



Please cite this article as: M Yusri, AN, Megat Ibrahim NZ (2023). Exploring the Specific Nuances of Multilingual Proficiency and its Impact on Social Skills and Employability. Jurnal Evolusi, UPTM, Malaysia. Paper ID JE3.1-6-413

EXPLORING THE SPECIFIC NUANCES OF MULTILINGUAL PROFICIENCY AND ITS IMPACT ON SOCIAL SKILLS AND EMPLOYABILITY

Aimy Natasha Binti Mohd Yusri ^{*(a)}, Nan Zakiah Megat Ibrahim (b)
Corresponding author^{|*}

^(a)*Universiti Poly-Tech Malaysia, Author1@email.com*
^(b)*Universiti Poly-Tech Malaysia, zakiah@uptm.edu.my.com*

DOI:

Received 1 April 2023, Accepted 20 April 2023, Available online 28 May 2023 |

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the effectiveness of multilingualism in a globalized world, examining its impact on social skills and career prospects. In an increasingly interconnected world, learning multiple languages beyond English is considered a necessity for global competency and addressing complex global issues. The research aimed to determine if there are differences in multilingualism based on gender and age, and to identify the relationships between social skills and job prospects with multilingualism. A quantitative survey was administered to 170 Bachelor of Counselling (Honours) students at Universiti Sultan Azlan Shah (USAS), utilizing simple random sampling and analyzed with SPSS.

Results indicated no significant difference in multilingualism based on gender or age, suggesting similar potential across these demographics. Crucially, a significant positive relationship was found between social skills and multilingualism ($r = .534$, $p < 0.01$), and between job prospects and multilingualism ($r = .565$, $p < 0.01$). These findings support Affordance Theory, positing that individuals pursue multilingualism for enhanced social interaction and career advancement. The study underscores that multilingualism provides significant benefits in the job market and travel, highlighting the need for educational institutions and governments to bolster language education to foster global competitiveness.

ARTICLE INFO

Keywords:

Multilingual
Proficiency,
Social Skills,
Employability,

Copyright: © 2023 The Author(s)

Published by Universiti Poly-Tech Malaysia

This article is published under the Creative Commons Attribute (CC BY 4.0) license. Anyone may reproduce, distribute, translate and create derivative works of this article (for both commercial and non-commercial purposes), subject to full attribution to the original publication and authors. The full terms of this license may be seen at: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/legalcode>

1. INTRODUCTION

In an era defined by globalization, the capacity to communicate across linguistic boundaries has transitioned from a mere personal interest to a fundamental necessity. While once considered a hobby, learning languages other than English is now deemed crucial as the world becomes increasingly interrelated. Multilingualism, the phenomenon of individuals or communities communicating effectively in three or more languages, is a pervasive aspect of modern society. This global prevalence is largely attributed to several influential factors, including globalization, the transnational movement of populations, and the proliferation of new technologies.

Historical and contemporary multilingualism exhibit distinct features. In the past, multilingualism was often geographically confined, limited to specific border areas or trade routes, or associated with particular social strata, professions, or rituals. Communication in multiple languages was frequently restricted to writing, with slow mail as the primary medium. However, in the 21st century, multilingualism has become a global phenomenon, extending across diverse parts of the world and encompassing various social classes, professions, and sociocultural activities. The advent of the Internet has transformed multilingual communication into a multimodal and instantaneous process. This shift is evident in international organizations such as the United Nations, which employs six official languages, and the European Union, with its 24 official and three working languages. Multinational corporations often establish a single language for international meetings and are compelled to develop intricate language strategies to navigate global interactions effectively. This study aims to explain the effectiveness of multilingualism in a globalized world, based on research conducted in the Kuala Kangsar area.

In a globalized context, proficiency in foreign languages is recognized as a global competency, and multilingualism is considered an essential social skill. It plays a significant role in fostering the intercultural skills necessary for global ability within the globalized workplace, contributing to the development of effective and engaged cosmopolitan citizens, and serving as a vital tool in addressing complex global issues. Engaging in communication in a person's native language during international travel fosters deeper interactions with locals, thereby enriching the experience. Given that there are approximately 6,500 languages worldwide, with Mandarin, Japanese, English, Spanish, French, Arabic, and Hindi among the most widely spoken, mastering at least one major language enables individuals to overcome cultural and language barriers.

