreign tourists in the country. This is particularly true because, as Ward, Bochner, and Furnham (2001) point out, from the perspective of members of the visited society, all of the people

who are visibly foreign will be categorized as "tourists," regardless of the real purpose of their visit. Ward et al. therefore argue that "it is vital to include research on the affective and behavioral responses of hosts to the tourists in their midst, and there is a growing literature that deals with this issue" (p. 129).

From a general Contact Hypothesis point of view, the prospective impact of contact via tourism is questionable at best. Tourist-host interactions are characterized by brevity and superficiality, offering very little friendship potential, and there is little room for real cooperation between the two groups for common goals. Tourists also tend to have a higher economic status than the host members with whom they come in touch. Therefore, these intercultural encounters are very often asymmetrical in nature, with the only condition to counterbalance this situation being the authority support that usually characterizes tourist environments. The negative aspects of host-tourist encounters have been well summarized by Jaworski, Ylänne-McEwen, Thurlow, and Lawson (2003) as follows:

As far as the tourist-host relationship is concerned, the orthodoxy of current tourism research literature seems to be strongly biased toward the view of the one-sided, asymmetrical and exploitative "tourist gaze" (Urry, 2002), in which powerful tourists are free to visually "consume" local people, much as they do any "site," with little reflection on, or regard for, the needs, concerns and identities of the local people. (p. 156)

Thus, the overall conditions in host-tourist contact do not encourage attitude-improving interactions and this situation often results, as Ward et al. (2001) point out, in an orientation toward immediate gratification on the part of both hosts and tourists, with salient commercial, contrived, and even exploitative overtones. No wonder then that Amir and Ben-Ari (1985) have come to the general conclusion that the "intergroup contact provided by tourism does not guarantee positive attitude change" (p. 112). Ward et al. go even further when they conclude,

The attitudes of host society members toward tourists have been found to vary from mildly positive to hostile reactions, depending on self-interest, tourist densities, and the socioeconomic status of the tourists relative to their hosts. Our reading of this literature leads us to the view that from the perspective of the visited societies, mass tourism is at best neutral with respect to increasing mutual understanding and intergroup harmony and, more than likely in some circumstances, it has adverse psychological consequences. (p. 141)

The theoretical considerations outlined above indicate that the relationship between hosts and tourists is far from straightforward in terms of its attitudinal consequences. This warrants a closer look at relevant studies conducted within a growing subdiscipline in the social sciences: tourism research. In a comprehensive review of psychological

studies of tourism, Pearce and Stringer (1991) have emphasized that tourism is “essentially a *social* psychological phenomenon” (p. 143) and called for more research in this area. The 1990s did indeed see an increase of scientific investigations of a wide range of tourism-related issues, with the dominant approach focusing on the tourists’ (rather than the hosts’) views and behavior. More recently, however, several studies have examined the residents’ attitudes (e.g., Gursoy & Rutherford, 2004; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2003; R. W. Lawson, Williams, Young, & Cossens, 1998; Smith & Krannich, 1998; Tosun, 2002; for a review of the social impacts of tourist-host interactions, see Brunt & Courtney, 1999) and a focal issue in these studies has been the variation in host attitudes according to the total number of visitors in a particular region. In this respect, a somewhat simplistic yet powerful observation has been that with the increase of the tourist industry in a region, residents’ reactions become steadily more negative, moving from euphoria to apathy, annoyance, and then antagonism (see Butler, 1980; Smith & Krannich, 1998). That is, the local people’s attitudes toward tourists are directly related to the amount of the presence of visitors in the community, with the residents’ perception of the negative aspects being in a linear relationship with the level of tourism in a community. Smith and Krannich note, however, that the community’s degree of economic dependence on tourism modifies this relationship somewhat.

Although it makes intuitive sense that the rising number of tourists can increase negative resident perceptions, in an analysis of the situation in Malta, Bramwell (2003) warns us that community responses to tourism are more complex than this linear relationship and need to be considered in light of the contextual and historical features of the particular location. Gursoy and Rutherford (2004) list several specific factors that affect the host community’s attitudes, including the state of the local economy and possible social and cultural benefits and costs. For our current investigation, one study in particular, by Akis, Peristianis, and Warner (1996), deserves special attention. In examining the perceptions of Greek and Turkish Cypriot residents of coastal tourism development, they found that two aspects of the local people’s tourist-related attitudes, their support for tourism and the locals’ friendliness, showed a differing pattern: Although the data tended to confirm “the fewer, the merrier” hypothesis in that residents of towns with comparatively little exposure to tourism were more protourism than people living in areas where experience of tourism was more extensive, the same trend was not true of the “friendliness” factor. The researchers found that contrary to the expectations that as tourism grows, and therefore as interactions between tourists and residents increase, residents will show more resentment and hostility to the visitors, those who had more exposure to tourists tended to regard the interactions with them as positive. Furthermore, as the frequency of

contact with the tourists increased, the proportion of respondents seeing the contacts as positive also increased. Based on these findings, the authors proposed that in the examined localities, tourism was still at the development or “welcome” stage and resentment had not yet begun to appear. Thus, the support for tourism and the residents’ attitudes toward the tourists were characterized by two contrasting trends, highlighting again the complexity of the question.

ETHNOLINGUISTIC VITALITY, LANGUAGE ATTITUDES, AND SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Further insights into the impact of contact on interethnic and language attitudes have been provided by past research on the “intergroup model” (Giles & Byrne, 1982) and the attitudinal/motivational basis of second language acquisition (for reviews, see Clément & Gardner, 2001; Dörnyei, 2001; Gardner, 1985; MacIntyre, 2002). The intergroup model offers a situated social psychological framework for examining the conditions under which the members of minority ethnic groups in a multicultural setting successfully acquire and use the dominant language. A key factor in this model is *ethnolinguistic vitality*, referring to a particular ethnic group’s distinctiveness as a collective entity. Because of its importance in offering a “starting point from which to explore the difficult link between sociological (collective) and social-psychological (individual) accounts of language, ethnicity and intergroup relations” (Johnson, Giles, & Bourhis, 1983, p. 258), the concept has been used in a considerable amount of subsequent research and several instruments have been developed for the assessment of both the objective and subjective (i.e., perceived) vitality conditions of a given ethnolinguistic situation (see Allard & Landry, 1994; Bourhis, Giles, & Rosenthal, 1981; Harwood, Giles, & Bourhis, 1994).

In a recent study, S. Lawson and Sachdev (2004) examined the relationship between multilingual behavior, ethnolinguistic vitality, contact, and identity and argued that the combination of vitality, contact, and language competence variables forms a “language resource base,” which in turn plays a motivational role in influencing linguistic behaviors. Their results obtained from a questionnaire study of second-generation, Sylheti-Bangladeshi trilinguals in London not only supported this argument for the two minority languages, Sylheti and Bengali, but also indicated that minority language vitality had an additive impact on the majority language, English. In another recent study, Clément, Baker, and MacIntyre (2003) examined the relationship between ethnolinguistic vitality and language learners’ “willingness to communicate” (WTC) in a second language and found a significant vitality effect on a host of variables, including subjective norms, contact, linguistic confidence, identity, and WTC.

