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Listening to Their Voices: An In-Depth Study of Language Anxiety and Cultural Adjustment among Taiwanese Graduate Students in the United States

Yi-Wen Huang

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

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LISTENING TO THEIR VOICES: AN IN-DEPTH STUDY OF LANGUAGE
ANXIETY AND CULTURAL ADJUSTMENT AMONG TAIWANESE GRADUATE
STUDENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

A Dissertation

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research

in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

Yi-Wen Huang

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

December 2009

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Indiana University of Pennsylvania
The School of Graduate Studies and Research
Department of English

We hereby approve the dissertation of

Yi-Wen Huang

Candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

August 13, 2009

Signature on File

Jeannine M. Fontaine, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of English, Advisor

August 13, 2009

Signature on File

Jean Nienkamp, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of English

August 13, 2009

Signature on File

Gian S. Pagnucci, Ph.D.
Professor of English

ACCEPTED

Signature on File

Timothy P. Mack, Ph.D.
Dean
The School of Graduate Studies and Research

Title: Listening to Their Voices: An In-Depth Study of Language Anxiety and Cultural Adjustment among Taiwanese Graduate Students in the United States

Author: Yi-Wen Huang

Dissertation Chair: Dr. Jeannine M. Fontaine

Dissertation Committee Members: Dr. Jean Nienkamp
Dr. Gian S. Pagnucci

The goal of this study is to understand ten Taiwanese graduate students' personal experiences with language anxiety and cultural adjustment while studying in an American university. This study focuses not only on language anxiety but also on cultural factors in participants' daily lives inside and outside of the classroom.

The study utilized an adapted version of the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986), three personal in-depth interviews, and one focus group interview; the results showed that listening comprehension (including speech rate), participation in group discussion, and grammatical errors in writing, are the three primary factors associated with the participants' language anxiety and adjustment in classroom situations. The three primary factors associated with their language anxiety and adjustment outside of the classroom are the perceived attitudes of Americans, listening-and-speaking related skills, and loneliness/isolation.

These participants have experienced high levels of language anxiety and difficulties adjusting to class formats, particularly to group discussions. Also, their problems with listening comprehension and American students' speech rate are found to be associated with their language anxiety in class. Their anxiety and problems of adjustment outside of the classroom are most associated with telephone calls and doing

everyday chores, and are related to perceived attitudes of Americans, as well as participant concerns about their speaking and listening skills. Seven of these participants feel dejected and left out of the academic and local communities; however, their motivation to learn the target language seems to remain strong, as the primary goal of their study in the U.S. is to learn the target language.

Participants were found to use a variety of coping strategies for dealing with issues of language anxiety and cultural adjustment. In classroom situations these include reviewing or asking classmates for help, and seeking feedback on writing from the writing center, their professors, or a paid American editor. Their coping strategies in their daily lives outside of the classroom include watching local TV and making special efforts to speak and overcome the fear of losing face. Implications to help international students' social lives, and recommendations for future research, are provided.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Researchers have yet to fully research the lived experience of language anxiety. Pappamihel (2002) stated that “English language anxiety can be described as a social anxiety dependent upon interactions with others” (p. 333). In addition, MacIntyre (1999) pointed out that “a specific teacher, set of classmates, or intercultural setting” (p. 31) may provoke language anxiety. Language anxiety is related not only to language learning, but also to social factors in social settings.

Aspects of my own experience have led me to propose the current study. Having taught multiple sections of intercultural communications, I have come to realize that many of the social factors which influence second language students’ language anxiety are related to intercultural adjustment. I experienced second language anxiety myself while pursuing my Master’s degree in the U.S. As an international student and second language learner, I have experienced language anxiety and cultural adjustment problems while studying and working in the U.S., and these experiences have served as the background for the present study.

In her book, *Affect in foreign language and second language learning: A practical guide to creating a low-anxiety classroom atmosphere*, Young (1999b) utilized Schema Theory in relation to language acquisition. According to Young (1999b), Schema Theory means that we apply our existing knowledge to what we see, hear, and read. It also means we make our assumptions based on our own preexisting knowledge (Young, 1999b). Young (1999b) further explained that

Within a Schema Theory framework, language learning becomes an interactive process that emerges when the learner's preexisting knowledge (such as linguistic, sociolinguistic, and cultural knowledge) and life experiences join with new knowledge (the foreign language and all that the study of that language encompasses). (p. 17)

Young's (1999b) model contended that the human mind consists of thoughts and emotions, and that "they do not function independently of the body" (p. 21). So, when learning a foreign/second language, emotion or affect, including language anxiety, cannot be ignored. Young (1999b) also elaborated on this idea, stating that we cannot ignore our emotions when doing research on language acquisition (p. 21).

Personal Adjustment Story

I have observed that many Taiwanese students, including myself, have experienced language anxiety as we confront the problems and difficulties adjusting to American mainstream culture. My experience has shown me that language anxiety can arise from the complexity of American English; but, anxiety may also arise from the unfamiliar new experience of American culture.

As an international student, I have experienced language anxiety in the U.S. Before I came to the U.S. to study, I learned English for ten years. Still, at the beginning of my years of study in the U.S., I had to learn a great deal more in order to function well in daily life in the U.S.: how to open an account in a bank, talk to a cashier in a supermarket, ask people for directions when I was lost, check bills and accounts over the phone, buy plane tickets over the phone, call auto mechanics, etc. In fact, even when I was able to speak the language more fluently in these everyday situations in the U.S., I was lost at the dinner table when invited to my American friend's house to eat Thanksgiving dinner. I saw them pass the food around, so I

passed it around, too. I saw them ask their family members to pass the salt and pepper, so I imitated what they did: When I needed salt and pepper, I asked them to pass me the salt and pepper. Because in Taiwan, people usually eat at a round dinner table with a small round spinning table on top (lazy susan), we don't pass the food around. We just move the small table to pass the food around and reach the food. Or, if it's a regular dinner table (rectangle or round) without the small round table on the top, we just stand up and use the chopsticks to reach the food. And, these differences permeate every aspect of social interactions. For instance, Taiwanese people don't embrace friends or family members to say goodbye, but in the U.S, it is common practice to do so. I realized that even though my spoken English had improved a lot, I still had a whole new set of problems to deal with in the U.S. Grounded in these experiences, I came to wonder whether acculturating to the U.S. culture might be as big a struggle for Taiwanese students as learning the linguistic forms of American English.

My teaching experience has also majorly contributed to my overall appreciation of the general topic of language-learning anxiety. As a Chinese teacher in the Critical Language Program at Indiana University of Pennsylvania, I noticed that my students were experiencing language anxiety both inside and outside the classroom. One of my Chinese language students confessed to me in an e-mail that summer [this e-mail was written after I gave them the course grade], that he had experienced language learning anxiety when I taught the class mostly in English. This surprised me because he was a brilliant student. I regret that I did not, at that time, do more research on my students' language anxiety, which might have helped me improve my language teaching. However, I did not have the chance to interview any of my former students to find out if they experienced language learning anxiety when learning Chinese with me in class in the U.S. I can only guess now that this student was experiencing language anxiety because he

had set high expectations for himself in learning the target language. Given this, when I spoke English often in class, he might have worried that he was losing the opportunity to improve his Mandarin ability in class.

Other behaviors by my students also seem to have stemmed from anxiety. For instance, when I took them to the on-campus International Luncheon to expose them to native speakers of Chinese, I observed that most of the time, they chose to sit with European students instead of Asian students. At these luncheons, I observed that my students—normally quite outgoing and talkative people—acted differently, usually becoming anxious and quiet around the native speakers of Chinese. I realized that, perhaps, in addition to problems of the language itself, cultural factors or other factors, including students' personal characteristics or background, may have been playing important roles in foreign language learning outside the classroom. In particular, I wondered if *I* myself might be causing them to experience anxiety!

Maybe my students' choice not to sit with the Chinese speakers is natural. According to Samovar and Porter (2004), people's tendency to seek similarities is one of the problems in intercultural communication (p. 286): "A culture offers its members specialized patterns of communication—patterns that are often dissimilar to those of people from other cultures" (Samovar & Porter, 2004, p. 284). American language and culture is more similar to European languages and cultures than to Chinese or other Asian cultures and languages. People choose to be around people whom they perceive to have experiences in common with their own. When people are forced to be around people whom they perceive to have beliefs, values, and life styles different from their own, anxiety may set in and impede their progress in learning.

A third kind of personal experience is also relevant to my choice of research area. As a doctoral student at Indiana University of Pennsylvania, I noticed that a number of international

students, including myself, experienced language learning anxiety in the classroom. In class, when I observe international students speaking English with a quivering voice, I sense that they are experiencing anxiety. I notice them experiencing difficulty expressing themselves to the professor in class. During my doctoral coursework in the Spring of 2004, the professor in my Second Language Acquisition class provided two articles at the very beginning of the semester, which were Scovel's (1991) "The effect of affect on foreign language learning: A review of the anxiety research", and Cook's (2001) "Learners as individuals." These two articles piqued my interest in foreign or second language anxiety based on my own personal experience and what I had observed during my years in the United States. I read further on the subject, chose the topic of cultural anxiety for my doctoral qualifying paper, and finally chose to investigate this area in more depth in this dissertation.

Overview & Problem Statement

In the previous literature on language anxiety, cultural factors and learners' daily lives outside of the classroom are seldom investigated; however, while studying in a foreign country, international students have to not only deal with the target language but also adjust themselves to the target culture. As a result, I am including as part of my study, the domain of cultural adjustment, as it relates to language anxiety.

Taiwanese students' language anxiety might be related to the unfamiliar aspects of American culture, as well as to the difficulties inherent in the target language. According to Hofstede (2001), American culture is mostly individualistic, but the culture in Taiwan is more collectivistic. Many Taiwanese students coming to the U.S. might experience difficulties making friends with American students on campus due to differences in languages, values, beliefs, religions, and lifestyles. For example, football is a popular sport in the U.S. and on

American campuses. However, Taiwanese students are completely lost when it comes to this sport. Conversely, American students might think that it is funny that Taiwanese students are playing badminton on campus. In Taiwan, badminton is a common sport that students play at school.

As a result of differences like these, Taiwanese students may choose to only make friends with students from Taiwan, with whom they share the same language, culture, and lifestyle. I have seen problems arise many times, when topics such as sports, food, or etiquette come up. I believe that culture plays an important part in a foreign student's studying in an American university. Hence, I include culture as a potential part of my research topic; I link the term *language anxiety* with what I see as the closely related phenomenon of *cultural adjustment*. As the examples I give above suggest, I believe that culture plays a large role in second language learner's language anxiety. I hope to shed light on the ways Taiwanese students experience and cope with their language anxiety and cultural adjustment.

Most previous studies of foreign/second language anxiety (e.g., Chastain, 1975; Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986; MacIntyre & Gardner, 1991c; Matsuda & Gobel, 2004; Onwuegbuzie, Bailey, & Daley, 1999; Young, 1990, 1991a) have utilized quantitative methodologies to find the causes and effects of foreign/second language anxiety. The methodological limitations of employing a quantitative methodology have prohibited the results from fully and completely representing the subjects or participants' points of view and their descriptions of anxiety. Therefore, my goal has been to conduct this study employing a qualitative methodology, one which would enable me to tell these students' personal stories in full. Pappamihel (2002) and Ohata (2004) have both used focus groups to gather more relevant information on language anxiety. Their utilization of qualitative methodology provided unique insights to these students'

stories that quantitative methodologies could not have discovered. The methodology I employed in this project are both individual interviews and focus group discussion. Interviewing has allowed me to fully understand and learn my participants' individual experiences of language anxiety and cultural adjustment, and has provided them opportunities to fully describe their sources of language anxiety and related issues involving cultural adjustment in the U.S. The focus group was added to the study design in order to gather my participants' ideas and experiences efficiently and stimulate them to recall and share their past experience on language anxiety and cultural adjustment with other participants in ways that may go beyond what they were able to provide in the individual interviews.

Significance of the Study

This study aims to help readers understand language anxiety and issues involving cultural adjustment as experienced by students from Taiwan studying at an American University. The design of the study, which has features of a case study looking closely at individual Taiwanese students' stories, was chosen to allow readers to understand the effect of language anxiety and cultural adjustment on the students, and on their motivation and attitudes toward learning the language and culture of the target language community.

I believe this study is important and can be of critical interest to researchers, language teachers, and language students. This study can help instructors in the U.S. understand culturally-specific language anxiety and adjustment experienced by students from Taiwan, and can at the same time provide some suggestions or solutions to ease the relevant adjustments that students must make to their new culture; examples of such suggestions are offered in Chapter 8. The study may also help students from Taiwan learn the target language and adjust more

smoothly to culture in the U.S. At an earlier stage in their development, the implications of the study may serve to help students from Taiwan prepare for study abroad in English.

Note on the Nature of the Study

This study is a multicase study and employs qualitative research. As an interpreter and the “objective middleperson” (Glesne, 1999, p. 157), I aim to synthesize the participants’ personal stories with my own experiences, and to report accurately their feelings about their own lives as language and cultural learners in the U.S. Glesne (1999) stated that “qualitative researchers are interpreters who draw on their own experiences, knowledge, theoretical dispositions, and collected data to present their understanding of the other’s world” (p. 157). My own experiences of anxiety, and my own problems with cultural adjustment, have led me to want to understand my participants’ personal experiences with language anxiety and cultural adjustment while studying in an American university.

Research Questions

1. What experiences do Taiwanese graduate students report in their daily lives outside of the classroom since arriving in the U.S. that might be analyzed in relation to language anxiety or cultural adjustment?
 - a. What feelings do they express about these experiences with language anxiety and cultural adjustment outside of the classroom since arriving in the U.S. as they reflect on them? How do they describe their emotional reactions or responses to their experiences of language anxiety in their daily lives outside of the classroom?
 - b. In what kinds of situations do they report that they experience language anxiety the most?

2. What experiences do these students report in classroom situations since arriving in the U.S. that might be analyzed in relation to language anxiety or cultural adjustment?
 - a. What feelings do they express about these experiences with language anxiety and cultural adjustment in classroom situations since arriving in the U.S. as they reflect on them? How do they describe their emotional reactions or responses to their experience of language anxiety in classroom situations?
 - b. In what kinds of classroom situations do they report that they experience language anxiety the most?
3. How have their experiences in the community at large affected, or related to, their perceptions of their language learning process?
 - a. Have experiences with anxiety outside the classroom affected these students' feelings about their progress as language learners generally? If so, in what ways, judging from their reports?
 - b. Have formal learning experiences affected their perception of their experiences, especially language-related experiences, in the culture at large? If so, in what ways, judging from their own reports?
4. What coping strategies do these students say they employ as they adjust to their new culture or situation(s) in the U.S. (outside the classroom and inside the classroom)?
 - a. How do they describe their strategies in anticipating or meeting the challenges of cultural and linguistic adaptation that accompany their move to study in the U.S.?
 - b. How do they evaluate each of these strategies? Which strategies do they see as helpful or successful in overcoming language anxiety and learning to function comfortably in the

society? What strategies do they feel may not have helped them? What plans do they have, if any, for dealing with language anxiety as it may arise in the future?

5. How have their views of American culture, their expectations for future interactions in the culture, and their attitudes toward themselves in the culture, changed as they experienced life in their new (U.S.) culture?

Research Design

This study employed qualitative methods, including individual in-depth interviews, a focus group interview, and case studies, since a qualitative approach best suits the research questions as formulated above and the goal of my study. The materials in the study include a second language anxiety scale based on Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope's (1986) Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS) and a demographic information sheet. The participants are Taiwanese graduate students studying in a Midatlantic university in the U.S. They are volunteers, and their identities will not be revealed. I have used individual interviews, focus groups, field notes, and reflective journals as the main sources for my data collection, analysis, and interpretation.

Most of the previous studies on language anxiety have employed quantitative methods and factor analysis. The cause and effect analyses (i.e., factor analysis) make the results in the previous literature inconsistent, and psychological variables are not easily assessed through quantitative methods. Due to the inconsistency of results in past studies, my study on Taiwanese graduate students' language anxiety will not concentrate on the cause- and- effect relationships of language anxiety. Instead, I will employ qualitative methods to focus on personal experiences of language anxiety and cultural adjustment because individuals' experiences cannot be counted as numbers as in quantitative methods. Moreover, my goal is to obtain my participants'

descriptive accounts of their personal experiences of language anxiety and cultural adjustment. Only qualitative methodologies can successfully and vividly portray individuals' personal experiences or stories. Using qualitative methods, I can obtain first-person, subjective accounts of their points of views and experiences. Chapter 2 presents a review of the relevant literature on language anxiety and cultural adjustment. Chapter 3 explains the methodology in detail. The following three chapters present the study results as follows: questionnaire results (Chapter 4), interview findings (Chapter 5), and overview of results (Chapter 6). Chapter 7 further discusses the results and their relationships to the previous literature and offers final reflections. Finally, Chapter 8 discusses implications and offers suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

In this chapter, I will introduce language anxiety and cultural adjustment in two sections and will then discuss factors related to language anxiety and cultural adjustment, providing coverage of the literature on each area. In each area, I have identified seven factors of interest, drawing from the literature, although it was necessary to make subjective choices here, and it has been impossible to give an exhaustive review of these two very broad areas. For language anxiety, the factors I have identified are self-related variables, personality variables, attitudes and motivation towards the target language and culture, experiences with the target language, fear, relationships to target community, and relationships with home community. For cultural adjustment, I cover the following: psychological factors, self, language, prior experience abroad, similarities and differences between home culture and target culture, living arrangements, and relationships. In the latter part of this chapter, I will cover the literature on related issues which international students typically face: culture shock, reverse culture shock, differences between Taiwanese and American mainstream culture, and coping strategies for language anxiety and cultural adjustment.

Language Anxiety

Based on the previous literature on the topic, language anxiety may be related to a number of other anxiety-related phenomena, such as state anxiety, facilitating anxiety, debilitating anxiety, social anxiety, etc. There are many kinds of anxieties, and language anxiety is associated with many types. There are many definitions for language anxiety; language anxiety basically consists of the nervous, worried, or unpleasant emotions related not only to

second/ foreign language learning situations but also to the social or cultural-specific factors which make language learners anxious. Second language students often experience psychological difficulties when learning the target language and adjusting to the new culture, and these psychological difficulties are associated with language anxiety.

The previous literature cites many factors related to language learners' anxiety while learning a target language. However, the results of research done so far on the causes or effects of language anxiety are not conclusive or consistent.

Problems with the Previous Literature on Language Anxiety

Research on language anxiety is not new. Young (1999a) stated that since the 1990s, researchers and theorists have focused on language anxiety in foreign or second language settings. The first book-length treatment of language anxiety, by Horwitz and Young, appeared in 1991. According to MacIntyre (1999), "there is not much empirical research on the origins of language anxiety" (p. 30), though some studies have been done in the areas of psychology and communication that relate to language anxiety. Thus, research in this area is quite new; in addition, there are many problems with the field so far.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, most previous studies on language anxiety have utilized quantitative methodologies; in addition, the results or findings of these previous studies have been criticized as inconsistent (MacIntyre, 1999, p. 27) or inconclusive (Young, 1991b). These quantitative studies on language anxiety have regarded learners as experimental material rather than as individuals "with something to say and the ability to say it with force and clarity" (Cohen & Norst, 1989, p. 66). Since language anxiety involves language learners' psychological reactions to the language learning situation, many questions related to learner's experience are not easily investigated by quantitative methods. Previous qualitative research on language

anxiety (for instance, Bailey, 1983; Price, 1991) has provided deep insights on some aspects of language learners' personal feelings or experiences in this area (e.g., Bailey, 1983; Price, 1991). These have been very helpful for instructors and language learners in their desire to understand anxiety as the set of mixed feelings related to foreign/ second language learning.

MacIntyre (1999) examined the previous literature on language anxiety. He observed that the data in much of this research had been gained through questionnaire, self-reports, and interviews (p. 25). Many of these studies had relied on correlational analysis (e.g., Product Moment Correlation, or the Pearson r .) to find positive or negative, strong or weak relationships between or among variables (e.g., language anxiety and test anxiety) (MacIntyre, 1999, p. 25). However, in his review, MacIntyre (1999) emphasized the limitations of this quantitative work: “Correlational research does not indicate cause and effect. It merely indicates the strength and direction of a relationship among two or more variables” (p. 25).

He further argued that language anxiety should be measured by using proper language anxiety scales in a language learning context, such as in a language classroom, in which the target language is being used or learned (p. 29). He stated that only three among the sixteen studies described by Young (1991b) used a specific language anxiety scale; thus, the results of these studies were not consistent (MacIntyre, 1999, p. 27). Finally, MacIntyre (1999) also emphasized that personal or individual accounts of experiences of language anxiety should not be ignored (p. 39).

MacIntyre's point is well-taken when one considers the sometimes contradictory results that are reported in quantitative studies: For instance, the results reported in Lalonde and Gardner (1984) seem to contradict those of a previous study by Gardner, Lalonde, and Pierson (1983)

because of a discrepancy in the criteria used, with the earlier study using participants' self-rating of language skills as a measure, while the later study focused on self-confidence (p. 235).

Other problems have also plagued research in this area. Young (1990) stated that the previous studies' results on language anxiety, language learning, and performance are not consistent. She reported that the deeper she or other researchers looked into the relation between language anxiety and performance or learning, the more complex the relation seemed to be (p. 540). She identifies several issues that had been overlooked in earlier studies: the distinction between foreign and second language contexts; the relationship between the definition of anxiety and the research design; and the need to precisely define the type of anxiety being studied (e.g., state anxiety, trait anxiety, facilitating anxiety, debilitating anxiety, social anxiety, etc.). Young (1990) claimed that any study should investigate one factor (language anxiety) or several factors (e.g., self-esteem, motivation, attitude, or language ego, etc.) (p. 540). Young (1990) suggested that research should focus on "anxiety and the separate language skills" (p. 540) to better understand the relationship among anxiety, language performance, and language learning. Gardner and MacIntyre (1993) also added to this critique, noting that, even if the construct to be studied might be the same, the context and the researchers' focus may differ from one study to the next, which will lead to slightly different results (p. 7).

Before moving on into understanding language anxiety, I would like to point out that I have drawn from both quantitative and qualitative research. Though most studies on foreign/second language anxiety have employed quantitative methodologies (e.g., Chastain, 1975; Gardner, Smythe, & Clément, 1979; Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986; MacIntyre & Gardner, 1991c; MacIntyre, 1999; Matsuda & Gobel, 2004; Onwuegbuzie, Bailey, & Daley, 1999; Young, 1990; Young 1991a), some qualitative research has been done on

foreign/second language anxiety (e.g. Bailey, 1983; Cohen and Norst, 1989; Ohata, 2004; Price, 1991; Spielmann & Radnofsky, 2001). Some researchers have employed both qualitative and quantitative methods in language anxiety (e.g., Hovey & Magaña, 2002; Pappamihel, 2002; Woodrow, 2006).

Defining Language Anxiety

Many definitions have been offered for language anxiety in the previous literature. MacIntyre (1995) defined language anxiety as social anxiety (p. 90) and situation-specific anxiety (MacIntyre & Gardner, 1991a). Pappamihel (2002) also described language anxiety as social anxiety dependent on the learner's interactions with other people. She relates this concept to Pekrun's (1992) Expectancy-value theory of anxiety (EVTA), which speaks of anxiety as related to a person's determination as to whether or not he or she can control a given threatening social situation. She also cites Bandura's (1991, 1995) Self-efficacy conception of anxiety, which is similar to Pekrun's theory of anxiety in claiming that anxiety arises depending on an individual's perceptions as to whether or not he or she has the ability to deal positively with a threatening social situation.

A related trend strives to connect language anxiety to types of anxiety to specific situations (e.g. Gardner, 1991); however, most of these are limited to the social situations arising in formal education. For instance, Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope's (1986) study concentrated on foreign language classroom anxiety (FLCA). Horwitz, et al. (1986) stated that the concept of language anxiety is not appropriately defined, and that the effects of language anxiety on language learning are not clear. Hence, they simply define language anxiety as a unique experience while learning the target language or as a manifestation of other general types of anxiety. In a later work, Horwitz and Young (1991) reported

There are two approaches to the description of language anxiety: (1) language anxiety may be viewed as a manifestation of other more general types of anxiety. For example, test-anxious people may feel anxious when learning a language because they feel constantly tested, or shy people may feel uncomfortable because of the demands of communicating publicly, or (2) language anxiety may be seen as a distinctive form of anxiety expressed in response to language learning. That is, something unique to the language–learning experience makes individuals anxious. (p. 1)

Gardner and MacIntyre (1993) defined language anxiety as

[T]he apprehension experienced when a situation requires the use of a second language with which the individual is not fully proficient. It is, therefore, seen as a stable personality trait referring to the propensity for an individual to react in a nervous manner when speaking, listening, reading, or writing in the second language. (p. 5)

Drawing on Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1986), MacIntyre (1999) claimed that language anxiety is “a transfer of anxiety from another domain” (p. 27) (e.g., test anxiety, communication apprehension, etc.). However, Horwitz and associates did not see language anxiety as “a simple transfer” of test anxiety, communication apprehension, or negative evaluations by others (MacIntyre, 1999, p. 28). MacIntyre (1999) stated that Horwitz and associates see language anxiety as a complex of emotions, feelings, or beliefs, and self-perceptions during the language-learning process in class (p. 28). MacIntyre (1999) also stated that language anxiety, based on Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1986), is “a unique experience” (p. 27) in language learning, which is similar to Gardner’s (1985) hypothesis that language anxiety is specific or related to the language learning (acquisition) environment or to achievement (p. 27).

MacIntyre (1999) concluded in a like manner, defining language anxiety “as the worry and negative emotional reaction aroused when learning or using a second language” (p. 27). Thus, MacIntyre (1999) defined that “language anxiety is a form of situation-specific anxiety” (p. 29).

As cited earlier, Pappamihel (2002) stated that language anxiety can be described as a social anxiety associated with interactions. In Pappamihel’s (2002) study, the interactions between the Mexican learners of English as a second language and the target language students or Mexican American students seem to have been related to their language anxiety.

For the purposes of this study, I have adopted a view of language anxiety based on Pappamihel's (2002) views. That is, I regard language anxiety as closely related to interactions with others in social situations.

Types of Anxiety

Rather than give basic definitions for anxiety, some researchers have focused on trying to make distinctions among different types of anxiety that can be related to language learning.

Facilitating or Debilitating Anxiety

Alpert and Haber (1960) contrasted facilitating and debilitating anxiety. Facilitating anxiety helps language learners to learn the target language, but debilitating anxiety interrupts a learner’s learning. Gardner and MacIntyre (1993) stated that facilitating anxiety and motivation are similar in their conceptual definitions and how they are measured (p. 6). Gardner, Day, and MacIntyre, (1992) suggested that the facilitative effects of anxiety could be related to or could result from motivation.

State or Trait Anxiety

Spielberger (1976) drew a distinction between state and trait anxiety, with the first being related to a specific situation, while the second is more generally associated with a particular learner. According to Spielberger (1976), trait-anxiety in psychological literature refers to “relatively stable individual differences in anxiety proneness that are manifested in behavior in the frequency with which an individual experiences A-State elevations over time” (p. 6). MacIntyre (1999) wrote that, “trait-anxiety is, by definition, a feature of an individual’s personality and therefore is both stable over time and applicable to a wide range of situations” (p. 28). A high trait anxious individual might be nervous in any situation. In other words, a low trait anxious individual might be calm, relaxed, and have stable emotions (MacIntyre, 1999, p. 28).

State-anxiety refers to a transitory emotional state (Spielberger, 1976). According to MacIntyre (1999), state anxiety is the “moment-to-moment experience of anxiety; it is the transient emotional state of feeling nervous that can fluctuate over time and vary in intensity . . . State anxiety has an effect on emotion, cognition, and behavior” (p. 28). Language learners experiencing state anxiety, might be sensitive to other people’s opinion of them, assume that others might “evaluate their behavior, ruminate over real and imagined failures, and often try to plan ways to escape from the situation” (MacIntyre, 1999, p. 29). The physical manifestations of state anxiety include, “wringing hands, sweaty palms, and faster heartbeat” (MacIntyre, 1999, p. 29).

Situation- Specific Anxiety

In addition to Spielberger’s (1976) state-trait anxiety, MacIntyre and Gardner (1991a)

named situation-specific anxiety, which can be seen as a trait anxiety limited to a specific situation, for example communication apprehension, shyness, or stage fright.

Expectancy-Value Theory of Anxiety

Pekrun's (1992) Expectancy –Value Theory of Anxiety (EVTA) combines expectancies of a situation as threatening or not with an individual's expectancies of his/ her ability to deal with it. When an individual does not believe that he/ she has the ability to overcome or solve a threatening situation, the anxiety arises.

This concept is similar to Bandura's (1991) theory of self- efficacy. Bandura (1991) pointed out that an individual's perceived ability to control or cope with a situation can affect anxiety arousal and avoidant behavior. Bandura (1995) stated that perceived self-efficacy refers to an individual's beliefs in his/her abilities to organize or deal with a problematic situation.

Social Anxiety

Leary (1982) stated that social anxiety may be referred to as embarrassment, shyness, stage fright, fear of evaluation, or communication apprehension. The individual who has experienced social anxiety might avoid or withdraw from social situations. MacIntyre (1995) stated that language anxiety is triggered by aspects of communicative and social contexts, so it can be defined as a social anxiety (p. 90; MacIntyre & Gardner, 1991a).

Components of Language Anxiety

Young (1990) reported that “communication apprehension, social anxiety, and low self-esteem are vital components of language anxiety” (p. 550). Horwitz, et al.'s (1986) theory of Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety consisted of three elements: communication apprehension, fear of negative evaluation, and test anxiety (1986, p. 50). However, some research has shown that test anxiety was not a factor attributed to language anxiety (e.g., Aida, 1994, pp. 155-167).

Writing Apprehension

Based on Faigley, Daly, and Witte's article (1981) published in the *Journal of Educational Research*, Reeves (1997) defined the term, writing apprehension as "the tendency to experience a high degree of anxiety when asked to write, resulting in an approach-avoidance conflictive state which manifests itself in one's behaviors, attitudes, and written products" (p. 38). Lee (2005) wrote that according to Daly and Miller (1975), writing apprehension is most likely developed through "negative past experience, especially from teachers' low expectations, evaluations, and excessive error correction" (p. 335).

Onwuegbuzie (1999) summarized a series of studies, and pointed out some divergent terminology. Onwuegbuzie (1999) stated that what Daly (1978) terms writing apprehension is referred to as writing anxiety by Thompson (1983), as composition anxiety by Onwuegbuzie (1997), or as writer's block by Rose (1984). However, according to Rose (1984), writer's block and writing apprehension are different. Writer's block is "broader and subsumes writing apprehension as a possible cause or reaction to blocking" (Rose, 1984, p. 4). Lee (2005) concluded that since the 1980s, there has been little work done on writer's block and writing apprehension; however, in recent years, there have been some studies in this field on second language speakers.

Lee (2005) conducted a quantitative study on Taiwanese undergraduate students' writing in English and its relationships to various factors (i.e., free reading, free writing, writer's block, writing apprehension, and instruction). She offered a number of conclusions: that writer's block (WB) has more of an impact on writing apprehension (WA) than vice versa; that neither WA nor WB is related to students' writing performance; that free voluntary reading is negatively associated with WA and WB and positively related to writing performance; that self-perceived

WA is related to aspects of the composing process (e.g., “frequency of blocking, premature editing, poor planning and interpretive strategies” (p. 344) and to negative attitudes toward writing, based on being negatively evaluated or judged in writing classes— negative past experiences in writing; and finally, that free voluntary writing helps reduce WB in a foreign or second language.

The results of Lee’s (2005) study suggested that the more free reading the students do, the more free writing the students will be able to engage in, and the more free reading, the better the attitudes toward reading classes, and the more the foreign students believe reading classes are helpful.

Surprisingly, Lee (2005) found that frequency of writing does not have a significant relationship with WA, WB, and writing performance. She claimed that free reading leads to more writing and better quality of writing (performance), but that more writing does not indicate better quality of writing (performance). The results of her study suggested that Taiwanese students’ attitudes toward reading and writing instruction do not predict WA, WB, and writing performance. They also confirmed that the Taiwanese students’ perceived anxiety is not significantly related to their writing performance.

Based on the results of her study, Lee (2005) wrote that “[i]t was found that the more one reads, the less one feels anxious about writing, and the less blocking one experiences. In addition, it was found that those who read more possess a better composing process (less blocking) and thus feel less apprehensive about writing” (p. 346). Free reading has a positive relationship to WA, WB, and writing performance, but students’ attitudes toward instruction do not have positively associated with writing performance.

Lee's study which found that WA is related to writing process and past experience, is consistent with Onwuegbuzie's (1999) study. Onwuegbuzie (1999) suggested that graduate students' perceived scholastic competence and perceived creativity are interrelated with writing apprehension. Students who perceived of themselves as having low scholastic competence and creativity tended to have higher anxiety about writing. Onwuegbuzie (1999) concluded that students' self- perceived scholastic ability and self-perceived creativity and writing apprehension are associated bidirectionally, self-perception and writing apprehension affect each other, and the findings do not suggest "casual patterns among the variables" (p. 1038).

Again, based on previous literature, WA is related to writing related skills, and moreover, to writing performance. Faigley, Daly, and Witte (1981) conducted research on the relationships between undergraduate students' writing apprehension and writing competency, and moreover, the students' writing apprehension and writing performance. The results suggested that students who have experienced high apprehension in writing will not score well on writing competency (writing-related skills) tests; these students tend to write fewer subordinate clauses, fewer final non-restrictive modifiers and shorter sentences in narrative/descriptive essays. Also, Faigley, et al. (1981) emphasized that there is no casual relationship assumed, and writing apprehension's relationship to performance and competence is mostly likely bidirectional. In other words, they indicated that both competency and performance reinforce apprehension or the other way around.

Based on Daly and Miller's (1975) study, WA is associated with writing performance. Daly and Miller's study on the relationship between writing apprehension and language intensity, based on a theory developed by Burgoon, Jones, and Stewart as cited in Daly

and Miller (1975), found that higher writing apprehensive students utilize less intense language than lower ones. Their subjects were undergraduate English native-language students.

The questionnaire, Daly and Miller's (1975) Writing Apprehension Test (WAT), has been evaluated by recent scholars (e.g., Cheng, 2004). Cheng (2004) asserted that "[l]ow self-confidence is a major component of WAT" (p. 315). As a result, measuring foreign or second language students' writing anxiety could be problematic by using Daly and Miller's (1975) Writing Apprehension Test. Also, the WAT was originally developed to measure first language students, particularly American native speakers', writing apprehension. Cheng (2004) developed a Second Language Writing Anxiety Inventory (SLWAI) which consists of 3 subscales: Somatic Anxiety, Cognitive Anxiety, and Avoidance Behavior. She contended that the effects of writing anxiety should be seen as multi-dimensional, instead of uni-dimensional, the latter concept which is indicated in Daly and Miller's (1975) Writing Apprehension Test (WAT).

Previous studies have also found that pre-writing activities and free voluntary reading can help to prevent or reduce students' writing apprehension or writer's block. Schweiker-Marra and Marra's (2000) study found that at-risk fifth-grade students' writing anxiety is lowered by emphasizing pre-writing activities. As noted earlier, Lee (2005) also found that free reading is a significant factor in reducing Taiwanese undergraduate students' WA and WB, and improving their writing performance in English.

Development of Language Anxiety

MacIntyre and Gardner (1991b) proposed a theory which outlines the development of language anxiety. MacIntyre (1999) described the model, by which language anxiety might be developed: In the beginning of a target language learning, the learner might have difficulties in grammar, pronunciation, etc. If the learner is anxious about the experience and uncomfortable

making mistakes, state anxiety arises. After repeated occurrences of state anxiety, language anxiety might develop in association with performance in the target language. In addition to experiences learning the target language, language anxiety might also develop due to negative thoughts and worry over language performance. MacIntyre (1999) stated that, “[b]riefly, anxiety arousal is associated with self-relation cognition: thoughts of failure, worry over how one is performing in the situation, and self-deprecating thoughts” (p. 35).

Gardner and MacIntyre (1993) concluded that levels of language anxiety will be at their highest early on in the process of target language learning, and language anxiety will decline when an individual’s proficiency in the target language increases (p. 6).

Relationships between Anxiety Types

According to Papamihel (2002), language anxiety is related to Pekrun’s (1992) theory of anxiety and Bandura’s (1991, 1995) concept of self-efficacy, and social anxiety.

Similarly, in Young’s (1990) study, she mentioned that social anxiety might be related to language anxiety. Young (1990) suggested that her subjects’ “reactions to error correction” (p. 550) show that social anxiety may be another component in language anxiety (p. 550). Students’ fear of being judged or negatively evaluated by their classmates in class produces social anxiety (Young, 1990).

MacIntyre (1999) stated that language anxiety is associated with state anxiety, more specifically, when the language learner has experienced state anxiety over time. However, in MacIntyre and Gardner’s (1991d) study on language anxiety, the results suggested that state anxiety (general anxiety) and language anxiety are similar or the same.

Language anxiety might be similar to communication anxiety. Foss and Reitzel (1988) reported that there are some characteristics which are the same between communication anxiety

and foreign language anxiety, for example “high feelings of self-consciousness, fear of making mistakes, and a desire to be perfect when speaking” (p. 438).

Effects of Anxiety on Learning

Tobias (1979) theorized that anxiety interferes with students’ learning during the three processes of Input, Processing, and Output. As all three processes are fundamental to the target language learning, it stands to reason that language anxiety influences a language student’s language learning process.

By using Tobias’ (1979) model of language learning, Input, Processing, and Output, and Krashen’s (1980) concept of *affective filter* for language anxiety, MacIntyre (1999) stated that language anxiety or situation-specific anxiety affects individuals during these three stages of cognitive performance in the language classroom (p. 35). MacIntyre (1999) stated that language anxiety interferes the most with a second language learners’ performance during the processing and output stages of language learning in the process of learning a second language (p. 36). Language anxiety can interfere with language learning in any of these three stages of information processing and performance.

In Cohen and Norst’s (1989) study of their students’ foreign language learning utilizing diaries, the results suggested that affective filters on these students’ language learning include: language fear [language anxiety], loss of self-esteem, instrumental vs. integrative motivation, and ethnocentrism. A learner might not respond fast enough in a dialogue with a native speaker of the target language due to anxiety interfering with or playing a role in the processing of the information (e.g., grammar, sentence structures, vocabulary, etc.) in one’s mind. On the contrary, relaxed students may not have experienced such interference, so they may perform or learn better than anxious students (MacIntyre, 1999, pp. 35-36).