Beyond social advantages, multilingualism is highly recommended due to its substantial benefits for career prospects and enhanced earnings. The Occupational Outlook Handbook projects that employment in translating and interpreting will increase faster than average. Estimates suggest that the ability to speak another language could be worth over \$100,000 in lifetime earnings in the United States. Furthermore, over 6 million workers in the U.S. are employed by foreign-owned companies, and 12 million jobs are directly or indirectly dependent on foreign companies. Consequently, multinational companies with international ties highly seek multilingual individuals who can effectively navigate different cultures when exploring new business avenues worldwide.

Based on these challenges and opportunities, the study poses four primary research questions and objectives:

- **Research Question 1:** What is the difference between genders towards multilingualism?
- **Research Question 2:** What is the difference between ages towards multilingualism?

- **Research Question 3:** What is the relationship of social skill with multilingualism?
- **Research Question 4:** What is the relationship between job prospects with multilingualism?

To address the identified problems, the study suggests several significant implications for various stakeholders. The government should consider implementing additional languages as compulsory subjects in secondary and high schools. While some schools currently offer optional language classes such as Chinese, Tamil, or Arabic, a broader initiative is needed to increase the number of citizens proficient in more than two languages. This initiative should extend beyond urban areas to include rural schools, where English fluency may also be a challenge.

For university students, integrating language classes into college or university curricula is crucial to prepare them for future professional life. These classes should be structured to guide students from beginner levels to fluency. Furthermore, companies, particularly multinational corporations, should offer language classes for their employees. This would equip staff with skills in languages other than English and their mother tongue, enabling more effective communication and dealings with international partners who may not be proficient in English. Ultimately, achieving a higher percentage of multilingual individuals requires active roles from many parties, especially the government, to encourage language learning across all age groups. In diverse countries like Malaysia, where multiple races and languages coexist, increasing the number of multilingual citizens can yield substantial benefits across various sectors..]

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Multilingualism

Multilingualism is broadly defined as situations where two or more languages interact, whether at an individual, social, or national level. According to Josep Soler-Carbonell (2014), it refers to the human capacity for communication in different languages, either individually or collectively. Richard Nordquist (2019) specifies it as the ability of an individual speaker or a community to communicate effectively in three or more languages, contrasting it with monolingualism, the ability to use only one language. A person proficient in many languages is termed a polyglot or a multilingual. A "first language" or "mother tongue" is the original language spoken during childhood. Individuals raised with two first languages are called simultaneous bilinguals, while those who learn a second language later are sequential bilinguals. Ultimately, multilingualism encompasses the ability to not only speak but also understand, read, and write more than two languages.

The establishment of English as a global language is rooted in historical political developments and further propelled by technological and cultural advancements that favor English. However, assessing the necessary proficiency to be considered a multilingual speaker can be complex, as language proficiency involves multiple dimensions, including four basic skills (speaking, listening, reading, writing) and various subdivisions such as grammar, vocabulary, and accent.

Research highlights several cognitive and linguistic advantages of multilingualism. The ability to speak two or more languages positively influences language learning. Multilingual individuals tend to employ more learning strategies than bilinguals or monolinguals. Scientific findings have debunked the notion that children are confused by dual language input. Studies show that by 11 months, the brains of bilingually or multilingually exposed babies are sensitive to both languages and exhibit enhanced neural activity in areas related to executive

function, indicating improved information processing efficiency compared to learning only one language. Multilingualism is also linked to academic success in children from dual-language homes, showing advantages in both linguistic and non-linguistic tasks. The number of languages known correlates with the frequency of learning strategy usage. Multilingual individuals demonstrate greater success in grammar due to their extensive experience with different grammatical systems, which allows them to apply more learning strategies than bilinguals. A study by Nayak et al. (1990) found that multilingual people perform better than monolinguals in learning grammar rules and exhibit superior flexibility in switching strategies when performing tasks.