With regard to the study of the attitudinal/motivational basis of second language acquisition, significant contact effects have been highlighted, for example, in study trip research that explores how an extended stay in a foreign country affects students' attitudinal dispositions. The most prominent finding in this context is the "U-model," which indicates that positive attitudes prior to traveling to the given country are usually replaced by more negative ones at the beginning of the stay; however, if students stay long enough, these negative attitudinal dispositions undergo subsequent positive changes (Pool, 1966; Stangor, Jonas, Stroebe, & Hewstone, 1996). This nonlinear relationship makes sense: Prior to the exchange program, positive attitudes are necessary for the students to decide to participate, but these initial attitudes are often unrealistically positive and cannot be sustained when real contact occurs with the L2 community, particularly because of the often unforeseen negative effect of the cultural and language barriers experienced while engaged in intercultural communication. In a recent article, Spencer-Rodgers and McGovern (2002) argue convincingly that intercultural communication difficulties—or, as they label it, "intercultural communication affect"—serve as a potential causal factor underlying prejudice and discrimination to a much larger extent than usually is assumed in the psychological literature. However, during an extended stay, students will acquire intercultural skills and understanding, which will eventually lead to a positive change in their attitudes.

The most explicit theoretical discussion of contact effects in multicultural/multilingual contexts from an L2 perspective has been offered by Clément and his colleagues in Canada. In Clément's (1980) model, the language learners' "self confidence" is seen as a key component determining subsequent language attitudes and language learning motivation, and the quality and quantity of intercultural contact are proposed to be the main antecedents of self-confidence, which is in turn a determinant of the learner's motivation to learn the language of the out-group. The model received empirical validation by Clément and Kruidenier (1985), with the results supporting the causal sequences proposed. Furthermore, Labrie and Clément (1986) found that even negatively seen contact, if frequent enough, had a positive impact on self-confidence, probably due to the fact that "experience in aversive contacts develops the individual's expectations regarding the capacity to face successfully second language usage in such situations" (p. 279). Of interest, the relationship between contact and self-confidence proved to be important in the unicultural Hungarian context as well: Clément, Dörnyei, and Noels (1994) concluded that all aspects of interethnic contact correlated with English use anxiety, English class anxiety, self-evaluation of proficiency, and self-confidence.

THE HUNGARIAN CONTEXT

Hungary is a relatively small country in Central Europe with a population of about 10 million. Situated largely in the Danube Valley, the country has a curious geopolitical setup, with the capital, Budapest, being almost like a “state within the state”: It is a huge, Westernized metropolis that includes about a quarter of the total population of the country, and none of the other Hungarian cities have more than 10% of Budapest’s population. These smaller cities and towns lack the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the capital and neither are they a match for Budapest as a tourist destination: The capital is not only a lively regional cultural center but it is also an attractive city, with the waterfront of the River Danube dividing the city into Buda and Pest, part of the UNESCO World Heritage (an exclusive list of fewer than 800 cultural and beauty spots in the world).

The collapse of the Communist rule in Hungary in 1989 initiated unprecedented changes in the country. After the first free elections for some 40 years in 1990, the closed, postcommunist society was radically transformed into an open, market-oriented democracy. By the end of the 1990s, the process had been completed: The privatization of the economy had been finalized, resulting in a proportion of private enterprise that is comparable to the situation we find in Western Europe, and Hungary also had been accepted as a full member of NATO. Finally, in May 2004, Hungary became a member state of the European Union. Such a huge sociopolitical transformation had considerable language-related consequences, particularly in view of three powerful processes that took place:

- Russian, the compulsory first foreign language taught at every level of the Hungarian educational system before 1990, was replaced by a variety of Western languages for the schools to choose from;
- foreign television channels (mainly German-speaking but also some in English), videos, and films became widespread within a few years after the changes; and
- the country opened up its borders and there was a dramatic increase in foreign (mainly West European) influence both in terms of two-way tourism and economic relationships—the latter can be well characterized by the fact that in the 1990s, many job advertisements in Hungarian newspapers were published in English or German because the multinational companies that moved into the country wanted to screen out applicants who had insufficient foreign language proficiency.

Our current investigation is part of a larger scale survey process that is intended to document several aspects of the ongoing changes (see Dörnyei & Clément, 2001; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002; Dörnyei, Csizér, &

Table 1
Number of Tourists Visiting Hungary From Selected Countries Between 1988 and 1999

	Number of Tourists Visiting Hungary (thousands)		
	Total	United States & United Kingdom	Austria & Germany
1988	17,965	183	6,760
1992	33,491	411	8,747
1993	40,599	411	9,881
1994	39,836	406	10,245
1995	39,240	413	9,387
1996	39,833	475	9,588
1997	37,315	515	9,593
1998	33,624	571	9,788
1999	28,803	528	8,738

Source: Central Statistical Office (1999, 2000b).

Németh, in press), with the specific motivation for this study stemming from a curious and unexpected observation. We found that the increased contact with foreigners and foreign cultural products that was brought about by the liberalization of Hungarian politics and economy in the 1990s did not result in the improvement of the perceived quality of this cross-cultural contact. Instead, the perceptions of the quality of contact became more negative during the examined period. Consistent with this finding, Hungarians' attitudes toward meeting foreign visitors also showed an overall significant decrease between 1993 and 1999.

The likely first reaction to hearing these results is to assume that Hungary provides an example of the established observation that an increase in the number of tourists brings about a decrease in their appreciation. However, we have already seen in the review of the relevant literature that this simplistic rule may need to be qualified on several accounts, and a closer look at the actual tourism figures in Hungary further confirms that we are facing a more complex situation. Table 1 presents statistics concerning the number of foreign tourists visiting Hungary between 1988 and 1999. As can be seen, although there is a large increase between 1988 and 1993, after this year, the total number of tourists actually decreased. Only the number of English-speaking visitors grew, but the gain was not significant relative to the total number of tourists.

Thus, the salient decrease in interethnic and language attitudes cannot be explained simply on the basis of the level of tourism, and this was further confirmed by the fact that different regions of the country displayed different patterns (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002). For example, the most cosmopolitan part of Hungary, the capital Budapest, evidenced a particularly sharp decrease in the residents' disposition toward German-speaking visitors (the largest group of tourists) and the German language (the traditional lingua franca in the region).

RESEARCH DESIGN AND FOCUS AREAS

As mentioned earlier, our study is part of a larger scale project, consisting of two attitude/motivation surveys in Hungary, one conducted at the beginning of 1993 and the other during the last few months of the decade. Because the target population in both phases was exactly the same (and the sampling of the participating locations and schools also was almost identical), the repeated cross-sectional design can be considered longitudinal in nature (see Keeves, 1994; Menard, 1991).