MacIntyre (1999) stated that a language learner might experience “freezing up” (p. 36) in the output stage due to anxiety arousal during tests, conversations, and any situation in which the student feels embarrassed. This is similar to Tobias’s (1979) concept of Input, Processing, and Output, which states that language anxiety interferes with the process of language learning.

Based on previous studies (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986; Price, 1991), MacIntyre (1999) stated that language anxiety causes students to put too much effort into language study to compensate for the effects of language anxiety (p. 34).

MacIntyre (1995) argued that Sparks and Ganschow’s (Ganschow et al., 1994) studies on Linguistic Coding Deficit Hypothesis (LCDH) [it has since then been changed to Linguistic Coding Difference Hypothesis] (Sparks & Ganschow, 1995, p. 235) showed that language anxiety is a side effect of language learning and that the difficulties of learning a foreign language were caused primarily by the students’ native language skills and foreign language aptitude. He stated that he found Sparks and Ganschow’s LCDH (Sparks, Ganschow, & Artzer, 1997) to be incomplete because they did not recognize that social contexts and language learning contexts interfere with cognitive processes during language learning (MacIntyre, 1995). In addition, Horwitz (2000) also argued that the LCDH theory failed to explain why advanced and successful language learners, such as foreign language teachers (Horwitz, 1996), experience language anxiety (Horwitz, 2000).

According to previous literature on language anxiety, a negative relationship exists between language anxiety and language achievement (Bailey, Onwuebuze, & Daley, 1998; Bailey, Onwuebuze, & Daley, 2003; Chastain, 1975; Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986; Lalonde and Gardner 1984; MacIntyre & Gardner, 1991a, MacIntyre, 1999; Onwuegbuzie, Bailey, &

Daley, 2000; Pappamihiel, 2002) and performance (Horwitz et al., 1986; Lee, 1999; MacIntyre & Gardner, 1991a,1991c; MacIntyre, 1999; Onwuegbuzie et al., 2000).

Based on my research on language anxiety, I have developed seven sets of factors which may affect language learners' language anxiety (see Appendix F): (a) self- related variables—students' self-confidence and language ego, (b) personality variables—tolerance of ambiguity and perfectionism), (c) attitudes and motivation towards the target language and culture, (d) experiences with the target language, (e) fear—fear of public speaking and fear of negative evaluation, (f) relationships to target community—students' residence in the target language country and unfamiliarity with the target language community, and (g) relationships with home community. I have chosen these because they reoccur regularly in the literature on language anxiety, and so they have been important to me in shaping my own view of this phenomenon. In the sections that follow, I will discuss each of these factors.

Understanding Language Anxiety: Seven Factors

I used my own approach to understand language anxiety and develop these factors which are associated with language anxiety. First of all, I am going to discuss *self-related variables* as on one of the significant factors in language anxiety

Self-related Variables

Students' Self-confidence

I believe it is safe to say that self-confidence influences students' foreign language achievement and language anxiety by affecting their attitudes and motivations towards the target language community or culture. I agree with Clément's (1980) assertion that self-confidence plays a significant role in foreign language learning. Clément's integrative motivation (or social-context) model highlights the idea that self-confidence means the lack of anxiety and is the key

to learning a second language. Likewise, MacIntyre and Gardner (1991a) suggested that self-confidence affects students' attitudes and motivation towards learning a target language in class or in the target language community. Based on Clément's integrative motivation model, MacIntyre and Gardner (1991a) wrote that

In bicultural or multicultural settings, self-confidence [the lack of anxiety] will be a secondary motivation arising from the quality and frequency of interaction with the second language group. The types of interaction that the student experiences can be influenced by attitudes toward the maintenance of cultural vitality [ethnolinguistic vitality]. Self-confidence leads to a motivation to use the language that, through linguistic and especially nonlinguistic factors, predicts language achievement. (p. 100)

The meaning of Clément's (1980) concept of cultural vitality or ethnolinguistic vitality might be similar to Selltiz, Christ, Havel, and Cook's (1963) concept of national status loss. In their study, foreign students' rating of their home countries' statuses in relation to the host country and the local people's rating of the foreign students' home countries, was thought to affect the students' interaction with the target language speakers. Therefore, cultural vitality (ethnolinguistic vitality) might probably affect foreign students' target language improvement and the interaction between the language learners and the local people. In other words, self-confidence might influence foreign students' attitudes and motivation to have more interaction with target language speakers, and this increased self-confidence might in turn help to improve foreign students' language achievement (Selltiz, et al., 1963).

In addition, high- and low- anxious individuals may perceive themselves differently. According to Daly, Caughlin, and Stafford (1997), highly anxious people have generally lower self-concepts compared to less anxious people. Moreover, according to Clément's model, self-

confidence means a lack of anxiety, including language anxiety or social anxiety or both, and self-confidence helps second or foreign language learning in the target language community because it enhances motivation and attitudes toward the target language group and target language learning. Clément's integrative motivation model, which is mentioned above, illustrates the affective reaction toward the majority group, that is the people who speak the target language (MacIntyre & Gardner, 1991a).

Clément (1980) stated that self-confidence includes a lack of language anxiety and positive self-ratings of proficiency in the target language community. Also, self-confidence, motivation, the quality of contacts between language learners and target language community members, and the frequency of contacts between language learners and target language community members, seem to have certain relationships to influence language learners' language anxiety and achievement. Clément (1980) theorized two motivational processes in multicultural or bilingual communities: Learners in a multicultural community may attempt to integrate into the community and affiliate with the members of the target community. However, the learners might also fear losing their cultural identity and fear assimilating into the community. Clément (1980) stated that the result of the process would determine the extent to which the individual makes contact with the members of the target group. The secondary motivational process would be based on the frequency and quality of the individual's contact with the members of the target group in the target community. If the contact is positive, the individual's self-confidence with the target language will improve, leading to more motivation. However, in a monolingual community, an individual's self-confidence will not be as important because of the lack of the contact with the target language group.

Clément, Gardner, and Smythe (1977, 1980) reported that in the results of their studies, self-confidence could be defined as a lack of language anxiety and positive self-rated second language proficiency. In MacIntyre's (1999) study on the previous literature on language anxiety, he emphasized that language anxiety might affect students' self-perceptions of language proficiency (p. 33). Also, according to the results of MacIntyre and Gardner's (1991d) study, they stated that language teachers should encourage students more and help them develop more positive self-image regarding their English abilities in order to enhance their self-confidence in English ability to reduce language anxiety.

Other research supports my belief that self-confidence plays an important role in successful language learning. For example, Matsuda and Gobel's (2004) research on the relationships between language anxiety and classroom performance also reported that self-confidence in speaking English is an important factor in classroom performance of first-year university students in Japan. Onwuegbuzie, Bailey, and Daley (1999) found the same results examining university students. Likewise, Casado and Dereshiwsky's (2004) study of the second language anxiety of first-semester university students in the U.S. and Spain concluded that students' prior experience in language learning in class, teachers' methodology, and individual exposure during language learning—factors which may potentially influence students' self-confidence in learning the target language—contributed to their levels of language learning anxiety. They claimed that, based on these factors, students' self-confidence is the primary key to learning a foreign language successfully.

This example also emphasizes the importance of students' self-confidence. Anxiety has also been shown to impact students' avoidance behavior in target language learning. Using methods based on theories of contrastive rhetoric, Kleinmann (1977) found that students with

facilitating anxiety did not avoid but, rather, used linguistic structures not present in their native language. However, students with debilitating anxiety tried to avoid using these structures. Students' self-confidence (self-perception about one's knowledge of some structure of the target language) influenced their decisions to avoid or use linguistic structures not present in their native languages (Kleinmann, 1977, p. 93-107).

In Onwuegbuzie, Bailey, and Daley's (2000) study, students' perceptions of their own intelligence, ability, and scholastic competence were associated with language performance. The results paralleled Ehrman and Oxford's (1995) findings that students' self-perceptions of their academic and foreign language competence significantly affected their foreign language achievement.

In a similar situation, Pak, Dion, and Dion's (1985) study of Chinese immigrants in Toronto found that those who studied English studied it because they believed that in Canada a mastery of English provided more opportunities than a mastery of Chinese. However, because of their Chinese ancestry, they said they wanted to maintain their cultural and ethnic identity by studying Chinese. Pak, Dion, and Dion's (1985) idea was that these Chinese people's concept of language is that English language (high self-confidence) is better than Chinese (low self-confidence). This referred to an individual or group's attitudes or self-confidence toward the target language and culture in a foreign country and affects their acquisition of the target language. However, foreign students' mastery and high self-confidence in the target language and low self-confidence in their home language might influence their home language loss.

In addition, Young (1990) concluded that students' fear of speaking in front of class or making mistakes in front of teachers and peers may be related to students' self-esteem (p. 550). Horwitz (1988) found out that that students who believe that they do not have a gift for language

or the capacity to learn a target language or learn the target language well (low-self confidence), might expect themselves to do poorly in language learning or not perform up to their ability level. The results of Clément, Dörnyei, and Noels' (1994) quantitative study on 301 11th-grade students in Hungary to research the relation among their motivation, self-confidence, and group cohesion in a foreign language classroom, showed that language anxiety is related to self-evaluation in terms of extracurricular contact, self-confidence, language proficiency, and motivation. The authors implied that a good classroom atmosphere and extracurricular contacts with L2 speakers may jointly promote the students' self-confidence and lower their language anxiety. Clément, et al. (1994) stated that, "on the other hand, the student brings into the classroom a level of self-confidence and anxiety related to extracurricular experiences with the language, the quality and quantity of which would then influence classroom behavior, achievement, and anxiety" (p. 442). Therefore, the language learning process is a complex social process (Clément, et al., 1994, p. 443).

MacIntyre (1999) noted that self-confident learners are more motivated to communicate with the native speakers of the target language (p. 38). Gardner and Macintyre (1993) stated that in a multicultural context, language anxiety, self-perceived proficiency, and attitudinal/motivational components might be related in a second language learning process. Objective measures of proficiency and motivation variables might be related to self-confidence (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993, p. 6).

As for the students' fear [anxiety] in the foreign language learning, Cohen and Norst (1989) stated that

[T]he fears seems to be partly derived from learners' fears of the foreign and unfamiliar, but especially the fear of having what they perceive as their inadequacy exposed,

resulting in loss of self-esteem, of being placed in a dependent and 'inferior' position before their peers, a position in which they lose command and control of their situation.

(p. 62)

The language fear experienced by these students, is mostly the manifestation of the affective filter (Cohen & Norst, 1989, p. 62). The affective barriers or the aspects of the affective filter on these students on foreign language learning include: language fear, loss of self-esteem, instrumental vs. integrative motivation, and ethnocentrism (Cohen & Norst, 1989).

Pappamihiel (2002) used both qualitative and quantitative methods— Pappamihiel's (2002) English Language Anxiety Scale and focus groups—to examine language anxiety in the ESL and mainstream classes. In the same study, Pappamihiel (2002) applied Pekrun's (1992) Expectancy-Value Theory of Anxiety (EVTA) and Bandura's (1991) theory of self-efficacy as models to construct the English Language Anxiety Scale (ELAS). The participants included 178 Mexican-born middle school students, grades 6-8, enrolled in an ESL program in Texas. The results of her study suggested that the ELL students' self-perceived skills in reading and writing in English had much to do with the students' anxiety. Those participants who believed that they had high ability in English reading and writing in the mainstream classes had lower levels of language anxiety than those who believed that their reading and writing skills were poor (Pappamihiel, 2002).

Chinese students are often considered passive communicators. Zhou, Knoke, and Skamoto (2005) stated that Chinese students are silent or passive in language classes because language anxiety (language proficiency) affects their confidence to participate.

Language Ego or the L2 Self

Many second or foreign language students report feeling like a different person when speaking the target language. Being a second language learner myself, I very much agree and have felt the same way. In addition, many language learners experience the problems of speaking in English; moreover, they cannot describe fully what they would like to say in their minds. The concept of language identity, language ego, language ego boundaries, and language shock in relation to foreign language learning or achievement are all covered in the literature (e.g., Brown, 1973; Guiora, 1972, 1983; Guiora & Acton, 1979; Guiora Beit-Hallahmi, Brannon, Dull, & Scovel, 1972; Guiora, et al., 1975; Horwitz et al., 1986; Schumann, 1978a, 1978b; Shen, 1998; Singleton, 1989). Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1986) noted the concept of the true self and the L2 self in their study of language anxiety:

The “true” self as known to the language learner and the more limited self as can be presented at any given moment in the foreign language would seem to distinguish foreign language anxiety from other anxieties such as those associated with mathematics or science. (p. 31)

Guiora (1972) first defined the concept of “language ego” while researching second language learners whose pronunciation were native-like. Guiora et al. (1975) stated that “like the concept of body ego, language ego is a maturational concept and likewise refers to self-representation with physical outlines and firm boundaries” (p. 45).

Moreover, Guiora and Acton (1979) stated that empathy and the ability to pronounce native-like pronunciation are influenced by language ego. Guiora and Acton (1979) further proposed that

The concept of “permeability of language ego boundaries” suggests . . . the ability to move back and forth between languages and the “personalities” that seem come with them. This is related to the common observation that one “feels like a different person” when speaking a second language and often indeed acts very differently as well. (p. 199)

Also, Guiora (1983) stated that second /foreign language affects the personality of an individual. Guiora (1983) wrote, “[l]anguage, native language is the very lifeblood of human self-awareness, it is the carrier of identity, the safe repository of a vast array of affective and cognitive templates making up the total web of personality” (p. 10).

If the second language learners are shocked by their pronunciation in the target language or frustrated that they cannot express their ideas in the target language clearly, they can experience “language shock” (p. 31) a term coined by Stengal (1939) as noted by Schumann (1978b). Language learners who have experienced language shock feel ashamed or embarrassed when speaking the target language. It also refers to “narcissistic gratification” (Schumann, 1978b, p. 32) that second language speakers can attract others’ attention by speaking the native language; however, they lose their attraction when speaking the second language.

Likewise, Hilleson (1996) emphasized that foreign/second language anxiety (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986) is in some ways similar to language shock (Schumann, 1977). Hilleson (1996) reported that, “[l]anguage shock refers to negative self-perception” (p. 250). In his study (1996), one of the participants, Karen, said that she does not know who she is anymore in her diary entry because she now thinks in English, the new language, rather than her native language, and more importantly, she cannot speak both languages fluently (p. 255). The language learner who experiences language shock cannot perform or function in the target language or adapt to behavioral patterns in the target language community normally or properly. His/ her real

personality or self is taken away due to the problems of the target language and culture, and he/she is embarrassed to show the incompetent self.

Pavlenko (2001) reported that the L2 learner is adapting a new identity while learning the second language, participating, and gaining membership in the L2 community (319). The construction and negotiation of identities are different between L2 and FL (foreign language) learners because learning a second language takes place in the target context, but learning a foreign language takes place in a classroom setting. L2 learners or immigrants often feel they are incompetent. Pavlenko (2001) cited “language learning memoirs” (p. 321): Kingston’s (1975) *The Woman Warrior*, Rodriguez’s (1982) *Hunger of Memory*, and Hoffman’s (1989) *Lost in Translation*. In discussing these, Pavlenko (2001) pointed out that all three “language learning memoirs” portrayed identity construction and transformation in language learning as “a primary force” (p. 321). For example, Hoffman (1989) reported that she actively developed a new identity in the new language, English, when she grew up as an adult. Not having any experiences as an adult in Polish, she reported having a problem talking to herself in Polish now. There is some vocabulary that she never learned in Polish, and she does not know or remember how to speak the Polish words, either (p. 272). In *Hunger of Memory*, Rodriguez (1982) sees himself as being like a coconut, brown outside and white inside. He describes himself as even whiter than the Anglo professors (p. 162). After he mastered the English language and the dominant American culture, he was compelled to look for his old and lost identity in Spanish language and culture.

Similarly, Ogulnick (1998) wrote her language learning diary, another example of a language learning memoir, when she was a Japanese language learner and English teacher in Japan. She stated that she unconsciously acted like a Japanese woman, a different identity,

because she was learning the language in Japan. In addition, Shen (1989) reported that learning how to write a good English essay requires a new identity. Due to cultural and political differences between the U.S. and China, Chinese hardly use “I” in writing and speeches. Shen (1989) reported that Chinese culture, which tends to encourage humility, makes the speech and writing of Chinese hardly use the term “I.” Shen (1989) said that to use English, “I had to put aside an ideology of collectivism and adopt the values of individualism” (p. 461). These four literature mentioned above are all related to the language learners’ construction or reconstruction of their new identities in a new culture.

Cohen and Norst (1989) concluded that language and self [identity] are closely bound, noting that “a perceived attack on one is an attack on the another” (p. 76) because the nature of foreign language learning, e.g., speaking the target language in front of peers and teachers and the fear [anxiety] that comes from it, is different from “other knowledge+ skill-based subjects” (p. 76).

Cohen and Norst (1989) reported that empathy, “the willingness and capacity to identify with others,” (p. 63) is related to integrative factors (integrative motivation) and language proficiency. The authors went on to relate this concept of empathy to that of language ego proposed by Guiora, et al. (1972); they further stated that language and ego [self or identity] are inseparable (p. 63). Guiora, et al. (1972) claimed that L2 learners take on a new identity as they learn the L2 (p. 422). Schumann (1975) mentioned the idea of ego permeability for successful second language acquisition from Guiora, et al.’s (1972) concept of language ego or ego boundary. In their students’ diaries, Cohen and Norst (1989) reported that several of the students’ ego boundaries are “firm and not very permeable” (p. 63) which influences their target language learning.

Personality Variables

In the previous literature, two personality variables seem to be related to language anxiety. These are *tolerance of ambiguity* and *perfectionism*.

Tolerance of Ambiguity

It is possible that tolerance of ambiguity has a significant impact on language learning success (Ehrman & Oxford 1995, pp. 81-82). Students' concerns about errors or expressing themselves clearly are some examples of students' tolerance for ambiguity. Foreign/second language students who can tolerate ambiguity during the process of learning or acquiring a foreign language and culture experience less language anxiety and higher foreign/second language achievement.

Perfectionism

Perfectionism is a possible source of language anxiety. Foreign/second language students may experience high anxiety in class because they are too concerned about performing without flaws—for example, they hear their accent when speaking the target language, and they are embarrassed or feel foolish because of making mistakes (Price, 1991, p. 106; Gregersen & Horwitz, 2002, p. 568; Hilleson, 1996).

Perfectionism might also make learners anxious about writing. Leki (1999) noted that poorly skilled writers might experience foreign/second language writing anxiety; however, highly-skilled writers might also experience this writing anxiety (p. 66). Leki (1999) emphasized that the previous literature on writing anxiety showed that writing anxiety has a negative relation to writing performance, and a major source of writing anxiety is related to educational experiences: the fear of being “evaluated or judged on basis of their writing ability” (p. 66). Leki (1999) stated that foreign/second language writers' should learn to view writing as

a process, not a product. Instructors should help writers develop the concept of drafting and break the writing process into small, manageable pieces. In addition, peer evaluations in writing class can help language students reduce the language anxiety (Leki, 1999, p. 67).

Attitudes and Motivation towards the Target Language and Culture

According to previous literature, it seems that a learner's attitudes and motivation towards the target language and culture may affect learner's foreign/second language anxiety, and the anxiety may in turn affect learner's attitudes and motivation toward the target language and culture.

In Gardner and MacIntyre's (1993) revised socio-educational model, language attitudes affect motivation, and "the concept of language attitudes refers to any attitudinal variables that might be implicated in the language- learning context" (p. 9). According to them, language anxiety is generally negatively associated with motivation. There are two types of motivation in second language learning: First is integrative motivation, and the second is instrumental motivation according to Gardner and Lambert (1972). The second language learner who has integrative motivation tends to learn the target language because of admiration for the target language speakers, values, and culture. His/her goal of learning the target language might be just to talk to and make friends with the target language speakers. On the other hand, learners who have instrumental motivation to learn the target language might be learning the language for professional purposes or to pass a certain examination.

Scovel (1991) stated that foreign language anxiety influences intrinsic learners to learn a foreign language, and the learners' motivation to learn the target language is affected by the facilitating anxiety or debilitating anxiety, with the former exerting a positive influence, while the latter can impede learning.

Gardner, Masgoret, Tennant, and Mihic (2004) studied university students enrolling in a French intermediate-level course in the U.S. for one year and concluded that students' attitudes toward the learning situation changed. Language anxiety may possibly influence foreign language learners' attitudes toward the learning situation. Students' attitudes towards the learning situation went from positive to negative during the course. They suggested that language instructors should attempt to reduce foreign language anxiety and motivate students by introducing specific teaching strategies to help nurture students' positive attitudes toward the learning environment. In particular, the foreign language learners' negative attitudes toward the target language community and the course, together with debilitating anxiety, negatively influenced learners' language achievement.

MacIntyre (1999) stated that anxious learners are less willing to practice the target language even in a given natural setting as opportunities (p. 39) because their language anxiety might affect their attitudes toward learning the language. Gardner (1985), in his socio-educational model in second language acquisition, stressed the link between language learning and attitudes toward the target community:

In general . . . all versions [of second language learning] stress the idea that languages are unlike any other subject taught in a classroom in that they involve the acquisition of skills or behavior patterns which are characteristic of another cultural community. It is argued that any other subject, such as mathematics, science, or history, involves the development of knowledge or skills which are part of the heritage of the students' cultural community; a second language, on the other hand, is a salient characteristic of another culture. As a consequence, the relative degree of success will be influenced to some extent by the individual's attitudes toward the other community or to other communities in general as

well as by the beliefs in the community which are relevant to the language learning process. (p. 146)

Gardner's (1985) classic socio-educational model illustrated second language students' attitudes and motivations towards the target language community, culture, and people, which he claimed, have a tremendous impact on the student's language achievement.

In the revised socio-educational model of second language acquisition, Gardner and MacIntyre (1993) reported that language anxiety and motivation are often negatively related; however, they stated that further studies are required to determine the clear-cut relations between these two. They speculated that high levels of motivation might decrease language anxiety in the second language, and that conversely, high levels of language anxiety might decrease motivation (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993, p. 9).

Gardner, Day, and MacIntyre (1992) used questionnaire and vocabulary (French and English) tasks to investigate the students' integrative motivation (integrativeness, attitudes toward the learning situation, and motivation), induced anxiety (i.e., by pressure of a video camera), and vocabulary. The results suggested that the more integratively motivated the students are, the less anxious the students are in second language contexts and the more quickly (more confidently) they initiate answers and learn more vocabulary. Students who are more positive tend to be less anxious (Gardner, et al., 1992).

Furthermore, language anxiety may occur because of language learners' social statuses compared to the host people's in the target language community, and this may directly influence their attitudes or motivation to acquire or learn the target language. For example, in MacIntyre and Gardner's (1991a) study in Canada, they compared the attitudes to the English or French languages and cultures between French speaking people and English-speaking people in Canada.

For Anglophones, learning French is a chance to add a new culture to their lives; for Francophones, learning English is mandatory because they live in an English-dominated country. If the acquisition of English is a threat to their French culture and identity, Francophones' attitudes and motivation to learn English may possibly go down, and their language anxiety may possibly go up.

This study might also relate to Selltitz, Christ, Havel, and Cook's (1963) research on foreign students' national status. Foreign students' rating of their home country status compared to the host country and the way they think the local people rate the national status of their home country may affect foreign students' attitudes towards interacting with the target language community, and learning the target language and culture. Even though Selltitz, et al.'s (1963) study focused on foreign students' attitude change and social relations in the period of one year in the U.S.—as opposed to language anxiety, their attitude change and social relations were associated with their language learning and adjustment to the American culture, which might also relate to language anxiety.

Social distance affects second language learners' attitudes and motivation to learn the target language and culture; therefore, it affects their adjustment into the target language community. In Schumann's (1976) acculturation model, he proposed that social distance was one of the factors that affected the quality of the interactions between second language students and native speakers of the target language in the community (p. 135). Because of social distance, the language group and the host's attitudes towards each other can influence the quality of the interaction, the quality of foreign students' language learning, and the foreign students' attitudes and motivation towards learning the target language and culture. Also, foreign/second language anxiety may possibly arise.

In Oller, Baca, and Vigil's (1977) study on the relationship between Mexican-Americans' attitudes and attained proficiency of English, the results of their study suggested that the higher the participants' English proficiency, the lower their attitudes toward Americans because the Mexican Americans in the study have a negative attitude toward Americans, are anti-integratively orientated in their motivation to learn English and the American mainstream culture, and perceive a large social distance between themselves and mainstream American society.

In Clément, Dörnyei, and Noels' (1994) quantitative study on Hungarian students, the results supported the previous studies on the relation between language anxiety, motivation, and attitudes toward second/foreign language learning (i.e., social distance, psychological distance). Interestingly, the results in their study suggested that the students' identification (e.g., to be similar to UK or US people, to think/ behave like UK or US people) as a goal to learning the language is rejected due to the Hungarian situation with strong cultural and linguistic traditions (Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1994).

Experiences with the Target Language

Students' previous experiences with the target language inside or outside the classroom seem to affect students' language anxiety (MacIntyre, 1999, p. 33). According to previous literature (Aida, 1994; Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, 1994; MacIntyre, 1999; Young, 1999a), language anxiety is a situational-type of anxiety because of negative learning experiences. Language anxiety develops especially during early stages while learning the target language takes place both inside and outside of the classroom (Clément, et al., 1994; MacIntyre, 1999) in both uni-cultural and multicultural contexts (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993, p. 7). Language anxiety develops as a result of "repeated, negative experiences" (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993, p.

6) encountered in the processes of second language learning. Language anxiety might thus be a “learned emotional response” (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993, p. 6).

MacIntyre and Gardner (1991a) found that language anxiety is related to students’ experience with and achievement in foreign language learning. MacIntyre and Gardner (1991a) found a negative relationship between French class anxiety, achievement, and experience in language learning. According to their research in a French-intensive summer school, students’ increased achievement and positive experience in foreign language learning lowered their language anxiety (p. 111).

Fear

Fear of Public Speaking (Communication Apprehension)

Originally, the conceptualization of communication apprehension (CA) viewed CA as a broad concept of anxiety associated with oral communication defined by McCroskey in 1970. In addition, McCroskey (1977) viewed CA as an individual’s fear or anxiety related to either real or anticipated communication with one person or a group of people. Communication apprehension can cause avoidance behavior, and avoidance behavior is influenced by foreign/second language anxiety and can affect a foreign/second language learner’s target language and cultural learning. Many scholars (e.g. Daly, 1991, p. 6; Horwitz, et al., 1986, p. 29; Mejias, Applbaum, Applbaum, & Trotter II, 1991, p. 96) have studied foreign language avoidance behavior because of CA.

There is some interesting research to support my point that CA is a factor related to language anxiety in second language learners. In one study, students’ language anxiety levels, including communication apprehension in Spanish classes, seemed to slightly increase from the first semester to the second semester (Casado & Dereshiwsy, 2001, p. 343). This implies that the language learners’ language anxiety may not diminish or decline because of two semesters of

language learning. Both their language anxiety and communication apprehension level seem to increase slightly.

Communication apprehension may be caused by student's self-perception and the contexts in which they perform. Mejias, Applbaum, Applbaum, and Trotter II (1991) measured Mexican American ancestry university and high school students' communication apprehension across communicative contexts from dyad to group to meeting to public environments. They concluded that students' perceptions of their language proficiency and the communicative contexts (i.e., formal to informal, personal to in-personal contexts) influenced students' CA.

In Price's (1991) research, fear of public speaking is one of the primary reasons foreign language students are anxious in class, and fear of public speaking interferes with students' foreign language achievement.

A foreign language students' native culture can also cause communication apprehension. Klopff (1997) and Wong-Scollon and Scollon (1990) portrayed Chinese people as silent and not attempting to dominate or be subordinate in conversation in social situations because Chinese culture demands respectful participation. Also, based on Wong-Scollon and Scollon's (1990) notion of "the flow of talk" (p. 288), "exchanges of turns" (p. 288) are different between Chinese conversation and English conversation. Chinese speakers feel that they can not accurately assess English speakers' responses in social situations. Moreover, their lack of fluency in English, and English speakers' failure to provide traffic signals to let them proceed in the conversation makes Chinese speakers confused (Wong-Scollon & Scollon, 1990). Hu and Grove (1991) pointed out that Chinese tradition values humility by using honorifics and self-deprecating terms to demonstrate "the absence of self-centeredness and personal assertiveness" (p. 54); however, Americans seem to find this linguistic style to be self-disparaging. The Chinese are taught at a

very young age to “enhance harmony and avoid friction” (p. 54), and “to keep themselves in check, and to be tolerant” (p. 54).

Most non-Chinese stereotype Chinese as being quiet or silent. Many young Chinese are vocal and outspoken, but they will not express negative feelings or thoughts in order to preserve group harmonious relations. Their CA scores conducted by Hsu (1981) showed that Chinese people are outspoken but reticent to disturb group harmony. Furthermore, Taiwanese people score less apprehensive in CA than people from other cultures—e.g., Australia, Japan, Micronesia, People’s Republic of China, Philippines, Puerto Rico, Sweden, Switzerland, and USA, except for the Koreans (Klopf, 1997, p. 279).

Young (1990) reported that the subjects express higher levels of speaking anxiety in three areas: “activity-task, speaking errors, and preparedness” (p. 548). Language learners’ fear of being judged or negatively evaluated by their classmates in class produces *social anxiety* (Young, 1990). As for communication apprehension and its relationships to language anxiety, Young (1990) stated that

Their anxiety is not totally rooted in fear of speaking the foreign language as it is in communication apprehension. Their anxiety decreases as a reaction to pair work or small-group work. Communication apprehension would be, therefore, an integral part of any theoretical model of language anxiety. (p. 550)

In the quantitative study conducted by Gardner, Smythe, and Clément (1979), in the factor III, anxiety dimension, both groups of students, Canadian and American, choose these two variables, which were highly associated with anxiety in learning French: “[S]tudents who report feeling nervous [anxiety] in the French classroom situation report similar feelings of

apprehension when faced with the opportunity of speaking French outside the classroom” (p. 313).

In Gardner, et al.’s (1979) study, on the Anxiety dimension factor, the results suggested that the Canadian students who reported feeling nervous [anxiety] in the French classroom situation claimed similar feelings of apprehension when faced with the opportunity to speak French outside the classroom. And, the students tended to be critical of themselves, to have integrative reasons as opposed to instrumental reasons for studying French, and to think in English while speaking French (p. 313).

Avoiding communication or communication apprehension might be one of the main effects of language anxiety. MacIntyre (1999) pointed out that “prospect of communication” in the target language is the primary source of language anxiety (p. 38) for second language learners, and the ways in which anxious second language learners communicate with target language speakers outside of the classroom and how target language speakers may perceive them in the classroom could be interesting research topics in the future. For example, MacIntyre and Gardner (1991d) used questionnaires and essay-writing to investigate French students’ language anxiety. The results suggested that speaking (public speaking) is the most anxiety provoking.

As noted earlier, MacIntyre (1999) stated that the single most influential source of language anxiety seems to be “the fear of speaking” (p. 33) the target language in front of people while a learner has very limited proficiency in the language. Because of that, language learning challenges learners’ “self-esteem and sense of identity” (MacIntyre, 1999, p. 33), and learners also might “embarrass themselves” and “frustrate their self-expression” (MacIntyre, 1999, p. 33) than learning other subjects or skills.

Fear of Negative Evaluation

Fear of negative evaluation is defined as evaluation apprehension, the expectation that others will evaluate oneself negatively, and evaluative situation avoidance. In Young's (1990) study, language learners' fear of being judged or negatively evaluated by their classmates in class produces social anxiety.

Price (1991) interviewed highly anxious students in language classes and reported that students' fear of speaking in front of people in class, concern about making mistakes, and the stress and frustration of not being able to express themselves and their feelings effectively, are the primary reasons they were anxious in the foreign language classroom. Price's (1991) findings matched those of Horwitz et al. (1986): Communication apprehension and fear of negative evaluation, two of the three components of foreign/second language anxiety, play an important role in students' foreign/second language achievement.

Also, I believe that communication apprehension and fear of negative evaluation are associated with the concept of Lien or face for most of Korean, Japanese, Chinese, and Taiwanese people. Asian students are embarrassed or feel they *lose face* when speaking the target language in a broken, non--fluent manner in front of others; therefore, their anxiety arises.

Relationships to Target Community

Language anxiety is associated to relationships or social interactions with the target language community. In Pappamihiel's (2002) study on language anxiety, she found out that Mexican students' language anxiety is associated with their social interactions with the English-speaking students in mainstream classes. The Mexican students expressed that they avoid speaking English to English-speaking or Chicano students because they look down on or make fun of their English.

Residence in the Target Language Country

I believe that living in the target language country can possibly help reduce students' foreign/second language anxiety. My belief is supported by Aida's research (1994). Aida (1994) found that the main factors of language anxiety as experienced by American students of Japanese are speech anxiety, the fear of failing the Japanese class, degree of comfort when speaking with native speakers of Japanese, and negative attitudes towards the Japanese class. Also, students who spent time in Japan experienced less in-class language anxiety than those who didn't. These results match the views of language anxiety presented by Gardner (1985), Krashen, and Terrell (Young, 1992). Aida (1994) found that in Japanese language courses, students experienced less language anxiety if they had previous experience in Japan. The result of Aida's study (1994) also relates to Selltitz, et al.'s study (1963). The findings of their study showed that Asian students' previous experience abroad can probably help their interaction with Americans and may probably improve their target language acquisition and cultural adjustment. I believe that residence in the target language country might reduce foreign/ second language students' language anxiety.

Unfamiliarity with the Target Language Community

It seems that language anxiety can arise when speaking in a social context (Bailey, 1983; Horwitz, et al., 1986, Price, 1991) due to many reasons, such as unfamiliarity with the target language and culture, the lack of proper manners, or unfamiliarity with the cultural norms of the target language community. My understanding of this is that if the learner feels like an outsider and does not know how to interact properly with members of the target language community, anxiety levels will increase. Krashen (1980, 1983) explained it in terms of his Input Hypothesis: Language learners can acquire the foreign language only if the input is comprehensible.

Students' first language can also help second/foreign language acquisition because it provides comprehensive input or background knowledge for the students to acquire the new language. However, language learning anxiety prevents the learner from receiving input, so, in order to reduce foreign language anxiety, learners should possess membership in the language classroom or in the target language community. This membership may influence the foreign language students' attitudes and motivation toward the foreign language and culture and increase the interaction with the local community and reduce language anxiety. Terrell's concept of "target language group identification" as cited by Young (1991b, 1992) in her interview with Terrell, is similar to Krashen's (1980) "club membership" concept that when language learners identify themselves as one of the members of the target language community, their affective filter will go down. Therefore, I believe that their language anxiety level will also go down, and their attitudes toward and motivation to take part in the target language community will increase.

In short, I believe that "accepted" membership in the target language community is a key to reducing language anxiety and enhance language learning by lessening frustration of learning the target language, and it helps learners adapt to the target culture.

Relationships with Home Community

Stroud and Wee (2006) stated that language students experience not only competence-based anxiety (fear of being evaluated by language teachers or native speakers) but also identity-based anxiety. Identity-based anxiety refers to students' language learning, which is influenced by classmates, such as peer pressure or fear of being evaluated by classmates. Stroud and Wee (2006) reported that

[I]dentity-based anxiety is motivated by a desire to maintain particular group relationships, such as acceptance by one's peers or a desire to avoid ridicule from them.

It manifests itself in worries that particular uses of language— including language used in the classroom— may or may not jeopardize those relationships. (p. 300)

This concept of identity-based anxiety is represented by their students in Singapore. In that culture, for instance a language student speaking standard English instead of a mixture of mother tongue (i.e., Mandarin, Malay, and Tamil) and Singlish in class, can be considered by their classmates as snobbish, or if the student asks the language teacher questions in class, he or she will be accused by his or her classmates of being an “attention seeker” (Stroud & Wee, 2006, p. 301). This identity-based anxiety is similar to social anxiety because their anxiety is associated with peer pressure, which can also be supported by Pappamihiel’s (2002) study concluded that language anxiety can be described as social anxiety. Nonetheless, in this study students who speak English are considered snobbish by the students who speak a mixture of mother tongue and Singlish. By contrast, in Pappamihiel’s study, the ESL Mexican students claimed to be looked down upon by the target language students and Mexican American students.

Cultural Adjustment

Defining Cultural Adjustment

Learning a foreign or second language includes learning the culture that goes along with that language. Samovar and Porter (2001) stated that language is the key to the heart of a culture (p. 139). Foreign students adapt to the target language community by learning the language, and cultural or social manners in the new culture. Gudykunst (2005) revealed his view of intercultural [cultural] adjustment, which is “a process involving feeling comfortable in the host culture, as well as communicating effectively and engaging in socially appropriate behavior with host nationals. . . .”(p. 425). So, in order to become fully, culturally adjusted, an international student has to both learn the new language and adjust to the target culture.

Based on these theories, I have developed my own approach to understanding foreign students' cultural adjustment in a foreign country. I have determined that there are seven sets of factors which associate with international students' cultural adjustment when studying in a foreign country: (a) psychological factors (i.e., attitudes and motivation toward the target language community, anxiety, and anomie), (b) self (i.e., role shock, self- shock, level of control, self-confidence, and self or identity), (c) language, (d) prior experience abroad, (e) similarities and differences between home culture and target culture, (f) living arrangements, and (g) relationships (i.e., relations with people from the home country and relations with target language community).

Psychological Factors

Attitudes and Motivation toward the Target Language Community

The view, positive or negative, of the second language group toward the target language group affects their attitudes toward learning the target language and culture (Schumann, 1978b). Selltiz, Christ, Havel, and Cook (1963) stated that foreign students' social reactions with the local people influence their attitudes toward the host country. The more members of the host community they associate with or make friends with, the more favorableness their attitudes toward the host country.

Selltiz, et al.'s (1963) study on international students' adjustment on an American campus found that foreign students' attitude change toward the host country is complicated. There is a U-curve in the development of social relations between foreign students and Americans based on the previous literature, for example, Sewell and Davidsen's,(1961) study on Scandinavian students studying in the U.S.: In the beginning, the foreign students are delighted to easily meet Americans, and Americans seem friendly (enthusiasm). After the beginning

period, the foreign students want to establish deeper relations with the local people. But, the foreign students meet difficulties, so they become critical about their relations with the Americans (a decrease in enthusiasm and more criticism) and reduce their chances to interact with local people. The last period consists of establishing satisfying relations with local people (more favorable evaluation) (Selltiz, et al., 1963, p. 282).