Multilingualism also significantly contributes to cognitive test scores, even beyond demographic variables like age, gender, place of birth, or education. Individuals most fluent in a language other than their mother tongue tend to score higher on cognitive tests. Bilingual and multilingual children also show advantages in tasks requiring higher levels of control of processing and analysis. The concept of multilingualism can be viewed as both an individual and a societal phenomenon, pertinent to both personal characteristics and community dynamics. Factors such as migration, language policies, globalization, internationalization, increased recognition of minority rights, and education significantly influence multilingualism. |

3. METHODOLOGY

Social Skills

Social skills are crucial for effective interaction and are considered learned behaviors that can be improved through specific training and practice. People who are sociable tend to secure jobs where interpersonal tasks are important, and returns to these skills are higher in such positions. Johnson & Johnson (1999) identify six key outcomes of being socially skilled: personal progress and identity, as identity is shaped by relationships and communication with others, leading to a better self-understanding. Poor interpersonal skills can result in partial relationships and inaccurate self-views. Social skills also enhance "employability, productivity, and career success," especially in higher-paying jobs that require cooperation, leadership, conflict resolution, and problem-solving.

Social skills enable predictable interactions, fostering mutual understanding. Witt and Ferris (2003) found that social skill moderates the relationship between conscientiousness and job performance, with a stronger link for individuals with higher social skills. Leadership positions in high school have been linked to positive returns in managerial occupations. Studies on second language learning indicate that well-planned, activity-based teaching improves oral communication skills (OCS), as high-quality speaking and listening instruction directly impacts children's learning and achievement standards. Effective interventions require a well-defined, systemic framework that considers cultural and environmental factors. Social skills syllabuses often incorporate activities, games, and role-play with feedback from teachers and peers to facilitate learning and practice.

Multilingualism is closely tied to social factors characterizing super diversity, including the ethnicity of language users, development of social classes, economics, and mobility. Knowledge of more than one language enhances sensitivity to linguistic, social, cognitive, and communicative elements. Social skills provide guidance for helping children develop these abilities, with interventions tailored to various settings, age levels, and abilities. Monolinguals may be at a disadvantage in cultural experiences due to their inability to converse in languages other than their mother tongue, hindering crucial human connection during interactions. Social skills are particularly important during emerging adulthood for social integration, self-assertion, and independence.

Social skill training aims to equip individuals with basic behaviors to create desired impressions and improve success in social situations, often by combining coaching, modeling, and reinforcement.

Job Prospects

An employee's educational background influences their rate of advancement, with returns to schooling and other educational measures correlating with organizational rank. Employers reward educational attainment primarily when it contributes to productivity. In some countries, governments may prioritize education in the majority language to limit the social mobility of minority language groups, thereby maintaining a source of inexpensive labor. The linguistic complexity of bilingual workplaces, as seen in the Catalan community in Spain, involves issues of linguistic justice and the influence of larger linguistic entities like the European Union. Local unemployment rates have a stronger impact on the high school and college enrollment of less prosperous youth, suggesting their greater sensitivity to labor market conditions.

Multilingualism itself does not cause inequality; rather, inequality arises from government policies that underestimate the value of minority languages through transitional and pluralistic approaches. There is a direct connection between language and economy, illustrated by the learning of Mandarin Chinese by over 100 million people following China's rapid economic growth. Employability, though previously vague, is now a central focus in labor market policies and manpower strategies, especially for graduates. University graduates are seen as vital to the economy and as social elites, with the potential for high incomes and roles as knowledge workers. However, disparities exist in their labor market outcomes. Graduate employability is determined not only by specific study programs but also by broader skills such as communication, problem-solving, interactive abilities, initiative, and efficiency. Personal attributes like loyalty, commitment, honesty, punctuality, and integrity, along with proactive actions, personal management, and career management skills, are also integral to employability.

Foreign language anxiety, stemming from communication fear, test anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation, can significantly impact language learners. Employers increasingly seek graduates who are independent leaders, possess strong management skills, and exhibit soft skills like communication, critical thinking, problem-solving, ethics, leadership, lifelong learning, information management, and teamwork, alongside technical skills in areas like accounting, taxation, auditing, and information systems. Companies offering higher wage premiums tend to be located farther from residential areas of low-wage workers, suggesting a geographic mismatch. Larger companies increasingly adopt equal employment opportunity cultures as a competitive advantage, emphasizing fair treatment in employment processes regardless of race, sex, religion, nationality, disability, or political affiliation. While some studies suggest negative effects of foreign-born teaching assistants on undergraduate learning, others find no such evidence. Career interruptions, such as extended family leave, can negatively affect upward occupational mobility, particularly in countries with high female labor force participation. Governments are also promoting favorable actions to encourage the employment of individuals from discriminated groups, offering basic conditions for transformative change towards equality. Human Resources policies that provide employees with flexibility, information, and suitability to manage their non-work lives serve as a strategic means to enhance organizational performance. Language use in academic and research settings depends on the nature and knowledge of practices within a discipline, and language policies do not always accommodate disciplinary adjustments or reflect day-to-day practices, especially concerning English in research publications