When we decided that we were going to conduct an in-depth analysis of the role of intercultural contact in shaping the learners' language attitudes and language learning motivation, we gathered further contact data for the purpose of this study. We prepared two contact indices for all of the localities included in the survey: The first one was based on the judgments of an expert panel and the second on objective statistics about the number of visitors to each particular area. We also computed a "perceived contact index" based on the students' self-report questionnaire data. The main purpose of this investigation, then, has been to examine the participants' attitudinal dispositions in light of their contact opportunities and perceptions. Because the expert panel judgments were only available for the 1999 situation of Hungary, most of the results reported in the following will concern only data drawn from the second, 1999 phase of the survey.

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

The participants of the survey were 4,765 pupils (2,377 men, 2,305 women, 83 with missing gender data) in 1993 and 3,828 pupils (1,847 men, 1,907 women, 74 with missing gender data) in 1999. They were all between the ages of 13 and 14 and attended the final grade (eighth) of the primary school system. In selecting the locations of the survey, we followed a stratified sampling approach, trying to sample students evenly from each main region and type of settlement while also including a balanced mixture of touristically frequented and unfrequented places. The particular age group was chosen in 1993 because at that time this was the most mature age group in the Hungarian educational system that studied within a more or less homogeneous curricular and organizational framework (i.e., the national primary school system). Therefore, by sampling students from this cohort, we did not need to be concerned with the modifying influences of various specialized secondary school types. At the same time, these learners were in the final year of their primary school studies and were just about to make the deci-

sion about which type of secondary education to choose for their further studies and which foreign language they wished to study during the consecutive years. This lent particular relevance and validity to our question concerning language choice.

INSTRUMENT

The questionnaire was specifically designed for the purpose of the survey. It consisted of 37 items, using 5-point rating scales, assessing various student attitudes toward five target languages (English, German, French, Italian, and Russian) and toward six L2 communities (the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Italy, and Russia), also asking about various aspects of the students' language learning environment and background. To ensure that the instrument had appropriate psychometric properties, the items we used were adopted from established motivation questionnaires (some of which had been specifically developed to be used in Hungary), with sufficient validity and reliability coefficients (e.g., Clément et al., 1994; Dörnyei, 1990; Gardner, 1985). Because 21 of the 37 items focused on more than one L2 or L2 community (in a grid format), even this relatively short instrument yielded a total of 139 variables. To make the comparison of the obtained variables possible, the same instrument was used in both phases of the project.

The main variable groups in the questionnaire were as follows, with the total number of items given in parentheses:

Items concerning the five target languages (5-point rating scales):

- *Orientations*, that is, the students' various reasons for learning a given language (5 items);
- *Attitudes toward the L2* (2 items);
- *Intended effort*, that is, the amount of effort the student was willing to put into learning the given language (1 item); and
- *Parents' language proficiency* (2 items).

Items concerning the six target language communities (5-point rating scales):

- *Attitudes toward the L2 community*, that is, the extent to which students felt positively toward the particular countries and its citizens (2 items) and the international importance they attached to these communities (2 items). Britain and the United States were mentioned separately to explore differences in the evaluations of the two communities in spite of their common language (referred to in this study where relevant as English/UK and English/US); and

- *Contact with the L2 and its speakers*, both the quantity (2 items) and the quality (5 items) of the contact (e.g., watching L2 TV programs, meeting tourists) were assessed.

Nonlanguage-specific Likert-type scales (5-point scales):

- *Attitudes toward L2 learning at school* (1 item);
- *Contact with foreign languages* through watching satellite TV (1 item);
- *Fear of assimilation*, that is, the extent to which students believed that learning and using the foreign language might lead to the loss of the native language and culture (1 item);
- *Linguistic self-confidence* in L2 learning and use (3 items); and
- *Language learning milieu*, that is, the extent of the parents' support (1 item) and the friends' attitudes toward L2 learning (1 item).

Background questions (open-ended and multiple-choice items):

- *Language choice*: Students were asked to name three languages they were intending to learn in the next school year (1 item); and
- *Personal variables*, such as the student's sex and language learning background (7 items).

Based on earlier factor-analytical calculations on the data set (see Dörnyei & Clément, 2001; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002), the attitudinal/motivational items were combined into seven multiitem scales in this study (and some of the above variables were not utilized):

- *Integrativeness*, which—similar to Gardner's (1985) category—reflects a general positive outlook on the L2 and its culture, to the extent that learners scoring high on this factor would like to become similar to the L2 speakers;
- *Instrumentality*, which refers to the perceived pragmatic benefits of L2 proficiency, corresponding to Gardner's (1985) category;
- *Attitudes toward L2 speakers*, which concerns attitudes toward actually meeting L2 speakers and traveling to their country;
- *Cultural interest* (or "indirect contact"), which reflects the appreciation of cultural products associated with the particular L2 and conveyed by the media (e.g., films, TV programs, magazines, and pop music);
- *Vitality of L2 community*, which—following the initial conceptualization in Giles and Byrne's (1982) "intergroup model"—concerns the perceived importance and wealth of the L2 communities in question;
- *Milieu*, which relates to the general perception of the importance of foreign languages in the learners' immediate environment (e.g., in the school context and in friends' and parents' views); and

- *Linguistic self-confidence* (as mentioned above), which reflects a confident, anxiety-free belief that the mastery of an L2 is well within the learner's means.

The mean reliability coefficient of the scales across the different languages was .67 in 1993 and .71 in 1999, which is admittedly low but acceptable for short scales such as ours (ranging from 2 to 4 items). With regard to the criterion measures, two variables were employed in this study: *intended language learning effort*, involving students' estimation of the effort they were willing to exert on learning the different foreign languages, and *language choice*, which was calculated based on what foreign languages students intended to learn at secondary level (pupils had to list three languages according to importance).

PROCEDURES

The collection of the survey data took place in 1993 and 1999 and was conducted in a similar way. On both occasions, we first approached the selected schools by an official letter from Eötvös University, Budapest (which hosted the project), providing information about the purpose of the survey and details of the actual administration of the questionnaires. Once informed that permission was granted by the principal of a school, we contacted the form-masters of the selected classes individually and asked for their cooperation. The questionnaires were filled in during class time; a representative of the university was always present at the administration, providing the introduction and overseeing the procedure. Answering the questions took the students approximately 20 min on average.