In addition, in their study on Indian students studying on an American campus, Lambert and Bressler (1956) found out that during the first year of their cultural adjustment, foreign students desire to meet Americans, but their opportunities to associate with Americans depend on the arrangements of the institution. In the second year, the foreign students shift to depending on participation in students' activities to meet Americans. Finally, in the third year, the foreign students begin to select Americans to make contacts with or just associate with their American friends (p. 282).

According to Morris (1960), foreign students' perception of the host country may influence students' attitudes toward the host country. The more similar the foreign students evaluate the host country to the home country, the more likely he or she is to evaluate the host country favorably. Foreign students' previous preoccupations about the host country, their expectations in the host country, and their motivations all influence foreign students' feelings and beliefs about the host country (Morris, 1960).

In Ying's (2002) study of 155 Taiwanese students' friendships with Americans, she found that the Taiwanese students' reported positive attitudes toward forming friendships with Americans but negative attitudes toward forming relationships with Taiwanese students form more friendships with Americans and therefore, enhance their cultural adjustment.

Anxiety

International students who study abroad often experience anxiety when communicating with the host in the broken target language or being unsure about the host people's behavior. Gudykunst (2005) stated that "anxiety is the affective (emotional) equivalent of uncertainty. We experience some degree of anxiety any time we communicate with host nationals" (p. 422). The anxiety Gudykunst (2005) focused on is state anxiety, not trait anxiety. State anxiety is related to a situation which makes an individual anxious; trait anxiety is associated with an individual's personality. A language learner who is anxious might be afraid of negative evaluation by the target language people or might have avoidance behavior to the host nationals (Gudykunst, 2005).

International students' adjustment to the host country is associated with their anxiety/uncertainty management due to their inability to predict the host's behavior. Gudykunst (2005) emphasized that sojourners' adjustment to the host culture is affected by the management of anxiety and uncertainty because sojourners can easily predict the members' behavior from their native culture. However, they have problems predicting the people's behavior from the host culture.

Social support, acculturative stress, self-esteem, and level of education affect sojourners' anxiety and adjustment in a foreign country. For example, in Hovey and Magaña's (2002) study on Mexican migrant farmworkers' adjustment in the northwest Ohio/southeast Michigan area, the results suggested that low self-esteem, ineffective social support, greater education, and elevated acculturative stress are related to high anxieties. The findings in the study indicate that ineffective social support is connected to high anxiety. Effective social support might help migrant farmworkers cope with anxiety. Low self-esteem might be related to high anxiety

among migrant farmworkers. Hovey and Magaña (2002) stated that migrant farmworkers may be at risk for any anxiety disorders and offered coping strategies, such as the establishment of support groups, educational workshops or presentations, and lay health worker programs (p. 235).

In Wang and Mallinckrodt's (2006) research on 104 Chinese/ Taiwanese students studying in an American university and their psychosocial adjustment, they found that these Chinese/Taiwanese students who have experienced attachment anxiety have more difficulties and psychological distress adjusting to American culture. Adult attachment anxiety is defined as "an excessive need for approval from others and fear of interpersonal rejection or abandonment" (Wang & Mallinckrodt, 2006, p. 424). As for international students who have experienced high attachment anxiety, they are afraid to be alone, and they feel frustrated that a partner is not available because of they are alone in a foreign country; therefore, they will experience more socio-cultural difficulties and psychological stress adjusting to the U.S. culture (Wang & Mallinckrodt, 2006).

Anxiety, self-confidence, identity, and intercultural adjustment. A foreign student's anxiety, self-esteem, and identities are inter-related in an intercultural context or a new country. According to Gudykunst's (2005) Anxiety/Uncertainty Management (AUM) Theory of Intercultural Adjustment, he noted that an individual's social or personal identity influences his/her level of anxiety/uncertainty in the host country. In addition, Gudykunst (2005) stated that an individual's self-esteem influences his/ her anxiety/uncertainty management with the host people as well. Briefly, an individual's cultural, social identities, or personal identities, and self-esteem all influence his/ her adjustment to the host culture.

Anomie

The level of target language proficiency assists an international student's adjustment to the target language group. However, unexpectedly, he/she might experience contradictory and complex relations with students from his/her home country. Lambert (1967) stated that a second/foreign language learner might experience anomie due to target language proficiency. An international student's proficiency in the target language helps him/her fit in to the target language group. However, he/she might lose ties to the co-nationals. Lambert (1967) wrote that

. . . the more proficient one becomes in a second language the more he may find that his place in his original membership group is modified at the same time as the other linguistic-cultural group becomes something more than a reference group for him.

Depending upon the compatibility of the two cultures, he may experience feelings of chagrin or regret as he loses ties in one group, mixed with the fearful anticipation of entering a relatively new group. (p. 102)

An international student might not only fit into American society and build his/her social network as he/she gradually speaks the target language fluently and develops relationships with local people, but he or she also develops complex emotions toward or relations with students from his/her home country or experiences difficulties connecting with his/her co-nationals.

Self

Role Shock

International students studying in a foreign country need to deal with their new roles in a foreign country, which are different from these they played in their home country. In Kang's (1972) study, one of the Chinese participants wrote in the self-administered questionnaire that an elder exchange professor is a first-rate national university professor in Taiwan and is highly

respected in his country. However, he feels awkward that his status in the US has reversed to that of a student. He is embarrassed that he hardly understands the lectures in class, and he has problems communicating with others in English or understanding what others say to him. As a result, he keeps “a dignified distance from young Chinese students” (p. 76).

Sojourners might experience difficulties adjusting to such issues as role behavior, role expectations, social distance, dealing with conflict, or non-verbal communication or symbols in a foreign country (Gullahorn & Gullahorn, 1963). For example, due to Confucianism, teacher-student relationships in Taiwan are more authoritarian than in America. Taiwanese students might experience difficulties interacting with their American professors at an American campus. On the other hand, American instructors teaching in Taiwan might experience difficulties with their teaching methods because Taiwanese students expect them to deliver lectures, write on the board, while they just listen, memorize, and copy down what the teacher writes on the board in class.

In a foreign country, an international student experiences role shock, and this shock might affect his/her self-esteem. Klein, et al. (1971) explained role shock as the following:

One particularly acute problem that foreign students face is the loss of status and esteem that comes from moving from home, where recognition and status were high, to the United States, where this specialness is at best only temporary and much too bound up with the ‘foreigner’ role. This status loss has been conceptualized as role shock. (p. 81)

This example which represents the concept of role shock is from Kang (1972), his participant shared a case of a prestige professor studying in the U.S.:

Back home he is a professor at the Taiwan National University which is a first-rate university in Taiwan. As you know, the social prestige of a university professor in China

is a highly revered one. He came here as an exchange scholar. He sits in classes where some of his old students may be also enrolled. He finds it extremely difficult to follow lectures given in the classes. Being a revered professor, he finds it awkward to be returned to the status of a student. Besides, he finds himself incapable of communicating with others. When he cannot understand what people say to him, he is embarrassed. He weakly nods his head with a shy puzzled smile on his face. He dutifully goes to classes. He seldom talks to anybody in the class. He maintains a dignified distance from young Chinese students. He lives a life of a hermit in a small rooming house. (pp. 76-77)

The Chinese professor experienced role shock as a student studying in the U.S. His role in the U.S. shifted from that of an authoritarian figure, a professor in his home country, to an international student in a foreign country, barely understanding living, everyday language.

Self-shock

Definition. On a potentially related theme, Zaharna (1989) introduced the concept of self-shock from the perspective of intercultural communication. He links Self, Other, and Behavior to the concept of self-shock (Zaharna, 1989, p. 517). Zaharna (1989) stated that

For the sojourner, self-shock is the intrusion of inconsistent, conflicting self-images. At a time when we are searching for meaning “out there,” our own internal axis for creating meaning is thrown off balance. Our frustration becomes not so much trying to make sense of the Other (i.e., culture shock) but rather the Self (i.e., self-shock). (p. 518)

An individual might experience difficulties of identity conflict in a foreign country due to the frustration and struggle of not being able to make sense of the new language, culture, or behavioral patterns there.

The self-shock experience is a continuous process, and it is “not a product or one time occurrence” (Zaharna, 1989, p. 515), and it can consist of anxiety, discomfort, and confusion (Zaharna, 1989). Zaharna (1989) wrote, “it is through this process of changing identity-bound behaviors that new self-identities can emerge” (p. 515). Thus, an individual might finally find his/her identity during the process of being frustrated and lost in a foreign land. Besides, a sojourner may also experience the reentry of self-shock (Zaharna, 1989, p. 518). For example, an international student studying in the U.S. might experience self- shock due to the difficulties of reaching expectations and therefore challenges his/ her current identities. After the student returns to his/her home country, he/ she might experience the reentry of self-shock and identity conflicts.

Level of Control

International students’ level of control in their lives as students in a foreign country seems to both increase and decrease. Studying abroad is a double-bind: While giving Taiwanese students’ freedom to make their own decisions, their English abilities, unfamiliarity with the new culture, and lack of social network prevents them from taking advantage of this newfound freedom. This seems to contribute to the decrease of their level of control to the lives in the U.S. In Ying and Liese’s (1994) study, the results suggest that Taiwanese students’ level of control from pre- to post-arrival affects their adjustment in the U.S. Taiwanese students’ level of control (sense of autonomy) increases due to their ability to make decisions without parental interference; however, the level of control declines because of the lack of familiarity with the new environment in the U.S.

Self-confidence

Foreign/ second language students' self-confidence affects their adjustment in the U.S. According to Selltiz, et al.'s study (1963), foreign students' self-confidence in their English ability might be more important than their actual language ability as judged by the interviewers. Foreign students' confidence in their language ability may increase their social relations with Americans, thus, aiding their adjustment to life in the U.S. Klein, et al. (1971) stated that self-esteem and role conflict are the two especially crucial determinants for the foreign student's social and academic adaptation in a foreign country (p. 80).

Self or Identity

Zaharna (1989) stated that “[a]ny situation which alters the meanings for behavior has the potential for hampering the individual’s ability to establish and maintain consistent, recognizable self-identities” (pp. 517-518). Because of an individual’s unfamiliarity with the new situation or culture, Zaharna (1989) stated that in the intercultural context, “dominated by unknowns, uncertainty, and ambiguity, the one thing that the individual needs to be confident about is the Self” (p. 516). Due to the differences (unshared meanings) in language, culture, lifestyle, values, behavior, and beliefs between the sojourner’s culture and the host culture (external chaos), the sojourner needs to confirm his/her self-identity (internal chaos).

Zaharna’s (1989) opinion on self-identities is the opposite of Selltiz, et al.’s (1963) results. In their study, Selltiz, et al. (1963) concluded that if the foreign student likes to focus more on *Self*, he or she might experience more difficulties adjusting to the American life than the foreign student who seeks guidance in the American life, finds it easy to make friends with the local people, makes more observations towards the patterns of social manners of the Americans, and interacts more with Americans.

Instead of having simply one identity, Kim (2002) emphasized that our identities are multidimensional or bi-dimensional, such as independent or interdependent. We can have independent and interdependent selves, both, or neither. Kim (2002) stated that this concept—that an individual from individualistic culture or with independent self-identity would always communicate in a direct manner, but an individual from a collectivistic culture would always communicate in an indirect style—is too simplistic.

Individualism and collectivism can co-exist. An individual can be high both in independent and interdependent in self-orientation or low in both (Kim, 2002). An individual with bicultural identity or identities may understand and appreciate his/her cultural identity deeply. An individual with bicultural identity might not end with bicultural identity, but might be in the cycle of rethinking and re-exploring his/her own cultural identity (Kim, 2002).

Residing in a foreign land as international students from China, the difficulties of language and culture, and homesickness seem to transfer and challenge Chinese students' identities. Shen (2006) stated that

Being a foreign student seems to be a mixture of both loss and gain, pain and joy. The homesickness and loneliness in a new place always intertwine with the joy of having new friends and a new cultural learning experience. The delight of surviving and thriving in a new educational institution also accompanies the fear of being a failure. The enrichment of learning another culture also brings the risk of transgressing my old cultural integrity and raises questions about who I am, what I can do, and who I will be. (p. 102)

Similarly, an international student, feeling the same as her friends in the U.S., Shen wrote to Wang during their personal correspondence that “I want to question why and how I became emotionally and intelligently vulnerable after I dove into a new culture. I want to inquire why

my sense of self, which was based on where I came from, is challenged and re-constructed in a changing environment” (Wang, 2006, p. 102).

Language

In Klein, et al.’s (1971) study on Asian students studying in the U.S., they found that language and communication problems are the most important factors in their adjustment in the U.S. As Klein, et al. (1971) stated in their 3- year study that “[o]nce language and problems of communication are resolved, there seems to be nothing unique about psychiatric illness in foreign student population” (p. 83).

Kang (1972) also concluded that “[m]astering verbal and written English is a major obstacle for Chinese students. In addition, they must learn non-verbal symbols for the host country” (p. 77).

As both International students studying in the U.S and had the same painful experiences adapting to the new language in America, in their correspondence, Wang (2006) wrote to Shen that “[i]n China, language was an instinct. I never needed to organize my thoughts before speaking”(p. 96). Wang (2006) stated that language became a “luxury” (p. 97) in America, she felt “disabled or abnormal” (p. 97) without the ability to speak the language fluently, and she identified herself with “deaf-mute people” in America (p. 97).

Target language learning may be associated with a language learner’s ethnocentrism. By having their students write dairies of their language learning during a two-semester period, Cohen and Norst (1989) concluded that ethnocentrism can be a barrier to the language learning process. In their study, one of the students has experienced psychological problems of ethnocentrism, humiliation, and loss of face. He feels that learning the L2 threatens his native language and culture. He has negative attitudes toward the speakers of the target language, and

feels negatively about being in class with the dominant group of people, the English speakers (Cohen & Norst, 1989, p. 74).

Lambert (1980) stated that learners' attitudes toward the target language group are important to achieving success in the second/foreign language learning. In order to investigate relationships between language learning and attitudes, Lambert (1980) studied Anglophone Canadian school children in the immersion-in-French program for 4 or 5 years: The results suggested that as target language skills improve, the learner's attitudes toward the ethnolinguistic group of the target language should become "less suspicious and hostile" (p. 417). Early immersion language learning can change the learners' and the learner's parents' attitudes toward the other ethnolinguistic group. As the result, the social distance between Anglophone and French Canadian students diminished (p. 417). The Anglophone's French skills can give the students' confidence to effectively live, study, and work in the French environment; moreover, they provide the students strong willingness to socialize and integrate with French Canadians (Lambert, 1980).

Language and culture are in-separate. When an international student studies at an American university, it's inevitable that the student has to learn the target community's life styles, social and behavioral norms, and values. In terms of the relations between language and community, Lambert (1980) stated that community- based "alternative" programs (p. 420) can help immigrants learn English, keep their language of descent, and help others learn foreign languages. Language learners should not only learn the target language but also the target community's life styles, values, behavioral norms through the community based learning alternatives. Lambert (1980) emphasized that

. . . [i]t should make the learning of languages no more important than the learning about other peoples and their ways of life. . . . The master teachers and administrators of the alternative should become fully trained in the behavioral sciences so that they can effectively teach about people's ways of life along with the languages. (p. 421)

Language instructors should learn the culture of the target language, enabling them to teach language learners not only learn the target language but also the target culture, local people's ways of life, values, behavioral patterns, etc.

Because of the difficulties of the target language, foreign students become frustrated and experience difficulties adapting to the new culture in the foreign country. Based on Constantine, Okazaki, and Utsey's (2004) study on African, Asian, Latin American students studying in the U.S., the results suggested that the greater the English fluency, the lower the depression scores. Acculturative stress is positively related to depression. Constantine, et al., (2004) stated that international students' oral English ability might contribute to students' social self-efficacy and cultural adjustment to the American culture. They (2004) asserted that

It is possible that international college students may experience challenges to their social self-efficacy based on potential spoken communication difficulties and differences in cultural values as compared with their American counterparts. (p. 231)

Likewise, in Wang and Mallinckrodt's (2006) study, Chinese/Taiwanese international students' self-perceived language proficiency was negatively associated with socio-cultural adjustment and psychological distress.

International students' language ability or spoken communication ability contributes to their adjustment and social network in the foreign country. Language learners' language proficiency or achievement seems to relate to their attitudes, motivation (instrumental vs.

integrative), how they view themselves, and the length of their stay. Nonetheless, their attitudes seem complex in the process of learning English. In Oller, Jr., Hudson, and Liu's (1977) study on Chinese students' target language proficiency and attitudes, the results suggested that they seem to be instrumentally orientated to learning English, and the more positive they view themselves, the better their English achievement or proficiency.

Prior Experience Abroad

In Selltiz, et al.'s study (1963), the foreign students' national background and their prior foreign experience serve as the most important factors for the students' social relations and ease of adjustment in the target language country; therefore, foreign students' previous experience studying abroad should not be ignored.

In Berry, Kim, Minde, and Mok's (1987) acculturation model, an individual's previous experiences traveling abroad affect his or her acculturating process into the host culture (Wang & Mallinckrodt, 2006). Individuals who have traveled to many countries prior to entering the host culture will have fewer difficulties or less psychological distress adjusting to the new culture, compared to those who have never traveled abroad.

Also, In Wang and Mallinckrodt's (2006) study on Taiwanese/ Chinese international students, they found that length of time in the U.S. is significantly negatively associated with their socio-cultural adjustment and psychological stress in the U.S.

Length of time residing in the U.S. might enhance cross-cultural adjustment; however, an individual's value or cultural identity might change because of more contacts with the host culture. In Guan and Dodder's (2001) study on two groups of Chinese students' value and identity change at an American university and Chinese universities, he found that because of the length of time staying in the U.S. and therefore, make more cross-cultural contacts with

Americans, the Chinese students' value change on *Cultural Conservation* (lower), i.e., "having fewer desires, chastity in women, having a sense of Cultural Superiority, and respect for tradition" (p. 283). However, those Chinese students studying in an American university develop a higher sense of cultural identity compared to the other group, Chinese students study at Universities in China, i.e., *Group Integration*, such as "courtesy; harmony with others; reciprocation of greetings, favors, and gifts; trustworthiness; and resistance to corruption" (p. 283), and *Self Protection*, such as "repayment, keeping oneself disinterested and pure, and saving face" (p. 284).

Similarities and Differences between Home Culture and Target Culture

Chinese or international students have problems understanding Americans' nonverbal symbols or communications. Kang (1972) stated that

The Chinese student, accustomed to formality and to shading both language and his behavior to suit his status relative to that of the person he is addressing, is likely to have much difficulty in identifying and carrying out behavior appropriate to social situations in the United States. Correspondingly, an American is likely to experience difficulty in mastering the appropriate forms of social behavior in Chinese society. For example, while the Chinese may be bewildered or offended by the American's informality, the American is likely to be embarrassed by what he considers the excessive politeness of the Chinese. (p. 77)

Consequently, Chinese students live together, form their own church organizations, and their own ethnic community. It is also difficult for Americans to adjust to Chinese society because of cultural differences—the informality of the American culture and the formality in Chinese culture. Americans might believe that it is difficult to understand Chinese and develop social or

personal relations with them. Therefore, cultural exchange between Chinese and Americans is limited.

Thomas (1983) noted that a foreign language student might keep a power or social distance from the teacher because in the student's culture or country, teachers hold higher status than students. Therefore, the student's behavior is very polite, and this is not expected by the foreign language teacher (p. 105). On the other hand, the fact that students often call their professors their first names in an American university is considered disrespectful by Chinese, Taiwanese, Japanese, or Korean students.

Kang (1972) stated based on previous sociological studies that ethnic groups' assimilation into the American society depends on the degree of language and cultural differences between the ethnic groups and the dominant American culture. Therefore, the ethnic groups with the most differences tend to form their own ethnic community, for example Chinese students. Kang (1972) concluded that his theory of the two conflicting sets of forces function as the building blocks for the formation of Chinese students' ethnic community. The first is the selective reception by the American society. The second is the rejection, which presents as special problems for Chinese students in the study. As a result, they tended to help one another to work out the adjustment problems "which functioned in part as a guardian of traditional values and ethnic culture" (Kang, 1972, p. 81). The findings of Kang's (1972) study also supported the results of other studies, which show that European students experience fewer adjustment problems on American campuses than students from non-European countries (e.g., Sellitz, et al., 1963). The concept of the students' formation of ethnic groups can also be generalized to non-European student groups (Kang, 1972, p. 81).

The results of Olaniran's (1996) study on graduate and undergraduate international students' social difficulty in the U.S. suggested that Hofstede's value dimensions of cultural similarity, power distance, and masculinity-femininity influence foreign students' social difficulty in the U.S. The more similar the foreign student's home culture is to the target culture, the less social difficulty the foreign student will face.

In Constantine, Okazaki, and Utsey's (2004) study on Asian, African, and Latin American international students' acculturative stress, the results suggested that their acculturative stress might be related to their cultural values and beliefs, e.g., collectivism vs. individualism, or interdependence and social harmony vs. independence and assertiveness.

Living Arrangements

Living arrangements, for example, with or without American roommates, can increase foreign students' chances to socialize with the local people. In Purnell's (2000) dissertation on Taiwanese students' cultural adjustment in American university, the results suggest that the Taiwanese students seem not to be aware that they can take advantage of their housing arrangements to learn American culture and the language. Instead, the participants in this study arranged to live with other students from Taiwan in the U.S.

In Kang's (1972) study, administering questionnaires to 118 Chinese students studying in university of Minnesota in 1967, he concluded that Chinese students form an ethnic community to solve the problems they face on the American campus and everyday life in the U.S. because of the differences of the physical characteristics, language, culture, nonverbal behavior, and food. According to Kang (1972), the ethnic community the Chinese students form is like a first generation immigrant community. The findings suggested that most of the Chinese students studying in the university did not participate in American organizations or associate with

Americans. The Chinese students all shared houses or apartments; therefore, they had fewer chances to talk with Americans. This ethnic community the Chinese students form gives them a sense of security but reduces their chances to adjust to the host community.

The results in Gebhard's (1987) study of Thai students on an American campus suggested that Thai students faced difficulties doing academic work, such as writing (90%), comprehending lectures (80%), and talking in class (70%). The results suggested that the Thai students experience stages of cultural adjustment: vacation, avoidance, acceptance of the cultural differences, and self-confidence. Many Thai students moved out of the dorm, left their American roommates, and moved off campus to live with Thai friends during the second stage of cultural adjustment. Many Thai students escaped from the difficult situations living with Americans, and chose to live with other Thai students for security. These Thai students lost opportunities to know what real American life is like and improve their language abilities.

Relationships

Relations with People from the Home Country

In Constantine, Okazaki, and Utsey's (2004) study on Asian, African, and Latin American international students' acculturative stress and depression, the results suggested that African international participants reported higher depression scores and acculturative stress than Asian and Latin students due to the lack of co-ethnic community and racism in the U.S. (p. 238). Therefore, international students' relations to their co-nationals cannot be ignored because the lack of interactions with people from their home country might contribute to their depression or stress to the target culture.

The results of Kang's (1972) study, concluded that most of the Chinese students live together, help one another, have very few or do not have any American friends, and form a small

Chinese community on the American campus, like “a first generation immigrant group” (p. 72) or “little China” (p. 81). Because of the differences in language and culture, they form a strong in-group orientated community to help them adjust to their American campus lives, which foreign students on American campuses or immigrants in a new country must face. Kang (1972) stated that the Chinese students’ intensive interpersonal relationships with other Chinese students have two effects on these Chinese students. First, it gives them a sense of security in which they feel like at home. They do not need to worry about all the misunderstandings they might encounter with the host people in their behavior or language. Second, the students have fewer opportunities to adjust to the American culture (p. 77). Eighty-four percent of the Chinese participants in Kang’s (1972) study stated that they have only Chinese roommates or housemates, and this limits their opportunities to associate with Americans. Kang (1972) wrote, “[a] force of intra-community enclosure is at work here, permitting the individual to live in the world without being an integral part of it” (p. 77). The Chinese students have very strong emotional ties with their home country (Kang, 1972, p. 80). About half of the Chinese students revealed that they frequently read Chinese newspapers from their home countries. The Chinese students surveyed reported strongly identifying with fellow Chinese (Kang, 1972, p. 80). Fifty-two percent of the participants reported that they felt personal pride if a Chinese did something outstanding and 47 percent of the students responded that they would feel personal shame if a Chinese did something objectionable (Kang, 1972, p. 80).

Relations with Target Language Community

According Gullahorn and Gullahorn’s (1963) W-curve hypothesis, there are at least two variables considered in intergroup relations: interaction and sentiment. Proximity and similarity are the two most important factors influencing the relationship between interaction and

sentiment. A foreign student's opportunity to study abroad in a new country, proximity, necessitates more interactions with the host and gradually constructs interactions with them. Therefore, he/she may develop positive sentiments toward the local people in the new culture.

Ying and Liese's (1994) study on Taiwanese students' adjustment in the U.S. suggested that more contacts with Americans makes for better adjustment. In Kang's (1972) study, the Chinese participants' participation in extra-curricular activities on campus is low. Therefore, their *interaction potential* (Selltiz, et al., 1963) with Americans, which is the number of chances these students have to associate with American students, is low (p. 78). Four-fifths of the Chinese participants stated they don't have memberships in non-Chinese organizations (Kang, 1972, p. 80).

In Olaniran's (1996) study, the results suggested that extent of foreign students' social networks (intimate relationships with target language speakers) helps reduce their level of social difficulty in the U.S.

Similarly, in Klein, et al.'s (1971) 2 year-long session of intensive interviews with 40 students from Taiwan and Hong Kong studying at the University of Wisconsin, they reported that the participants are socially isolated from Americans. At least half of the Asian students do not have close friendships with Americans.

Klein, et al. (1971) stated that self-confidence is an important factor for the Asian students' satisfaction, well-being, or adaptation in the U.S. It is not clear whether contact with Americans makes the Asian students confident and more satisfied with life in the U.S. Or, the other way around, more satisfied or confident Asian students make more contact with Americans, make American friends, and experience better adjustment in the U.S. (Klein, et al., 1971).

Klein, et al. (1971) pointed out that several barriers between Asians and Americans exist. First, their social behaviors are different. Relearning the social behaviors is necessary to adjust to American society. Second, more importantly, Asians or Asian students might have to adjust to the new social roles, and therefore, experience emotional problems because of basic functional differences. The barrier that Asian students fear the most is the loss of the familiar social structure and supportive peer network after arriving in the U.S. These fears construct the contrast between Asian and American cultures. Klein, et al. (1971) wrote

The Chinese culture is traditional and authoritarian—one in which young people receive a great deal of structure and support both from family and from peers. American culture stresses quite opposite values for young people including self-expression, challenge to the system, independent behavior, informality, and constant change peer associations. (p. 85)

It is easy for Chinese students who are insecure to withdraw and fall back into the Chinese organizations (subculture), and this withdrawal comes from “[a] lack of tolerance” (Klein, et al., 1971, p. 85). The Taiwanese students who are Americanized and go out from the Taiwan subculture in America might be hypothesized that they are “perhaps already more marginal or alienated from its tradition” (Klein, et al., 1971, p. 86).

Taylor (1980) built a framework of intergroup relations between a dominant group and ethnocentric minority groups to discuss the relations between language and ethnicity. Taylor’s (1980) concept of the two opposing forces for the monolingual minority group to learn the target language is the following: first, the monolingual minority group members’ desire to be accepted or pass into the target language group/ dominant group, and second, the opposite force, the monolingual minority group members’ fear of assimilation or avoidance of using or learning the target language group’s language (Taylor, 1980). Therefore, “the group solidarity is

generated” (Taylor, 1980, p. 137) due to “the frustrations of not being granted access to the dominant group” (Taylor, 1980, p. 137). Taylor’s (1980) opinion of the monolingual minority group’s refusal to learn the target language group’s language and being proud of speaking their own language is due to the failure of being accepted into the target language group and changing their status in the society (p. 138).

Language seems to play an important role in building relations with the local people, which is supported by Ying’s (2002) study. According to her study of Taiwanese students studying in the U.S. and their friendships with Americans, she found that the following factors are associated with their friendships with Americans: personality (i.e., extroverted vs. introverted), knowledge of American culture, positive attitudes toward forming friendships with Americans, negative attitudes toward forming friendships with Taiwanese, spoken language skills in English, and the social environmental context (the availability of Taiwanese on or near campuses).

Culture Shock

When an international student studies in a foreign country, he or she might experience culture shock because of the unfamiliarity of target language, culture, behavior or lifestyles of the host community, etc. Schumann (1978b) defined culture shock as “anxiety resulting from the disorientation encountered upon entering a new culture” (p. 32). When a second language learner enters a new environment, he or she has to learn the social behavioral patterns and culture of the host country and the target language. During this process, the second language learner might have experienced culture shock and rejected or resisted learning the target language and culture which affects his or her adjustment to the new culture.

Culture shock can take the forms of both anxiety and alienation, and it is a transitional experience (Adler, 1975). According to Adler (1975), “[c]ulture shock has traditionally been thought of as a form of anxiety which results from the misunderstanding of commonly perceived and understood signs and symbols of social interaction” (p. 13). Moreover, Adler (1975) stated that “culture shock is a form of alienation” (p. 14). In another sense, it suggests an individual’s struggle to survive and achieve personal growth in the new culture. Also, culture shock is a transitional experience in which an individual learns and, finally, finds one’s identity (Adler, 1975). Adler (1975) stated that “[s]uch learning takes place when a person transcends the boundaries of ego, culture, and thinking” (p. 22).

Culture shock, as Oberg (1960) wrote, is “precipitated by the anxiety that results from losing all our familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse” (p. 177). We grow up learning all the symbols and symbols of interaction in our culture and are not aware or conscious of them. However, when we move to a strange culture, all the familiar signs and symbols are gone, leaving us feeling frustrated and anxious. For example, Oberg (1960) stated, “[h]e or she [an individual in a foreign country] is like a fish out of water” (p. 177).

An international student struggling to fit in or to adjust to the host culture and learn the target language is similar to suffering from schizophrenia. This concept is the same as a foreign student suffering from culture shock (Clark, 1976). Clark (1976) stated that Guiora’s concept of language ego, Gardner and Lambert’s concept of instrumental or integrative motivation, and Schumann’s concept of social distance do not include the intercultural problems a foreign student actually encounters in a foreign culture. Clark (1976) postulated that the psychological and social stress a second language learner faces is similar to suffering from schizophrenia. The schizophrenic does not understand the rules of the society, which similar to the foreign student

situation in the new culture. Clark (1976) claimed that the differences between a foreign student's home culture and the new culture affect a foreign student's cultural adjustment the most in the U.S.

Reverse Culture Shock

Foreign students might experience reverse culture shock. In Seltiz, et al.'s (1963) study, the results suggested that after the foreign students return to the home country, they might experience readjustment in the home country, and they might experience a change of attitudes toward the host country and the home country. The foreign students' identification with the host country and the acceptance in the education they receive in the host country may make the foreign students feel advanced in his home country and react critically toward the home country. In contrast, the foreign students may reject and criticize the host country and re-identify themselves in their home countries (p. 296).

Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963) stated that sojourners who have temporarily experienced the difficulties in adjusting to the foreign country might also experience the difficulties of re-adjusting to their home cultures after returning home. This acculturation and re-acculturation (post-return adjustment) or adjustment and re-adjustment process is called the W-curve hypothesis (instead of U-curve) by Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1963). In sum, a foreign student might need to re-adjust to the home culture after going back home. His or her new identity in the foreign culture might also be challenged after returning home.

Differences between Taiwanese Culture and American Mainstream Culture

I believe that Taiwanese students will experience five major differences between Taiwanese culture and the mainstream American culture: face or facework, silence or

communication avoidance, uncertainty avoidance, power distance, and high context or low context.

Face or Facework

An Asian student will need to face or overcome the problems of losing face when studying in the U.S. or other Western countries because of the difficulties faced in learning a new language and the unfamiliarity of the new culture.

Definition. Samovar, Porter, and McDaniel (2006) defined face as “a metaphor for the self-image you want to project to other people” (p. 160). Face is a product during interactions in society so one can either gain or lose it.

Facework refers to what you do to maintain your face. Ting-Toomey (2005) defined facework, as “the specific verbal and nonverbal behaviors that we engage in to maintain or restore face loss and to uphold and honor face gain” (p. 73). Samovar, et al. (2006) defined facework as “the construction and communication of face . . . facework is the various actions you engage in to acquire face for yourself or give face to someone else” (p. 160). In individualistic cultures, such as the U.S., people are more concerned with keeping their own face instead of supporting that of others. In contrast, in collectivistic cultures, such as Taiwan, people are more concerned with group or social harmony, so they would be more concerned with maintaining others’ face, giving others face, or maintaining social face more than self-face.

Face can be translated into Chinese as *lien* or *mien-tzu*. However, the meanings of *lien* and *mien-tzu* are different. Hu (1944) defined face, which can be translated to either *mien-tzu* or *lien* in Chinese, but, *mien-tzu* and *lien* have different meanings. Hu (1944) defined *mien-tzu* as

[A] reputation achieved through getting on in life, through success and ostentation. This is prestige that is accumulated by means of personal effort or clever maneuvering. For this kind of recognition ego is dependent at all times on his external environment. (p. 45)

Gaining or losing Mien-tzu depends on the group with which he/she is interacting. Mien-tzu can be earned through competition or personal effort and gained through wealth, authority, and social network (Ho, 1976, p. 870).

Hu (1944) noted that “[l]ien refers to the confidence of society in the moral character of ego” (p. 61) and defined lien that

It is the respect of the group for a man with a good moral reputation: the man who will fulfill his obligations regardless of the hardships involved, who under all circumstances shows himself a decent human being. It represents the confidence of society in the integrity of ego’s moral character, the loss of which makes it impossible for him to function properly within the community. *Lien* is both a social sanction for enforcing moral standards and an internalized sanction. (p. 45)

Lien is different from mien-tzu because mien-tzu “can be borrowed, struggled for, added to, padded, —all terms indicating a gradual increase in volume” (Hu, 1944, p. 61). However, when lien refers to an individual’s morality or character, lien cannot be bought, borrowed, or given. Lien can include Mien-tzu; nevertheless, Mien-tzu cannot include Lien. As Ho (1976) wrote, “[l]ien is something to which everyone is entitled by virtue of his membership in society and can be lost only through unacceptable conduct” (p. 870). Lien can be lost only when the individual conducts something unacceptable in certain cultures.

Losing face: tiu lien vs. tiu mien-tzu. Ting-Toomey (2005) wrote, “[f]ace loss occurs when we are being treated in such a way that our expected identity claims in a conflict situation

are challenged or ignored” (p. 73). Ho (1976) stated that “[l]osing face is an expression which, properly used, refers only to public, discrete events, as do the Chinese expressions *tiu mien-tzu* (losing *mien-tzu*) and *tiu lien*” (p. 871). A person who fails in his business does not lose face; however, if he steals money from his boss, he loses face or *tiu lien*, but not *tiu mien-tzu*. Ho (1976) explained that

A man who turns from rich to poor due to some misfortune will have less claim to *mien-tzu*, but he does not lose face in the process. Face may be lost when conduct or performance falls below the minimum level considered acceptable or when certain vital or essential requirements, as functions of one’s social position, are not satisfactorily met. (p. 871)

Face has its social and psychological functions. As for the sociological perspective or function of face, Ho (1976) wrote that “a person’s face is assessed in terms of what others think of him; the assessment does not include what a person thinks of himself, but may include what he thinks others think of him” (p. 876).

Face is to be maintained or protected from being lost in the society in order to function effectively in one’s society or culture. Ho (1976) wrote, “face is not lost merely on account of a failure to gain it, but face must be protected from being lost precisely because of the demoralizing repercussions which otherwise follow” (p. 871). Ho (1976) stated that “[n]ot everyone is eager or needs to gain face; but everyone who cares for maintaining a minimum level of effective social functioning must see to it that his face is protected from being lost” (p. 872). In sum, it does not matter if someone fails to gain face. However, it is serious if someone loses *lien* or fails to protect his/ her face from being lost.

Given all this, an individual can be defensive to protect his/her face from being lost. It's similar to a situation when someone sees or encounters danger. Ho (1976) related the psychological aspect of face to defensiveness and wrote

Face behavior takes on a defensive quality when the individual appears to be excessively concerned with protecting his cultural context. This is more likely to occur when at some level he senses danger signals (which may be exaggerated) that his face is being threatened and that he does not have the resources to protect its integrity. In any event, the more defensive the individual is, the more awkward and ineffective he is likely to be in his face-protection maneuvers. (p. 872)

Losing *lien* is far more serious than losing *mien-tzu*. Ho (1976) wrote that “[t]he psychological sequel to a loss of face is the experience of shame” (p. 876). Losing *lien* is more often accompanied by shame than losing *mien-tzu*. One always gains or loses face in front of people; however shame can be the reaction internalized i.e., one can feel ashamed (losing face) before oneself without the presence of others (Ho, 1976, p. 877).

Social face. Kim (2002) stated that social face or relational harmony is to be maintained for interdependent functions in societies by applying indirect communication, conflict avoidance, or avoidance of expressing negative or angry emotions to others.

Protecting face from being lost or saving face can dissuade Asian students from seeking help when encountering difficulties adjusting to the new culture due to the unfamiliarity of the target community's language and lifestyle. The results of Cheng, Leong, and Geist's (1993) study, suggested that because Asians would like to save face and honor their family names, Asian international students or Asian Americans may be reluctant to present their emotional, social, or interpersonal problems to counselors. The results suggested that Asians experience

more psychological or emotional problems than Caucasians, but that they present academic or career issues instead of emotional or personal problems while seeking counseling help (Cheng, et al., 1993). Counselors need to be aware that Asian international students or Asian Americans might actually be seeking help for emotional or psychological problems while presenting career or academic issues instead.

Some of the Chinese students reveal that they do not participate or ask questions in class because they do not want to “lose face” (Zhou, Knoke, & Skamoto, 2005, p. 296) in front of other students because other students will know their confusion about the content of the class.

Most of the Chinese interviewees studying at an American university revealed that studying in the U.S. made them conscious of their psychological values (cultural identity), such as “saving face” (Guan & Dodder, 2001, p. 284). Most of them revealed that when studying abroad as an ethnic minority, saving personal face is equal to saving the group’s face. They shared the same concern that if one of the Chinese makes a mistake, Americans would soon generalize the individual’s action to stereotypes and therefore make “all Chinese lose face” (Guan & Dodder, 2001, p. 285).