4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is underpinned by two significant theories: Affordance Theory and Social Development Theory.

Affordance Theory

Affordances, first conceptualized by psychologist James J. Gibson in 1977, refer to the properties of an object that enable its function. Gibson defined an affordance as "an action possibility available in the environment to an individual, independent of the individual's ability to perceive this possibility". It represents the potential for an action between an agent and an environment. For example, the "opening by doorknob" affordance exists between a person with hands and a functional doorknob; it ceases to exist if the person lacks hands or the doorknob is broken. Many affordances are dynamic relationships between an agent and an object.

The concept of affordances is gaining traction in multilingualism studies, initially from a linguistic perspective by Segalowitz (2001). Ronin and Singleton (2010) broadened this, introducing social language affordances and individual language affordances, emphasizing that social affordances are a prerequisite for individual ones. Despite its potential, studies systematically investigating the affordances of multilingualism remain rare and often focus on niche aspects. The theory of affordances offers a valuable, supplementary framework for a clearer description and explanation of multilingual communities, educational institutions, individuals, and teaching practices.

Social Development Theory

Vygotsky's Social Development Theory, developed by Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky in 1962, is a foundational element of constructivism and a sociocultural approach to cognitive development. The theory emphasizes three major themes: social interaction, the More Knowledgeable Other (MKO), and the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD). Vygotsky posited that cognitive development stems from social interactions and guided learning within the ZPD, where children and their partners collaboratively construct knowledge. He placed significant importance on the role of language in cognitive development, believing that thought and language, though initially separate, develop from social interactions for communication purposes. Vygotsky viewed language as humanity's greatest tool, serving as the primary means by which adults transmit information to children and becoming a powerful tool for intellectual adaptation.

5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study employed a quantitative research approach using a survey questionnaire as its primary research design. Quantitative methods are preferred for obtaining precise results, particularly for identifying large-scale trends and determining causal and correlative relationships between variables through numerical data and statistical operations. While qualitative research collects non-numerical data to interpret meaning and understand social life at a micro-level, quantitative research focuses on macro-level phenomena. Benefits of quantitative research include its ability to capture changing attitudes within a target group and its structured nature for precise measurement.

Types of Research Method and Instrument Development

The research utilized a questionnaire divided into four sections: Part A, Part B, Part C, and Part D.

- **Part A: Demographic Information:** Collected data on respondents' age, living area, gender, nationality, and descendant (race).
- **Part B: Multilingualism:** Comprised general statements regarding multilingualism, including respondents' chosen mother tongue and multilingual skills.
- **Part C: Social Skills:** Included questions related to social skills, where respondents rated their level of agreement on a Likert scale (1-Strongly Disagree to 5-Strongly Agree) concerning multilingualism's role in social skill development.
- **Part D: Job Prospects:** Contained questions about job prospects, with respondents using the same Likert scale to indicate their agreement on the relationship between multilingualism and job prospects.

Unit of Analysis and Sampling

The unit of analysis refers to the level of aggregation of collected data. For this study, data was collected from students at Universiti Sultan Azlan Shah (USAS). Sampling is the process of selecting units from a population of interest to generalize results back to that population. The population for this research consisted of 337 Bachelor of Counselling (Honours) students at USAS. According to Morgan and Krejcie (1970), a minimum of 132 respondents were required for the sample. This study employed probability sampling, specifically simple random sampling, to ensure that every member of the population had an equal chance of being selected, thereby minimizing bias.

Data Collection Process

Before distributing questionnaires, the researcher identified the appropriate population and sampling group (USAS students). A letter of consent was obtained from the lecturer, authorizing the questionnaire's distribution. The questionnaire, designed using Google Forms, was then disseminated via the Office's WhatsApp Group for ease of access and distribution to respondents.