As mentioned earlier, two types of additional contact indices also were obtained regarding the localities included in the survey. The first contact index was produced based on published statistical data concerning the number of tourists visiting the localities. Because tourists usually do not visit a single town/village when coming to Hungary but rather travel around in a particular area, to receive a better assessment, statistical subregions were created in the mid-1990s by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office; within these subregions, the "tourist nights" in public accommodation establishments are given. For our purpose, the contact index was computed by dividing the number of inhabitants living in the subregion by the number of tourist nights spent in the same region (Central Statistical Office, 2000a). The continuous scale received was then transformed into a 5-point scale, because all of the other measures were calculated on a similar scale. Admittedly, several possible drawbacks of this measure are apparent. The most prominent is that the official data do not represent the actual visits but only the nights spent in the localities in public accommodation establishments, thus underrepresenting, for example, smaller

Table 2
Students' Attitudes Toward Meeting Foreign Visitors

Nationality of the Visitors	Date of Survey	Attitudes Toward Visitors (5-point scale)	SD	<i>t</i> Value (1993/1999)
German	1993	3.98	1.11	7.96*
	1999	3.77	1.27	
British	1993	4.15	1.02	6.55*
	1999	3.99	1.18	
American	1993	4.46	0.94	7.73*
	1999	4.29	1.09	
Italian	1993	3.88	1.13	9.25*
	1999	3.64	1.28	
French	1993	3.81	1.15	8.34*
	1999	3.59	1.28	
Russian	1993	2.51	1.26	3.08*
	1999	2.43	1.25	

* $p < .001$.

tourist sites near larger cities that are well frequented without the tourists actually staying overnight there.

To counteract the above-outlined discrepancies, the "tourist value" of the localities was additionally calculated based on the judgment of an expert panel. Ten top managers in leading tourist offices in Budapest, as well as three tourism experts working in the Ministry of Economy, were asked to rate the number of tourists visiting the settlements by filling in a 5-point scale about each locality. The tourist index was then computed by taking the mean values of the 13 experts' assessment.

Because of the unique sociopolitical situation concerning Russians and the Russian language in Hungary, we have decided to ignore the Russian-related data for most of the current analyses, particularly because the number of Russian tourists in Hungary has been minimal.

RESULTS

STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF THE NUMBER OF VISITORS

As was said earlier, an unexpected finding of our project was that students' attitudes toward meeting visitors decreased between 1993 and 1999. Table 2 presents *t* test statistics comparing the changes with regard to the L2 communities examined. As can be seen, the decrease is consistent across all the languages. In the Introduction, we presented statistics showing that these depressed attitudes occurred in a context

Table 3
Students' Perception of the Number of Foreign Visitors to Hungary and Its Change Between 1993 and 1999

Nationality of the Visitors	Date of Survey	Perceived Frequency of Encounters (5-point scale)	SD	<i>t</i> Value (1993/1999)
All nationalities examined	1993	2.51	.80	7.61*
	1999	2.38	.81	
German	1993	3.55	1.25	.58
	1999	3.53	1.30	
British	1993	2.58	1.17	-.08
	1999	2.58	1.25	
American	1993	2.44	1.23	-4.28*
	1999	2.56	1.30	
Italian	1993	2.26	1.12	10.84*
	1999	2.00	1.07	
French	1993	2.14	1.01	7.97*
	1999	1.96	1.02	
Russian	1993	2.06	1.11	19.97*
	1999	1.61	.95	

* $p < .001$.

in which the total number of tourists did *not* grow but actually decreased considerably.

An interesting question is whether the participants were aware of this decrease or the higher profile of foreign influences created the false belief in them that tourist numbers were on the increase. Table 3 presents data describing the students' self-report perception of the frequency of meeting foreign visitors. The figures indicate that Hungarian schoolchildren perceived the level of tourism remarkably accurately: Although the respondents did not perceive any changes in the number of the largest group of tourists, German-speaking visitors, whereas there was an actual decrease, they definitely did not think that their number was growing, and their overall estimate of the level of tourism was correct in that they perceived a decrease. With regard to the English-speaking visitors, whose overall number grew according to the official statistics, a significant increase was observed for American visitors but no significant change was detected in the case of British tourists. Thus, the worsening interethnic attitudes cannot be attributed to any false perception of a growing level of tourism.

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE CONTACT VARIABLES

For the 1999 data set, we have obtained three different types of contact variables based on (a) the students' self-report measures, (b) statistical data concerning the number of visitors in a particular region,

Table 4
Factor Analysis of the Contact Variables (Principle Component Analysis, Oblique Rotation, Pattern Matrix, 1999)

	Factor 1: Objective Assessment	Factor 2: Subjective Assessment
Tourist statistics	.954	-.04
Expert judgment	.931	.04
Students' overall perception	.000	.999

and (c) expert panel judgments about the number of tourists visiting each locality (see Table 4). To produce a composite index of the degree of tourism characterizing each locality, we factor analyzed the three contact measures, hoping to receive a straightforward single-factor solution that would enable us to use the saved factor score as the tourist index. To our surprise, rather than the expected one-factor solution, a two-factor solution emerged. Factor 1 concerned the external, objective contact characteristics of a given locality (i.e., the region's rate of visitation), whereas Factor 2 was determined by the students' subjective perceptions. Accordingly, for the subsequent analyses, we used both contact indices. We need to point out here that the two measures also are different in the sense that the objective measure does not reflect the participants' actual level of contact but rather the locality's "contact potential."

THE IMPACT OF OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE CONTACT ON THE ATTITUDINAL/MOTIVATIONAL AND CRITERION VARIABLES

To understand the relationship between exposure to interethnic contact and the attitudinal/motivational and criterion variables targeted in our survey, we divided the sample into five groups based on (a) the objective contact potential index of the localities they came from and (b) their subjective contact index and conducted an analysis of variance (ANOVA) across the (twice) five groups. Table 5 contains the results of the ANOVA for the L2-specific variables (because *milieu* and *self-confidence* were assessed globally, that is, unrelated to specific target languages, they will be discussed separately below); the last column of the table contains the results of post hoc analysis for the variables that showed significant contact-related variation.

By and large, the results in Table 5 reveal a similar pattern for most variables and languages: The L2-related variables generally show a

Table 5
Analysis of Variance of the L2-Related Variables Across the Five Contact Groups (1999)

	Cont. Type	Degree of Contact (1 = least)					F	p	Sequence ^a (LSD post hoc comparison)
		1	2	3	4	5			
German	obj.	3.56	3.48	3.58	3.65	3.25	17.50	.000	5/2, 1/3, 4
	subj.	3.11	3.29	3.39	3.52	3.80	46.72	.000	1/2, 3/4/5
Instrumentality	obj.	4.36	4.32	4.47	4.47	4.31	10.54	.000	5, 2, 1/4, 3
	subj.	4.19	4.23	4.33	4.43	4.54	33.30	.000	1, 2/3/4/5
Vitality	obj.	4.20	4.20	4.27	4.30	4.21	3.13	.014	2, 1, 5, 3/3, 4
	subj.	4.10	4.09	4.18	4.23	4.40	29.47	.000	2, 1/3, 4/5
Attitudes to L2 speakers	obj.	3.90	3.78	3.86	3.91	3.60	12.89	.000	5/2, 3, 1/3, 1, 4
	subj.	3.27	3.58	3.74	3.86	4.09	60.38	.000	1/2/3/4/5
Cultural interest	obj.	3.64	3.51	3.55	3.64	3.68	10.90	.000	5/2, 3/3, 1/1, 4
	subj.	3.12	3.28	3.40	3.61	3.86	73.48	.000	1/2/3/4/5
Effort	obj.	3.56	3.54	3.66	3.70	3.40	7.50	.000	5/2, 1, 3/3, 4
	subj.	3.07	3.31	3.47	3.64	3.87	43.41	.000	1/2/3/4/5
L2 choice.	obj.	1.82	1.70	1.84	1.79	1.26	40.28	.000	5/2, 4/4, 1, 3
	subj.	1.52	1.66	1.64	1.66	1.79	5.57	.000	1, 3, 2/3, 2, 4/5
English/United Kingdom	obj.	4.09	4.20	4.21	4.29	4.26	6.67	.000	1/2, 3, 5/5, 4
	subj.	3.97	4.16	4.30	4.38	4.48	38.65	.000	1/2/3, 4/4, 5
Instrumentality	obj.	4.63	4.73	4.74	4.79	4.86	21.21	.000	1/2, 3/3, 4/5
	subj.	4.59	4.76	4.80	4.85	4.86	35.04	.000	1/2, 3/3, 4, 5
Vitality	obj.	4.24	4.26	4.33	4.39	4.29	5.60	.000	1, 2, 5/2, 5, 3/3, 4
	subj.	4.09	4.27	4.38	4.43	4.54	43.04	.000	1/2/3, 4/5