Silence/ Communication Avoidance

East-Asian students’ apparent silence is associated with two main factors: (a) “language communication competence,” and (b) “cultural differences from the mainstream Euro-American societies” (Zhou, Knoke, & Sakamoto, 2005, p. 288). English language proficiency and unfamiliarity with the target culture and teaching pedagogies are associated with Chinese graduate students’ silence/reticence in class in Canada according to Zhou, Knoke, and Sakamoto’s study (2005).

After Chinese students resided and studied in Canada for a certain period time, their English proficiency and cultural knowledge of the target country improved. However, these Chinese students still continue or choose to be silent in class because of several reasons: the unfamiliarity of the classmates and professors, some of the professors' dis-encouragement, the Western classmates or professors' dis-evaluation (the belief that Chinese culture, knowledge, or language is second- class) of or disinterest in the Chinese culture and language, the Western students or professors' stereotypes of Chinese culture, and unequal power between Western and Chinese culture, language, or knowledge (Zhou, Knoke, & Skamoto, 2005).

In their study of ten Chinese graduate students studying in Canada, most of the participants expressed that they seldom participated in class because of their unfamiliarity with the appropriate Canadian/Western interaction forms and basic background knowledge of the Canadian culture (Zhou, et al., 2005).

Also, due to Confucianism, modesty is strongly valued in Chinese and Taiwanese cultures; therefore, Chinese students do not tend to dominate discussions in class because that might be considered *showing off* by Chinese peers. For example, one of the Taiwanese students in the study of Martin & Nakayama (2008) stated that

In America, sometimes students talk half of the class time. Compared to my classes in Taiwan, if a student asked too many questions or expressed his or her opinions that much, we would consider the person a show-off or insincere. Consequently, this one of the difficulties I have experienced because of differences in culture. (p. 134)

Due to the influence of Confucianism, many East Asian cultures highly value silence. In contrast, Western cultures tend to highly value verbal communication. Many East Asians do not even trust speech, and they view the use of silence as a symbol of a skillful speaker. Staying

silent shows that the communicator has the ability to control conversations and read another person's mind (Martin & Nakayama, 2008). This is illustrated in many East Asian proverbs, for instance the Japanese proverb: *It is what people say that gets them into trouble*, and the Chinese proverb: *One who speaks does not know* (Martin & Nakayama, 2008).

Kim (2002) stated that silence has not been explored in sociolinguistics and communication studies. Americans prize assertiveness or speech but Japanese, Korean, or Chinese believe that silence is golden. Western cultures, which value independence, view silence as impolite or negative in many ways such as embarrassment. However, in East Asian countries, communicators who emphasize silence are viewed as competent and mature communicators (Kim, 2002).

Communication avoidance is viewed as a deficiency by Western cultures. Nonetheless, in some cultures, interdependent and collectivistic societies, especially those which focus on sensitivity to social contexts, or high-context, communication avoidance might be viewed in a positive light, or it's generally not considered to be communication avoidance (Kim, 2002). For example, in Taiwanese culture, which is interdependent and collectivistic, silence is valued highly.

Uncertainty Avoidance

According to Hofstede (1986), uncertainty avoidance “defines the extent to which people within a culture are made nervous by situations which they perceive as unstructured, unclear, or unpredictable, situations which they therefore try to avoid by maintaining strict codes of behavior and a belief in absolute truths” (p. 308). Cultures rating high on uncertainty-avoidance try to require formal written rules, regulations, planning, and ceremonies to avoid ambiguity and uncertainty, so the people in high-uncertainty cultures tend to be nervous and anxious. They

look for structured lives (Samovar, Porter, & McDaniel, 2006, p. 145). Cultures ranked low in uncertainty-avoidance are more flexible and can tolerate uncertainty or take risks. They can easily accept differences in ideas and need few rules. As a result, they are more relaxed and less tense in uncertain situations (Samovar, et al., 2006, p. 145). In accordance to Hofstede's (2001) study, Taiwan is ranked 26 out of 53 countries (Samovar, Porter, & McDaniel, 2006, p. 145), indicating a position in the mid-range in terms of uncertainty avoidance. However, in comparison to the U.S. which is ranked number 43, Taiwan is still high in uncertainty avoidance. This explains why Taiwanese students usually look for structured teaching methods from their American professors.

Power Distance

Hofstede (2001) defined power distance as “a characteristic of a culture [which] defines the extent to which the less powerful person in society accepts inequality in power and considers it as normal” (Samovar, et al., 2006, p. 146). High-power distance cultures accept inequality in their societies, and they believe that superiors and subordinates differ. Power, authority, rank, and status are common in their societies. High power-distance cultures believe that social hierarchy is normal, and people are not created equal (Samovar, et al., 2006, p. 147).

Low power-distance cultures believe that differences in power should be kept “as minimal as possible” (p. 288) according to Brislin (2000) as noted in Samovar, et al. (2006, p. 148). Superiors try to look less authoritarian and have more personal contact with subordinates in organizations for low power-distance cultures. Taiwan is ranked 29/30 out of 53 in power distance and the U.S is ranked 38 out of 53 in power distance according to Hofstede (2001) as noted in Samovar, et al. (2006). Thus, observation of power distance is more profound in Taiwan than in the U.S. For example, American professors are more accessible than Taiwanese

ones. Student-teacher relationships are different. American professors share their personal lives with students and act more like friends. American professor-student power distance is low. Because of Confucian values, Chinese students are less likely to challenge or question their teachers (Zhou, Knoke, & Skamoto, 2005) and to view teacher-student power distance as high, as it is in Taiwanese culture.

High Context or Low Context

Definition. An individual from a high context culture depends more on his/ her surroundings to provide him/ her information, while an individual from a low context culture depends on direct verbal communication for interaction and information. Hall (1976) first defined high-context and low-context cultures. He stated that

A high context (HC) communication or message is one in which most of the information is already in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicitly transmitted part of the message. A low context (LC) communication is just the opposite; i.e., the mass of the information is vested in the explicit code (p.91). (Samovar, et al., 2006, p. 158)

Collectivistic cultures are usually high context. On the other hand, individualistic culture is usually low context.

High-context cultures are very homogenous, and information often is not stated verbally. People in high-context tend to depend more on indirect communication styles, nonverbal communication, and surroundings (context) to gain information. Samovar, et al. (2006) explained the reasons and wrote

Because meaning is not necessary contained in words, in high-context cultures information is provided through inference, gestures, and even silence. High-context

cultures tend to be aware of their surroundings and can express and interpret feelings without verbally stating them. (p. 159)

Therefore, people in high-context cultures get their information “through status (age, sex, education, family background, title, and affiliations) and through an individual’s informal friends and associates” (p. 253) as Anderson (1997) noted (Samovar, et al., 2006, p. 159).

Low-context cultures are less homogenous, so they rely on verbal communication. Their communication style is direct and explicit. Because high-context cultures and low-context cultures are so different in their communication styles, misunderstandings often occur in workplaces or other settings. Individuals from low-context cultures need verbal messages to transmit information instead of depending on surroundings. High-context cultures believe that those who know do not speak, while those who speak do not know, but low-context cultures view speaking up about personal opinions positively (i.e., the proverb, *the squeaky wheel gets the grease*).

According to Hall’s (1976) theory of high or low context, Chinese, including Taiwanese, is a higher-context culture than the U.S which is low in context. As a result, Taiwanese students rely more on nonverbal communications than American students.

Coping Strategies

Helping Students Overcome Language Anxiety

It is not enough to simply understand possible causes and effects of language anxiety. As teachers, we also need to consider ways to reduce language anxiety by drawing from the previous literature on how language instructors can address foreign/second language students’ language learning experiences (Daly, 1991; Koch & Terrell, 1991; Price, 1991). Because we, as

instructors, understand that our students may experience language anxiety, we should help our students overcome it.

Nine pieces of advice for language instructors to consider exist in the literature:

1. Telling foreign/second language students to maintain realistic expectations about their own performance, for example in pronunciation and accent:

Horwitz (1988) reported that at least forty percent of each group of her subjects, Spanish, French, and German learners, emphasize the goal of speaking the target language with “an excellent accent” (p. 290). She declared that students’ beliefs about language learning influence students’ language learning strategies and expectations or commitment to learn the language. If the language learners believe that errors in writing or pronunciation have to be corrected by their instructors, and that they should develop native-like pronunciation in the target language, their language anxiety might develop. The main source of language anxiety could be the students’ beliefs toward the necessity of target language accuracy (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986; Horwitz, 1988). In fact, language learners should realize that it’s unavoidable to make mistakes when speaking, reading, or writing the target language. The problems are that language learners might be anxious when making mistakes in the target language, and that they believe it is important to avoid such mistakes (Horwitz, 1988, p. 292).

2. Providing positive evaluation:

According to MacIntyre and Gardner (1991a), Clément (1977) reported that positive teacher rating and positive course evaluation enhance students’ attitude and motivation to learn a second language and reduce language anxiety. Also, in Casado and Dereshiwsky’s (2001) study, their finding suggested that instructors should provide positive reinforcement and create a relaxing learning environment.

3. Applying suitable pedagogy to foreign language students, and teaching realistically to students' specific interests and needs:

Tice (1992) reported that the sources of language anxiety might be related to instructors' unnatural classroom approaches. Young (1990) used questionnaires to investigate the source of speaking language anxiety, language instructors' characteristics and techniques, and activities from students' perspectives. The results of Young's (1990) study suggested that students feel less anxious if they are not the only ones answering questions. They would prefer to volunteer an answer, and they are more anxious if they have to speak the foreign language in a scheduled debate. The students suggested that reading silently in the language class, repeating the target language as a class after the language instructor, practicing the target language in peer or group activities, and having students volunteer answers instead of calling on them, may reduce their anxiety in class (Young, 1990).

Second/foreign language teachers' pedagogies in teaching writing might affect students' writing language anxiety. If writing teachers only focus on grammar as the main instruction in L2 writing class, there might be two flaws: (a) L2 students do not practice to express their ideas in writing and improve their L2 writing, (b) L2 students' anxiety might develop due to worries about making mistakes in grammar (Leki, 1999, p. 68). Leki (1999) suggested that writing can be an activity and provided some heuristic activities, such as brainstorming, freewriting, looping, branching and clustering, outlining, cubing, drafting, peer responses, journals, and sequenced writing projects, to help L1 or L2 students generate ideas and reduce anxiety in writing. She emphasized that returning red marked papers makes students anxious about writing, and writing teachers should focus more on content instead of grammar or mechanics in writing to reduce students' writing anxiety (p. 67). Peer response activities can help reduce L2 learners' writing

anxiety and form a sense of community in L2 writing class, essentially, improving students' writing skills. In addition, students displaying their writing to peers to receive supportive feedback and sharing ideas or content with peers can create facilitating anxiety in L2 writing class (Leki, 1999).

Krashen (1980) stated that Terrell's Natural Approach or Asher's Total Physical Response are better approaches than deductive methods i.e., audio-lingual method, or grammar-translation because learners are not pressured to produce the target language right away in class. These methods can provide learners comprehensive input, and these methods do not focus on learners' second language accuracy (p. 175). By using Dulay and Burt's (1977) term, *affective filter*, Krashen (1980) reported that teaching methods (e.g., Terrell's Natural Approach or Asher's Total Physical Response) help keep students' *affective filter* down, and leave learners open to input (p. 175); therefore, they can reduce language learners' language anxiety.

4. Providing a trusting and relaxing learning environment:

Phillips, Lo, and Yu (2002) stated that providing a trusting and accepting environment for students to express opinions can reduce foreign language anxiety, especially for Asian students who might be concerned about power distance and loss of face in the foreign language classroom which reduce the opportunities to practice and learn the foreign or second language. Likewise, Young (1990) pointed out that teachers' sense of humor and relaxed or patient demeanor would reduce students' foreign language speaking anxiety.

Stroud and Wee (2006) offered pedagogies (i.e., *crossing* or *double-crossing*), which included role-playing between teachers and students or among students in the target language class to reduce students' identity-based anxiety in language classes.

5. Being a facilitator or a friend instead of an authoritarian:

Language instructors' self images need to change from authoritarian driller to facilitator. Instructors need to motivate students to take a risk (Brown, 1973), and be sensitive in correcting students' errors in order to avoid causing language anxiety (Samimy, 1994). In peer response activities, Leki (1999) stated that the teachers' role can change from judge or evaluator to coach, facilitator, participant, or collaborator.

Based on diaries, the students' attitudes toward the language learning seem to relate to the teachers' personality (Cohen & Norst, 1989). Cohen and Norst (1989) stated that teachers' personal qualities are more important than their knowledge and professional skills in the L2 (p. 75). They reported that "a critical factor, if not the factor, is the warmth, friendliness, empathy and personal commitment of the teacher to the students as people rather than as pupils" (p. 75).

6. Being sensitive about error-correction and informing students that making mistakes in the target language is inevitable:

Young (1990) stated that, interestingly, most of the participants expect their language teachers to correct their mistakes in class; however, they also reported that they were anxious about making mistakes in front of their classmates and teachers because of the risk of loss of self-esteem. The majority of the students agree that if it is commonly understood that making mistakes in the target language is inevitable, they will not be self-conscious in speaking the language in class (Young, 1990, p. 545). Young (1990) provided an teaching approach to error correction in language class to reduce student's anxiety by modeling or providing "the correct version of what the students are attempting to say" (p. 550) and have the student repeat after the teachers' correct version.

7. Being aware of students' non-verbal behavior which might indicate language anxiety:

Pappamihel (2002) stated that teachers need to understand ELL students' anxiety. In Gregersen's (2007) study, he found that instructors who are explicitly instructed in the non-verbal cues indicative of foreign language anxiety can accurately (73%) decode the non-verbal behavior of anxious students. He suggested including non-verbal behavior awareness trainings for language teachers to identify learners who struggle with language anxiety (Gregersen, 2007).

8. Being aware of the foreign/second language students' native culture and learning style:

Culture shock on the part of the students and intercultural sensitivity on the part of the professors can play a significant role in the relationship, interaction, and communication between the language instructor and students. In Koskinen and Tossavainen's (2003) study, the finding was that the tutor-student relationships did not contain much intercultural reflection, and that the language barrier sometimes resulted in communication problems between tutors and students. Students who study abroad need a wide, supportive social network because studying in a foreign country could be stressful. Teachers need to share power with students, to be self-aware, to work to become a reflective practitioner, and to emphasize reflection on students' language learning and cultural experiences in the foreign country (Schön, 1987). In Ohata's (2004) dissertation, his findings suggest that Japanese culture of the "face" has a great influence on these seven Japanese students' language learning anxiety and language learning experiences. In language instruction, second students' native culture cannot be ignored and may influence second language students' language learning achievement and cultural adjustment.

In Pappamihel's (2002) study, the results suggested that the ESL students' anxiety goes up in the mainstream classroom. The participants claimed that they were not so nervous when their teachers spoke a little Spanish in the mainstream class. Wu (2002) also suggested that language instructors need to be aware of the foreign language students' native culture, learning

style, expectations, and develop intercultural sensitivity (intercultural communication) with students. Instructors also need to offer support and work to build trust with foreign students. Instructors' support helps foreign students' academic study including language learning and cultural adjustment in the foreign country. Instructors also need to acknowledge and understand students' frustrations, conflicts, and problems of cultural adjustment at American universities, and language anxiety during the transition between different pedagogic cultures.

In Wu's (2002) study, Chinese students' self-perceived expectations of their learning was not in line with the professors' teaching style in the foreign country, and this caused him to transfer to another university in the UK. Wu stated that Chinese students' contradictory expectations about learning involve issues such as discipline and freedom. Foreign students' educational background, style, and native culture all probably influence students' language learning experience and adjustment to American university life.

9. Discussing language anxiety with students in class (Bailey et al., 2003; Horwitz & Young, 1991):

Instructors' discussion on language anxiety might help language learners understand the anxiety they might experience in language classes or share their experiences of language anxiety with other students who also experience it to ease it.

Helping Students Overcome Cultural Adjustment

Based on the previous literature, there are four pieces of advice for instructors to consider in order to help international students overcome cultural adjustment:

1. Providing pre-departure orientation program:

Klein, et al. (1971) described a pre-departure orientation program in Taiwan for the soon-to-depart students to help them to learn specific techniques to overcome "interactional

difficulties with Americans” (p. 86) and adjust better into American campus life. This type of orientation program may be helpful for Taiwanese students to solve the problem of social isolation in the U.S. or the withdrawal problem of falling into co-national organizations. The orientation program requires Taiwanese students to role play as American or Taiwanese in social situations and to learn the required interactional social behaviors, cues, and modes. The program can make Taiwanese students more sensitive to “habitual modes of social behavior and [teach them] to practice new modes” (Klein, et al., 1971, p. 87). Also, an international student needs to be open-minded, ready to try the new; he/she needs to be flexible and interested in making friends with both hosts and the co-nationals in order to adjust successfully in a foreign country.

2. Finding culturally-specific methods to provide help and recognizing that international students from specific cultures may be reluctant to seek help:

Constantine, et al., (2004) asserted that psychologists need to find more culturally related methods to help international students cope with depression and acculturative stress to prevent them from mental health problems (p. 238). Psychologists need to make intensive outreach efforts to help international students to deal with acculturative stress because many international students’ reluctance to seek counseling help (Constantine, et al., 2004, pp. 238-239).

3. Encouraging foreign students to make friends with the local community:

Resolution of culture shock could also include contacts with the local people, improving target language skills, increasing familiarity with the local culture or local people’s lifestyle, etc. Oberg (1960) stated that the quickest way to get over culture shock is to get to know the local people. However, first of all, the individual has to learn the target language because language is the key to communicating with the local people. Also, the individual has to find out what and how the host people do things and what their interests are, for example, what they usually do in

their spare time. It is essential to understand the local people's ways of life, and this does not mean that you have to give up your own culture. You might develop two patterns of behavior (Oberg, 1960, p. 182). These two patterns of behavior are similar to the development of two identities in a new culture.

4. Teaching the culture of the target language:

Keeping with this theme of discussing cultural material with learners, a language instructor needs to be aware of the importance of teaching the culture of the target language. Clark (1976) claimed that a foreign/second language teacher cannot change a foreign language student's language ego, motivation, or his/her status in the foreign language country; however, the teacher can be aware of and can inform students of difficulties in social contexts the learner may encounter in the new country. Clark (1976) indicated that language instructors need to teach social contexts as well as the target language. In particular, Clark (1976) suggested that explicitly teaching the social contexts of the target culture can cure foreign students' culture shock.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I will introduce the research design for the current study including the setting, recruitment of the participants, and data collection instruments. I will also discuss my choice of qualitative research design, and the characteristics of case studies, individual in-depth interviews, and a focus group meeting, which are central to this study's methodology. The main sources of data collection for the study are a questionnaire, a writing exercise, individual in-depth interviews, a focus group meeting, reflective journals, and field notes. To achieve validity, I used these methods to triangulate the data that I collected and analyzed. Later in this chapter, I will discuss ethical issues, generalizability, reliability, validity, my role as the sole researcher, and the writing process.

As Denzin and Lincoln (2003) stated, the researcher's choice of research method depends on the research questions. For the present study, I have determined that a qualitative research design is best suited to providing data that will answer my research questions, which were introduced in Chapter 1.

Qualitative Research Design

In comparing quantitative and qualitative research, it is clear that a qualitative design is best suited to exploring questions of this nature. Denzin and Lincoln (2003) stated that “[q]uantitative researchers are deliberately unconcerned with rich descriptions because such detail interrupts the process of developing generalizations” (p. 16). In contrast, the goal of a qualitative study is to understand a unique, descriptive account of an experience, event, or person. Individual experiences or personal stories cannot be coded in numerical form, and only

qualitative research can vividly describe the participants' personal narratives, stories, or experiences (Ogulnick, 1998).

Qualitative research allows researchers to receive descriptive information from their subjects of a type that is not easily assessed or investigated through quantitative research methodology. It can also provide a way to view phenomena from the point of view of the subject, in ways that are not available in quantitative studies.

Setting

The study took place at a mid-sized Midwestern university in the United States. According to the university's Office of International Affairs, in recent years, there has been a stable population of over 600 international students registered. These include just over 100 Taiwanese students, about less than a third of whom are graduate students.

The university is located in a small town setting which features a relatively homogeneous local population. The institution offers a broad range of study programs in the humanities and professional fields. Many of the Taiwanese graduate students are pursuing degrees in business or TESOL. Interviews took place in the university library, a coffee house, or any place which made them feel comfortable.

Participants

The participants for the study were chosen from among those who meet the criteria given here. The first group of participants was asked to complete a modified version of the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale, a self-report questionnaire designed by Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1986). These participants were

1. Taiwanese graduate students who are studying in an American university;
2. who learned to speak English as a foreign language in Taiwan; and

3. who have at least completed high school while still living In Taiwan.

After the initial stage of the study, judging from the questionnaire responses, I invited the respondents, who had indicated a willingness to be interviewed, and who had experienced language anxiety as measured by their responses to the questionnaire and open-ended statements, to participate in the interview phase of the study.

Procedure for Recruiting Participants

Initially, I contacted the leader of the Taiwanese Students Association at the university and explained to him the nature of my study in order to gather their members' personal contact information; I asked him for contact information and for permission to contact the members of the group. Because there were approximately only twenty-five Taiwanese graduate students registered at the university, I emailed or called them and explained to them the nature of my study. I invited them to participate in the first phase of the study, and named a time and place on campus (the library) where they came in person to fill out the questionnaire; alternatively, for any student who preferred to fill out the questions online, I asked them to reply to my email asking for a copy. Those who replied by email were asked to return the questionnaire within two weeks. I told them that their participation in the study would be voluntary. When additional participants were needed, I contacted them through my initial group of participants.

After I processed the questionnaire results from this group, those Taiwanese graduate students who responded in a way that indicated that they have experienced language anxiety were invited to participate in the interview phase of my study. I contacted them by whatever means they preferred (telephone or email), and explained the study to them in detail. At that point, I met with them and provided informed consent forms to them, assuring them that their participation in this study is completely voluntary and that they could choose to leave the study

any time if they were not comfortable continuing to participate. Those scheduled to participate in interviews were given consent forms to sign for that part of the study.

As a next step, I gave the interview participants demographic forms to fill out. I collected basic demographic information, such as age, length of stay in the U.S., self-report of English proficiency, the year they arrived in the U.S., and the program in which they are studying. They were then scheduled to participate in one writing exercise and three personal in-depth interviews with me: At these interviews, I asked them about their schedules, so that I would be able to invite as many as possible to participate in a group interview. All interviews and group meetings were tape-recorded with the students' permission. The writing exercise took approximately 15 minutes. Each interview and group meeting took approximately 60 minutes. The names of the subjects were substituted by pseudonyms for the sake of anonymity: Again, all participants were informed that they would be able to withdraw from the study at any time.

The Research Design

Qualitative Research

Qualitative research focuses on natural situations, events, or activities: Denzin and Lincoln (2003) reported that, in qualitative research, the researcher examines a situated activity by employing interviews, tape- or video-recordings, memos, field notes, observations, etc. Having gathered the data, the researcher then attempts to make sense of and interpret the phenomena.

Denzin and Lincoln (2003) reported that “[q]ualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry” (p. 13). They go on to state that qualitative researchers can capture the participants' perspective with rich descriptions of the

processes involved in exploring the research question; this allows the readers, the participants, and the researcher to understand the meaning of the research topic, from the various perspectives that these roles imply.

Qualitative researchers search for in-depth understanding. Qualitative researchers look for the uniqueness of each case they study, and they look closely at the context to help reach the insights they seek. Qualitative researchers also utilize narratives (stories or interpretations) to help provide a “thick description” (Stake, 1995, p. 43) of each case.

Pavlenko (2002) emphasized that L2 learners’ personal narratives are extremely important in the TESOL field because the learners’, the teachers’, and the researcher’s voices can be heard as each position holds its own perspective on the process of learning the target language (p. 214).

For qualitative research, the researcher is the main instrument for collecting the data and analyzing the data, and he/she has to involve herself with the people and settings she studies. The research uses an inductive strategy, one where the research builds theories through understanding and observation in the field rather than evaluating existing theories (Merriam, 1998, p. 7). Also, the product of qualitative study is “richly descriptive” (p. 8), and the methodology is “emergent and flexible” in order to adapt to any situations which may change while the study is in progress (p. 8). The selection of the sample is usually “nonrandom, purposeful, and small,” and the researcher spends plenty of time “in the natural setting of the study,” often having “intense contact with participants” (p. 8).

Merriam (1998) stated that qualitative research is “an umbrella concept covering several forms of inquiry that help us understand and explain the meaning of social phenomena with as little disruption of the natural setting as possible” (p. 5). There are many kinds of inquiry that fall under the heading of qualitative research. Terms cited by Merriam (1998) in this respect are

the following: “naturalistic inquiry, interpretive research, field study, participant observation, inductive research, case study, and ethnography” (p. 5). As these share many common elements, I will look more closely at case study.

Ethnography

The present study is best characterized as a qualitative multicase study. However, since the term *ethnography* has been used interchangeably with *qualitative research*, *case study*, etc. (Merriam, 1988), and the case studies utilize many of the features of ethnographic research, it is appropriate to reflect here briefly on the characteristics of ethnography. Also, the present study utilized ethnographic techniques in conducting individual interviews. Agar (1980) emphasized that ethnography aims at achieving a comprehensive understanding of some human group to learn from them in order to understand their ways of doing certain things and viewing their realities. An ethnographer enters a group’s life and directly learns from them. Chambers (2003) stated that “the strength of ethnography is its capacity to identify cultural patterns that provide reason and meaningfulness to human values and behaviors” (p. 407). Studies ranging from Spradley (1979) to Merriam (1998) have focused on similar attributes of ethnographic study. Ethnographic analysis aims at providing rich and thick description (Merriam, 1998). Spradley (1979) stated that ethnography means “learning from people” rather than “studying people” (p. 3). Besides, an ethnographer’s aim is to discover the insider’s view. The ethnographer aims to place himself in the informants’ shoes in order to understand their lifestyles, values, and their worldviews from their points of view.

An ethnographer interprets the data and makes sure the interpretation makes sense. Then, the ethnographer collects more data, and revises the interpretation in a continuous process as the study progresses. While the present study has not engaged in the deep and prolonged contact

needed for an ethnography, it has been useful for me to keep the principles and lessons of ethnography in mind.

Case Study

The case is “a specific, a complex, functioning thing” (Stake, 1995, p. 2). In a case study, the researcher “[tries] to understand how the actors, the people being studied, see things” (Stake, 1995, p. 12).

Stake (1995) stated “[t]he real business of case study is particularization, not generalization. We take a particular case and come to know it well, not primarily as to how it is different from others but what it is, what it does” (p. 8). Therefore, qualitative case study is very much personal study. Stake (1995) later emphasized that “[t]he way the case and the researcher interact is presumed unique and not necessary reproducible for other cases and researchers” (p. 135).

Merriam (1998) stated that a case study presents “an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a single, bounded unit” (p. 193). In the process, descriptive data “are used to develop theoretical assumptions held or to illustrate, support, or challenge theoretical assumptions held prior to the data gathering” (Merriam, 1998, p. 38). The goal of an evaluative case study “involve[s] description, explanation, and judgment” (Merriam, 1998, p. 38).

The intent of these case studies is descriptive because the goal of my study is to understand these Taiwanese graduate students’ accounts of personal experiences of language anxiety and cultural adjustment in the U.S. I focus on rich descriptions of their private experiences, and I do not judge or evaluate their personal experiences on the topic.

Data Collection Instruments

As noted earlier, I employed an adapted version of the self-reported questionnaire, FLCAS, followed by a demographic information sheet, a writing exercise, three in-depth interviews, and a focus group interview. In addition, I used individual and group interview guides for myself, field notes, and reflective journals as additional support for these primary sources of data collection. Also, I spoke Chinese Mandarin during the data collection process because Chinese Mandarin is my native language and more importantly, that of my participants. In the next sections, I will discuss each step in the research process..

Data Collection

First Step

First informed consent form. When Taiwanese graduate students were willing to participate in the study and fill out the questionnaire, I provided them the first Informed Consent Form.

Questionnaire. There are several reasons I choose to administer the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS) by Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1986) as a preliminary measure of language anxiety. First, the 33- item measure, using a 5-point likert scale ranging from *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree*, is a self-report questionnaire. Second, its purpose is to examine foreign students' language anxiety. However, I needed to make two adjustments to the questionnaire. Since the original questionnaire focuses almost exclusively on classroom experience, I added several items to examine cultural adjustment. Also, I have adapted the phrases *foreign language* to *English* and *foreign language classes* to *classes in the U.S.*, to reflect the setting of this study. In item 11 on the questionnaire, I told the participants that the category

English classes consist of all the classes they have taken in the U.S. For the adapted version of the questionnaire, see Appendix C.

Second Step

Second informed consent form. When the questionnaire indicated that they had experienced language anxiety, I invited them to participate in in-depth individual interviews and group meetings. I provided them with the second Informed Consent Form.

Demographic information sheet. I gave them the demographic information sheet to fill out and scheduled them for interviews and a group meeting.

Writing exercise. Before the first interview, I invited the participants to write down their experiences with language learning in the U.S. The exercise took them approximately 15 minutes. I asked them to write short paragraphs in answer to each of these three questions in the exercise. The demographic information sheet, along with these questions, are provided in Appendix D.

Interview guide. I created an interview guide for myself to make sure certain topics were covered during each interview. Interview questions needed to be understandable to my participants. Therefore, I avoided jargon or professional terms from any specific field. The interview guide can also be found in Appendix E.

Individual interviews: three stages. The interview process is outlined here in more detail. In the first interview, I asked the participants to recall and reflect on their previous experiences. They recalled their own experiences as second language learners and reflected on their language anxiety and cultural adjustment in class or in any social settings when they were newly arrived in the U.S.

In the second interview, I asked my participants to reflect on their present experiences of language anxiety and cultural adjustment as second language learners in academic or social settings, as well as recalling their past experiences. I reviewed their responses from the last interview as a way of forming a transition into the new topics.

In the third interview, I asked the participants to summarize their past and recent experiences as language and culture learners in the U.S. and asked for any final thoughts they may have. I interviewed them in a more in-depth manner about the topics they mentioned during the previous interviews which I believed were significant to the study.

As noted above, the nature of the individual interviews in my study was semi-structured. As a result, I took advantage of both structured and unstructured techniques of individual interviews. I strove to be a good listener, to learn from my participants, and to build trust and rapport with my participants.

Patton's (1990) notion of *empathic neutrality* indicates that the interviewer shows empathy toward the participants' situations and makes efforts to understand the participants' ideas, experiences, and opinions without providing personal comments. Neutralization, according to Swagler and Ellis (2003), means that the interviewers let the participants know that they are open to listen to their negative sides of experiences because life experiences contain positive and negative components (p. 424). Because of the participants' home culture (e.g., Taiwan), it might be hard for them to express the negative experiences they have in the U.S. As a result, it was especially important for me to welcome the participants' stories about negative experiences.

To help put the participants at ease, I shared my own personal stories of language anxiety and cultural adjustment with them in order to build rapport with them, so they felt comfortable

sharing their personal stories with me. Wolcott (1994) stated that a researcher should connect the account with his or her personal experience to better achieve or understand himself or herself. Also, Wolcott (1994) stated that “[t]o the extent that my feelings and personal reactions seem relevant to a case, I try to reveal them: the greater their possible influence, the more attention they receive and the earlier they appear in the account” (p. 352). On the other hand, Ellis and Bochner (2003) reported that “[w]e like to think we have a lot to teach people in the public sector, but they have a lot to teach us as well, if we just listen” (p. 245). I hope that my study can help me to better understand myself and provide me with personal growth by listening to and learning from my participants’ personal stories.

Third Step

A focus group interview. I invited all of my participants to come and meet one another in order to discuss their experiences with language anxiety (Pappamihel, 2002; Ohata, 2004) and problems with cultural adjustment together, and to reflect on their individual experiences with language anxiety and cultural adjustment in the U.S. and the influence of these experiences on their lives, in terms of what they learned through the previous experiences and how they would be better able to deal with similar events in the future. One person spoke at a time, to help me keep track of their names and statements.

Madriz (2003) stated that focus groups give the participants a safe environment to share their stories with the people from the same ethnic background (p. 364). Homogeneity in background, age, and class for focus group participants helps the flow of the conversations within participants. However, I kept in mind that participants might choose socially recognized positions during the focus group discussions (Marková, Linell, Grossen, & Orvig, 2007). Also, Marková, et al. (2007) contended that even though their sex, age, life experiences, or other

external criteria based on the research topic, are the same, the participants are heterogeneous, not homogeneous, because they adopt different positions in the discourse among other participants and the moderator. In this sense, strangers are better than acquaintances because friends might take the information the researcher is investigating for granted. In the current study, I have the same background as my participants. Although the Taiwanese students who are the participants in the current study all come from Taiwan, they were strangers to me. So, this technique, the focus group, was an appropriate approach to use for the study. The goal was to gain their own ideas, experiences and stories on the topic of the study. Madriz (2003) reported that “[a] facilitator of the same racial or ethnic background contributes to participants’ feelings that the facilitator shares with them common experiences” (p. 380). By using the focus group, I hoped to probe for information which might not have been revealed during the individual interviews. Also, using the focus group provided an opportunity to observe each of the participants’ reactions to different opinions or ideas. Stewart, Shamdasani, and Rook (2007) wrote

Focus groups allow respondents to react to and build on the responses of other group members. This synergistic effect of the group setting may result in the production of data or ideas that might not have been uncovered in individual interviews. Differences of opinion among group members also help researchers identify how and why individuals embrace or reject particular ideas, communications, or products. (p. 43)

Before the focus group interview began, I drew a diagram of their seating arrangement. This helped to recall the names of the participants when transcribing the transcripts. Also, before the group interview, Morgan (1998) claimed that researchers need to keep track of the participants’ names or give them IDs to record who said what during group discussions

(Krueger, 1998). Therefore, I recorded each of my participants' names and their statements during the focus group interviews. One person talked at a time. During the focus group interview, I asked my participants to explain when I did not clearly understand what they said. I modified the interview questions or looked for confirmation of the emerging ideas or themes (Krueger, 1998).

After the focus group interview was over, and the participants were gone, I immediately checked the quality of the digital recording. I kept in mind that if the quality was not good, I would need to reconstruct the discussion using my field notes. Also, it was important to debrief, reflecting on the interview immediately (i.e., the most important themes and ideas discussed, differences from what I expected, how it differed from the previous interview, selecting quotes which needed to be remembered and recorded in the report, points that needed to be recorded in the report, unexpected or unanticipated findings, anything that needed to be done differently for the next focus group meeting), while the memories were still fresh by voice recording it or writing it down. After that, the transcriptions and field notes were analyzed.

Group interviews were first introduced by Robert Merton and Paul Lazarsfeld during the early 1940s (Madriz, 2003, p. 366). Fontana and Frey (2003) stated that “[t]he use of the group interview has ordinarily been associated with marketing research under the label of *focus group*, where the purpose is to gather consumer opinion on product characteristics, advertising themes, or service delivery” (p. 71). There are various types of group interviews, and they “can . . . be used successfully to aid respondents’ recall of specific events or to stimulate embellished descriptions of events (e.g., a disaster or a celebration) or experiences shared by members of a group” (Fontana & Frey, 2003, p. 71). Group interviews can also be used as triangulation methods (Fontana & Frey, 2003, p. 71).

The purpose of this group interview was to confirm or clarify the responses obtained from the individual interviews. Most importantly, I had the participants restate or summarize the significance of their experiences (i.e., their thoughts and feelings) on language anxiety and cultural adjustment, what they do or did to overcome them, and what they will do to cope with their anxiety and adjustment in the future in the U.S. Krueger (1993) reported that having the respondents summarize their points of view toward the critical topics at the end of the discussion could be beneficial. Also, I asked each respondent to make a final statement to clarify what he or she said during the group interviews because their points of view may have appeared inconsistent during the discussion.

Also, the goal of the use of focus group interviews is to find out as many participants' experiences and feelings related to the topic as possible. Consequently, the researcher should express his/her interest in learning from them (Morgan & Krueger, 1993). Focus group results aim toward specification, not generalization. When the goal of a study is to research complex behavior, attitudes, motivation, and past experiences, focus groups can be a useful tool for the researcher (Morgan & Krueger, 1993). Besides, combining focus groups with other approaches can be helpful when trying to understand complex behavior or experiences. Group interviews can provide the data in a different level and "could be a source of validation" (Frey & Fontana, 1993, p. 25).

The nature of the focus group interview was to use the *funnel approach*. As noted earlier, the funnel approach is employing open discussion in the beginning and employing narrower topic questions and a more controlled approach in the end. By using the funnel approach in the focus group interview, I let the participants express their general views first and then in the end answer the questions which interested me. The discussion lasted around 60 minutes. "Ice-

breaker” (p. 49) questions and “discussion-starter” (Morgan, 1997, p. 49) questions were presented at the beginning of the discussion.

Ice-breaker questions aim for the participants to introduce themselves. *Discussion-starter questions* aim to present the basic topic to be discussed in the group. At the end of the discussion, I asked the respondents to give a summary statement for some of the participants who had held back on their thoughts. Also, I asked each of my participants a final question about what he or she thought was the most important element of the discussion to help with the interpretation of the data.

Unlike traditional structured interviews, where the researcher usually controls or has previously designed the questions and the response choices for the interviewees (Madriz, 2003, p. 366), Denzin and Lincoln (2003) reported that

Focus groups reduce the distance between the researcher and the researched. The multivocality of the participants limits the control of the researcher over the research process. The unstructured nature of focus group conversations also reduces the researcher’s control over the interview process. (pp. 57-58)

Madriz (2003) stated that the use of focus groups is a useful technique for researchers “who attempt to remain as close as possible to accounts of everyday life while trying to minimize the distance between themselves and their research participants” (p.368). Focus groups can minimize the impact the researcher has on the subjects, make the voices of the participants heard, and validate the data as well (Madriz, 2003, p. 368). In other words, focus groups can decrease the influence from the researcher to the participants and balance the power between participants and the researcher. Focus groups techniques empower participants (Madriz, 2003, p. 373).

Focus groups can also serve to gather follow-up data for the primary method and can be the follow-up approach to clarify the findings from another method. In an individual interview, the researcher can hear the individual's experience in detail, and the information provides a basis for the questions to ask in the focus group interviews. In addition, focus groups can help confirm the data obtained from the individual interviews.

It is especially important that the researcher establishes rapport with the participants to obtain "high-quality information" (Madriz, 2003, p. 380) in the case of focus groups. The participants might be reserved or uncomfortable talking about their opinions and personal experiences in front of strangers. Moreover, Madriz (2003) pointed out that the participants might feel pressured to agree with other participants, and "it is important to let participants know that it is acceptable—for them to disagree on issues" (p. 381). Equally important, I let the participants know that all the information they gave me is valuable and that there can be no right or wrong answers during the discussions.