Data Analysis and Pre-test

The collected data from USAS Bachelor of Counselling (Honours) students was analyzed using SPSS version 16.0. A pilot study was conducted to measure the reliability and validity of the instrument. This pre-test involved 60 students from Kolej Universiti Poly Tech MARA Kuala Lumpur (KUPTM) and Universiti Sultan Azlan Shah (USAS), with characteristics similar to the actual respondents. The pilot study aimed to ensure the questionnaire's clarity, relevance to objectives, appropriateness of items, and accuracy.

Pre-test Demographics: Out of 60 pilot respondents, 29 (48%) were male and 31 (52%) were female. The majority, 54 (90%), were Malaysian citizens, with 6 (10%) non-Malaysian students. Malay respondents accounted for 52 (87%), Indian for 2 (3%), and 'others' (Indonesian, Cambodian, Thailand) for 6 (10%). Regarding age, 38 (65%) were 20-22 years old, 19 (32%) were 23-25 years old, and 2 (3%) were 26-28 years old.

Instrument Reliability (Pre-test): Cronbach's Alpha values were used to assess internal consistency. For multilingualism, $\alpha = .71$; for social skills, $\alpha = .77$; and for job prospect, $\alpha = .85$. These values were deemed acceptable for the study.

Correlation Inter-Item (Pre-test): The correlation between items for all variables (multilingualism, social skills, and job prospect) was found to be significant and acceptable, indicating no need for changes to the questionnaire. Specific inter-item correlations were reported, ranging from .13* to .60* for multilingualism, .14* to .56* for social skills, and .40* to .72* for job prospect.

6. FINDINGS

Data Analysis and Findings

The main study involved 170 respondents, all of whom were Malaysian. The gender distribution was 63 males (37.1%) and 107 females (62.9%). For races, 148 (87.1%) were Malay, 5 (2.9%) were Indian, and 17 (10%) were Chinese. Age distribution showed 103 (60.8%) respondents aged 20-22, 61 (35.9%) aged 23-25, and 6 (3.5%) aged 26-28.

Instrument Reliability (Main Study): Cronbach's Alpha values for the main study were: multilingualism ($\alpha = .851$), social skills ($\alpha = .812$), and job prospect ($\alpha = .915$). All values were acceptable, indicating good internal consistency.

Correlation Inter-Item (Main Study): Similar to the pre-test, all inter-item correlations for multilingualism (ranging from .50* to .66*), social skills (ranging from .35* to .60*), and job prospect (ranging from .55* to .76*) were significant and accepted, confirming the instrument's robustness.

Hypothesis Testing

Hypothesis 1: There is a difference between genders towards multilingualism. The results showed no significant difference in multilingualism based on respondents' gender ($t = .461$, $p > .05$). Male respondents had a mean multilingualism score of 4.0397 ($SD = .58518$), while female respondents had a mean of 4.0486 ($SD = .52564$). This indicates that gender does not affect multilingualism in a globalized world, leading to the rejection of this hypothesis.

Hypothesis 2: There is a difference between ages towards multilingualism. The analysis revealed no significant difference in multilingualism based on respondents' age ($F = .465$, $p > .05$). This indicates that age does not influence multilingualism, and thus, this hypothesis is also rejected.

Hypothesis 3: There is a relationship between social skill and multilingualism. A significant positive relationship was found between social skills and multilingualism ($r = .534$, $p < 0.01$). This indicates that individuals with higher social skills tend to have a greater ability to be multilingual, leading to the hypothesis failing to be rejected.

Hypothesis 4: There is a relationship between job prospects with multilingualism. A significant positive relationship was identified between job prospect and multilingualism ($r = .565$, $p < 0.01$). This suggests that job

prospects have an effect on multilingualism, implying that individuals are motivated to acquire multilingual skills for better career opportunities. Therefore, this hypothesis also failed to be rejected.

7. DISCUSSION ON THE FINDINGS

8.1. Objective 1: To describe the difference between genders towards multilingualism. The study did not find a significant difference between genders regarding multilingualism. Both male and female respondents demonstrated similar potential towards multilingualism, suggesting that individual effort is the primary factor in language learning. These findings align with previous research indicating no significant differences between gender and multilingualism. The influence of globalization, migration, language policies, and increased recognition of minority rights and education are noted as factors that influence multilingualism, regardless of gender.