(continued)

32 Table 5 (Continued)
34

	Cont. Type	Degree of Contact (1 = least)							p	F	Sequence ^a (LSD post hoc comparison)
		1	2	3	4	5	5				
Attitudes to L2 speakers	obj.	3.98	4.02	4.10	4.17	4.19		8.63	.000	1, 2/2, 3/3, 4/4, 5	
	subj.	3.63	4.05	4.23	4.39	4.56		122.2	.000	1/2/3/4/5	
Cultural interest	obj.	3.57	3.56	3.61	3.68	3.67		2.63	.033	2, 1, 3/3, 5, 4	
	subj.	3.15	3.51	3.80	3.90	4.17		117.6	.000	1/2/3/4/5	
Effort	obj.	4.06	4.23	4.23	4.32	4.41		13.49	.000	1/3, 2, 4/4, 5	
	subj.	3.95	4.22	4.37	4.49	4.46		37.94	.000	1/2/3, 5/5, 4	
L2 choice	obj.	2.31	2.41	2.38	2.37	2.41		1.63	.165	—	
	subj.	2.30	2.39	2.39	2.39	2.44		1.96	.098	—	
English/United States											
Integrativeness	obj.	same as for English/United Kingdom ^b									
	subj.	3.94	4.21	4.34	4.38	4.39		39.76	.000	1/2/3, 4, 5	
Instrumentality	obj.	same as for English/United Kingdom									
	subj.	4.62	4.76	4.80	4.83	4.83		22.91	.000	1/2, 3/3, 5, 4	
Vitality	obj.	4.80	4.83	4.87	4.89	4.85		4.82	.001	1, 2/2, 5, 3/5, 3, 4	
	subj.	4.79	4.84	4.87	4.91	4.90		9.64	.000	1/2, 3/3, 5, 4	
Attitudes to L2 speakers	obj.	4.31	4.41	4.41	4.48	4.34		5.96	.000	1, 5/5, 2, 3/2, 3, 4	
	subj.	4.13	4.39	4.47	4.55	4.63		45.79	.000	1/2/3/4, 5	
Cultural interest	obj.	4.38	4.40	4.41	4.46	4.42		1.36	.246	—	
	subj.	4.24	4.38	4.48	4.55	4.63		31.12	.000	1/2/3, 4/4, 5	
Effort	obj.	same as for English/United Kingdom									
	subj.	3.97	4.25	4.38	4.49	4.35		32.64	.000	1/2, 5/5, 3/4	
L2 choice	obj.	same as for English/United Kingdom									
	subj.	2.27	3.37	2.43	2.49	2.41		6.03	.000	1/2, 5, 3/5, 3, 4	
French											
Integrativeness	obj.	3.19	3.25	3.19	3.27	3.26		1.15	.301	—	
	subj.	2.94	3.31	3.56	3.71	3.60		65.74	.000	1/2/3, 5, 4	

Instrumentality	obj.	3.40	3.45	3.38	3.42	3.52	3.65	.006	3, 1, 4, 2/2, 5
	subj.	3.20	3.46	3.74	3.83	3.70	66.74	.000	1/2/5, 3, 4
Vitality	obj.	3.96	3.90	3.94	3.99	3.95	1.55	.189	—
	Subj.	3.83	3.97	4.07	4.18	4.12	20.95	.000	1/2, 3/3, 5/5, 4
Attitudes to L2 speakers	obj.	3.80	3.77	3.81	3.88	3.82	1.32	.256	—
	subj.	3.49	3.92	4.16	4.25	4.25	85.57	.000	1/2/3, 4, 5
Cultural interest	obj.	3.13	3.12	3.09	3.16	3.07	0.78	.542	—
	subj.	2.80	3.18	3.52	3.54	3.56	77.08	.000	1/2/3, 4, 5
Effort	obj.	3.13	3.18	3.07	3.16	3.26	2.46	.044	3, 1, 4, 2/4, 2, 5
	subj.	2.84	3.24	3.52	3.68	3.66	56.32	.000	1/2/3, 5, 4
L2 choice	obj.	0.89	0.92	0.83	0.80	0.83	2.41	.047	4, 3, 5/3, 5, 1/5, 1, 2
	subj.	0.75	0.86	0.99	1.03	1.04	11.74	.000	1, 2/3, 4, 5
Italian									
Integrativeness	obj.	2.98	3.05	3.04	3.20	3.37	16.95	.000	1, 3, 2/4/5
	subj.	2.81	3.16	3.42	3.74	3.96	88.27	.000	1/2/3/4, 5
Instrumentality	obj.	2.99	3.08	3.00	3.10	3.15	4.62	.001	3, 1, 2/2, 4, 5
	subj.	2.85	3.06	3.29	3.49	3.75	72.08	.000	1/2/3/4/5
Vitality	obj.	3.57	3.58	3.55	3.59	3.54	.656	.623	—
	subj.	3.46	3.54	3.71	3.78	3.99	30.75	.000	1/2/3/4/5
Attitudes to L2 speakers	obj.	3.77	3.78	3.77	3.94	4.00	9.47	.000	1, 3, 2/4, 5
	subj.	3.53	3.90	4.21	4.35	4.53	101.4	.000	1/2/3/4, 5
Cultural interest	obj.	3.10	3.07	3.06	3.16	3.13	1.24	.292	—
	subj.	2.83	3.10	3.42	3.54	3.88	72.64	.000	1/2/3, 4/5
Effort	obj.	2.82	2.90	2.90	3.08	3.34	20.46	.000	1, 3, 2/4/5
	subj.	2.65	3.05	3.33	3.67	3.98	79.85	.000	1/2/3/4/5
L2 choice	obj.	0.47	0.51	0.45	0.56	0.75	15.95	.000	3, 1, 2/2, 4/5
	subj.	0.44	0.50	0.65	0.87	1.13	35.53	.000	1/2/3/4/5

Note: LSD = least significant difference, L2 = second language, obj. = objective, subj. = subjective.

a. Numbers refer to the contact groups; the punctuation mark “,” indicates nonsignificant differences between two groups, whereas “/” denotes significant differences.

b. As mentioned earlier, for items that focused on the L2 communities, the United States and the United Kingdom were distinguished; however, for items that focused on the English language, this distinction was not made and therefore some of the U.K. and U.S. scales coincide.