Madriz (2003) stated that using settings which are familiar to the participants' to conduct group interviews can defuse the influence of the researcher (p. 374). As I mentioned earlier, I tried to meet the participants at the places most convenient and comfortable for them, such as the university they attend. In addition, as noted earlier, because these participants were all from Taiwan and studying at the same university in the U.S., I thought they might be freer to express their personal experiences with other participants from similar backgrounds in the focus group interview.

Madriz (2003) reported that "[r]ather than giving voice to the other, or knowing the other, focus groups open possibilities of listening to the plural voices of Others" (p. 372). The participants in focus groups can challenge one another's responses, contradictions, and stimulate

the other participants' involvement in the discussion. The participants' experiences can be validated by listening to other participants' similar experiences. The use of focus groups can stimulate the participants to speak about their personal experiences, empower them, and give them strength to know that other participants' might have experiences similar to theirs.

As mentioned in Madriz (2003), Fernández found out that focus groups may allow access to research participants who may find one-on-one, face-to-face interaction 'scary' or 'intimidating' (p. 364). Focus groups have a clear advantage over individual interviews: which is that the researcher might observe the participants during the processes of the group interviews. Also, Fontana and Frey (2003) stated that "[t]hey [group interviews] are relatively inexpensive to conduct and often produce rich data that are cumulative and elaborative; they can be stimulating for respondents, aiding recall; and the format is flexible" (p. 73), since the topic of the current study requires my participants to recall or reflect on their previous personal experiences on language anxiety and cultural adjustment in the U.S.

Overview of Individual Interviews and Focus Group Interviews

Interviews can be used both to obtain a subjective description of the interviewee's own experiences and to investigate specific questions of interest to the researcher. The interviews I conducted were semi-structured with open-ended questions.

As noted earlier, there were three in-depth individual interviews and a focus group meeting. Each interview took around 60 minutes. After the personal interviews, there was a focus group meeting (about 60 minutes) in which participants were prompted to elaborate more on what was said in the interviews, as well as to react to each others' comments. I tape-recorded and transcribed both individual and group interviews.

The interviews and group meeting were semi-structured in order to allow my participants to tell their personal stories and experiences or share them with the other participants in the group meeting. I approached the interview with a set of general, open-ended questions, but then allowed a more flexible interchange as I encouraged participants to elaborate or follow up on their first response. Agar (1980) proposed that what he calls a 'funnel' approach could be the best approach while doing ethnography; a funnel approach involves beginning interviews with broad topics in a casual tone, and only gradually moving to narrower focus on the topic of interest in the study:

You begin wide-open to whatever you can learn, but within such a broad boundary, you are already bouncing between learning and checking what you have learned. . . . As you begin to focus your interest on certain topics, the funnel narrows. . . . As the funnel narrows, your questions may get more and more specific, but you never stop learning. (p. 136)

A similar concept is worded in terms of using 'grand tour' questions, followed by 'mini tour' questions (Spradley, 1979).

I avoided yes-no questions because the goal of the study is to obtain descriptive, personal accounts of my participants' experiences. I double-checked any ambiguous or unclear responses from each of the participants, either immediately or in the next interview with him/her, to make sure that I completely understood what my participants meant to say. In addition, I later engaged in member checking, allowing the participants to verify their responses in relevant transcripts as I had transcribed some of them. I also took field notes on the interviews, especially immediately after each interview.

Field Notes

Field notes are “working notes” (Agar, 1980, p. 113) which can help me prepare questions to follow up on previous interviews or to remind myself of something that I have to make sure to do in the next interviews. Because I might have my own thoughts about a certain setting or informant, it is necessary to write field notes to correct it in order to avoid my biases.

Wolcott (1994) stated that he prefers to write field notes during interviews or right after interviews are over. Besides, he stated that note-taking in the early stages of data collection is good for developing a narrative account. He also stated that

By recording as soon as possible, to capture words and events as observed, I try to minimize the potential influence of some line of interpretation or analysis that might have me remembering and recording too selectively or reinterpreting behavior prior to recording it. (p. 349)

Wolcott (1994) reported that he prefers to record data as accurately as possible when he is doing fieldwork. He emphasized that he will include comments or observations that he does not understand in his field notes. Also, Wolcott (1994) reported that making use of the first impression can be good for the introduction, and it is good to write the researcher’s feelings about the context in the first place. However, the researcher should avoid reaching premature conclusions or trying to confirm such premature conclusion in a later group, because these might reflect the researcher’s bias (Morgan, 1997).

Reflective Journals

After I listened to my participants’ stories, I wrote my thoughts and feelings on their experiences and reflected on my experiences in my reflective journals. Each of the participants’ stories is different, but some might be similar to my own experiences. Some of their stories

might also be similar to each others'. Reflective journals helped me think about my role in the study, in turn, allowing me to improve the methodology of the research.

Also, reflective journals can contain an ethnographer's "personal accounts," (Agar, 1980, p. 113) that record the reactions the researcher has in the field settings and from the participants. According to Spradley (1979), reflective journals should include the ethnographer's personal reflective account of the reactions of the informants, feelings toward the process of the interviews, problems, other people, ideas, fears, etc. After conducting, and during the analysis of the data, the ethnographer can read the field notes and realize his or her personal biases and feelings in the study.

Merriam (1998) used the term *interview log* to describe reflective journals. She stated that the interview log captures the points of each interview. The researcher does not transcribe the interviews: Instead he or she writes down in the log the position of the interviewee's comments in an interview, notes, the interviewee's id number, the company where the interviewee works, and the gender of the interviewee. As a result, it becomes very convenient when the researcher goes back to the tape and confirms the findings at the end of the study. It saves time and helps the researcher analyze the data and find patterns in the later stage of analyzing.

Data Analysis

Researchers should analyze the data right after each focus group interview to determine the topics for the next interview or to identify areas where they need to probe further.

Researchers need to not only consider the intensity (i.e., speed, volume of tones, emotion, and emphases of certain words) of a focus group participant but also pay more attention to specific and personal experience than to vague or impersonal response from a focus group participant.

When analyzing, Krueger (1998) remarked that he will focus on meaning instead of words because some focus group participants might be better at the usage of words than others. Focus group participants might comment on the previous participant's response or try to balance out the response when the researcher asks an open-ended question. Researchers also need to be concerned about and watch out for focus group participants' inconsistent responses or response changes because they are sometimes influenced and persuaded by other participants' responses.

Furthermore, researchers need to be aware of the frequency of certain views. Certain issues mentioned the most frequently are not necessarily the most important, even though many participants mention the issues during the group interview. In contrast, when a certain topic is not mentioned in the focus group, it does not mean it is not significant.

Equally important, Krueger (1998) declared that he will analyze answers question by question and look for themes within answers in a question. After that, he will analyze themes across questions. The other way is that he will also create themes before, during, and after the interviews and organize the results around themes. To sum up, the goal is to achieve the purpose of the study.

Similarly, in Krueger's (1998) book, Casey, one of the expert roundtable participants, pointed out that she puts all the answers to one question from all the focus groups on one side on her computer and the question on the other side. Then, she would read all of the answers for one question and look for trends, patterns, and themes in the answers. She does not transcribe all of the tapes: She deletes the quotes she does not need, and keeps all the quotes which share the same theme. After that, she has a master transcript. Finally, she will make sure her results truly reflect what the participants said (Krueger, 1998, pp. 81-85).

Another participant in Krueger's (1998) expert roundtable, Rausch (1998) reported that, first of all, she reads through the transcriptions, and then annotates and highlights the key findings and potential quotes. Next, she writes a rough draft of the detailed findings. After that, she goes back to read the transcriptions and find the quotes best describing the key findings. Later, she re-reads and edits her draft and thinks about what to write for her executive summary. After that, she writes an executive summary with the key findings, recommendations, and conclusions to be placed in the beginning of the report. Finally, she appends the discussion guide and any other related materials (Krueger, 1998).

Wolcott (1994) reported that "[a]nalysis is . . . more concerned with being right as far as it goes than goes as far as it can" (p. 175), and that one way of using the data is to keep the data as originally recorded and to treat the descriptive data as facts. Also, Wolcott (1994) suggested that the researcher can "draw long excerpts from one's [his/her] field notes or repeat the informants' words so that informants themselves seem to tell their stories" (p. 10). The strategy is to let the data speak for themselves in order to avoid bias.

As for analysis, Wolcott (1994) reported that "[t]he goal is to make sense of what goes on, to reach out for understanding or explanation beyond the limits of what can be explained with the degree of certainty usually associated with analysis" (pp. 10-11). Similarly, Stake (1995) acknowledged that analysis of qualitative study is to make sense of the data. Also, Merriam (1998) emphasized "data analysis is the process of making sense out of the data" (p. 178) and a process of "making meaning" (p. 178). By pulling the data apart and putting it back together, I attempted to make sense of the data. I read, and re-read the transcriptions and my field notes, listened and re-listened the tapes to better analyze, make sense, understand, and interpret the case meaningfully on my own in order to find themes and patterns of each

participant's responses. Next, the transcriptions were coded based on the repetition of certain themes.

In the analysis stage, Wolcott (1994) recommended that a researcher "keep breaking down the elements until there are small enough units to invite rudimentary analysis, then begin to build the analysis up from there" (p. 30). Wolcott (1994) claimed that when we find out the repetitions, we will transform them into our own accounts. However, we may suffer from stereotype and overgeneralization (Wolcott, 1994).

Equally important, Merriam (1998) declared that the researcher should bring ideas about data, field notes, log, and transcripts together before the intense stage of data analysis. Merriam (1998) emphasized that a researcher should analyze the data simultaneously while collecting the data. A researcher should categorize the data first by reading through the transcripts, notes, and memos. After that, the researcher may categorize another transcript and combine these two categorized sets of data in order to make a master transcript. Categories should reflect the purpose of the study, and the categories should be the answers to a researcher's research questions (Merriam, 1998).

Stake (1995) reported that he will use his own experience in the field, knowledge of the study, understanding of each participant, sensitivity, transcriptions, recorded tapes, and field notes, to reflect on each case and look for patterns and consistencies of the data. He might discover an important meaning in a single instance, and he will code the significant meaning. Or, he will find patterns in the repetitions of a significant meaning or the frequencies of the pattern (Stake, 1995).

Also, Stake (1995) claimed that he will select a certain portion of the interview he believes that it's worth including in his report for direct interpretation. He might decide ahead of

the time that these data will be coded during the interview, or he might code the key issues according to his research questions. Furthermore, he might code the issues he believes worth attention in his transcriptions or field notes (Stake, 1995). After collecting the interview data, he might discover new key issues, and he will code them, and create new codes.

I used *free lists* to analyze the responses I gain from the interviews. Free lists, one of the useful methods to analyze data, are used to identify cultural domains. Ryan and Bernard (2003) stated that some responses from in-depth interviews and focus groups are free lists (p. 262). Responses, which appear often, or the order of the responses is mentioned in the lists, can be more fully analyzed as similarities and caught attention (Ryan & Bernard, 2003).

Cross-case Analysis

Merriam (1988) pointed out that “[a]n interpretation based on evidence from several cases can be more compelling to a reader than results based on a single instance”(p. 154) Also, she emphasized that “[e]ach case in a cross-case analysis is first treated as a comprehensive case in and of itself” (p. 154). The analysis for a single case study and a multicase study is “identical” (p. 155). The difference is how the researcher manages the data, and a researcher must find a way to handle all the data without feeling overwhelmed (Merriam, 1988). A researcher doing cross-case analysis “increases the potential for generalizing beyond the particular case” (p. 154). A researcher can “advance to higher levels of analysis” (p. 155). At a higher level, “patterns can be developed to explain the interrelationship of variables” (Merriam, 1988, p. 155).

I analyzed the data by identifying the common themes and patterns from all the transcripts and coded the sections of the texts which contained or featured the common themes. After identifying the common themes, I determined the major and minor themes and analyzed and charted the relations between the themes using a schematic model.

Triangulation

The design of the study includes triangulation to reduce the risk that the conclusions of the study will not be valid or to reduce my own biases and the limitations of the study (Maxwell, 1996, p. 75). Triangulation is the application of multiple methods to solve a research problem “as a method of validation” (Denzin, & Lincoln, 2003, p. 423).

Qualitative research is subjective, private and personal, and the qualitative researcher, in Stake's (1995) terms, "promote[s] a subjective research paradigm" (p. 45). Therefore, researchers need to triangulate the study by using multiple methods to make the findings valid. Denzin and Lincoln (2003) reported that

[T]he use of multimethods, or triangulation, reflects an attempt to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question. . . . Triangulation is the display of multiple, refracted realities simultaneously. (pp. 8-9)

As I mentioned earlier, triangulation is a means to make sure the conclusion in a study is valid. Schwandt (2001) defined triangulation as

A procedure used to establish the fact that the criterion of validity has been met. Triangulation is a means of checking the integrity of the inferences one draws. It can involve the use of multiple data sources, multiple investigators, multiple theoretical perspectives, multiple methods, or all these. The central point of the procedure is to examine a conclusion (assertion, claim, etc.) from more than one vantage point. (p. 257)

Again, triangulation is a tool to validate findings and can help researchers better understand the participants' stories (Fontana & Frey, 2003). Richardson (2003) reported that

In triangulation, a researcher deploys ‘different methods—such as interviews, census data, and documents—to ‘validate’ findings. These methods, however, carry the same

domain assumptions, including the assumption that there is a ‘fixed point’ or ‘object’ that can be triangulated. (p. 517)

Role of the Researcher

My job is to record and interpret the participants’ personal experiences. I constructed the knowledge of the case and provided thick description to each of the participants’ unique cases. I am the primary instrument used to collect, analyze, and interpret the data. It is essential for a good qualitative researcher to have “an enormous tolerance of ambiguity” (p. 20), “sensitivity” (p.21), to be “a good communicator” (Merriam, 1998, p. 23) and listener. A qualitative researcher can be likened to a detective. He or she needs to be flexible and patient during the process of collecting the data. A good researcher needs to be sensitive to the contexts, participants, other people, their non-verbal communications, and body language. Moreover, he or she needs to be aware of his or her biases.

Hertz (1997) stated that the researcher’s self should be shown (Fontana & Frey, 2003, p. 83). Interviewers are increasingly viewed “as active participants in interactions with respondents” (Fontana & Frey, 2003, pp. 90-91). Ellis and Bochner (2003) reported that

In personal narrative texts, authors become ‘I,’ readers become ‘you,’ subjects become ‘us.’ Participants are encouraged to participate in a personal relationship with the author/researcher, to be treated as coresearchers, to share authority, and to author their own lives in their own voices. (p. 213)

Fortunately, my participants shared with me their own personal experiences studying in the U.S., and I reflected on them with my own experiences.

Biases and Objectivity

I am a graduate student from Taiwan studying in the U.S.—so my own view of these Taiwanese graduate students' language anxiety and adjustment to the American campus life could be quite different from that of a non-Taiwanese. This could also represent a strength for me, as it will allow me to bring an insider's view to the study. However, it can also introduce the danger of bias, in the form of my sharing of my personal stories on language and cultural adjustment. In conducting the interviews, I felt that I must be particularly careful in the way in which I phrase any particular narratives of my own that I might share.

Validity

During the focus group interview, I listened to my participants carefully and observed how they answered the questions. When I did not understand what they said, I had them clarify or explain their views to me. Before the end of each interview, I had each of my participants verify my summary comments of their points (Krueger, 1998) because I tried my best to make the results trustworthy and valid.

Kinzey (1998) expressed that as qualitative researchers, we can only analyze and report on what we hear; however, sometimes the researcher has to exercise judgment in interpreting the data, particularly if the topics involve areas where the participant may feel hesitant to relate her experience, or may feel tempted to give the 'right' answer(s) to the researcher.

Merriam (1998) stated that internal validity "deals with the question of how research findings match reality" (p. 201). External validity is "concerned with the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations" (Merriam, 1998, p.207) which the concept is similar to generalization. There are strategies to achieve validity, for example

providing rich and thick description, so the readers are able to match any other situations of interest to the findings of the case.

Reliability

Merriam (1998) reported that reliability refers to “the extent to which research findings can be replicated” (p. 205). However, she stated that “the question then is not whether findings will be found again but whether the results are consistent with the data collected” (p. 206). A researcher can ensure that the results are dependable by explaining the theory and assumptions behind the research, the group being studied, his or her position, the criteria for selecting the participants, and the context where the data is collected. As a research strategy, triangulation or the use of multiple methods for data collection and analysis helps to ensure both validity and reliability.

Generalizability

The goal of a qualitative research is to choose a small number of informants and to understand their realities, so achieving generalization is impossible (Merriam, 1998). Similarly, the use of a focus group is not intended to generalize (Krueger, 1998), but to gain a complete and in-depth understanding on a topic, or to understand how certain people view a topic.

Ethical Issues

A researcher’s biases, honesty in collecting, interpreting, and reporting the findings all are ethical issues. Agar (1980) wrote “people must be informed of your role— who you are and what do[sic] you want” (p. 55). Therefore, I introduced myself to the participants—who I am, what I am doing here, and the topic of my study. As Agar (1980) stated, the goal is to begin my work honestly by presenting myself and my work in a way that will make sense to my participants.

Moreover, Agar (1980) emphasized that the ethnographer must let his or her informants know how he or she will use the material they give him or her. He or she will be careful to protect them from identification and must allow the informants to control the information they personally offer. In the end, the ethnographer must be responsible for the contents he or she reports.

Ethics in data collection in qualitative research is a dilemma for the researcher. For example, it can be a painful experience for a respondent in an interview because she or he might not intend to reveal certain information, be embarrassed by certain questions, or his or her privacy has been invaded (Merriam, 1998).

Writing It Up

Denzin and Lincoln (2003) declared that “[w]riters interpret as they write, so writing is a form of inquiry, a way of making sense of the world” (p. 422). Similarly, Richardson (2003) stated that writing is “a method of inquiry” (p. 499) to understand “yourself and your topic” (p.499). The writing process can lead a writer to “heal wounds . . . or even alter one’s sense of identity” (Richardson, 2003, p. 513). Writing the dissertation and conducting the research is a way to realize that there are other people whose experiences match my own (i.e., my participants have backgrounds similar to mine). I expected that, as a result, the study would profoundly affect my own view of my own experiences with language anxiety and cultural adjustment.

CHAPTER IV

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS AND OVERVIEW OF PARTICIPANTS

In this chapter, I will first show the eighteen participants' ratings on the adapted version of the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale to give a preliminary idea of their level of language anxiety. I will then report their responses to the open-ended questionnaire questions. Next, I will introduce the ten participants who participated in these interviews using pseudonyms to protect their identity. The kind of pseudonyms I used, presenting participants only by random letters and not full names, are based on current practice in Taiwanese pop music, where popular singers use names such as Mr. Q in their song titles and lyrics. I will describe the participants' backgrounds, including age, major, length of residence in the U.S., number of years studying English in Taiwan, and self-rating of English proficiency, their goals coming to the U.S. to study, and their views on whether or not their lives in the U.S. have lived up to their expectations. Finally, I will report on these ten participants' pre-interview writing exercises. In these two sections of open-ended questionnaire questions and pre-interview writing exercises, I will discuss the results in terms of themes that emerge from the data.

I invited a total of twenty Taiwanese graduate students to fill out the adapted version of the FLCAS. A total of eighteen Taiwanese graduate students volunteered to fill out the questionnaire. Of these, I contacted fourteen participants, whose scores and open-ended statements indicated having experienced some level of language anxiety, to take part in the interview phase of the study. Of these, eleven accepted my invitation to participate in the study: One withdrew, leaving ten to take part in the study all the way through.

Questionnaire Results

Horwitz (2008), the developer of the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS) sent me the following instructions in an e-mail, which I followed to determine the participants' level of language anxiety in the classroom:

To determine a student's anxiety level, add up their responses to all the questions, remembering to first reverse-score the items that need reverse-scoring, then divide the total by 33 (the total number of questions). Students with averages around 3 should be considered slightly anxious, while students with averages below 3 are probably not very anxious. Students who average near 4 and above are probably fairly anxious, and you should begin to work with them to find a way to reduce their anxiety. (E. Horwitz, personal communication, September 16, 2008)

Based on these instructions, among the eighteen participants, only one participant's score was near 4; six participants' scores were around 3.5; five participants' scores were around 3 and below 3.5; and six participants' scores were below 3 indicating low anxiety.

Table 1

Scores on the Adapted Version of FLCAS

Adapted version of FLCAS	Level	No	Scores
near 4 and above	likely to be fairly anxious	1	3.9696
around 3.5	anxious	6	3.6969, 3.48, 3.45, 3.45, 3.42, 3.42
around 3	slightly anxious	5	3.30, 3.24, 3.1875, 3.12, 3.09
below 3	likely to not be very anxious	6	2.81, 2.75, 2.48, 2.03, 2.03, 1.468

The levels of language anxiety for the ten interview participants, arranged from high to low, are shown in Table 2. Table 3 lists the scores for the other eight questionnaire participants, who either rejected the invitation to take part in the interview stage of the study or were not invited to participate in the interview stage of the study due to their scores indicating low or none language anxiety. Again, the scores are arranged from high to low.

Table 2

Ten Interview Participants' Level of Language Anxiety from High to Low Based on the Adapted Version of FLCAS

<i>Participant</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>Anxiety level</i>
Ms. A	3.9696	very anxious- <i>the highest</i>
Mr. K	3.6969	anxious-slightly high
Ms. Q	3.4848	anxious
Ms. H	3.4545	anxious
Ms. G	3.4545	anxious
Ms. T	3.42	anxious
Ms. C	3.2424	slightly anxious
Mr. N	3.1875	slightly anxious
Ms. X	3.1212	slightly anxious
Ms. I	2.7575	probably not very anxious- <i>the lowest</i>

Table 3

Participants Who did not Take Part in or Withdrew from the Interview Phase of the Study

<i>Participant</i>	<i>Score</i>	<i>Anxiety level</i>
Ms. 1	2.8181	not very anxious
Ms. 2	3.3030	slightly anxious
Mr. 3	3.0909	slightly anxious
Mr. 4	3.4242	anxious
Mr. 5	2.48	not very anxious
Mr. 6	2.0303	not anxious
Mr. 7	1.468	not anxious

Based on the results in the adapted version of FLCAS, I found the participants to be more worried about being prepared for class, and speaking when they are called on in class. Also, they are anxious about failing classes in the U.S. However, they do not report anxiety in the questionnaire over speaking with native speakers, although their interview responses would later differ on this last point. Appendix G shows the average responses for all participants combined, with the items on the adapted version of FLCAS arranged from high to low for the overall scores. Table 4 highlights the two extreme ends of this questionnaire, giving only the highest- and lowest-anxiety items from the overall results.

Table 4

Highest Item and Lowest Item in the Adapted Version of FLCAS

Highest item

33 I get nervous when the teacher asks questions in the U.S. which I haven't prepared in advance. 3.833

SA4 A 10 N 2 D1 SD1

Lowest item

17 I often feel like not going to my classes in the U.S. 1.888

SA A 1 N 1 D11 SD5

Open-ended Questionnaire Results

In this section, I will present the responses to the open-ended questionnaire items which I added to the questionnaire. The responses will be discussed one item at a time, based on themes which were common throughout the responses. I will only report on the themes, not on the

responses which did not fit into the common themes. All responses in this section were written in English by the participants.

34. When speaking English to Americans after class in the U.S., I usually feel _____

Twelve of the participants reported that they feel “comfortable, relaxed, happy,” or “un-stressful,” or “normal,” or responded “no problem at all.” Only two participants answered with the terms “tense or nervous.” Four wrote that it depends on the topic or situation (in particular, whether or not the Americans are their friends).

35. Doing errands or going grocery shopping in the U.S., is like _____

The participants' responses varied. Twelve of the participants reported that errands or grocery shopping in the U.S. were like “a piece of cake,” the “easiest thing,” “doing routine work,” or “shopping in my country.” Three gave more negative responses: “driving in a forest. Sometimes I got lost”; “going to a totally [different] language system. But it takes time for me to get used to it”; and “seeing strangers doing things in unpredicted ways.”

36. The most difficult thing about using English is _____

There were various responses to this item. Seven of the participants cited academic activities or linguistic forms: “writing a class paper,” “writing a dissertation,” “idioms,” “academic vocabulary using,” or “preposition.” Four of the participants responded with statements related to everyday or real-life activities: “using [it] in real life,” “talking to someone on [the] phone (applying home phone),” or “when I need to do my tax.” Three of the participants reported that “speaking” or “pronunciation” is the most difficult thing about using English. One of the participants reported that “listening [comprehension]” is the most difficult thing about using English.

37. *It makes me feel _____ if I don't understand what a native speaker of English says to me.*

Ten of the participants reported they feel “upset” “embarrassed,” “awkward,” “like a foolish person,” “kind of shameful,” “uncomfortable,” or “disappointed” if they don’t understand what a native speaker of English says to them. One wrote, “I need to learn more English.” Only three of the participants reported they feel “fine” or “okay” in this situation.

38. *Talking to my American professors is _____*

Responses on this item were mixed. Seven of the participants reported that talking to their American professors “terrifies” them or “[takes] courage,” or is “nerve wracking,” “embarrassing,” or is “like to talk to [talking to] your boss,” or makes them “nervous.” Six of the participants reported that talking to their American professors is “always a pleasant experience,” “okay” “good experience” “very usual” “relax[ing].” Three of the participants reported it depends on whether or not the professor is friendly.

39. *If a native speaker of English does not understand my English, I _____*

Fifteen of the participants reported that I will “repeat,” “explain,” or “say it in a different way,” if a native speaker of English does not understand my English. Two of the participants reported that I will “feel upset” or “somewhat nervous” if a native speaker of English does not understand my English.

40. *I like using English best when _____*

Again, responses on this item were mixed. Six of the participants reported that I like using English best when “I talk to my foreign friends,” “I’m with my American friends,” “I am talking with close friends.” Four responded: “I am well-prepared for the particular situation,” “I feel confident,” “I say something which I mentioned before,” or “I can pretty sure what I say can

be understood.” The other responses did not have common themes, so I did not report all of them: One wrote “talking to people,” and one wrote “I go shopping,” and one wrote “I stay in the U.S.” One wrote “writing paper” and one wrote “watch[ing] TV.”

41. *When I write a paper in English, I usually feel _____*

Seven of the participants responded with terms implying a troubled state: “panic,” “stressed,” “not confident and nervous,” “difficult,” “stressful and suffering especially in academic paper,” or “cautious and careful.” In contrast, seven of the participants reported they feel “comfortable,” “that’s not a big deal,” “at ease,” or “easy” when they write a paper in English.

Overall, although many responses to these completion items would suggest anxiety, the responses were mixed; as noted earlier, these must be taken in conjunction with the interview results, where a more detailed picture will emerge, particularly with the relatively more anxious participants who were interviewed.

Overview of Interview Participants

Table 5 gives an overview of the demographic information for the ten interview participants, including their academic majors. Their level of anxiety, taken from the FLCAS results, is listed here.

Table 5

Interview Participants’ Demographic Information

Participant	Anxiety	Age	Major	Occupation
Ms. A	strongly anxious	34	English	college-level English teacher
Mr. K	slightly high	43	English	college-level English teacher
Ms. Q	moderately anxious	25	Business	assistant
Ms. H	moderately anxious	30	Sports Management	no answer
Ms. G	moderately anxious	24	Business	no answer

Ms. T	moderately anxious	35	English	English teacher
Ms. C	slightly anxious	25	English	student
Mr. N	slightly anxious	32	Business	no answer
Ms. X	slightly anxious	35	English	college-level English teacher
Ms. I	not very anxious	26	English	student

Table 6 shows the academic study program of the students, their self-rated proficiency, and their length of residence in the U.S.

Table 6

Academic Study Program, Self- Rated English proficiency, and Length of Residence in the U.S.

Participant	Program	English	Self-rated English proficiency	Residence
Ms. A	Ph.D.	>18 years	intermediate	10 months
Mr. K	Ph.D.	30 years	very good	4 years
Ms. Q	MA	6 years	poor	1 year & 6 months
Ms. H	MA	5-6 years	intermediate	11 months
Ms. G	MA	12 years	fair	1 year
Ms. T	Ph.D.	10 years	very good	10 years
Ms. C	Ph.D.	12 years	very good	3 years
Mr. N	MA	6 years	fair	8 months
Ms. X	Ph.D.	12 years	very good	2.5 years
Ms. I	Ph.D.	10 years	intermediate	4 years

Table 7 shows these ten participants' goals before arriving, after arriving, and future goals after studying in the U.S. This information was obtained through individual interviews. Seven of the participants (Ms. A, Ms. X, Ms. H, Ms. Q, Ms. G, Ms. T, and Ms. C) reported that their goal in coming to the U.S. to study was to learn English well. Six of the participants (Mr. K, Ms. X, Ms. H, Ms. I, Ms. T, and Ms. C) reported that their goal for studying in the U.S. was to graduate and get their degrees. Interestingly, among these six participants, only three of them, Mr. K, Ms. H, and Ms. I, came with the sole goal of getting the degree. Among these three, two

of the participants' goals, Mr. K's and Ms. H's, have never changed, before arriving, after arriving, or in the future. Three of the participants (Mr. N, Ms. T, and Ms. C) hope to find employment in the U.S. after graduating in the future. Three of the participants' goals (Mr. N, Ms. G, and Ms. C) before arriving in the U.S. were to study and to experience the life in the U.S. Three of the participants (Ms. A, Mr. N, and Ms. X) hope that they can have more contacts with the target language community or make friends with them. Interestingly, Ms. X's goal before arriving in the U.S. was to make more friends, but after arriving, her goal changed; she now wishes to learn English well and in the future, she hopes to graduate and go back to Taiwan.

Table 7

Participants' Goals

Participant	Goals
Ms. A	Goal (pre-arrival): to improve my conversational and practical English language (being able to learn the academic English in Taiwan); Goal (after arriving): It's an illusion; American dream crushed; Goal (now): being able to control the language better, learn the English in a more relaxing way, won't feel so painful writing a paper ; Goal (future): to be able to have more contacts with the target language speakers; to go to church; to join activities on campus
Mr. K	Goal (pre-arrival): to get my degree; Goal (after arriving): to get my degree; Goal (now): to get my degree; Goal (future): hoping to get my degree and it will go smoothly
Ms. Q	Goal (pre-arrival): to learn English well; Goal (after arriving): to learn English well; Goal (now): to learn English well; Goal (future): I don't know. Still thinking about what to do to improve the language
Ms. H	Goal (pre-arrival): feeling nervous, to learn English well, to graduate, to survive; Goal (now): going to graduate, already survived; Goal (future): going back to Taiwan; No, I don't want to stay here.
Ms. G	Goal (pre-arrival): hoping to experience life here which is different from Taiwan, being able to travel around in the U.S.; hoping to learn English well; Goal (after arriving): hoping to learn English well; Goal (now): hoping to study abroad will help me to find a job in Taiwan; Goal (future): to pursue another

degree because my English is not good enough, assuming that staying longer will improve her language ability, so planning to stay longer in the U.S.

- Ms. T Goal (pre- arrival): to learn English well; Goal (after arriving): to be able to learn a lot from students from different countries; Goal (now): to be able to learn as much as possible before I graduate; Goal (future): I hope to get a degree, learn more in class, and I can teach at college.
- Ms. C Goal (pre- arrival): to learn English well, to experience a new life which is exciting; Goal (after arriving) It's not bad to stay here after graduating, if the opportunity presents itself; Goal (now): to learn English well. Life is all the same no matter where you are as long as you are used to it, but language, it takes time. Goal (future): hoping to finish taking the coursework, and to graduate. Hoping to get a job and stay here if there is an opportunity. Or, getting a job here for experience and going back to Taiwan.
- Mr. N Goal (pre-arrival): experiencing life in the U.S.; Goal (after arriving): living with Americans, being able to communicate with Americans, traveling around the country by driving; Goal (now): traveling around the country, experiencing the life here; Goal (future): getting a job here.
- Ms. X Goal (pre-arrival): making more friends; Goal (just arriving): to learn English well; Goal (now): to learn English well, to graduate; Goal (future): going back to Taiwan; not interested in staying here
- Ms. I Goal (pre-arrival): to get the degree; Goal (after arriving): It's not enough to just get the degree. Need publications and community service; Goal (now): the same. It's not enough to just get the degree. Need publications and community service; Goal (future): keeping up with publications and community service, to learn the language different from her major, using the same strategies to find work on campus to learn the language such as how to answer the phone in the office.

Table 8 shows the participants' responses on whether or not they believed their expectations have been fulfilled studying in the U.S. This information was also obtained through individual interviews. Four of the participants responded explicitly that they have not fulfilled their expectations. Surprisingly, only two participants, Mr. K and Mr. N responded that they have fulfilled their expectations; others seemed ambivalent on this question.

Table 8

Fulfillment of Expectations

Participant	Whether or not fulfilled expectations
Ms. A	It's okay. My English has improved some, but I am not satisfied with my performance. I hope to improve faster.
Mr. K	Yes, it's is a nice program, and receiving my degree was more difficult than I imagined.
Ms. Q	No, My English did not improve.
Ms. H	No, not fulfilled because of the major which is different from what I thought, which is different from what I wanted to learn and my future career; the department is smaller than what I imagined; professors, unapproachable.
Ms. G	Not really! Because studying in the academic field, but not often talking with people in English, if talking to the target language people, won't speak much or tend to use simple sentences, I still cannot express fluently the academic topics. So, I didn't really learn the English well here.
Ms. T	It's different from what I thought because I don't know what class to take at higher levels because I didn't know and I did not learn it before.
Ms. C	Okay! Because my goal is to learn English well, and I did learn the language, it's okay. But for some lifestyle or expectation which is different from mine, I don't ask myself to be 100% like them, so it's okay overall.
Mr. N	If you want to come to America to study, you need to begin studying for the BA at least two years. My time here was too short.
Ms. X	Not fulfilled: I don't know how to function using the language outside of class; upset: unable to understand what they are talking about, cannot join the topic they are talking about.
Ms. I	It's not enough to just get the degree. Need publications and community service.

Overview of Findings from the Pre-Interview Writing Exercise

In this section, I will summarize these ten participants' responses to the writing exercise, organized according to the themes that emerged in the writing. Unless otherwise noted, written responses were given in English. When a written response appears in Chinese, I will use (Ch-T), to denote that this is my translation from the participant's Chinese response.

First Class in the U.S.

Six of the ten participants reported that they felt “nervous,” (Ms. H) (Ms. I) (Ms. C) “disoriented,” (Mr. K) or “frustrated,” (Ms. A) (Ms. I) in their first classes in the U.S. because of the problems understanding their professors' and American classmates' English, and adjusting to the classroom formats—especially group discussions. Two of the participants, Ms. X and Ms. Q, were both “excited” because they were able to meet new friends and classmates.

Present Feelings in Class

Four of the ten participants answered that they now feel “more comfortable,” (Ms. A) (Ms. X) (Ms. C) or have gained “confidence” (Ms. I) when speaking English in class discussions or group discussions. However, three of the participants, Ms. A, Ms. Q, and Ms. C reported that currently they “still struggle” to “write academic paper” (Ms. A), or “give academic speeches or personal opinions or ideas” in class (Ms. C), or feel the graduate classes are “harder” (Ms. Q) compared to classes taken earlier in their intensive language institute.

Progress in English Use

Four of the participants (Mr. K, Ms. A, Mr. N, & Ms. Q) reported that their listening comprehension has improved, offering comments such as “I can understand the lectures better” (Mr. K). Two of the participants (Ms. I & Ms. C) reported feeling “more comfortable” in using English, especially in speaking. Four of the participants (Mr. K, Ms. I, Ms. G, & Ms. C)

reported that their English speaking or communication has improved. One participant, Ms. C, felt that she still needs to improve her “speaking” ability, even though she reported that her English proficiency has made progress during the study in the U.S. Only one participant, Ms. Q, claimed that her level of speaking in English may still remain the same. Only two participants, Ms. I and Ms. C, specifically cite interactions with target language speakers as having improved their English fluency.

Summary

Based on the results of the adapted version of FLCAS, these Taiwanese graduate students are anxious if they aren't prepared for the class when professors call on them. In the open-ended questionnaire, most of their responses are mixed. Note that most of the participants responded that when talking to an English native speaker, they feel comfortable or happy, and note that if a native speaker does not understand their English, most of the participants responded with the coping strategy which is to repeat the words or sentences without responding with their feelings or reaction to this situation. During the interviews, most of the participants replied that their goal coming to the U.S. to study is to learn English well and get their degrees, and when asked whether or not their goals have been fulfilled, only two of the participants answered their goals has been fulfilled. Based on their responses in writing exercises, their responses show that their English has progressed, but several of them are still struggling speaking in class or writing academic papers.

CHAPTER V

INTERVIEW FINDINGS

In this chapter, I will report the interview data, organizing the chapter according to the major and minor themes which emerged in the interviews. These themes are divided into two broad areas: classroom-related issues and issues related to life beyond the classroom. In each case, the participants' reports of their experiences and feelings will be presented, as well as the strategies they have used in dealing with problems while studying in the U.S. Unless otherwise specified, the interviews were all conducted in Mandarin Chinese; the responses quoted have been translated from the originals. Any brief interjection in English in the reports in this chapter will be tagged by a parenthetical (E), noting that the immediately previous word or phrase was said directly in English.

Classroom-Related Issues

Problems with Listening Comprehension

Listening Comprehension

Virtually all ten participants spoke of difficulty understanding what is said during their classes, and some identified this problem as a source of anxiety. In addressing this issue, they used terms like “impossible” (Mr. K), “frustrated” (Ms. A), “I forced myself to comprehend everything” (Ms. I), “the most uncomfortable” (Ms. T), and “very upset” (Ms. C).

Ms. A described her listening comprehension problem in class and her reaction to this situation: “I cannot comprehend most of the time in class. I must ask classmates what is due next week, which makes me feel frustrated . . . In the beginning, I was very nervous. I was completely lost.” After noting that her comprehension problem still troubles her today, she went

on to compare her previous experience in Taiwan to the frustration she now experiences, noting that this has caused her to realize she needs to lower her current expectations:

When I was a student in Taiwan, I thought that I needed to comprehend one hundred percent! So, this is my first time studying in the U.S., and I realized that I will never be able to comprehend one hundred percent.