8.2. Objective 2: To identify the difference between ages towards multilingualism. Similarly, the study found no significant difference in multilingualism based on age. This result is consistent with prior research by Werker and Byers-Heinlein (2008), Kovács and Mehler (2009), Costa et al. (2009), Bialystok and Barac (2012), and Ferjan et al. (2017), which suggests that age does not inherently influence the acquisition of multilingual skills. The acquisition of a particular linguistic phenomenon by bi- and multilingual children is influenced by its development in monolingual first language acquisition, rather than age directly.

8.3. Objective 3: To describe the relationship between social skills and multilingualism. The study found a significant relationship between social skills and multilingualism. This indicates that social skills positively impact an individual's language abilities. Interacting with diverse people from different races, backgrounds, and ages enhances language skills and facilitates multilingualism. A multilingual person not only gains an advantage in social exchanges but also acquires deeper knowledge of foreign lands' experiences, history, and society, fostering a more comprehensive and multicultural outlook. These findings are consistent with previous research by Kiesler (1985), Bialystok and Hakuta (1994), Quinn et al. (2000), Blommaert (2000), and Berdan (2014).

8.4. Objective 4: To identify the relationship between job prospect and multilingualism. The research identified a significant relationship between job prospects and multilingualism. In the globalized era, the demand for multilingualism is evident, as companies seek globally competent employees. Multilingual competency significantly boosts employability due to advantages in social contexts, additional skills, and broader perspectives. This finding aligns with prior research by Cooper (1989), Herriman with Burnaby (1996), Cummins (2000), Edwards (2004), and Yee et al. (2015), suggesting that career opportunities motivate individuals to develop multilingual skills.

9. CONTRIBUTION TO THEORY

This research supports Affordance Theory, which posits that an individual's efforts lead to the development of multilingualism to achieve better social skills and improved job prospects. Individuals motivated by the desire for enhanced social interaction and friendships with people from diverse countries actively learn new languages. Similarly, the pursuit of better job prospects, especially in Malaysia where many companies seek multilingual candidates, drives individuals to become proficient in speaking, writing, and listening to languages beyond Malay and English.

Implications of the Study

This thesis underscores that being multilingual offers numerous benefits in the globalization era, including a competitive edge in the job market and increased travel opportunities. Nations capable of producing multilingual citizens with advanced proficiency are better positioned for global competitiveness. To foster multilingualism, educational institutions must enhance language teacher preparation and advance new research agendas in language education.

While English remains a primary subject, governments should implement compulsory language classes such as Mandarin, Japanese, and French from primary school through university. This ensures students are prepared with advanced language proficiencies to study and be assessed in various subjects at the university level. Furthermore, the Ministry of Education should encourage teachers to empathize with students lacking English proficiency, providing additional coaching to ensure they grasp concepts regardless of language, thereby preventing them from being left behind.

Once a second language is acquired, learning additional languages becomes easier, facilitating quicker fluency in subsequent languages. Schools offering multiple language classes should organize schedules to group language classes (e.g., all Japanese classes in the morning, all French classes in the afternoon) to streamline teacher planning. Teachers should also be allocated a preparation period for each language they teach. Meeting global market demands, particularly in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) and business, often involves English as a medium of instruction in higher education. Therefore, learning other languages is crucial to prevent STEM and other professionals from facing the dual burden of excelling in their field while struggling with language demands. |

8. CONCLUSION

Future research on this topic would benefit significantly from a larger sample size, as the current study's smaller size limited the depth of information. It is also recommended that future samples include an equal representation of male and female students. More methodological work, such as conducting interviews with long-term multilingual individuals, could provide richer, in-depth information about language acquisition and experience. Further aspects of multilingual skills, such as proficiency levels in speaking, listening, and writing, could be analyzed, as some individuals may be strong in one area but weak in another. Finally, future researchers could explore other aspects of vocabulary and grammar in various languages, using the findings of this study as foundational information.

. |

REFERENCES

American Psychological Association. (2010). *Mastering APA style: Student's workbook and training guide* (6th ed.). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.