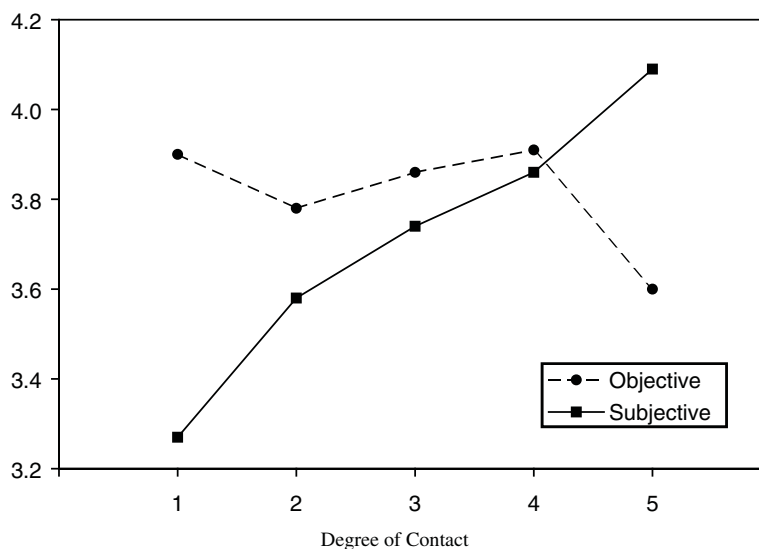


Figure 1. Changes in "Attitudes Toward German Speakers" According to the Degree of Objective and Subjective Contact

dispositions became. There is only one exception: In the case of German, the subjective and objective contact factors behaved completely differently in terms of their relationship with the motivational and attitudinal variables. The subjective contact measure showed a relationship resembling linearity, because students in higher contact groups scored significantly higher on the scales, whereas the objective contact potential measure displayed a curvilinear relationship, with the highest contact group scoring lowest on the scales. Furthermore, the two motivated behavioral criterion measures—*Intended Effort* and *Language Choice*—displayed exactly the same tendency as the one described above. To illustrate the contrasting pattern, Figures 1 and 2 present line diagrams describing the changes in one attitudinal and one motivational measure (*Attitude to German Speakers* and *Language Choice: German*) according to the degrees of subjective and objective contact. We also have conducted a multivariate trend analysis on the objective-contact-related series of the five attitudinal measures and the results (multivariate $F = 5.160, p < .001$; linear $F = 1.676, p = ns$; quadratic $F = 4.163, p < .01$) confirmed that the trends are indeed curvilinear rather than linear.

We will explore this contrasting phenomenon further below, but let us recall that the fact that German stood out from the other target languages is not at all accidental because German-speaking tourists are by far the largest subgroup among visitors to Hungary (making up, as Table 1 shows, between 24% and 39% of the total number of visitors

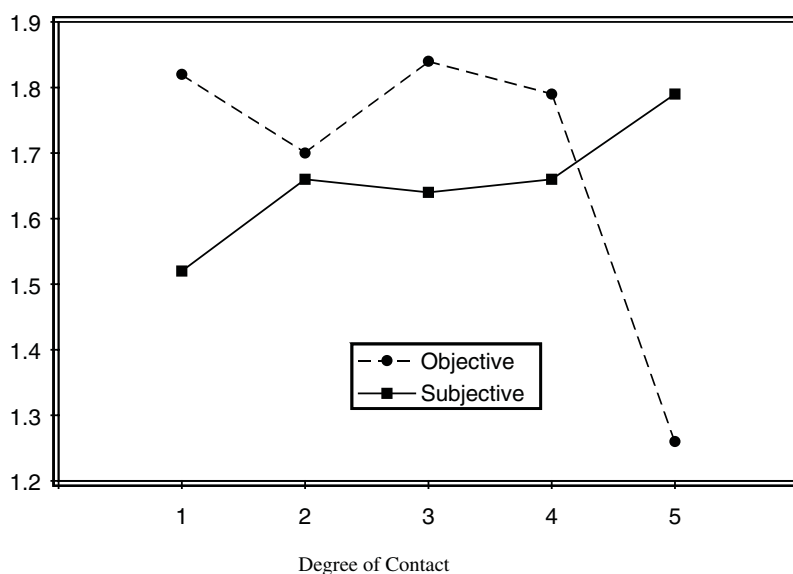


Figure 2. Changes in "Language Choice: German" According to the Degree of Objective and Subjective Contact

between 1988 and 1999). For example, because of their predominance, the first foreign language that people in the Hungarian tourist industry are encouraged/required to master is German rather than English.

Table 6 presents similar ANOVA results to Table 5 for the two non-L2-specific measures, *Milieu* and *Self-Confidence*. The data display a very straightforward pattern. Regardless of the type of contact index, the more frequent the contact, the higher the perceived milieu and self-confidence ratings.

THE COMBINED EFFECT OF OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE CONTACT

Because in the case of German the objective and subjective contact indices were associated with a contrasting attitudinal and motivational pattern, we have examined the combined effect of the two contact conditions in relation to the German-related dispositions. For this purpose, a composite contact measure was computed by first dividing both types of contact measures into three categories—low, medium, and high—and then computing the nine possible permutations of these. Table 7 presents similar ANOVA statistics to those in Table 5, with the German-related variables analyzed across the nine contact categories.

As can be seen in Table 7, the relationship between the composite contact measure and *Attitudes Toward German Speakers* reveals

Table 6
Analysis of Variance of Milieu and Self-Confidence Across the Five Contact Groups (1999)

Contact Type	Degree of Contact (1 = least)					F	p	Sequence ^a (LSD post hoc comparison)
	1	2	3	4	5			
Milieu								
obj.	4.32	4.41	4.50	4.53	4.60	21.35	.000	1 / 2 / 3, 4 / 5
subj.	4.28	4.48	4.54	4.56	4.57	30.20	.000	1 / 2 / 3 / 4, 5
Self-confidence								
obj.	3.23	3.21	3.32	3.34	3.38	7.49	.000	2, 1 / 3, 4, 5
subj.	3.12	3.24	3.33	3.39	3.47	27.37	.000	1, 2 / 3 / 4, 5

Note: LSD = least significant difference, obj. = objective, subj. = subjective.

a. Numbers refer to the contact groups; the punctuation mark “/” indicates nonsignificant differences between two groups, whereas “/” denotes significant differences.