Even when she knows which assignment will be due next class, she still faces insecurity or anxiety over her level of listening comprehension in the target language:

I ask foreign students what is due next time after every class. I make sure that I know what is due next time and what I need to do for the next class. . . . Even though I may know which assignment is due in the next class, I will still ask classmates to make sure whether or not I am wrong, because I don't have confidence in my [listening comprehension] ability.

Ms. A hopes that someday she will be able to comprehend everything when listening to English, but she also tells herself that "it takes time, and there is no shortcut." In the meantime, she is "very frustrated," and she feels at times discouraged about her decision to come to the U.S.:

In group discussions . . . I feel very frustrated because I still cannot completely comprehend everything in the target language. If I cannot completely comprehend, I lose my confidence, and I feel that I should have just studied in Taiwan instead.

Ms. T stated that she was "very nervous" about not understanding native speakers when she first arrived in the U.S. Now, even after ten years in the U.S., she claimed that she still suffers from comprehension problems: "The time I feel the most uncomfortable is when I don't understand what they [native speakers of English] say if they use many words which I have never learned before."

Ms. C also claimed that at first she "was very upset" about not understanding spoken English: "I didn't think that listening would be a problem, but it was." She was surprised to learn that it was more difficult to understand her [American] classmates' speech than that of the professors.

Speech rate. Four of the participants cited comprehension problems due to native speech rates. Ms. X was "shocked", Ms. G was "scared", Ms. C felt that understanding what American classmates said was "too hard," and Ms. T commented, speaking of Americans, that "they speak too fast. Ms. X recalled her earliest experience years ago studying in the U.S.:

When I studied for my Master's degree, which was the first time I studied abroad, my listening comprehension was really bad. Because the rate of American speech was too fast, I was really shocked because we had only been able to listen or train our listening comprehension from cassettes in Taiwan (laughs).

She claimed that after being away from the U.S. for 5 years, she once again had trouble adjusting to Americans' rapid speech rates.

After studying in a language institute in another state in the U.S., Ms. G stated that her teachers at language school had tended to speak slowly in class, but when she enrolled as a graduate student, her professors didn't slow their speech rates when they spoke: "The professors used normal speech rate to talk in class. The professors spoke faster, so I could not understand the lecture! I didn't get the points, so I was scared that those would be in the exams!"

Although Ms. C overcame her difficulties understanding her professors' lectures, she still has problems understanding her American classmates' speech in class. She claimed that "In the beginning, it was very difficult to understand the professor's lecture. Later on, that turned out to be the easiest part. However, the communication between me and my classmates [American

students] was more difficult because they all spoke very fast.” She elaborated more than once on this point: “My God! In the beginning, it was too hard to understand what they said. . . .

Especially in discussion with classmates [Americans], they spoke so fast!”

Even though Ms. T has resided in the U.S. for ten years and is president of an on-campus language club, she claimed that she still has problems with listening comprehension due to the Americans’ rapid speech rates. She revealed that “sometimes when we have meetings, and I am the only international student. . . . I think that they speak very fast.”

Generally, participants did seem to feel that their listening problems were improving over time, though they have not been resolved. For instance, Ms. A confirmed that she is “still nervous in class” despite her improvement.

Anxiety over Speaking

Fear of Speaking in Class

Five participants claimed that they have experienced anxiety over speaking in class. Four (Mr. N, Mr. K, Ms. H, and Ms. X) spoke as if this anxiety is as present now as it ever was. One participant (Ms. C) spoke of continuing anxiety, though she felt it had somewhat lessened. Only one participant, Ms. I, who scored low anxiety in her questionnaire responses, claimed to have entirely overcome this problem.

Though Ms. I claimed that she had resolved her anxiety over speaking in class, she did admit that at first she had been afraid of speaking in the U.S. She expressed her discomfort when talking about her early experience in class: “When I spoke, the whole class became so quiet!” She related this to her desire to “speak beautifully, but not long-windedly, on the key point.” In fact, she worried that “American students speak too long.” She was uneasy with this, but she

now feels that she has adjusted to what she perceives as a verbose style in her American classmates.

Also, the unfamiliar and nervous feelings with almost all American students in group discussions and American classmate's fast pace of discussion and speech rate contributed to her early apprehension in speaking in class. Ms. I claimed that "in the beginning, I was afraid to speak in class because most of the students in class are Americans . . . so they discussed the topics very quickly. As a result, I usually was lost or unable to cut in to their discussion."

Fear of making errors in speaking. Three participants claimed to be apprehensive about making errors when speaking in class, such as being "afraid to use the wrong words" (Mr. K).

Mr. K. is ambivalent about his oral classroom performance, in fact. He claimed that he has no problem expressing his ideas in English, but at the same time, he admitted that he is "scared to speak the wrong words" in class, which limits his participation:

Basically, I have the ability to express my thoughts in English, but I am very careful when I speak. As a result, the number of times I speak in class is less than American students because I am afraid to use the wrong words.

Ms. C claimed to have gradually overcome her fear of speaking in class. She stated that "I am not that scared to speak now, and I won't think too much before I speak in comparison to the past, when I just came here to study. I was very scared! I was very scared to use the wrong words!"

Ms. H claimed that if she is not sure what to say, she will choose not to speak. Obviously, she hesitates and has to make sure what she has in mind is correct before she speaks. She described the mental process she goes through when deciding whether or not to speak in a group discussion:

Before I speak, I will think about it. Is it okay if I say this later? Then, I will hesitate, if I am not sure—then I won't speak! If I have already thought through what I want to say, then, I will decide to, will speak on this point next!

Fear of giving wrong answers. Only one participant, Mr. N, claimed to be strongly concerned before deciding to speak due to fear of giving the wrong answer. In fact, this fear is strong enough that Mr. N usually avoids participating in class discussions: "I hardly speak in class! I am worried that I will give the wrong answers, so I don't speak." He elaborated further on this point:

I still have difficulties with language. I am sometimes scared that I will give the wrong answers. I think in this way. . . . So, I don't speak up in class. Or, I have the answer in mind. Then, when other students answer first, I realize that my answer is correct.

I asked Mr. N why he is worried about giving incorrect answers in class. He answered, "First, I probably will not understand what they [native speakers of English] say. I will probably misunderstand, or I will probably give an answer which the teacher does not want." Obviously, besides his problems with the target language, before he speaks in class, Mr. N is worried about whether or not his answer is correct, and he believes that he is probably unable to comprehend what his American professors or classmates say. As a result, he does not speak in class.

Fear of being called on. Two participants, Mr. K and Ms. X, explicitly reported their fear of being called on in class. They both remain unable to overcome this problem. At other times, Mr. K claimed to be worried only about his grades and about completing his doctoral degree. However, some of his statements suggest discomfort with classroom situations. Mr. K is very nervous when the professors directly ask students to answer questions or require students to

participate. He is also reluctant about participating in ways that are normally expected in American classrooms:

I hardly ask questions or speak my own opinions in class. So, if I just listen in class, I won't feel that nervous. But, if professors require us to participate, I feel a lot more nervous. . . . I am more used to listening to the lecture in class. So, if the professors call on me directly, I feel uncomfortable. . . . I am the most nervous when the professors are asking questions in class. I feel okay for presentations, but if the professor is asking questions suddenly, I feel more nervous.

Like Mr. K, Ms. X pointed out that the educational system in Taiwan does not require her to speak or participate in class, so she has had difficulties adjusting to the need to speak and express opinions in American classes—especially in the beginning when she had just started to take classes in the U.S. She described feeling apprehensive about speaking in class at that time, especially when the professor called on her:

When I had just started to take classes here . . . I could not adjust well . . . especially when teachers asked you to participate and express your opinion in class. This type of teaching, such as requiring students to express their opinions, is not provided in Taiwan. So, when I had just arrived here . . . I was very scared to be asked to speak in class. I would think, "Oh! It's my turn to speak!" . . . I was very scared to be asked to express my own opinion.

I asked her to reveal more and asked her why she remains apprehensive about speaking in class.

Ms. X responded:

I am scared to be called on, and I don't know what I say. Now, I have gradually come to know the way they [Americans] are in class, and I am gradually adjusting myself. Of

course, my speech is not that fluent in comparison to foreigners [i.e., Americans]: I can only talk about some *key point* (E), and I cannot speak fluently all the way and keep talking in English.

Fear and Avoidance of Asking Professors Questions

Three participants, Mr. K, Ms. G, and Ms. H, have problems asking professors questions: Mr. K and Ms. G avoid asking professors questions, while Ms. H is afraid of asking professors questions, though she does so for the sake of earning a good participation grade. Even if Mr. K, a college English instructor in Taiwan, has problems or questions about the content of the course, he does not attempt to ask his professors questions:

After class, because I was passive, I tried not to ask my professors. Until now, this has been my biggest problem. Probably, it is because I am shy. Unless the problem was really big, I tried not to ask my professors any questions after class. This is my habit.

Ms. G claimed that Taiwanese students are willing to share information from class, and if she did not understand what her professors' lecture in class, she would ask her Taiwanese classmates first. However, if they didn't know, she would ask the professors:

If I have no choice, of course, I will ask my professor. But, you will be hesitant, and ask yourself if it is a good idea to ask the professor such a small, unimportant question!

Ms. H claimed that "I was very nervous about asking my professors questions because I hardly ever asked them! Even if I asked my professors questions in Taiwan, I was nervous! . . . As long as I am asking a professor a question, I am nervous!"

Writing

Chinese English

Four of the participants claimed that one of the problems they have experienced when writing papers is their unconscious use of Chinese English. For example, for Ms. X, writing is a “real struggle” because of the perceived effect of Chinese translation:

The main problem is writing (E). I feel that writing (E) is a real struggle! This is a huge problem because when I was in Taiwan, my writing was probably Chinese English, which is when I think in Chinese and then translate it into English. . . . In the beginning, my [American] professors could not understand what I wrote. I didn't know how to write. . .

Likewise, Mr. K claimed that he is trying to pursue “natural” and “standard” English that can be understood, not Chinese English; he hopes to reach his own standard when writing in English:

I think that, probably, my writing will never reach American standards. I still feel that I lack ability in writing. My real ability in writing is lower than I thought. Some of what we write is still Chinese English. I still need to overcome this and write in standard American English, more naturally. Ideally, the paper will not look like it was written by a foreigner. I hope that, at least, my writing will be natural and not Chinese English. Otherwise, people will not be able to understand what I write.

Ms. A seemed to echo the same point when she said, “Chinese English has been a problem for me.” Likewise, Ms. H claimed that that the way she writes in “Chinese interferes with my [her] English writing” because she has to “think in English in order to write English

papers.” Unlike Ms. X, she obviously forces herself to think in English when she writes English papers.

Vocabulary

Four of the participants claimed that lack or misuse of vocabulary is another major problem they experience when writing in English. They find that their problems with vocabulary in writing are very difficult to overcome, except for Ms. C, who claimed to only experience these problems at the beginning of her study. Mr. K, Mr. N, and Ms. T all claimed that they still experience these problems in their writing. Mr. K claimed “I still need to work hard” on vocabulary. Mr. N experiences “the same” problems in writing as he did in the past, and he feels that writing is “difficult.” Ms. C claimed that writing a paper is “painful,” “tiring,” “still a struggle,” and “still very difficult” in ways that seem to relate to her frustration in finding the right words.

Besides his problems in writing which stem from Chinese language transfer to English, Mr. K claimed that the misuse of vocabulary is a problem in his writing as well:

I have Americans revise the words. I did not have a correct understanding of how to use the words: I misuse some words, or the words [I use] should not be used here in the paper. Americans don't use the words that way; only we, foreigners, will do so. I need to work hard on this.

The misuse of vocabulary and limited vocabulary are the primary problems Mr. N faces when writing in English, though he also worries about the lack of stylistic variety in his writing: “My feelings towards writing English papers are that writing is difficult. Word usage or vocabulary is difficult because I always write the same kinds of sentences—the only kind I know how to write.” He elaborated further on these problems: “From the past to the present, I have

always had the same problems in writing” because “my problems in writing are that my vocabulary is not enough, my usage of the vocabulary is wrong.” Even though Mr. N admitted that his writing has improved, he also claimed that “I don’t think that my writing will improve much, just being here ten months.”

Even Ms. T, who received her bachelor’s degree in the U.S. and has resided in the U.S. the longest of all the participants, still claimed that “because English is not our [my] native language, we [I] basically have some problems with vocabulary.”

As a doctoral student and an ESL teacher on campus, Ms. C admitted that writing a paper in English is “still very difficult,” “painful,” and “a struggle.” When she first came to the U.S. to study, she noted that the main problem in her writing was “lack of vocabulary, so it was very tiring to write.”

Grammar

Three of the participants claimed that grammar is another of the primary problems they experience when writing academic papers in English. For example, for Ms. H, grammar is a “tremendous problem.” It makes her feel “insecure” and “very nervous” if she does not go to the Writing Center to have her grammar checked. Noting that eight of the participants claimed to consult Writing Center tutors often for grammatical corrections, it is safe to conclude that they are most anxious about grammatical errors in English academic writing, although only a few revealed grammatical problems as a major problem in writing.

Mr. N did cite grammar problems specifically. Ms. H experienced especially strong anxiety about writing. She said she was “very nervous” about writing because “first, I had never written an English paper before, and second, my grammar is a tremendous problem.” Moreover, she confided that “I feel insecure if I don’t go to the writing center! Probably, my grammar is

really a problem. I need to practice grammar more. I just don't feel secure. . . . Probably, my personal standards are higher than others'!"

Again, even after residing in the U.S. for over ten years, Ms. T claimed that "after I finish writing my paper, I will ask my [American] friend to check because there probably are some grammatical mistakes." Though she spoke succinctly, her facial expression while saying this showed considerable anxiety.

Lack of Personal Opinions

Three of the participants felt that a lack of opinions of their own is one of the major problems they face when writing in English; on a closely related note, they expressed worry over the need to think critically or offer original ideas in their writing.

Mr. K claimed that "I think that my writing still has a long way to go. I know that it is unrealistic to compare mine to a native speaker because I can never reach that." He claimed that he uses too many quotes, and he seldom develops his own opinion in his paper. As a result, in his paper, he merely manages other authors' ideas:

My problem is that I usually use more quotes than my own ideas. When I manage their quotes, I will have different opinions. However, I hardly ever express my own personal ideas in my writing. I usually [just] manage others' articles in my academic writing.

Like Mr. K, Ms. X claimed that she was unable to express her thoughts in writing especially the first time she studied in a Master's program in the U.S.: "I was unable to express my thoughts. . . . It took me a long time to clearly articulate my ideas." Now working on her Ph.D., she felt that this problem has improved but added the modifier, "a little bit."

Ms. Q described writing paper as "hard" or "difficult" because "I hardly [ever] have my own ideas." She elaborated further: "I usually can only write what I learn in class or what I

studied before. My professors usually want to read something creative. . . . However, I usually don't form my own opinions. My ideas all come from what my teachers tell me."

Addressing the need for original or critical ideas, Ms. C noted that "writing was a struggle for me because I didn't know what direction I should write because we all copied the content from the internet in Taiwan. . . . But here the teachers required you to have critical thinking, to write directly to the point, etc. . . ." Furthermore, she stressed that "Taiwanese education [English classes] focuses on grammar . . . or we were asked to write summaries. Because I was not required to write my ideas, argumentation, or thesis statements, I didn't know how to write when I first came here to study."

Organization

On a related theme, two of the participants revealed that they have both experienced strong anxiety and problems with the organization of their writing. They still cannot overcome this problem. The idioms they use to describe this problem, such as "the most painful" "the most difficult," and "struggle" (Ms. A) and "very annoyed," and "very difficult" (Ms. C).

After taking two semesters of doctoral courses in America, Ms. A still feels "pained" writing in English: "Now, writing is difficult, very difficult." Ms. A's difficulties in English academic writing feature quite intense concerns about content and organization:

After reading the related articles, the difficulties are how to cite them in an organized manner and how to integrate information from the articles into my own writing. . . . It usually takes me a long time to find a topic for my paper, and then I check out the related articles. After finishing reading them, the most difficult and painful part is how to write them down, how to include them in the paper, and how to organize them. It is a struggle. My writing process is like my brain is turning and turning to squeeze the brain fluid out.

It takes a long time to write. I write slowly, a little bit at a time. Writing is a very bad experience for me.

Ms. C has experienced the same problem in academic writing as Ms. A. She described her experience in writing:

Every time, when I talk about writing, I feel very annoyed because the problem I have now in my writing is the inability to organize the ideas! Because I don't just write, I also have to do research to find information. But, when I have a topic to write about, I usually have a ton of literature which needs to be cleaned up. Organizing the ideas in writing is very difficult for me. The thoughts do not flow, which means the ideas are not organized. For example, there might be a lot of literature, but the problem is, how should I write about this first, that next, and then connect them and tie them together?

Not Understanding the Instructions for Assignments

Four of the participants revealed that they have experienced anxiety and difficulties when writing an assignment because they do not understand the instructions for their assignments.

They used such expressions as feeling “pained” (Ms. T) and “the pain of studying here” (Ms. A).

Ms. G asked “why do I spend so much time writing a paper because I am not sure what the professor wants me to write . . . ?” Also, Ms. T claimed that she spends a great deal of time writing a paper, and “I feel pained if I am not sure what the professor wants me to write.”

Ms. C claimed to have experienced similar uncertainty, citing times when she “didn't know what my [her] teacher's requirement was.” She further criticized one of her professors for not providing clear instructions for written assignments, and moreover, for judging her writing ability and giving her a low grade. She said,

He told you that you were not doing a good job, but he did not tell you why. Then he kept telling you, “how could you write so poorly?” And, he just gave you a very low grade. Even though [I] asked him how [I] could improve [my] writing, he could not give [me] any specific suggestions. I think that professors are supposed to help you. . . . I think that a teacher should not make you feel so lost, when he does not instruct you clearly how to write an assignment. . . . He does not give us enough direction, and he expects us to produce a high-level product. The instructions and directions he gave us are very abstract.

Ms. A declared her pain studying in her doctoral program which is the requirement of handing in a good paper, but she seemed to agree, claiming that her professors do not teach her how to write. Her phrasing is remarkably close to that of Ms. C: “The pain of studying here is that there is no one teaching you [me] how to write, but, in each class, the professors require you [me] to hand in a good product.”

Native vs. Non-Native English Issues in Writing

Two of the participants have experienced a tremendous issue with their academic English writing. They complained about their professors’ inconsistent attitudes towards what they describe as “World English.” One described this as “the most difficult issue” (Ms. A), and another complained of professors “forcing us to be native-like” (Ms. C).

Ms. A expressed frustration and resentment about some of her experiences studying in the U.S. She referred to one particular comment from a professor who cautioned her against “ESL issues in [her] writing.” He wrote, “you should pay attention to ESL issues.” She had a strong reaction to this comment; in fact, she seemed to feel that this kind of feedback was automatically doled out to non-native speakers regardless of the quality of their writing:

I should not be stuck in this problem. I have never received a paper on which the professors' comments are "excellent." My papers are all checked by a native speaker. You never receive an excellent comment because he knows that you are not American. This is the only thing he obviously knows. I don't really think that what I write is Chinese English, but you can see that what I write is not written by an American. This makes me feel hurt.

She elaborated further on this experience:

The issue of native vs. non-native is what frustrated me the most about studying here! To have to express oneself in a native-like manner is the most difficult. They [American professors] should accept us the way we are.

She hopes that her American professors can accept her as the way she is—as a non-native speaker.

This unpleasant experience made her self-conscious and therefore very anxious about her English writing, transferring from her native language, Chinese. But, later, she claimed that she should be confident in "Chinese English": "I pursue standard English, but I feel I should not look down on Chinese English." In any case, she felt that her professors were inconsistent, in claiming, on the one hand, to accept "World Englishes" while in the meantime expecting native-level performance from international students:

They preach that people should not be impatient when dealing with non-native speakers. They teach concepts of world English. . . . In practice, however, they do distinguish between native and non-native speakers. Some professors teach you that we should not distinguish between them, but they actually do.

Ms. C has experienced the same problem. She claimed that

They [American professors] keep preaching to me that I don't need to be native-like [to possess native-level ability], and it will be impossible for me to be native like. But, they force us to be native-like. Why do they have to force us to be native-like?

In her frustration, she asked, "So does that mean—that the theories they teach us are not true?"

They do not act the same way as what they teach us. They do not practice what they preach."

This is a very difficult issue for professors because they are teaching graduate-level courses, and there is a certain standard or expectation on graduate students' academic writing regardless of whether students are native or non-native speakers of English. However, it is very significant that American professors understand international students' situations and problems in graduate programs, especially doctoral programs which are very demanding and stressful. And, importantly, the professors should provide international students positive feedback on their academic writing or on class discussions or presentations, because, based on these Taiwanese graduate students' reports, their American professors' attitudes toward them have a great impact on their language anxiety. Instructors or professors should evaluate a student's academic paper based on its quality and content, not because it is written by a non-native speaker.

Classroom Format/Relationships

Fear of Presentations

After studying in the U.S. for over a year, both Ms. Q and Ms. G are still apprehensive about doing presentations in class. Ms. Q claimed that what scares her the most is doing presentations in front of her classmates; she is afraid that her Taiwanese accent and pronunciation will confuse her American classmates. This fear drives her to "practice speaking in front of mirrors" and to "memorize" the content of her presentations verbatim. Ms. G also claimed that "If I have a presentation next class, I will feel very nervous."

Participation in Group Discussions

Almost all of the participants claimed that they had a hard time adjusting to group discussions in U.S. classes—especially during the first semester. I will elaborate here on only three participants' responses, as the tone of these responses was typical of the group.

Ms. H still cannot overcome this difficulty and has experienced high anxiety over this, claiming that she becomes “really nervous” and that group discussions give her a “serious headache.” Commenting further, Ms. H emphasized that class participation as a concept does not exist in Taiwan:

Group discussion is nothing, but every time there is a group discussion, I start to become very nervous! Because . . . in Taiwan, we don't have group discussions. I have never had this experience, so it makes me really nervous.

She claimed that she feels lost in this unfamiliar format: “I don't know what to say. I don't know what they said. I only listen! Sometimes, I speak a little bit—one or two sentences!”

She stated that group discussions make her feel really anxious due to both her inexperience in group discussion and her lack of knowledge of the course content:

So, I was there [in class], really nervous in group discussion. What will my professor ask us to discuss? . . . Every time I thought about the fact that I had to participate, I started to have a serious headache! What do I need to say? I started to have a headache.

Far from seeing these discussions as a kind of non-threatening collaboration, Ms. H feels threatened, and worried that some inadequacy in her knowledge may be revealed.

Ms. C also has experienced high anxiety over participating in group discussions, especially in the beginning when she took courses in the U.S. She said that “The first year when I studied in the U.S., the group discussion was torture to me! I was very scared!”

Similarly, after studying in the U.S. for two semesters, Ms. A stated that she still feels “frustrated” participating in group discussions for reasons having to do with her perception of her American classmates’ behaviors and views:

I used to think that after finishing the assigned reading, I was looking forward to participating in the group discussion . . . and then, they [American students] would speak very fast. It is hard for you to interrupt them, and they don’t have much patience with you. They think that you are just a listener. After they talk a lot and are tired, you can get a word in. . . . When they are talking between one another, it is very difficult to interrupt them.

American Classmates’ Attitudes/ Eye Contact

Five participants reported that American classmates’ attitudes /eye contact constitute a source of anxiety in class, and several mentioned lack of eye contact as evidence of the American students’ negative attitudes. Mr. K was “scared.” Ms. I was “really upset.” Ms. T was “the most upset” about American students’ attitudes in class.

Even though most of the participants experienced a hard time adjusting to the group discussions in class, Mr. K was also “scared” to be left out of the group as a second language speaker. Mr. K felt “uncomfortable” that the American students only seemed to form groups with other American students, a pattern he struggled to understand:

I found out that Americans are more likely to invite other American students as their group members in class because the group work was counted as one of the grades in the class. As second-language learners, we might affect their grades in the group work. So, they don’t like to have us as their group members. . . . They found the group members

themselves earlier, so I felt excluded and uncomfortable about this. . . . I was scared that I was being excluded. I was scared that I was being marginalized. . . .

Ms. G claimed that “American classmates won’t take the initiative to talk to you.” Ms. T stated that this is the situation with American students which upsets her the most: “. . . especially if there are only two or three international students, American students hardly give us opportunities to speak because, while you are speaking up in class, they will cut you off.”

Interestingly, eye contact was a recurring theme in connection with the issue of Americans’ attitudes. Ms. I cited one particular case, which took place during a group discussion:

When I first studied for the M.A., I met a student. We were in a group discussion, and one of the students never turned his head and looked at me when I talked. He simply refused to look at me when I spoke. He never spoke to me in class or outside the class. It made me feel really upset.

Ms. I’s reaction is understandable. During group discussions, the Chinese expect others in the group to have eye contact with them and signal turns for each of the group members to speak. There should be eye contact, but not intense, which is a social taboo in Chinese communication.

Ms. H also believes that she can feel her American classmates’ attitudes toward her through their eyes: “Americans think that they are very smart. I can tell from their eyes, and the way they talk.” She seemed to view her American classmates’ pattern of eye contact as the equivalent of a nonverbal insult.

Professors’ Attitudes

Four of the participants expressed their disappointment, anger, or anxiety towards their professors in the U.S. Ms. G cited her professors’ lack of empathy for Taiwanese students,

which she said makes her “upset.” Ms. C felt “humiliated” by one of her professors’ attitudes. Ms. X feels “very disappointed” in what she perceives as one of her American professor’s disregard for international students. Ms. A experiences “strong pressure and anxiety” if her professors do not “accept” her as a English language learner.

Ms. G claimed that she feels “upset” because she feels that one of her American professors cannot understand Taiwanese students’ situations, and he does not take the initiative to call on Taiwanese students in class. Instead, he calls on American students, and he usually likes the ones who speak up in class most often. She was worried that this pattern would affect her grades and claimed that it “upsets” her. The attitudes of one specific American professor also worried her:

My professor cannot understand that our English is not good enough, and our culture trains us not to speak all the time in class. So, I feel that he cannot understand this, and I feel that I cannot solve the problem—and I feel a little bit upset.

Ms. C also speaks of one of her professors’ attitudes toward “international students”: “Probably, he thinks that you are not good enough to be doctoral students, so his attitudes are horrible!” She continued to claim that another one of her professors believes that “her students are inferior to her, and we are stupid.” She continued,

She is not very friendly to international students! She thinks that we, as high-level students, should not have such low performance. . . . They made me feel really humiliated. Am I really that bad?

Ms. X claimed that her American professors are unfriendly and are very proud: “The professors here are hard to get close to. I don’t know why. . . . It is really bad! . . . Some of the professors are very snobbish (E) here!” She complained that some of the professors do not

care about students and make no effort to build camaraderie between international students and American students. Here again, in this response, she was particularly emphatic in her use of the English word “family”:

I feel that they don't put their mind into managing the program! . . . Everyone in the program goes home. . . . Everyone lives their own lives. As soon as I graduate, I say, “sayonara!” There is no feeling of family. I very much dislike them. You gradually do not like to have interaction with members of the department. As soon as I write my dissertation, and I finish it, I will leave. Who cares what happens to you? . . .

Ms. X singled out one particular professor, who, in her opinion, was particularly unsupportive:

I think that he does not build camaraderie between international students and American students. They leave us to fend for ourselves. You emerge by yourself and perish by yourself.

Also, Ms. X claimed that one of the professors practices “discrimination (E)” against international students and ignores them:

. . . many students think that he practices discrimination! It's very obvious. Yesterday, after class, I met him. He went to our classroom! He completely ignored us when we saw him and smiled at him, and first, he opened his mouth and directly spoke to a foreign (E) [American] student. He kept talking to the foreign student, and completely ignored me! So, I left. . . . That reaction (E) made me very disappointed!

She complained that there is no support group in the program, and “we need someone to build camaraderie among students.”

Ms. A believes that her “strong anxiety” is related to her “professors’ attitudes” toward “ESL students”—in other words, whether or not the American professors will accept

them as target language learners, as opposed to native speakers. As the interview progressed, she stated that

My anxiety is related to the professors' attitudes. . . . It is not that they are strict. It's their acceptance. I think that my anxiety is associated with my professors' acceptance of ESL students. If I'm in a class where I feel the professor considers non-native speakers as being second-class, I will feel strong pressure and experience anxiety.

Obviously, the participants are looking for "acceptance" from their American professors because as non-native speakers, they are very anxious about whether or not their professors accept them. Instructors or professors should treat American students and international students equally, and should not favor American students over international students. In addition, instructors or professors should understand international students' frustration and show them that they do understand and care about their problems and difficulties, studying alone in graduate-level programs— especially doctoral programs—and leaving their familiar comfort zone and studying in a new culture, such as homesickness, target language difficulties, or culture shock in order to reduce the level of their anxiety. Equally important, instructors or professors should provide positive feedback to international students such as in class or in students' writing or showing them that they care about them when seeing them on campus, which can help them adjust better and lower their anxiety.

General/Cultural Issues

Taiwanese Educational Background

Five of the participants claimed that their Taiwanese education has had a great influence on their language anxiety and adjustment to American classroom practices. As noted in previous sections, they reported having a hard time with listening comprehension, speaking, participating

in group discussions, asking questions, and writing papers. However, some of their comments seemed to relate to their overall situation, and to be related to the differences between their traditional education in Taiwan and the American system in which they were now trying to function.

Noting that this is not their first time studying in the U.S., Mr. K, Ms. H, Ms. C, and Ms. G have all claimed to still experience difficulties and anxiety writing papers or with listening comprehension or participating in group discussions due to what they consider a lack of training in Taiwan.

Mr. K indicated that his listening in English is “the weakest” because Taiwanese English education most focuses on reading and writing in English:

Listening is my weakest . . . I haven’t received enough training in listening because we were trained more in reading and writing in Taiwan. . . . My listening is worse, and, like my speaking, it is weak. When I had just arrived here, my situation was more difficult. I sometimes didn’t comprehend what the professor said in class. . . .

Ms. H claimed that she has experienced “strong anxiety” over participating in group discussions because her education in Taiwan did not train her to negotiate. So, she feels that without having developed a “sense” of how to “negotiate” in group discussions, she must “cooperate” with her American classmates in group discussions. She felt that, since she had no sense of how to “negotiate” with her peers, the only strategy left for her was to “cooperate”—that is, to fit in, without feeling able to submit her own ideas to the learning process.

On a related note, she stated that teachers in Taiwan do not require or encourage students to ask questions in class. However, professors here will “encourage” students to ask questions, in an environment where “American students are used to asking questions.” She stated that she

seldom asks her professors questions: “This is the difference: We are used to just listening in class, unless we really have a problem! Sometimes, at the end of the semester, I urge myself to ask a question, because my professors will check if you ask questions in class!”

Ms. H conveyed that there exist between Taiwan and the U.S. “cultural differences in the classroom.” On a more general level, she showed puzzlement over the interactions she saw in American classrooms. She wondered why American students “disrespect” the professors by “interrupting the professors and asking questions once the professors start to speak.” She went on to note that “the professors answer their questions and also get used to it!” However, it was clear that her confusion over the American classroom scene had not been resolved.

Ms. C recalled the first two to three months when she just came to the U.S. to study. She said that

My English was still very poor, even though I had learned English for a long time in Taiwan. I felt that the situation was totally different here because not only did I have to use the language, but I also had to know how to respond. In Taiwan, there was no one practicing English conversation with me—it was all writing and reading practice. . . .

[But] if I knew the vocabulary in writing, [many times] I didn’t recognize the word if I heard it.

Like several other participants, Ms. C was uncomfortable with the requirement to participate in class, which made her “very nervous”:

In my first year studying here, I was not used to the way they are in class here. The way they conduct class was different from Taiwan, where we only need to sit in class and listen to the teachers’ lecture. But I need to participate in class here! The way the class is

conducted here is very different, such as teachers asking you questions or group discussions, so I was very nervous.

As noted earlier, on the section dealing with expressing personal opinions, Ms. C also cited the radical difference between her Taiwanese experiences and the requirements in the U.S. involving critical thinking and creativity in writing.

Ms. I emphasized the cultural differences, noting that in Taiwan classes were “lecture most of the time,” which contributed to her “fear of speaking” in American classes when she began to study in the U.S. Also, she emphasized that “in Taiwanese education, professors are the authority figures, but, here, teachers let students take the initiative. Teachers want students to speak, and they give some of their power to students.”

Ms. G related her confusion over how to write a reflection to her experience in Taiwan. She said,

For example, a reflection paper, I was thinking what I should write about? There seem to be many papers like this here . . . but Taiwanese education is different! You are not required to write your thoughts . . . it’s different! So, I have to think hard about what my ideas and feelings are.

Taiwanese Students

Surprisingly, seven of these ten Taiwanese students have mixed feelings about their own group, and these feelings of fitting in, resisting, or avoiding their own group contribute to their anxiety and adjustment in America. Seven of the participants claimed that their adjustment has been affected by Taiwanese classmates or students, including experiencing difficulties getting along with them, based at least in part on the competitiveness that arises among Taiwanese students. Of these seven, four participants claimed to have negative attitudes toward other

Taiwanese students or classmates. After she discussed assignments, asked for advice on which courses to take from them, or had group discussions outside of class with Taiwanese classmates, Ms. A expressed feeling “shocked,” “the most frustrated,” “confused,” and “very sad.” Ms. G feels “the most uncomfortable” about Taiwanese students who hang out in groups. Ms. T and Ms. H found themselves avoiding associating with Taiwanese students or speaking Chinese. Three participants felt more positive about their Taiwanese peers. Even though he feels competition among classmates, Mr. K claimed to get “emotional support” from Taiwanese students. Ms. Q claimed that Taiwanese students “depend on” each other in class. Mr. N claimed that he looked for advice from Taiwanese sisters and brothers who came before him about what classes to take.

Ms. A expanded on her strong feelings about Taiwanese students’ competitiveness. She stated that she associates with one American classmate and has a few Korean friends, but that she does not have any Taiwanese friends in the U.S.:

I wish that I could be more accepted, and could fit in better here. I wish everyone would invite me out to eat or chat with me. . . . I am very often a loner here. When I see negative competition between international students who are from the same country, I know this situation is weird, and I am shocked. I noticed that some Taiwanese classmates bring their Taiwanese educational beliefs and practices here—i.e., being overly concerned about their grades. This really shocked me.

Ms. A elaborated, calling her fellow Taiwanese students “rude and aggressive,” and asserting, “I cannot discuss assignments with them.” Unfortunately, she claimed that she feels “the most frustrated” about the fact that her Taiwanese classmates are competing with her or other Taiwanese students:

I don't have any Taiwanese friends here because of the competition. I feel the most frustrated about competition between Taiwanese students here. . . . In the beginning, I was very sad. . . . I found it to be like the coldness in the winter here. . . . I guess it is because we are not in our own country, we are insecure. . . . Taiwanese classmates make me feel the most frustrated, even though we speak the same language. My relationship with them is the most superficial here. It is very weird. I don't know why. . . . This makes me really sad. The students who take advantage of you or hurt you here are all Taiwanese students. In contrast, the students who help you are all international students from other countries. It is weird.

The students with positive views also elaborated. On the theme of competitiveness, Mr. K said that, while he could feel the competition among classmates, he also stated that he feels he is able to receive "emotional support" from Taiwanese students, especially from those who have finished their coursework. Mr. N claimed that he looked for advice from Taiwanese sisters and brothers who came before him about what classes to take, as well as on what to expect from teachers' styles and assignments.

Ms. Q showed some ambivalence in her answers. On the one hand, she claimed that Taiwanese students "depend on" each other in class, and that "it's more painful when there are no Taiwanese in a class" because she then felt she could not turn to other Taiwanese students for help. But in contrast, having been made fun of by her Taiwanese friends, she worries that about speaking English in front of her Taiwanese friends, for fear that they will make fun of her.

Ms. G also expressed conflicting views. She claimed that what she feels the most uncomfortable about after class is Taiwanese students' attitudes toward her when she goes to Dining Hall to eat alone. She claimed not to care, but her disclaimer did not seem to give a full

picture of her feeling: “As for me, it is true that I don’t have any friends, but I don’t know what the big deal is. For me, this is my life, and eating alone in the Dining Hall is nothing. I just go there to eat [not to socialize].” Ms. G seems to avoid associating with Taiwanese students and disapprove of the way Taiwanese students live and hang out together as a group. She elaborated on this and said, “They all go to eat together in a group, or at least two people to go to eat together. They all come from the same school, and they live together and do everything together.” But, ironically, she also claimed that she feels “the most upset” about her isolated situation, and, she still seeks advice from Taiwanese school brothers and sisters when it’s time to take classes: “For example before I take any classes, I will ask my school sister how the class is, how the professor is, how the professor’s teaching is, or what issues I need to pay attention to.”

Ms. T also claimed to avoid associating with Taiwanese roommates or students; however, she cited a different reason, involving problems with developing her English skills when she kept too closely to the Taiwanese community. She stated that “because my neighbors were Taiwanese graduate students. . . After the first semester, when my grades started to drop, I started to hide in the library to study because when I went back to my place, I was with Taiwanese students. They watched Taiwanese TV channels, and we spoke Chinese together. So, I had fewer opportunities to practice English.”

Ms. H offered similar comments, claiming that when she had just arrived here, she was “very nervous” because of the target language difficulty. So, she tried “not to hang out with Taiwanese students and speak Chinese”, and to feel “independent.” She insisted that she has to speak English. As a result, she claimed that her English has improved.

Isolation

The Only Taiwanese or International Student in Class

Being the only international or Taiwanese student in a class is unavoidable; however, when it happens, students' anxiety levels usually go up, especially the first time it happens to them. Three of the participants claimed that they have experienced a strong level of anxiety, especially when they are the only international or Taiwanese student in a class.

Ms. A expressed her experience of being the only international student in a class, which was not a good experience for her, especially in group discussions. She termed the experience "far from normal" and "really bad," citing the professor's and American students' speech rate and her worry about not understanding the American students' slang or humor:

I didn't understand what he [the American professor] said. Sometimes, the class members [American students] took part in group discussion. They spoke very fast. Moreover, sometimes, they spoke slang, and I did not know what they said. They laughed, and I didn't know what they were laughing about.

Like Ms. A, Ms. C has also had the experience of being the only international student in a class. She said that

In the second semester, when I was the only international student in class, I was very horrified. Before that, there were at least one or two Taiwanese students in each class with me, so if I didn't understand something in class, I could just ask them. When I was the only international student in class, I was really scared. . . . It was my second semester studying here, and I had better adjusted to the environment. But, when I am the only international student, and the rest of them are native speakers, I feel the pressure of my language problem . . .