Table 7
Analysis of Variance: German-Related Variables Across the Composite Contact Category (1999)

	Composite Contact Measure for German ^a									F	P	Sequence ^b (LSD post hoc comparison)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9			
Integrativeness	3.30	3.19	3.09	3.47	3.57	3.35	3.87	3.89	3.68	25.56	.000	3, 2/2, 1/1, 6/4, 5/5, 9/7, 8
Instrumentality	4.22	4.25	4.16	4.31	4.47	4.37	4.49	4.59	4.52	18.06	.000	3, 1, 2/2, 4/4, 6/5, 7, 9/7, 9, 8
Vitality	4.13	4.07	4.05	4.14	4.24	4.24	4.36	4.46	4.37	16.51	.000	3, 2, 1, 4/6, 5/7, 9, 8
Attitudes to L2 speakers	3.49	3.52	3.30	3.88	3.83	3.70	4.18	4.15	3.99	30.00	.000	3/1, 2/6/5, 4/4, 9/8, 7
Cultural interest	3.29	3.19	3.10	3.60	3.51	3.43	3.92	3.89	3.78	35.42	.000	3, 2/2, 1/6, 5/5, 4/9, 8/8, 7
Effort	3.23	3.22	3.16	3.54	3.67	3.49	3.92	3.93	3.77	20.89	.000	3, 2, 1/6, 4/4, 5/5, 9/9, 7, 8
L2 choice	1.68	1.65	1.39	1.76	1.79	1.43	1.92	1.89	1.63	11.20	.000	3, 6/9, 2, 1, 4/2, 1, 4, 5/4, 5, 8/5, 8, 7

Note: LSD = least significant difference, L2 = second language.

a. Subjective contact low + Objective contact low × Composite contact = 1.

Subjective contact low + Objective contact medium × Composite contact = 2.

Subjective contact low + Objective contact high × Composite contact = 3.

Subjective contact medium + Objective contact low × Composite contact = 4.

Subjective contact medium + Objective contact high × Composite contact = 5.

Subjective contact high + Objective contact low × Composite contact = 6.

Subjective contact high + Objective contact medium × Composite contact = 7.

Subjective contact high + Objective contact high × Composite contact = 8.

Subjective contact high + Objective contact high × Composite contact = 9.

b. Numbers refer to the contact groups; the punctuation mark “/” indicates nonsignificant differences between two groups, whereas “/” denotes significant differences.

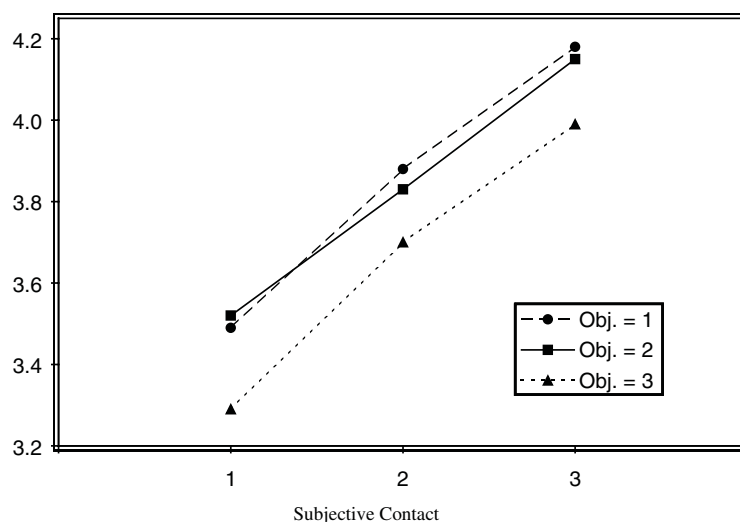


Figure 3. Changes in “Attitudes Toward German Speakers” According to the Interaction of Subjective and Objective Contact Conditions

Note: Obj. = objective.

an intriguing pattern. Within the same subjective contact category, people who come from places that are less frequently visited by foreign tourists have more positive attitudes toward these visitors—this pattern is schematically represented in Figures 3. Figure 4—describing *Language Choice: German*—reveals a similar pattern, and if we look at the other attitudinal/motivational variables in Table 7, we find the same pattern with most of them (except for *Vitality*). A review of the 3×3 analyses of variance of the criterion measures showed no significant interactions between the effects of objective and subjective contact, indicating that the lower scores associated with the highest objective contact condition are consistent across all of the subjective contact categories (which is well illustrated schematically in Figures 3 and 4). Furthermore, Table 7 shows that the difference between these scores and those associated with the medium or low objective contact conditions are mostly significant. It appears, therefore, that among students who reported the same amount of subjective contact with foreign visitors, those had the most positive attitudes came from less “touristy” places. Thus, although as seen above, subjectively perceived contact is in a broad linear relationship with the attitudinal/motivational dispositions, within the subjective contact categories, we find a bias against the most touristically exposed localities.

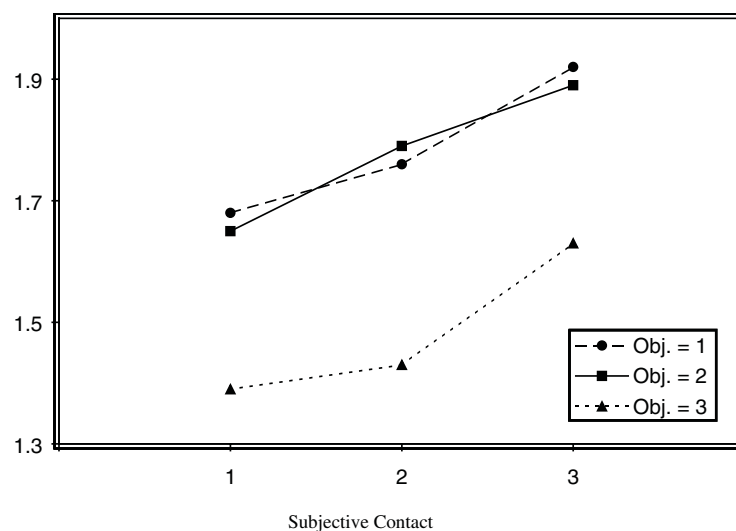


Figure 4. Changes in "Language Choice: German" According to the Interaction of Subjective and Objective Contact Conditions

Note: Obj. = objective.

DISCUSSION

As briefly summarized earlier, the current study grew out of a large-scale longitudinal motivation survey conducted in Hungary during the 1990s. When we realized that contact factors played an important role in shaping the student responses, we gathered additional contact background data to be able to interpret the findings from a contact perspective. The analyses presented above reveal some intriguing trends and patterns; however, before summarizing these below, we need to point out a limitation of the study. Partly because of the relatively short scales employed (due to practical considerations), the internal consistency reliability coefficients of some of the scales were rather low and *Intended Effort* was measured through a single-item variable only. Having said that, we also should note that most of the items used in our survey were taken from instruments that had proved to work well in previous research conducted in similar environments, which along with the extensive sample size lends credibility to our findings.