Ms. I, who has also had the same experience, said, “Of course, I was very anxious,” commenting that she is usually the only international student in her classes. She elaborated:

It was a very strong memory! I was in a state of panic! It was my first time coming to the U.S. I found out that none of my classmates were Taiwanese, and I felt panic! I felt that my English education in Taiwan was not enough, and that’s the reason I would not be able to speak English and understand what Americans said in class.

She went on to express her worry about her language problems, which intensified in this class of all American students, and in that situation, she wish that she could have better command of English:

At that time, I really hoped that I could get on track! But, I couldn’t do it. I still had problems with language . . . and I felt that I couldn’t do it. And, it did not go smoothly.

Other Responses

Doctoral Study

Four of the participants have experienced anxiety resulting directly from doctoral study. Ms. A experienced a high level of anxiety over her doctoral study including not being able to reach her expectations of “completely” understanding her professors’ lectures and her American classmates’ English and the pressure of meeting the deadlines of written assignments. She has found ways to deal with the strong anxiety stemming from her doctoral study and her expectations of improving her English in a short time in the U.S.:

I gave up on the idea of learning English well in a short time, so I feel more comfortable. I used to experience serious anxiety. And, even though my physical body was very tired, I could not fall asleep because I was worried that I would not be able to comprehend in class, would not be able to turn in assignments on time,

and may not know what to write. Now, I tell myself that it is okay that I cannot comprehend what the professor says in class.

Mr. K's anxiety stems from the academic pressure he experiences in his doctoral program. This is the second time he came to America to study, and his anxiety stems mainly from the pressure to graduate and get his doctoral degree:

When I came to America to study for the first time, I was more nervous because my language ability was worse. I am nervous now as well because of the pressure in school. . . . [It is] very big pressure, the school pressure.

Anxious about not being able to graduate, Ms. T claimed that "I am now worried about my dissertation because it will take a long time to write, and I am scared that I will not be able to finish writing it."

In a similar situation, Ms. C revealed that she feels a lot of pressure as a doctoral student, compared to the time when she was a MA student: "I feel a lot of pressure now because the level of the courses I take is different from what I used to take in MA. The pressure is very obvious."

Fear of Losing Face

Two of the participants declared that they were afraid of losing face if they failed a graduation requirement for their program. The idioms they used to express their concern were "really huge pressure," "I cannot lose face," and "I cannot fail!"(Ms. X), and "scared of losing face"(Mr. K). Ms. X and Mr. K were both stressed from the requirements of doctoral studies.

Ms. X claimed that she puts herself under pressure because she is "afraid to lose face" if she fails an evaluation. She was under "tremendous pressure" when she had to prepare for her doctoral examination:

The pressure was huge. Really huge pressure. Moreover, if you don't pass, how do you go home and face your family and friends? It is a loss of face if you are kicked out. So, I gave myself huge pressure!

She was "afraid to lose face" if she failed the doctoral evaluation. As a result, she studied harder:

The only thing I can do is to study harder in order not to lose face! I cannot lose face! Because I have strong motivation (E), I cannot lose face, and I cannot fail! So, I only move forward! . . . This is the only way.

Similarly, not knowing whether he could pass the doctoral evaluation made Mr. K feel the most pressure. He was "scared of losing face" and having to go back to Taiwan without finishing and graduating:

The first semester here was difficult. There is an examination right after the first semester is over. . . . At that period of time, when I did not know whether I would pass or not, I was under pressure. This was the period of time when I felt the hugest pressure studying here. I felt pressure preparing for the examination because I was scared that if I did not pass the evaluation, I would need to go back home. I felt that I would lose face. Because I was scared of losing face, I felt huge pressure at that time. . .

Coping Strategies for Classroom-Related Issues

The participants reported a range of strategies for coping with classroom related issues. These strategies are grouped into several classes: those related to listening comprehension, speaking, and writing. In the sections that follow, I will cover these groups of strategies in that order. Interestingly, one participant spoke wishfully about her desire for a support group;

however, no other participants reported this as a strategy, and since no such group seems to exist for them, I will return to this topic in Chapter 8.

Listening Comprehension

Previewing

Three of the participants, Mr. K, Ms. X, and Ms. C, all claimed that previewing is the most useful approach to overcome the difficulties of listening comprehension in class.

Ms. X admitted that previewing can help her understand her professor's lectures in class. However, she considers it an alien process: In Taiwan no one ever needed to preview:

As for problems with listening comprehension, I have to overcome it. I think that as long as you preview (E) before class, and you understood the content, you can almost understand what teachers say in class. In the beginning, I didn't know to preview because under Taiwanese education, I never had to preview. I learned to preview here, and I think this is great.

Ms. C, offering the same comments, claimed that when she arrived here in the U.S., listening comprehension was a problem: "Later, I found a way to solve the problem by studying the textbook very well because if I didn't go to class prepared, I completely did not know what the teacher said in class. After previewing, I could easily understand what teachers said in class."

Reviewing or Asking Classmates Immediately After Class

As noted earlier, almost all of the participants have experienced difficulties understanding professors' lecture or American classmates' conversation in class. In addition to taking notes, seven of the participants revealed the coping strategies they use when they cannot comprehend the professors' lectures or are not sure what assignments will be due. Five of them urge

themselves to solve this problem right away after class by reviewing the textbooks or ask for help from their classmates.

When Ms. H didn't know what her professors' lecture in class would be about, she read the textbook or read the Chinese translation of the textbook after class, as soon as she went back to her place. Consoling herself by telling herself that "time can solve the problem itself, so it is not such a big problem," she feels that her anxiety is lowered.

Declared that "I feel the most uncomfortable when I cannot comprehend what an American says," Ms. T revealed a similar strategy to overcome not being able to comprehend the words in class: "I probably did not understand the content in the book, so I went home and read it several times."

Mr. K affirmed that he gradually overcame this problem since his length of study in the U.S. has accumulated: He recalled that his situation was "more difficult" when he just arrived in the U.S. to study. Besides reviewing, when Mr. K cannot understand the lectures in class, he previews the readings, marks down what he does not understand, and listens carefully the section he does not understand in class. After class, he reviews them. Likewise, Mr. N readily listed several strategies that he felt were helpful: "I took notes [in class], and then I went back to my place and went on Google to find the information or read the textbooks. . ."

Besides reviewing textbooks, asking classmates for help is also a coping strategy they utilized. Ms. G, offering similar comments, mentioned her coping strategies at times when her professors speak faster in class, and she finds herself unable to comprehend the key points of the lecture:

If I can borrow the notes from classmates, of course, I hope to borrow them as soon as possible! Otherwise, I go home and open the textbook immediately to look for what the professor talked about in class. Or, I ask classmates as soon as class is over.

Ms. Q combines note-taking, reviewing the text, and consulting classmates. She “urges [herself] to write down what [she] can understand, and examines the text by looking for the parts the professors talked about in class which [she] did not understand, or [she] asks [her] classmates after class.”

Ms. A, offering similar comments, claimed that she asks her classmates immediately after class which assignment will be due next class; otherwise, she feels very “insecure.” When she knows which assignment will be due next class, she still faces insecurity or anxiety over her level of listening comprehension in the target language. She still insists on double-checking by asking her classmates to “make sure whether or not I am wrong, because I don’t have confidence in my ability [listening comprehension].”

Working to Understand a General Idea instead of Every Word

Two of the participants, Ms. I and Ms. C, both claimed that they shifted from trying to understand every single word in class to trying to get a general idea. In the beginning of her study in the U.S., Ms. C was “very nervous” and “always wanted [herself] to understand every word.” Ms. I claimed that early on in her study, “I forced myself” to understand everything in class.

Ms. I, who scored the lowest on anxiety among these ten participants, claimed that she has managed to reduce her anxiety by lowering her expectations. She used to require herself to understand every word in class, but later, she modified her practice, so she now requires herself to understand the general idea of the lecture in class instead:

When I just started taking classes in the U.S. . . . I forced myself to understand everything: every single word, every single sentence my professors said! So, if I missed something, I asked myself why I could not clearly understand! Later, I only required myself to understand the general idea of what the professors said. As long as I was aware of the general idea, then I could comprehend more specifically what the professors said.

In the same situation, Ms. C has also lowered her expectations to reduce her anxiety. She recalled her experience and claimed that

Especially when I just arrived here, I always wanted myself to understand every single word [the professors] said. Later, I realized that I only needed to understand a general idea by catching several words he said. Then, I would understand what he said. In the beginning, I was very nervous! Because I didn't know every word he said, I was very nervous! Now, I am okay about it.

Apparently, these two participants realized that their expectations or requirements for themselves to understand every single word are very difficult to reach, which has contributed to their strong level of language anxiety. As a result, they coped with this problem by requiring themselves instead to understand general ideas.

Speaking

Requiring Self to Speak in Class

Surprisingly, only one of the participants requires herself to speak or ask a question in class in order to overcome the anxiety and speaking difficulties. That participant is Ms. I.

Ms. I claimed that she requires herself to speak or ask a question every time she is in class, and by doing that, she “gradually became used to it” and “speaking became natural”:

After I started my doctoral studies, I required myself to improve my speaking ability. Then, I required that I speak at least one time or ask one question every class period. Then, I gradually became used to it. [So I no longer need to do this deliberately]. I will speak when I should speak or ask a question if I have a question. Speaking became more natural.

Making American Friends/ Conversation

Only one participant, again Ms. I, claimed that the solution for her to overcome her language problems, especially in speaking, is to have more conversations with American classmates or students on campus:

I just have more conversations with classmates! For example, in the cafeteria, I will naturally . . . have a conversation with them [American students], or discuss what I am doing today or what I have been doing these days, assignments, or activities on campus. Except for Miss I, speaking is the most difficult issue for these Taiwanese graduate students to overcome, and they are unable to find an approach to deal with this problem or improve their conversational English.

Writing

Asking Professors to Clarify Assignment Instructions

Ms. C is the only one of the ten participants who has managed to solve her problems with writing and lower her anxiety by asking her professors for clarification or negotiating her ideas with her professors. She was “all lost,” “struggling,” and in a “panic!” She claimed that “In the past, I just panicked and didn’t know what to do with the paper [when assigned a paper].” I believe this strategy is worth learning, especially considering that three of the participants are afraid to ask professors questions or ask questions in class.

Noting that all of the participants claimed to have experienced anxiety over writing English academic papers, Ms. C is no exception. Even though she still cannot overcome her strong anxiety over writing English papers, she has found a strategy which is useful and can reduce her anxiety. She recalled her experience and shared her coping strategy after feeling “lost” as to how to proceed with writing a paper:

I was used to being assigned a topic to write on for my paper [in Taiwan], but in the U.S., my teachers usually gave us open topics on which to write. So, I can write whatever I want, but at that time I was lost. I didn’t know what to write, or I was not sure if my topic was okay. . . I waited for my professor to return my paper to know whether or not my paper was okay. However, now, I am still concerned about this. But in comparison to the passive state I was in while waiting for my teacher to return my paper to know if it was okay, I asked my teacher whether or not the way I wanted to write the paper was okay. I learned how to negotiate with my teachers. I know how to look for help to help myself! When I have a question about a paper, I will ask my teachers or my classmates, so I will feel a lot more secure.

Writing to the End or not Worrying about Word Choice, Grammar, or Chinese English

Several of the participants such as Ms. A, Ms. T, and Ms. C all claimed that they have spent a long time writing English academic papers because they are worried about grammatical mistakes or Chinese English. Only one participant, Ms. I, copes with this problem, and she recalled that she used to worry about “small details” such as grammar, word choice, or Chinese English, so it took a long time to write:

I used to spend a long time writing a paper because I spent time noticing if my writing is grammatical correct or Chinese English! I used to notice these small details, but I think

that I will be able to check these when I am in the revision stage. Don't pay attention to these small details. Just hurry up and write! Write down the main idea, the main argument.

Instead of worrying about these small details such as grammatical mistakes, spelling, vocabulary, or Chinese English, she claimed that

When I write, I try not to stop! I try not to think about word choice, I try to write to the end. I write whatever comes to my mind. I don't go back and read what I write. If I go back and read, I will slow down.

Ms. I's coping strategy for writing academic papers is worth learning since most of these Taiwanese graduate students are most worried about their grammatical mistakes, Chinese English, or misuse of vocabulary in their writing.

Writing Center

Six of the participants have been going to Writing Center to look for help with their writing assignments because they are very anxious about their errors in grammar or vocabulary, or they lack confidence in their writing ability. In addition, they seem to believe that their professors expect them to turn in error-free or native-quality papers in English. As a result, before they turn in the assignments, they feel they must go to the Writing Center to correct grammatical mistakes or misuse of vocabulary. For these six participants, Ms. T, Ms. H, Mr. N, Ms. Q, Ms. X, and Ms. C, going to the Writing Center has become a routine before they turn in written assignments.

Ms. H, who has experienced high levels of anxiety over writing English academic papers, claimed that she went to the Writing Center to have the tutors check her grammar; otherwise, she would feel "insecure."

In a very similar situation, Mr. N is “scared” of his grammatical mistakes or misuse of vocabulary in his writing, so he goes to writing center:

After you finish writing the paper, you still have to go to Writing Center to have the tutors correct your grammar because you will be scared that your grammar is wrong. Or, your professors will require you to correct your grammar, and because you will feel that what you [I] write is not grammatically correct, or there are some other mistakes. Most of time, I go to the Writing Center to have the tutor correct my grammar, or the tutor will correct the vocabulary because I sometimes do not use the vocabulary very well.

Ms. T, offering similar comments, claimed that “I usually go to the Writing Center or have my friend [American] check my paper for me! If sometimes I have the confidence in my paper, which means there is no problem in paper, I will check it myself, and turn it in.” Ms. Q claimed that “After I go to the Writing Center to have the tutors check my paper, I know that I can turn the paper in.” Ms. C claimed that she went to the Writing Center and also paid an American editor. Admitting that she went to the Writing Center, Ms. X blamed herself for “not being careful,” but at the same time, she complained that she “cannot change the mistakes”:

I go to the Writing Center to have tutors help me revise my term papers (E), and still, they correct [my] articles (E), which are fossilized (E). . . . I forget to add *s* (E)!

Sometimes, I forgot to write subjects. . . . It’s my fault. I am not careful about these. I always write incorrect sentence[s] (E) or misuse article[s] (E) such as *the* (E), or *a* (E). I have already fossilized (E)! Right! I cannot change these mistakes. Every time I go to the writing center (E) to have them correct mistakes in my writing, the mistakes are always the same.

Besides going to the Writing Center, these participants also look for help or feedback from their professors, friends, classmates, or even pay professionals.

Classmates', Friends', or Professors' Feedback for Writing or Paying an American Editor

Six of the participants seek feedback or help for their writing from their professors, classmates, friends, or pay American editors, either online or on-campus. Three of the participants, Ms. H, Ms. C, and Ms. T, used two approaches, the Writing Center these other resources as ways to cope with their anxiety over writing. Ms. A, who scored the highest among the participants on anxiety, claimed that she “pays a native speaker” to check only the grammatical errors or Chinese English in her paper, and she would be “worried” turning in her paper without having it checked by a native language speaker:

After finishing the paper, I will ask [pay] a native speaker to check the grammar for me, or to check whether or not there is Chinese English in my paper. Chinese English has been a problem for me. . . . I will be worried if I don't have my papers checked by a native speaker.

Ms. H conveyed that her Taiwanese friends' “encouragement” helped her to overcome her fear of writing. She recalled the experience and her feelings:

I was scared in the beginning! I could not write! I could not write anything! Because you [I] are required to turn in assignments, my friends around me encouraged me to not be afraid! They told me: “Just write it! Write! I will check the paper for you!” So, I felt okay. After I finished writing the paper, they will check it for me. Because of this encouragement, I gradually began to not be scared.

In addition, she revealed that after she finished her paper, she went to the Writing Center or e-mailed her papers to her classmates to have them check the papers for her.

Ms. C also pays an American for grammatical errors or seeks help from her American friends, but unlike other participants, she also requested online editors for feedback on the ideas of her paper:

I used to pay an American to check my paper for me. I asked my American classmate to check for my paper, or I paid an online editor to check my paper for me. I asked them to check my grammatical mistakes and give me feedback . . . or word usage, such as Chinese English! If I am not sure about the content, I will ask him [online editor] to give me a little feedback about adding more information, something like that, or if the idea is not clear in the paper.

Ms. T, having the same experience, also revealed that she usually gives her papers to her American friend, so he/she can check the errors for her or give her feedback.

Unlike other participants in the study, who only seek help from American editors or tutors in the Writing Center, Ms. I also seeks feedback from her professors. She also requires herself to develop the ability to proofread, declaring, “I think that I should have proofreading ability because I am a doctoral student.” She claimed that she used her professors’ feedback on her paper as directions from which to revise. Besides, she exchanged her paper with her classmates or friends in order to exchange ideas and opinions. She also asks them, “Is it okay that I wrote like this? Is this idea worth writing?” She claimed that she gave her American or international friends the abstract of her paper to seek feedback, and she affirmed that her friends help her a lot on her paper by “giving me feedback or telling me a certain section is unclear or about some small grammatical problem, or that I need to add more detail, etc.” Finally, she revealed that she sometimes has American friends check her paper: “not very often. However, if

I don't know an expression, and I look up the dictionary and cannot find it, I will ask my American friends.”

Beyond the Classroom

Listening Comprehension including Speech Rate

Three of the participants (Ms. A, Mr. K, & Ms. T) reported experiencing problems and anxiety with listening comprehension, including speech rate on the phone and culturally-specific problems utilizing answering machines or recorded messages while doing business in America.

Compared to her life outside of class, Ms. A feels much more nervous and frustrated in class. As for her daily life, she still has difficulties doing things like calling the cable or electricity company, even though she has been studying in the U.S. for two semesters. She reported to feel “the most upset” about calling the cable or electricity company:

Until now, I still feel the most upset when I have to call Comcast or the electricity company. They usually use an answering system and the recorded spoken English is very fast. I need to press one, press two, and I usually cannot follow. So, I need to call again. It usually takes me an hour, and I still cannot solve the problem. This makes me feel that this is the most difficult thing I have had to do so far.

Mr. K, who has studied in the U.S. for four years, claimed that he also has the same problems. Talking on the phone or setting up the telephone is the problem which makes Mr. K “most upset” outside of the classroom:

One time, when I needed to set up the phone, it took me a long time, because of Americans' habit of having an answering machine: “Please press one.” And then, they will transfer you to the department, and finally there is a real person talking to you. . . . Seriously, I had a huge trouble setting up my phone at that time. My listening on the

phone was okay, but when they spoke really fast and talked about the bonus plan, sometimes I could not clearly understand what they said.

Speaking-related Issues

Problems with Telephone Calls: calling cable, electricity, and internet companies; setting up phone

Five of the participants affirmed that making phone calls to the cable, internet, or electricity, or setting up phones are their primary problems outside of the classroom. The same kinds of telephone calls that cause comprehension problems also challenge the participants' speaking skills. Participants used terms such as “the most upset” “the most difficult” (Ms. A) and “the most upset” (Mr. K) to describe their feelings. Other than Ms. Q, who claimed to have solved the problem, the rest of the participants are still being bothered by issues such as these in their daily lives in the U.S. Other than Ms. A, all the participants have studied in the U.S. before.

Ms. Q claimed that she used to feel “annoyed” when she had to talk to customer service representatives for her internet connection before she overcame what she saw as an obstacle:

Sometimes I need to call customer service myself to connect my internet. In the beginning, I felt annoyed that I had to call Americans to talk. But, when I overcame that obstacle, I decided that it is not a big deal. Thus, it is not enough of a problem to upset me.

Ms. X has experienced difficulties talking on the phone with target language speakers, and when these problems arise, she has mixed feelings including “very disappointed and angry”:

When making phone calls, setting up phone connections, these chores, I was very angry and disappointed when they could not understand what I said or when they were impatient. I was wondering if my English really sucked that badly. Why couldn't they

understand what I said, and why did I have to keep repeating (E)? I was really upset making these kinds of phone calls!

On a somewhat different note, Ms. G, claimed to have experienced “cultural differences” between Taiwan and the U.S. when she set up her new cell phone. She described the difference: The customer service representative will choose the best deal for her in Taiwan, but in the U.S. the customer service representative will not choose the deal for her—instead the representative will present some plans to her, and let her choose the deal herself. She claimed that this is a cultural difference to which she must adjust. Even though she did not tell me how she felt about this problem, I could tell by her facial expression that she was disappointed and seemed to be bothered by this.

Fear of not being able to be Understood in English Communication

Four of the participants affirmed that the fear of not being able to be understood in the target language is a primary factor related to their anxiety throughout their experiences in America.

Ms. X claimed that when she runs errands, and she cannot understand what the target speakers say, she is “disappointed” and “sad.” Because of her physical appearance as an Asian, she feels that members of the target language community give her cold eye contact, which makes her uncomfortable:

Language is the problem which makes me upset after class. . . . When I communicate with them, and they cannot understand what I say, I am really disappointed. I am sad. When you run errands, and their eyes are cold toward you, or you feel discrimination (E), I feel more uncomfortable. I feel that I am a second-class citizen here. . . . At least I am

independent, so I am alone all the time. It is okay (E). But, I feel uncomfortable about this.

Having had similar experiences, Ms. Q stated that she has many problems communicating with American students or the local people, and she expressed that “I feel like I suck!” and claimed that “they can hardly understand what I say, and I can hardly understand what they say.”

Likewise, Ms. H claimed many times that she was “very nervous” when she had just come here to study, even though this was not her first time to study in the U.S. Again, the problem was communication in English and the fear that no one would be able to understand what she said:

When I just arrived here, I was very nervous because I was scared that they [Americans] would not be able to understand what I would say. I was afraid that we would not be able to communicate. There were all kinds of communication problems!

In class or in interacting with target language speakers, Ms. A is still “frustrated” because they can not understand what she says:

I feel frustrated when people I’m speaking with say “Pardon me,” to me when I speak in English. I would really like to reduce the number of times the people I’m speaking with say, “Pardon me,” during a conversation. I hope that the percentage of times they say “Pardon me” to me can reduce.

Personal/Social issues

Fear of Losing Face

Two of the participants, Ms. Q and Ms. X expressed the fear of losing face while speaking English in front of Taiwanese friends (Ms. Q) or a group of people (Ms. X).

Ms. Q revealed to me that one of her Taiwanese friends made fun of her English, so she claimed that “I started to be scared to speak English in front of them, or, when I spoke English on the phone, I would hide from them”:

For example, when I speak English to my foreign friends, they started to laugh a lot. And then they said “why do I speak like this?” The English words I used were wrong, etc. Or, they said my pronunciation is definitely incorrect. Once you have been made fun of because of your English, you don’t want to speak English in front of that person anymore.

Ms. X has conflicting views on this issue. She claimed that “I am scared of losing face, so I do not speak [in front of a group of people]. Gradually, this became part of my personality.” Ironically, she conveyed that “in order to learn English well, I should not be too afraid of losing face. I need to overcome the fear of losing face in order to speak English better.”

Personal Standards

Three participants spoke of their personal standards being a major source of their anxiety. They used such phrases as “sorry and scared” (Mr. K), “always upset” (Ms. A), and “feel[ing] beat down” (Ms. Q) to express this situation. Mr. K, for instance, reports that he sets high standards for himself. To meet these, he feels he needs to “to listen to more high-level speech and news reports.” However, he is intimidated by this prospect: “I am scared of this... I think that I have been studying English for a long time, and think, ‘why can’t I still comprehend?’ I feel sorry and scared about this.”

As a college-level teacher in Taiwan, Ms. A also sets high standards for her performance in English. She feels that Taiwanese English teachers focus too much on minor grammatical details. But, ironically, she cannot free herself from worrying about these details, which leads

her to feel unhappy about her performance, even when she feels her professors will not criticize her:

I think that Taiwanese teachers are too picky. . . . However, teachers here [in the U.S.] are not that picky about your grammar or anything else. . . . They accept poor performance from non-native speakers because they know that you are not that good. . . . But, I hold my own personal standards, so I am always upset.

Putting the same pressure on herself as the other participants, Ms. Q, having experienced similar feelings, claimed that

Even though I have stayed here for a long time, my English still has not improved. You start to feel defeated, and then you start to feel beat down. I am talking about myself. I feel that it has been a long time: My English has hit a wall, and I cannot break through.

As a result, I feel beat down.

Consequently, Ms. Q claimed that she plans to go back to her old language institute to study English because of the unavailability of American students to practice English; in the language institute, she claimed that she had many opportunities to practice English with international students in the program.

Self-confidence

Two of the participants claimed that a lack of self-confidence affects their ability to talk to Americans, causing their anxiety to go up. Ms. Q, who admitted that she stops herself from communicating or interacting with Americans, claimed that “I am not confident in my speaking ability in English. My speaking experience in English was very unpleasant, and I don’t have confidence in speaking English.” She revealed more:

Sometimes I feel ashamed of myself because I cannot speak English well. As a result, I think I don't speak English well—how can I expect to make friends? Sometimes, when I see a foreigner [American], I want to talk to him/ her, but, I don't know how. Sometimes due to my inability to express my thoughts and feelings, I stop myself from communicating.

Ms. C is in a situation similar to that of Ms. Q. She declared,

I have to persuade myself not to be so nervous! Until now, I am still very nervous when I talk to an American whom I don't know or don't know much. Of course, I can still speak, but I am very self-conscious when I speak. Later, I realize that it's nothing to do with my language proficiency but my self-confidence!

Relationships

Interactional Practice

Eye contact. Three of the participants' anxiety levels are influenced by how the target language speakers look at them and their own self-consciousness about whether or not Americans will judge them for being non-native speakers. They describe such feelings as “painful,” “more upset” (Ms. X), and “really hurt” (Ms. A).

Ms. A revealed that she feels she is constantly being “discriminated” against in the U.S., and I asked her why. She replied, “Their eyes. When you talk to them, they can obviously figure out whether or not you are native born! They can judge . . . by your accent.” She elaborated further on this and claimed that Americans' attitudes toward her English have made her upset:

When I speak to them in English and their eyes show that they are impatient, I

feel really hurt! For example, when you order in a restaurant, you speak a little slow.

Then, there is a moment where the server listens to you and realizes that you are not a native speaker—at that moment, if his eyes are patient, I am grateful!

In the same manner, Ms. C mentioned that American people's eyes make her feel "very uncomfortable": "The way they look at you, and they are murmuring to themselves."

Ms. X, having had similar experiences, shared her personal experience when she felt target language community members' eyes were cold toward her, or when she encountered communication problems. She felt "sad, angry, and disappointed":

For example, I went to post office to send the mail. I had to interact with them. Then, because you are a foreigner or Asian, their facial expression does not look positive toward you: You feel very uncomfortable. Sometimes, they speak really fast.

Sometimes, we are illiterate (E) in this situation, you know what I mean?

Greeting. Two of the participants revealed that they are uncertain about how to greet the local people around campus or in the U.S. They expressed this concern using such phrases as "eye contact perplexes me" (Ms. X), "I could not accept," and "I was not used to" (Ms. C) the way Americans greet each other.

Ms. X claimed that she is "annoyed" in her daily life because she does not know whether or not she needs to nod to a stranger who is walking toward her:

Now, I have a problem which is whether or not I should nod my head when I pass by a person. When you see someone come over to you. . . . For foreigners [Americans], they usually look at you [eye contact], nod, and smile at you. But, some don't. I am very annoyed. If I don't nod and look at the ground and keep walking, it is very impolite. So, I feel that eye contact (E) perplexes me.

Even though Ms. C has adapted to the greeting etiquette in the U.S., she still complains about it. She claimed that

In the beginning, I could not accept or was not used to the way they greet one another. In our daily lives, we just say “hi” to one another. But, they will ask you a ton of questions after saying “hi” to you, and those questions are not important. Actually, they don’t care what my response is. The greeting is so un-meaningful.

Embrace. Even though most of them have adapted to the way American people greet, two of the participants revealed that the way Americans embrace when greeting or saying goodbye “shocked” them, especially when they first arrived. Now, they have gradually become accustomed to the way Americans greet. Only one participant claimed that she still cannot accept it.

Even though she has studied in the U.S. for almost one year, Ms. H still cannot overcome her aversion to American greeting behaviors. She claimed that she has adjusted to the U.S. culture very well; however, her only problem is the embrace. She often observed American students holding their arms around each other on campus, and this led her to express that

American undergraduate students’ behaviors are very open. I saw undergraduates holding each other on campus: They don’t move, and they don’t care that there are many students walking pass them on campus.

In a similar manner, Ms. X was “shocked” the first time she was embraced:

When a foreigner meets you, he or she will hug you! I was shocked in the beginning. . . . Also, the more he likes you, the tighter he holds you. . . . I was shocked in the beginning! I then learned that hugging is a way they express themselves. But, I cannot do this when I go back to Taiwan. . . .

Ms. C, who had the same reaction, claimed that “they are too passionate, so they want to hug me. I am used to it now, but in the beginning, I was shocked by it. I thought American people like to keep personal space . . . Suddenly, I was shocked. . . .”

Silent period. Two of the participants, Mr. K and Ms. C, contended that there is always “a silent period” when interacting with Americans, and they still cannot overcome their aversion toward it. Mr. K stated that he feels “more uncomfortable” when he does not know what to say to Americans, so there is a “silent period” between them:

The most uncomfortable thing with Americans is that sometimes I don’t know what to say to them. For example, we finished talking about the weather, the regular topics, and then I don’t know how to go deeper. For me, there is a silent period, and at this time, I feel more uncomfortable. I don’t know what to say.

Ms. C, offering similar comments, claimed that even now she still cannot break the ice with Americans. She claimed that “I feel that it’s hard to overcome the awkwardness of the silent period” when she interacts with her American colleagues or friends. “I feel so awkward,” she said, “and I don’t know what to do in that situation.”

Superficiality. Five of the participants affirmed that Americans are “superficial.” They described this situation, using such phrases as their superficiality “makes me the most upset” (Ms. C), and “their expression is a little exaggerated” (Ms. I).

Mr. K claimed that American students might be very friendly at first, but when he tried to talk to them, they seemed to be “not interested in talking” to him. He claimed that he tried to make friends with his American classmates. However, he encountered difficulties:

I observed that it seems that he says “hi” to you, but it is just superficial. But, if we really want to make friends with him, it turns out to be not easy. For example, he is a

classmate, and we usually say “hi.” But, when I take the initiative to talk to him, he is not so passionate. . . . That [saying hi] is just his habit. So, when we want to make friends with him after class, or chat with him, he tries to keep a distance from us. Yeah, he might just have a better relationship with his own groups. This could be what the situation is.

In a similar manner, Ms. G claimed that her American roommate does not care that she is cold in the room but still keeps the air conditioner turned all the way up after her American roommate apologized to her:

The American just says, “I am very sorry,” but she still does it. “Oh sorry,” but she still keeps doing it, and I am freezing. Every time she turns on the AC, and I cover myself with blankets.

Ms. C, offering similar comments and having had similar experiences, claimed that “the superficial greeting” which makes her “the most upset” takes place in the dormitory:

My neighbors across the hallway were very friendly and always said ‘hi’ to me, so I thought they were very friendly. Later on, I realized that this greeting was very superficial, they might dislike me a lot . . . because they look down on Asians! Or, they think that my English is very poor, and they condemn me and think that I don’t know.

Similarly, Ms. H claimed that “Americans can be very polite to you to your face, even though they might actually hate you.”

Ms. I commented on what she perceived as American insincerity. Regarding what Americans said to her, she claimed that she “cannot take it as it is. Sometimes I believed too much what they said. However, what they think in their mind might be the completely opposite, or they only tell you 70%.” Also, she contended that Americans’ expressions tend toward

exaggeration: “For example, I asked him ‘how do you feel about something?’ And, he replied ‘it’s great!’ But the truth is he probably only feels good. I feel that he just tries to be polite.”

Loneliness/ Isolation. During the interviews, seven of the participants revealed that they spend most of the time “alone” after class. Two of the participants claimed that they are all alone or isolated in the U.S., and the loneliness or isolation makes them “the most upset.” However, their situations are different. Ms. G seems to intend to make friends from countries other than Taiwan. However, she cannot break the barriers. Ms. X, as a doctoral student, wants to make friends, but she does not have the opportunities. Also, her doctoral coursework keeps her very busy. Ms. A claimed that she is “very upset” about the fact that she is studying “alone” in the U.S. in comparison to having many friends in Taiwan.

Ms. G has conflicting views on this issue. She asserted that for her, to study abroad is to be alone. She disapproves of Taiwanese students who go out with other Taiwanese students as a group. Ironically, she also claimed that she feels “the most upset” that she is “all alone” here.

Answering when or in what situation she feels the most upset after class, Ms. X responded that she is “very lonely here,” and she feels “the most upset” about that. However, she has mixed feelings on the subject of friendships; she hopes to make many friends studying in the U.S., but she also claimed that she has to isolate herself to study in the doctoral program. She has not been able to accept the differences between the time she studied for her MA and her current doctoral study—the fact that her current group of peers is very independent and do not stick together as a group:

You live alone (E), and you are all by yourself here. The lonesome feelings make me feel more uncomfortable, which is when I need help, but no one is there to help me. For example, I was miserable last semester. I had just come here to study for my Ph.D. I

moved from a group feeling (E), which everyone lived together and everyone liked to be together . . . suddenly, to a doctoral program. . . . Suddenly, you have to isolate (E) yourself in order to study and do research. When you begin to spend a lot of time alone, you start to dislike interaction (E) with people because you don't have time to social[ize] (E) . . . You completely isolate yourself in the academic field. I think that this is pitiful. And I isolate myself in the ivory tower.

Ms. X feels that her isolation has taken a toll on her health. Speaking of her recent year living alone, she said, "I was very isolated (E). Otherwise, I would not look like I do now." She claimed that she has become "an idiot of life" [unable to function outside of the classroom]. She has one Taiwanese friend here, but she does not have any friends who are American or international students. She claimed that "everyone is shallow, and superficial toward one another!" Because she wants to make "close (E)" friends, she is "upset" that she cannot make them here. Commenting on this, she claimed that "the [Americans] can never let you enter their core!" However, she claimed that Americans in church were very friendly and gave her the feeling of home because when she studied for her MA, she went to church.

Based on their responses, their daily lives after class are shown in Table 9 below. Table 10 presents the nature of the participants' friendships.

Table 9

The Participants' Daily Lives after Class

Participant	Daily life after class
Ms. A	I asked her what she does every day after class here, she responded, "nothing more than study" at the university. "I read, watch TV, make phone calls to Taiwan. Most of the time, I talk on the phone with my family and friends. Talking to my family and friends is a very important because it is a way for me to cope with my emotions here. My life is simple here. I

cook and eat after class. I think that I am kind of a failure here because I don't really fit into the American life. Because of that, my English does not improve. I don't have any American friends. I guess I am not active enough: I always stay in my apartment."

- Mr. K After class, Mr. K spends most of his time studying alone in his carrel, or studying in his apartment. If he has extra time, he watches TV or takes a walk. Other than talking to his landlord, he hardly speaks English after class. He spends most of his time on his coursework, and he believes that "I don't really want to know this place," and "I don't have the time." "After class, I sometimes miss my family because I got married. . . . I feel the pressure. I am lonely studying here . . . I feel homesick and upset." Mr. K believes that his life is "very prosperous" here. He eats alone in the dining hall every day, and besides talking to his family online every day, he spends most of his time studying. He said, "I study after class. I spend most of my time in the library, so there is nothing to talk about."
- Ms. Q Ms. Q described her daily life after class as the following: "I just have the typical student life here, going to class, going back to the dorm, watching TV, surfing on the net, or doing assignments. I used to drive to Panera Bread to drink free coffee with my laptop. I seldom go to see a movie here."
- Ms. H Ms. H claimed that her life here is "boring and nothing exciting!" Her daily routine consists of the following: She studies, watches TV, goes to bed. Also, she does not have a car. She takes the bus, and the only place she usually goes is Wal-Mart. She claimed that she spends most of her time "studying." She rarely eats with her friend from India who is her classmate. She goes out of the campus town usually once a month with a Taiwanese friend who owns a car.
- Ms. G Ms. G claimed that "I surf on the Taiwanese websites, watch movies, American films . . . and cook. Also, I spend a lot of time talking with boyfriend on MSN every day after class."
- Ms. T Ms. T revealed her daily life after class: "After class, I was busy with the activities in my conversation club. After class, I study, go to see movies with my boyfriend, and go to the city once a month."
- Ms. C Ms. C revealed her daily life after class or work: "I go home. I don't have much entertainment in my daily life. At most, I go out on the weekends. I hardly ever go out with my classmates. I don't have activities after class. I stay at home. I go home after going to work or going to class."
- Mr. N Mr. N describes his daily life studying in the American university: "Every day, most of time, I go to class. After class, I play basketball and go back to my apartment. Sometimes, I meet with Taiwanese friends in restaurants."

He seldom speaks English, but he listens: “In my daily life, I hardly ever use English. I use English only when I listen to or watch TV, go to class, or watch movies!” He claimed that he goes to church on the weekends as well.

Ms. X Ms. X described her daily life after class in these terms: “going to class, doing research to write papers, jogging and swimming, and chatting with Taiwanese friends online.” She further claimed that if she goes out, she needs to spend money. She has “a budget” to study here, so her life here is “a little painful.”

Ms. I Ms. I described her daily life: “After class, I spend 70% of the time studying and 30% of the time chatting with American or international friends. I often visit their apartments or dorm rooms on the weekends, or have conversation with them in the library or nearby coffee shops.”

Based on the participants’ responses, other than Ms. A, Ms. I, Ms. T, and Ms. C, six of the participants do not have any American friends. Surprisingly, two of the participants, Mr. K and Ms. A do not have any Taiwanese friends. Also, except for Ms. H, Ms. I, and Ms. T, seven of the participants do not have any international students as their friends.