The most consistent overall finding in our study was that intercultural contact, by and large, promoted positive intergroup and language attitudes. A straightforward linear relationship was obtained for the majority of the L2-specific variables, and a direct positive relationship also was observed between perceived self-confidence and milieu, on one hand, and the amount of contact, on the other. This pattern is consistent with Clément and his colleagues' results (reviewed

earlier) concerning the positive impact of contact on self-confidence and, consequently, on L2 motivation, and it is also in accordance with Akis et al.'s (1996) findings on changes in host attitudes toward tourism in Cyprus. Furthermore, the observed contact-attitude relationship is in accordance with the results of a recent (and as yet unpublished) meta-analysis by Pettigrew and Tropp (2004, cited by Brown & Hewstone, 2005) that surveyed more than 500 separate contact studies involving more than 250,000 participants, which produced unambiguous evidence that contact had a beneficial overall effect on reducing prejudice across the board.

On the other hand, we found that the above "the more, the merrier" pattern explained the Hungarian data only up to a certain contact level, because for the largest tourist group, the German-speaking visitors, and particularly in the most frequented tourist localities, a curvilinear relationship was detected, with the highest contact group having the lowest attitudes in terms of several attitudinal and motivational measures. As mentioned earlier, nonlinear findings are not uncommon in contact research (see the U-shaped model of attitudes in study trip studies) and the decrease of intergroup attitudes as a result of an increased level of contact also is in line with theoretical considerations based on the Contact Hypothesis as well as with empirical studies examining tourism (reviewed earlier). The special feature of the contact situation examined in this study is that it combines two attitude-change patterns that have been established in the literature. Up to a certain point, increased contact promotes intergroup and language attitudes, as well as motivated language learning behaviors, whereas if the contact exceeds a certain threshold level, it seems to "backfire" and work against positive intercultural relations. What causes this U-turn?

Although our data do not provide unambiguous evidence (and we are therefore currently preparing a more focused, combined qualitative-quantitative survey to explore the background to and reasons for our salient findings), one possible explanation for the dual pattern can be found in Brown and Hewstone's (2005) theory of intergroup contact. As described earlier, Brown and Hewstone propose a model with two orthogonal dimensions of optimal contact conditions, *intergroup* and *interpersonal salience*, and they argue that optimal conditions occur in contact situations that are high on both the interpersonal and the intergroup dimensions. We suggest that the two theoretical contact dimensions proposed by Brown and Hewstone parallel the two contact measures found in our study (i.e., subjective contact and objective contact potential). The level of perceived subjective contact can be broadly associated with the index of interpersonal salience, whereas the objective contact potential is associated with the index of intergroup salience. If we look at Figures 3 and 4, we can see that the three objective contact levels fall into two groups, with the

highest contact level (objective contact = 3) standing apart from the lower two. This makes perfect sense given Hungary's curious geopolitical setup: As explained at the beginning of this article, the country can almost be divided into two parts, the cosmopolitan capital Budapest, which is a lively regional cultural center, and the rest of the country, which is more traditional and "quiet." Accordingly, the highest objective contact group in our study is largely made up of students living in Budapest, and the groups with the lower contact profiles contain students coming from significantly smaller places; our data reveals that these latter localities were fairly homogeneous in terms of their attitudinal attributes. We believe that intergroup salience was much higher in the smaller places because here tourists are considerably more conspicuous than in a huge, Westernized metropolis such as Budapest. If this assumption is true, then—based on Brown and Hewstone's theory—we would expect the most positive attitudes to emerge in the high subjective (Level 3) and low objective (Level 1) contact conditions, which is exactly what we see in Figures 3 and 4.

Although the above explanation is somewhat speculative, van Dick et al.'s (2004) recent focus on the perceived importance of intergroup contact (mentioned earlier) lends further theoretical support to this thesis. These scholars argue that superficial contact experiences that are personally unimportant (i.e., that have no value in themselves and are not instrumental in reaching a valued goal) will not bring about a significant improvement of intergroup relations. Given the Hungarian situation, it is reasonable to assume that the importance attached to foreign visitors and foreign contact in general is much higher in smaller locations than in the cosmopolitan capital. As described earlier, throughout the past 15 years, Hungary has been in a process of transformation from a closed, Communist regime to an open, democratic society. Within this process, Western contact has been perceived as a crucial factor linking the country to the mainstream developed world, helping to replace the "backward," Communist worldview with "modern" values. The best illustration of how paradoxical this situation can be is perhaps the fact that when the first McDonald's fast-food restaurant was opened in the center of Budapest at the end of the 1980s, this was celebrated both by the media and the public as a major milestone in Hungary's "catching up with the modern world" (with several skeptical journalists questioning the country's ability to sustain the high international standards dictated by the McDonald's corporation). By 1999, when the second phase of the survey was administered, Budapest and some other high-contact localities in Hungary had reached a cosmopolitan saturation level whereby residents were not positively biased in favor of contact per se, whereas other parts of the country were still at a developmental stage where contact was associated with a generally uncontested positive perception. Using the McDonald's metaphor, the high-profile localities had come to evaluate

fast-food restaurants for what they were, whereas some other places were still yearning for their own Big Macs. Thus, we propose that the participants in the highest objective contact group did not attach as much importance to intergroup contact as did their counterparts in the less cosmopolitan places. The significant differences in the attitude scores of the two groups may have been a function of the mediating impact of this perceived importance factor.

To summarize, our study produced evidence that intercultural/intergroup contact is an important factor influencing language attitudes at a national level, and it was also noteworthy that the criterion measures associated with motivated language learning behavior showed a similar contact-dependent pattern to the attitudinal variables. This indicates that contact factors fundamentally shape the overall L2-specific disposition of members of a language community. We have found a positive linear relationship between contact and improved ethnolinguistic attitudes in most contact situations; however, in situations characterized by the highest level of contact, there was a dramatic drop of the endorsement of the L2 speakers and of other language attitudes. Although our data does not provide an unambiguous explanation, we argued that the intriguing curvilinear relationship might be related to the decreased category salience and the decreased importance attached to intercultural contact in the high-profile cosmopolitan localities relative to the smaller, more traditional ones.

We have heard anecdotal evidence from other countries about the existence of a similar curvilinear relationship between the level of tourism-based intergroup contact and host attitudes toward the members/languages of the main ethnolinguistic groups represented by the visitors. Thus, we feel that the observed phenomenon is not specific to Hungary but may have more general validity. If this is indeed the case, it would warrant further, more focused research. In our study, we found that distinguishing between perceived subjective contact and objective contact potential was a fruitful research strategy. Based on our results, we would suggest that this research paradigm would further benefit from adding specific measures of (a) the perceived importance of contact and (b) group category salience. Brown and Hewstone (2005) have operationalized category salience as combinations of awareness of group memberships, awareness of group differences, perceived typicality of the out-group members with whom there is contact, and perceived homogeneity of the out-group, with the most reliable moderators being awareness of membership and perceived typicality. It would be important to examine how such a salience construct is related to the perceived importance factor proposed by van Dick et al. (2004) and what combination of these constructs results in the prominent U-shape pattern of intergroup attitudes identified in our study. Finally, a further, potentially rewarding, line of research also would

involve measuring the tourists' perception of the contact situation, thereby creating a triangulation of perspectives.

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