Table 10

Friendship and Roommates

Participant	Friendship and roommates
Ms. A	American friends: 1 (classmate); Taiwanese friends: 0; International friends: 2; No roommate, living in an apartment
Mr. K	American friends: 0; Taiwanese friends: 0; He knows several students in the same program or MBA program but not friends. He knows four Taiwanese students who live in the same apartment building but hardly hangs out. International friends: 0; Currently living alone in an apartment. Ex-roommate in the dorm: Taiwanese
Ms. Q	American friends: 0; Taiwanese friends: 1 or 2; International friends: 0 No roommate, living in a single room in the dorm
Ms. H	American friends: 0; Taiwanese friends: 2 or 3; International friends: 1

- American roommate, living in an apartment
Ex-roommate in the dorm: American student
- Ms. G American friends: 0; Taiwanese classmates: 4 or 5; International friends: 0
Taiwanese boyfriend
Currently: Japanese roommate, living in an apartment
Ex-roommate in the dorm: American student
- Ms. T American friends: 10 (She knows them through Conversation Club)
Taiwanese friends: 1; International friends: 2
Long-term American boyfriend
Living in an apartment
- Ms. C American friends (classmates become colleagues): 2; Taiwanese friends: 2
International friends: 0
No roommate, currently living in a single room apartment
Ex-roommate in the dorm: Japanese student
- Mr. N American friends: 0, but he knows a host family and a church tutor
Taiwanese friends: 1; International friends: 0
Currently having a Taiwanese girlfriend studying in the same program;
previously having an American roommate in the dorm; now, living in an
apartment
- Ms. X American friends: 0; Taiwanese friends: 1; International friends: 0
Currently, no roommate, living in an apartment
- Ms. I American friends: 5 or 6 including 1 or 2 professors; Taiwanese friends: 2
International friends: many (known through friends)
Currently: Taiwanese roommate living in an apartment
Ex-roommate in the dorm: Korean student
Ex-roommate in the dorm: American student
-

Forming Relationships

Americans' Attitudes

Six of the participants (Ms. A, Ms. I, Ms. G, Ms. C, Ms. Q, & Ms. X) pointed out that Americans' attitudes have a great impact on their adjustment and language anxiety in the U.S.

Being looked down upon or ignored as a second language speaker. Four of the participants expressed that as second language speakers, they feel they are looked down upon or

ignored by American classmates or local community members, and this makes them feel “hurt” (Ms. I) and “the most upset” (Ms. G & Ms. C).

Ms. Q claimed that her classmates might look down on her because of her lack of fluency in English. She presented one of her personal experiences as an example. One of her American classmates ignored her many times when she greeted him/ her on campus:

I do not mean that he/she looks down on me because of my English is poor or other reason . . . I said “hi” to him/ her, but he/she always ignored me. I don’t know if he/ she did not see me or other reasons.

She recalled the experience and stated that “If your English is weaker than that of your classmates, it can be difficult to talk to them. Sometimes they might look down on you.”

In a similar situation, Ms. G claimed that the situation after class in her daily life which makes her “the most upset” is in “stores”:

Probably you go shopping, the clerk all of a sudden talks to you, and you are suddenly shocked by it and don’t hear what he/she says. Then, he/she thinks that you cannot understand what he/she says, so he/she ignores you. . . . I feel (sigh), how can he/she do that? . . . I know I am a foreigner here!

Ms. G elaborated on this and said “It depends on whether he /she is willing to listen to your non-fluent English or the incomplete, not well-expressed English sentences.”

Unlike Ms. Q and Ms. G who both have experienced problems communicating with target language speakers, Ms. I, who perceives herself as having a better command of spoken English, still expressed her frustration associating with her American classmates because of their attitudes toward her as a second language speaker. She claimed that her interactions with

Americans feature problems which stem from their attitudes toward second language speakers or international students, and she claimed that she feels “hurt”:

Some American students think that international students’ English is very poor. So, they say that less-than-average performance is “good enough” for international students. For example, if you can pass the exam, you should be very happy, and you should not ask for anything else. . . . I didn’t pass my exam for the first time. . . . I met an American classmate. He/ she asked me how my exam went, and I replied to him/ her that I failed it. He/she replied, and his/her first reaction was very weird, “that must be your grammatical problem. It might be your grammatical problem, or something related to grammar.” He/she was very rude by saying that. After he told me that, I felt that deeply, actually, he was looking down on me. He thinks that I am supposed to fail because I am a second-language speaker! (E)

American students’ failure to explain vocabulary. Only one participant, Ms. I, claimed that American students don’t explain the vocabulary. After class, Ms. I claimed that she feels “uncomfortable” when she does not know “the activity” or “key word” her American friends are talking about. Because of that, she conveyed that American students lack the communicative competence to explain the vocabulary or the activity they are talking about, and she feels “incompatible with American students”:

My classmates and I will be discussing something, and suddenly many Americans students are talking about a specific activity or word usage which I don’t know. I have never been to that place, and it makes me feel that I am incompatible with American students. Usually in this situation, we will explain for the students who do not understand, but American students don’t have that “sense” [level of intercultural

competence]. They don't take the initiative to explain the word for us, so we have to [take the initiative to] ask the meaning. Some better American students help me and explain the word for me, but some who are not nice give me just another new word I probably don't know.

Disrespect of others' cultures and backgrounds. Three of the participants claimed that Americans cannot or do not accept or even disrespect others' cultures and backgrounds.

Ms. I explained of difficulties interacting with Americans because of their disrespect towards other's cultures and backgrounds: "Sometimes it's hard, or it's so difficult to interact with them because some of them do not respect others' cultures or did not respect others' backgrounds (E)." She expanded on this and claimed that she felt this way because they said that her failing an exam must be due to her "grammatical problems":

From their words. . . . From their reaction. . . . Because that expression just criticizes your [my] ability in foreign language. That person probably did not think that I should be in a graduate school, so I should fail. . . . But, if we speak from the point of view of a second language researcher, we will feel that is how we should judge a second-language speaker's language proficiency: It's not only the way we speak but also [our] ideas. . . . So, in an ideal world, sometimes we are able to associate with someone who has experience in [other cultures], who has lots of intercultural experiences, or whose ideas are very rich in culture. . . .

She elaborated further on this, stating that her American classmates or friends are not interested in Taiwanese culture or anything related to her home culture because Americans are educated to believe in American exceptionalism:

I tried not to talk about Taiwan because Americans are not interested in anything other than America. They are probably a little bit interested in European cultures. So, if I speak about Taiwan, I am wasting my time.

She went on to declare that she feels that “Americans students’ attitudes toward international students still show “racism”:

Their education makes them feel that they are better than others, so they think that so many international students come to the U.S. to study for this reason. Unconsciously, they develop this idea and think that others’ cultures are not worth knowing, and they are not interested in knowing other cultures.

In a similar manner, Ms. A and Ms. C both claimed that their status as students who come from different cultures and speak non-fluent English prevents Americans from “accepting” them. Ms. A stated that “the biggest problem is the cultural differences” between her and the target language population:

Some Americans can accept different cultures. Some feel you are different, but not second-class. It would be exciting if Americans could really be multicultural. . . . They are impatient towards you because they are not interested in your culture, because they cannot really accept or don’t want to accept different cultures, or because it is not necessary for them to accept your culture.

Unlike other participants who were concerned about this issue, Ms. C, who found a way to overcome this obstacle, claimed that she does not insist on being accepted by Americans. “There are two types of Americans. One will attack you and tell you that you are outsiders; the other do not claim that they accept you even if they don’t attack you,” she asserted.

Impatience. Three of the participants expressed their emotion toward their difficulties of functioning in the target language in their daily lives—namely, the local people’s impatience. They used phrases such as “the most upset” (Ms. C), and “very sad” (Ms. X) to express this situation.

Ms. A spoke about problems in her daily life in the U.S., including ordering food at a restaurant, where she feels “upset” if the waiter or waitress shows “impatience” towards her due to her non-native command of English:

Ordering in restaurants is the biggest difficulty I have faced, even until now. The waiters’ English. . . . I don’t even know what they said to me, I could only comprehend chicken, fish, or pork [laughs]. . . . I cannot control my life here that well—unlike speaking Chinese, which is very easy to me. I think that it is impossible for me not to face any problems during my daily life here!

Ms. C, offering similar comments, claimed that she feels “the most upset” when the person or clerk acts impatiently towards her because of her lack of fluency in English:

When I go to the post office to run errands in my daily life here, [the clerk] is so impatient because I probably do not speak very fluently, and his face gives me the impression that he feels very impatient. That expression is not . . . necessary. That’s the only problem I have now.

Having had the same experience and echoing Ms. C, Ms. X claimed that she feels more upset in her daily if the target language speaker acts “impatiently” towards her than when she cannot understand what he/she says. She spoke of her experience with a post office employee:

He spoke very fast, and I could not catch (E) what he said. So I asked him if he could repeat what he said. When he was very impatient, I was very sad. But, if he would speak

to you very patiently, smile at you, and be friendly (E), I would feel great! I wouldn't feel that pain. This is what makes me more upset in my daily life.

American Roommates

Four of the participants claimed that their experiences living with American students are not pleasant. They used phrases such as “horrible” (Ms. C), “shocked,” (Ms. I), and “very upset” (Ms. H) to describe these experiences. Only one of the participants, Mr. N, has claimed to have a good friendship with his American roommate. One of the participants, Mr. K, had the opportunity to live with an American roommate, but instead, he chose to move in with a Taiwanese student who was also very scared to have an American roommate. He claimed that during the interview, “I was scared of having an American roommate. I heard of these stories of what American students did in the dormitory”:

When I first arrived here, I lived in the dormitory. . . . There was a Taiwanese student in the dormitory, who had a vacancy [who didn't have a roommate], and he encouraged me to move in with him because he was scared to have an American roommate. He was scared of this because of some of the Taiwanese students' bad experience living with American students. I heard of that, and he was scared of it: So he urged me to move in with him.

In a similar situation, Ms. C, who also lived in the dormitory, claimed that she had a “horrible” experience living in the dormitory:

There was a period of time that I was very scared and felt horrible, so I had to make sure that I locked my door before I went to bed at night because they got drunk and made trouble, threw up everywhere, and made a lot of noise. . . . One time, the police came to the dormitory!

Moreover, she contended that American students' selfishness makes her feel "the most uncomfortable":

I think that they are very selfish. Before I came to the U.S., I thought this was individualism, but later, I realized that deep down inside they are selfish! When you fall asleep, or when you are studying, [they] will turn on the TV with the volume all the way up and sing along. When you ask if [they] can turn the volume down a little bit; then [they] just turn it down a little bit. And, [they] still do not care about the truth that you are sleeping or studying because they think that this is [their own] personal space. [They] think that [they] can do whatever [they] want, and [they] do not care much about your opinions or feelings.

Also, Ms. T had an unpleasant experience with an American housemate, who broke into her room and used her phone without her permission, and did not pay the rent.

Likewise, Ms. I affirmed that she was "shocked" to learn about American undergraduates students' "party culture." When she had an American roommate for the first time, she chose to move out very quickly.

Ms. H reported an experience quite different from those of these participants. She claimed that she used to have an American roommate in the dormitory. This made her "very upset" because her roommate could not take any noise, and she emphasized that she would always have to keep everything very quiet. In the end, she could not tolerate the American roommate, and she moved out before the first semester was over. She felt very upset about this problem because that was her first semester studying for her master's degree, and she experienced difficulties getting along with her American roommate. Now, she has moved out

and rented a room in a building; ironically, she still has problems with her current American roommate, who does not do dishes regularly and never takes out the garbage.

Making American Friends

Three of the participants revealed problems making American friends. Ms. Q has problems with the target language. Mr. K lacks motivation. And, Ms. C used to be “very desperate,” but now, she has decided to be herself, not to “force” herself “to fit in,” “to become them,” or “be accepted by them.”

Asking her how she overcomes communicative problems with the local members in the community or American students, Ms. Q asserted that “In fact, I don’t know. Many people say that if you make American friends, your English will make progress. However, it did not happen to me. . . . After all, I still need to depend on myself to improve my English ability!” She claimed that she only knows a limited amount of vocabulary, so when she finishes using everything she knows, she has nothing to talk about: “For example, if [the other speaker] changes the topic to talk about something I do not know, I am completely lost. I also don’t understand every word he/she says!”

She expanded on this issue and affirmed that she cannot ask her American classmates to write down all the vocabulary that she does not understand because she is sincerely trying to make friends with them: “Some people will say when you don’t understand, just ask: But the main problem is that you are making friends—not learning the language.” She declared, “I cannot do this.” So, when she does not understand, “I will smile at him/ her, answer him/ her ambiguously, and then change the topic. So, I don’t feel this is a big problem, but this upsets me! However, I don’t know what to do to solve my problem.”

Another participant, Mr. K, contended that besides having “superficial” conversation such as “greeting,” he experienced difficulties the most with “culture and language” when making friends with the target language speakers:

Language, culture—I still cannot completely understand. I cannot have a deeper conversation with them. My self-confidence is not enough because I am not familiar with their language and culture . . . so I cannot cross the barriers. The most I can do is to have superficial interaction with them, like greetings. This is my situation.

Besides language and cultural difficulties, Mr. K affirmed that his motivation to make friends with Americans has become “less” because he “does not want to stay” in the U.S. after he graduates. He claimed that he does not have “time” and “does not need someone to talk to” because “I skype with my family in my daily life. I don’t need a person to talk with. I become lazy about making friends. . . . So I have less motivation”

Despite her bad experience living in the dormitory with American undergraduate students, Ms. C expressed a nuanced point of view: “Overall, they [Americans] are nice, but I think that it’s very difficult to have a close friendship with them. There are still barriers there. For example, if a group of them plan to go out, they would rather go out with their friends than inviting me.” However, she revealed that she chose not to go every time she was invited by her American colleagues on campus “because inviting me is always their second choice. My feeling is that whether or not I go out with them does not matter to them!”

She revealed that she “used to force herself to fit in or try her best to become them [i.e., Americans]” and that she used to feel “very desperate” when she “encountered obstacles fitting in with them.” Later, she realized that she just needs to be herself:

I forced myself to do what I was not able to do in the past. For example, I wanted to socialize with them, wanted to join more activities to have more opportunities to have conversation with foreigners [Americans], so I went to parties, pubs, but actually, I disliked going! . . . Every time after I went, I felt, “That’s the way it is!” [I am finished. I can not change the situation.] Sometimes, I felt I had already tried very hard; I had already made lots of efforts, but I still could not fit in. As a result, I felt very depressed. Later, I realized that I cannot accept some of their lifestyles. I didn’t need to force myself. As long as I feel comfortable, I won’t force myself to do something I cannot do anymore.

Again, Ms. C emphasized that now “I decided not to make any efforts which are not going to work because they cannot accept my culture or anything no matter what; then I won’t push and force them to accept me.”

Practical Issues

Cultural and Geographical Isolation

Four of the participants complained that the environment outside of the campus is too out-of-the-way, and there are not any activities or events in the town. Ms. Q claimed that she cannot go out to eat at midnight here, and the night life here is boring. “There is no night life here, and there is no Seven-Eleven here. So, when I am hungry at night, I do not know where to go to eat, and it takes over one hour to go to a neighboring town. What’s the difference between living here and living on a mountain?” asked Ms. Q. She complained the campus town is “too out-of-the-way.” She stated that her life here is “very boring,” and explained further: “I wanted to transfer to other universities or leave here. That is probably the reason I don’t want to make friends, because I don’t like the place.” Ms. I, offering similar comments, claimed that “the

campus is very far away from the airport and a little out-of-the-way,” and there are very few Asian foods. In the same vein, Ms. C and Ms. T both claimed that “there is nothing here,” and Ms. T claimed that she feels “depressed” sometimes:

There is nothing to do outside the campus. It is very boring. As a result, I am sometimes depressed. I want to go to another city when I sometimes want to do something.

She revealed she had even experienced “culture shock” when she had just come to this town to study after receiving her master’s degree in another state: “I had experienced culture shock when I moved from Kentucky to here because the life there was better than here. So, I compared my life there and here, and I was homesick missing my old place.”

Lack of Readily Available Authentic Comfort Food

Five of the participants contended that food, such as eating outside at night, ordering the food at a local restaurant, and the availability of authentic Asian foods, are some of the primary problems they face adjusting to their lives in the U.S. Ms. G felt “the most upset” when she did not know what to order at a restaurant. Among these five participants, four of them, except Ms. G, still have not overcome their problems with food until now. Ms. G moved out of the dormitory, and she claimed that she now cooks Taiwanese food in her apartment. However, the others still struggle with food issues.

Ms. X claimed that food is a problem in adjusting to the life here. Ms. I, offering similar comments, complained that “there are very few Asian things. . . . There is no Sushi, or other Asian things.” Ms. G contended that she is not used to eating the rice and dislikes the cheese in the U.S.:

The taste of the rice in Dining Hall is very different from the rice in Taiwan because it is from Vietnam. So, if you go to Dining Hall and you see rice, you don’t want to eat it.

Or, the food here often adds cheese, and I don't know why they need to put cheese in every food, even the dumplings [pierogies]. I never wanted to eat the dumplings again after I had a bite.

Besides the problem with the food, Ms. G claimed that when she just came to the U.S., she felt "the most upset" when she looked at the menu in a restaurant and did not understand the words:

Probably, you don't know what to order because you cannot read the menu, fried, boiled, deep-fried, or stir-fry. Or, the information about the way the dish is cooked listed on the menu! You probably don't know the word, and you don't know what the dish is like!

Likewise, Ms. T claimed that "the first time I came to the U.S., my adjustment problem was the food here." However, even now, she still cannot cope with this problem with food here. She stated that "Eating is very inconvenient here because the stores in Taiwan are open from very early to very late at night." Her point of view is the same as Ms. Q's: She also complained that she cannot go out to eat at midnight here, and the night life here is "boring." In Taiwan, most street corners feature food stands which are open late into the night.

Transportation

Three of the participants claimed that transportation has been an issue for them to deal with, especially when they had just arrived in the U.S. They described their experiences as "too complicated to even begin to solve" (Ms. Q), and "very inconvenient" (Ms. C). Except for Ms. Q and Ms. C who are already overcoming this obstacle by getting a driver's license and owning a car, Ms. T continues to face this problem.

Though she owns a car now, Ms. Q recalled the experience of getting a driver's license in the U.S. and complained that she could not rent a car to take her driving test here. This led her to claim that "some of the policies here are too complicated to even begin to solve [work out]."

In a similar manner, Ms. C affirmed that she had “already adjusted to the life here.” However, she recalled the time when she first came to the U.S., when she had not yet purchased a car. She looked back on the experience:

When I had just come here, it was very inconvenient without a car. . . I had to wait for the Shuttle, and I could not get used to it . . . I had to experience one year without a car. I had to ask them [other Taiwanese students] to do me a favor to give me a ride to the city. As a result, I believe that if you want to come here to study, you have to purchase a car.

In contrast, having stayed in the U.S. for over ten years, Ms. T, who cannot drive, claimed that going grocery shopping makes her “upset” in her daily life in the U.S. because she does not own a car. What surprised me is that she walks to Wal-Mart to go grocery shopping, a considerable distance:

The bus does not come every day, especially on holidays, so if I want to go grocery shopping in Wal-Mart, I have to depend on my friend to give me a ride. . . . If I have a fight with my friend, I have to walk to Wal-Mart. It takes me three to four hours to walk there and walk back.

Beyond-the-Classroom Coping Strategies

The participants’ beyond-the-classroom coping strategies are grouped into four categories: listening comprehension, speaking or social issues, personal or practical issues, and forming relationships or practicing the target language.

Listening Comprehension

Watching Local TV

Four of the participants revealed that they train their listening comprehension skills by watching the local TV or DVDs: “Watching TV is the best way” (Mr. K), and “I forced myself to watch TV” (Ms. A).

Besides previewing the assigned readings and marking down and reviewing sections he did not understand after class, Mr. K also works to train his listening skills after class by watching TV and actively working to use what he sees and hears. He claimed that even now, he still cannot comprehend his bus driver’s speech or that of a target language speaker who is from an area different from his college town and asks him for directions:

I listen more often. My method is watching TV. Because if you have a conversation, there is body language or facial expression: So it is easier, and I can guess it. I think watching TV is the best way. . . . The TV programs are in English, so I sometimes watch the programs I like here in order to improve my listening comprehension. Currently, I do that, and I sometimes write down the words and memorize them. If I have time, I look the words up in the dictionary. I use subtitles on TV.

Besides listening to his professors’ lectures in class, Mr. N’s English comprehension has improved over time from this activity of watching the local TV: “My listening comprehension is improving because most of the time, I just listen, for example in class, or watch TV.”

Ms. T claimed that watching American DVDs is one of her coping strategies for listening comprehension. She stated that “I watched DVDs with my American friend, and if I don’t know the word, I will pause and ask him.”

Unlike other participants mentioned, who actually like to watch the local channels or American movies, Ms. A “forced” herself to listen to TV programs in order to improve her listening comprehension to the point of understanding conventional conversational speech rates in English: “After class, I force myself to watch TV, which I am not interested in watching, in order to get used to the speed of spoken English—even though I cannot really comprehend.”

Speaking or Social Issues

Not Afraid to Speak or Lose Face

Three of the participants declared that they overcome the speaking difficulties in their daily lives by just speaking more or trying not to be afraid of losing face when asking questions and admitting that they do not understand or do not know. For example, Ms. H claimed that she was “very nervous” in the beginning. Mr. N asserted to “have a thick skin and speak more often.”

Ms. H claimed she believes that in order to help improve her language, she “just [needs to] listen and speak more often. Do not be afraid to speak!” She recalled she was “very nervous when she just arrived here. I didn’t know if I could handle the study here, and whether or not I would be able to express my thoughts in English.” But, later, she overcame her fear of speaking the language by speaking it, even with Taiwanese students, gradually becoming used to it:

In the beginning, I was very nervous; then I got used to it! I just spoke! Then, if he [target language speaker] cannot understand you, you speak twice. This is language. It accumulates! Gradually, you are not afraid!

In a similar manner, Ms. T revealed how she adjusts to life in the U.S, which is working hard to “speak . . . more with foreigners [Americans]! For example when going to stores, I cannot find the thing I want, I will ask.”

Besides practicing the target language by speaking more often, Mr. N also prepares the content—vocabulary—before he goes to retail stores. Moreover, he works hard to overcome the fear of losing face by asking questions and admitting that he does not know or is unable to comprehend. Revealing what he did to overcome the communication problems he faces when going to restaurants, stores, or getting his car fixed, he stated that, “If I had a problem, I would look up the vocabulary, and then I would know how to speak the word.” He affirmed that “we just [need to] have a thick skin [we should not be scared to lose face] and ask questions when we do not understand, and we have to speak English more often.”

Having More Conversations

Only one of the participants, Ms. I, who reported to have five or six American friends, including one or two professors, declared that having more conversations with classmates, American students, or professors helped her to overcome language problems and enhance her self-confidence in English.

Ms. I claimed that the solution for her to overcome her language problems, especially speaking, is by having more conversations with American classmates or students on campus:

I just have more conversations with [American] classmates! For example, in the cafeteria, I will naturally . . . talk with them, or discuss what I am doing today or what I have been doing these days such as assignments or activities on campus.

In addition, she suggested that “you can invite some American friends residing near you to have coffee or watch ballgames. When you meet them casually, not inviting them on purpose, you can invite them by saying: ‘Do you want to go -----?’”

She further claimed that her contacts with American or international friends help build her confidence in English: “I spend time with my friends. Because I have more contacts with people, I become more confident in my English.” Ms. I’s coping strategies for speaking are worth learning because she has overcome the difficulties she experienced speaking up to an American classmate, and she takes the initiative to invite them to have more conversations by drinking coffee or eating together with them in the cafeteria. Gradually, her self-confidence boosted due to the gradual development of her conversational English and listening comprehension to higher levels of fluency. However, most of the participants are unable to cope with this issue; ironically, their goal coming to the U.S. to study was to learn English well.

Personal or Practical Issues

Watching Taiwanese/Chinese TV Online

Two of the participants claimed that they take advantage of the latest technology on the internet, to watch Taiwanese or Chinese TV programs online, in order to keep informed about what happens in Taiwan every day or to just feel like home to help overcome their homesickness.

In his daily life, Mr. K attempts to use Chinese to solve many of his problems, such as ordering flight tickets, watching Chinese TV, or listening to Chinese Buddhist texts online:

To tell you the truth, I use Chinese to function for many parts of my life here. For example, when I order the tickets, I don’t buy from Americans. Instead, I order my tickets from Taiwanese. There is a Chinese travel agent. Actually, he is in California: So

I call him in California, and he will mail me the tickets. So, I use Chinese in many parts of my life here. If I don't like the local TV programs here, I sometimes watch Taiwanese TV programs online. . . . Because I am a Buddhist, I sometimes listen to online audio of Buddhist holy books at night after I finish my homework.

Mr. K stated that he feels "ashamed" about using Chinese instead of taking advantage of practicing English in his daily life in the U.S.: "If it is not face to face, I will use Chinese to solve my problems in my everyday life here. Honestly, I feel a little ashamed of it. I have lost a lot of opportunities to learn English because of it."

In a similar manner, besides talking to her family and friends on the phone in Taiwan, watching Chinese TV shows makes Ms. A feel more at home. However, more seriously, she addressed that she used to want to go back to Taiwan because the U.S. is much different from what she imagined, and adjusting to life in the local community has not been easy:

Watching Taiwanese news here [online] makes me feel more secure. During the past two semesters, I could not adjust to life here, and I wanted to go back to Taiwan every day. . . . Before I came here, I imagined how good it would be here. When I just arrived here, I felt my American dream was crushed. I didn't know why this university was so far in the country, and I repeated asking myself why I came here. It is too cold in the winter, and waiting so long for the bus is torture, too.

She has had her down times here as a doctoral student, experiencing huge pressure from the required reading and assignments, so she watches Taiwanese TV online to cope with the "depression" and "stress" and to feel "balanced":

Life here is not as easy as it is in Taiwan. When I am under huge pressure because I need to write a paper, I don't know how to cope. There is no way out. However, when I am in

Taiwan, I have my family and friends to turn to. I can chat with friends . . . Here, I feel depressed, like there is no one to talk to about this matter. So, I watch Taiwanese TV online, like watching Taiwanese soap operas on Tutou.com. It is the only way for me to cope with the depression . . .

She has mixed feelings because she is homesick. She claimed that “I do not like to watch American TV: I only watch it to train my listening comprehension.” In contrast, she revealed that

When I was in Taiwan, I liked to watch American TV series. But, as long as I can speak Chinese *here*, I am happy. It is really crazy. I feel traitorous! . . . By watching Taiwanese TV online, I can better accept my situation, and I can cope with stress.

She guessed that the reason she so enjoys watching Taiwanese TV here is because “I want to watch what is familiar to me on TV. I want to feel balanced.”

Forming Relationships or Practicing the Target Language

International Friendship Club

Two of the participants claimed that they had joined the International Friendship Club. Ms. Q claimed that “when you speak English every day, your English will improve.” She stated that she joined an International Friendship Club while she was enrolled in the intensive language program. As a club activity, she went to an elderly American woman’s house to visit her with many international students.

Likewise, Ms. T, having had similar experiences, joined the same type of program at a different university in the U.S. She claimed that “I used to have an international friend [an older American woman]. I met her in the International Friendship Program. We met twice or three

times a semester to eat in a restaurant, or she took me to visit Amish people. By doing that, I learned different cultures.”

Host Family or Church

Two of the participants claimed that they had applied for a host family and attended church with them. Ms. I claimed that a “host family” can help her understand American culture. This experience was important to Ms. I since she felt that religion plays an important role in American culture. “Some of the host families took us to church,” she said. In addition, she revealed that she had experienced “culture shock” the first time she went to church with her host family when she saw many Americans crying while singing gospel music.

In a similar manner, Mr. N revealed that he had attended church three or four times, applied for a host family through his Business program, and found a tutor at church in order to learn English here. He also went to go to his host family’s house for Thanksgiving dinner. Before he met his tutor, he prepared questions to ask him. These included certain vocabulary he had encountered in his daily life in the U.S. For example, once he went to a restaurant, a waiter asked him if he wanted to sit in booth or table, but he didn’t know what the word booth meant.

Home Stay

Only one of the participants, Ms. G, claimed to have the experience of a home stay in the U.S. Ms. G stated that “Home stay really makes me understand what Americans’ lives are like.”

On-campus Workshops

One of the participants, Ms. T, attends workshops on campus in the U.S. Now, as a president of one of the student activity clubs on campus, Ms. T claimed that “Joining clubs [The International Friendship Club and Fencing] are a good opportunity to practice speaking English.” Moreover, she revealed that when she was an undergraduate student, “I wanted to practice my

English with foreigners [local community members], so I attended nonfiction writing workshops, took drawing, writing, or poetry non-credit classes.” She elaborated further on this:

Because of that, I am not that scared to talk with Americans off-campus. Actually, I attended more than one workshop. The goal I had in mind when I attended workshops was to communicate with people who are not college students, and I wanted more opportunities to talk with them to practice English.

Only one participant, Ms. T, took the initiative to attend such workshops, and she seems to have benefited from these experiences. In contrast, most of the participants claimed not to have been offered ample opportunities to have interaction with American students.

Summary

Based on the interview data, these ten Taiwanese graduate students’ primary issues of language anxiety and adjustment inside the classroom are problems with listening comprehension, participation in group discussion, and grammar in writing. Their primary coping strategies to deal with these issues inside the classroom are reviewing or asking classmates immediately after class, going to writing center, seeking classmates’, friends’, or professors’ feedback for writing, or paying an American editor. Their primary issues which are associated with language anxiety and adjustment beyond the classroom in everyday lives are loneliness/isolation, perceived Americans’ attitudes, and speaking and listening-related skills (e.g., making telephone calls). Their primary coping strategies for issues beyond the classroom are watching local TV to train listening skills and telling themselves not to be afraid to speak English or not to be afraid to lose face by admitting that they do not know or understand the target language.

CHAPTER VI

OVERVIEW OF RESULTS

The goal of this study was to understand Taiwanese graduate students' personal experiences with language anxiety and cultural adjustment in the U.S., including the issues they encounter in the classroom and the issues they meet in their daily lives outside of class. The adapted version of the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale was administered, and extensive qualitative data was gathered through three rounds of individual interviews and a focus group interview. In chapters 4 and 5, the results from these instruments were presented. In this chapter, I will show how the results presented in detail in chapters 4 and 5 provide answers to the research questions for the study.

Research Questions

1. What experiences do Taiwanese graduate students report in their daily lives outside of the classroom since arriving in the U.S. that might be analyzed in relation to language anxiety or cultural adjustment?

The participants expressed considerable language anxiety and difficulties with adjustment related to their experiences studying in the U.S., although all but one had studied previously in the U.S., and the most experienced had lived in the U.S. for ten years. Most of them still have tremendous difficulties associating with target language speakers in everyday situations, especially in natural everyday tasks such as setting up the telephone, cable, and internet. Considering that the participants have resided in the U.S. for periods ranging from eight months to ten years, it is notable that they still struggle with the basic chores every day in the U.S. The sources of their anxiety and problems adjusting to the life in the U.S. ranged widely and included

both classroom-related issues and issues beyond the classroom. In the first set of research questions, I will present their personal experiences of language anxiety and cultural adjustment in situations outside of the classroom.

Issues beyond the Classroom

Issues beyond the classroom fell into the following four major categories:

- a. speaking and listening comprehension-related issues: problems with telephone calls; fear of not being able to be understood during English communication,
- b. interactional practices: superficiality of contacts with L1 speakers; loneliness/isolation,
- c. forming relationships: Americans' attitudes; American roommates, and
- d. practical issues: cultural and geographical isolation; lack of readily available comfort food.

Based on the reports, apart from American roommates, their language anxiety “primarily” stems from the first and the third factors listed above. In addition to these, some factors they cite are related to both language anxiety and cultural factors of adjustment. Apart from fear of not being able to be understood during English communication, these ten Taiwanese graduate students' difficulties with cultural adjustment studying in the U.S. “primarily” stem from the four factors listed above. Thus the sources of anxiety and problems of cultural adjustment that they report range from pragmatic issues such as problems with telephone calls to more emotional concerns, for instance the attitudes of Americans that they perceive as looking down upon them as second-language speakers and their isolated situations. In support of this third category, they cite Americans' disrespect or lack of interest in international students' culture, Americans' impatience, and perceived unwillingness to be helpful to the international students. Finally, they

cite the location of the campus as being too out-of-the-way, lacking authentic Taiwanese food, and having nothing to offer comparable to the food stands and night markets open late into the night everywhere in Taiwan.

a. *What feelings do they express about these experiences with language anxiety and cultural adjustment outside of the classroom since arriving in the U.S. as they reflect on them? How do they describe their emotional reactions or responses to their experiences of language anxiety in their daily lives outside of the classroom?*

The situations that these Taiwanese graduate students cited as being the most anxiety-producing outside of the classroom tended to fall into two categories. The first involves talking on the telephone, for instance while setting up an internet connection or arranging electric service. The participants reported feeling “very nervous,” “frustrated,” “sad,” “angry,” at or “disappointed” with having to deal with the target language speakers’ inability to understand what they say and their rapid speech rate, with recorded messages, and again with perceptions that target language speakers seem to be acting impatiently toward them. These participants claimed to feel “the most upset,” “very angry and disappointed,” or “annoyed” when they experience problems with the telephone. Second, they have encountered difficulties in a whole range of situations when trying to establish relationships with Americans, and these difficulties have led them to perceive Americans as being very “superficial.” In fact, most of them have experienced a high level of anxiety over building relationships with Americans. When they have interacted with Americans, such as in restaurants or at the post office, they have felt concern over the Americans’ attitudes toward them. They used terms like “hurt” and “very sad” in talking about their feelings about being looked down upon as second-language speakers, being ignored on campus by their American classmates, or being treated with impatience due to their lack of

English proficiency while they are running errands off-campus. Also, they felt hurt or upset that Americans seem not to be interested in their home culture and cannot accept them because they cannot speak the language fluently. Moreover, most of their experiences with American roommates did not go well.

At least two factors seem to intensify the problems that arise in these situations. One is the geographical isolation of the American university, which intensified the participants' feelings of cultural as well as personal isolation. The other is the lack of culturally familiar experiences, which led to their feeling especially homesick. An example cited earlier is the lack of authentic Chinese/Taiwanese food in the town and the lack of night life; in Taiwan, "night markets" with food stands and other activities are freely available.

In short, when addressing their life outside of the classroom, the theme of isolation emerged regularly. Based on the interviews, seven of the participants claimed to spend most of the time after class by themselves. Seven of the participants reported that they have no American friends, hardly use the target language after class, or rarely associate with the target language community after class: The only exceptions were Ms. I, Ms. T, and Ms. C. Ms. I takes the initiative to interact more with American students or professors, and she reported having five or six American friends. Ms. T, who has resided in the U.S. for over ten years, has a long-term American boyfriend, and is currently the president of a student club. She reported that she regularly associates with ten American students in her club. Ms. C takes a more cautious position than Ms. I.; though she (Ms. C) has worked in the English Language Program on campus, she resists socializing with her American colleagues, due to unsatisfactory experiences with Americans in the past.

Participants tended to report feeling hurt or upset over this isolation. Ironically, several of them do not get along with other Taiwanese students or have resisted in associating with Taiwanese students. This resistance may cause them to feel even more dejected and alone while studying in the U.S.

b. In what kinds of situations do they report that they experience language anxiety the most?

The situations in which they reported that they have experienced language anxiety the most are when setting up the telephone, cable, or internet or doing business on the telephone, and when running chores or having interactions with American students or classmates. The reasons are the following: speech rate, unfamiliarity with recorded messages, fear of not being able to be understood in English communication, and attitudes they perceive on the part of Americans, such as the fear of being looked down upon as second language speakers or American's impatience.

2. What experiences do these students report in classroom situations since arriving in the U.S. that might be analyzed in relation to language anxiety or cultural adjustment?

Classroom related issues linked to anxiety in the participants included a wide range of factors involving language use, classroom format, and perceived negative attitudes of American students and professors. Participants reported problems with listening comprehension including speech rate as well as anxiety over speaking (fear of speaking in class or making errors), and writing (lack of adequate vocabulary or misuse of vocabulary, grammar, and not being able to understand the instructions for assignments). Moreover, participants reported problems with aspects of class format, particularly with participation in group discussions. Participants felt that American classmates' behavior in areas such as eye contact indicated a sign of rejection, and that professors' behaviors also signaled negative attitudes and lack of empathy with the participants' cultural background. Other issues that arose involved competitiveness among Taiwanese

students, the lack of training in listening comprehension due to Taiwanese educational practices, and the pressure to succeed in doctoral study.

As noted in an earlier chapter, several of these factors may overlap into two categories, as they relate to both language anxiety and cultural factors of adjustment. Some factors are more heavily language-related (such as the fear of making mistakes and the worry about having inadequate vocabulary); others, such as the unfamiliar practice of group discussion in class, relate to the culture of the classroom, and can be said to involve both a matter of cultural adjustment and language anxiety; this can also be said for the reading of nonverbal signals from American students and the language anxiety arising from not being able to comprehend what American classmates say in group discussions.

a. What feelings do they express about these experiences with language anxiety and cultural adjustment in classroom situations since arriving in the U.S. as they reflect on them? How do they describe their emotional reactions or responses to their experience of language anxiety in classroom situations?

Almost all of these ten Taiwanese graduate students have experienced anxiety over listening comprehension in class. They feel “very frustrated,” “very nervous,” “very upset,” “the most uncomfortable,” “very shocked,” and “scared” about not being able to understand their professors’ lectures and their American classmates’ English. Two participants reported that, in the beginning, they had been requiring themselves to comprehend one hundred percent of the class content, which led to their anxiety level being very high.

Almost all of the participants reported that they have been struggling to adjust to the classroom format in the U.S., since they did not have any experience in Taiwan with activities like participating in group discussions. The level of anxiety stemming from not being able to

participate or understand American classmates' English— due to factors such as American classmates' speech rate or perceived attitudes—is high. The expressions they used are “still frustrated,” “a torture,” “a headache,” and “really nervous” in response to the problems of participating in group discussions.

Writing represents another area that seems to arouse high emotional reactions. Most of these ten Taiwanese graduate students have experienced high language anxiety over writing academic papers, and they seemed to be very “worried” about grammatical mistakes, using Chinese English, lacking adequate vocabulary or misuse of vocabulary, and not understanding the instructions for assignments. Here again, their language conveys strong emotional involvement, as they refer to “the pain of studying here,” or claim that “grammar is a tremendous problem,” or “writing is a very bad experience,” or profess themselves to be “insecure” or “very nervous.”

On the perceived dismissive or unsympathetic attitudes of Americans, the participants also revealed strong feelings, using such expressions as “uncomfortable,” “excluded,” “marginalized,” “really upset,” and “the most upset” to describe how they felt about their relationships with some peers and professors. In speaking specifically of their American professors, they used such expressions as the American professors' behavior or attitudes make them “upset,” “humiliated,” and “disappointed” to describe their feelings.

On the obstacles they encountered studying in the U.S. because of their Taiwanese educational background, the participants also expressed quite strong emotions, as they used expressions such as “scared,” and “very nervous” to describe their feelings about trying to adjust to the American classroom. However, they also expressed feelings about their sometimes problematic relationships with Taiwanese students. Unfortunately, several of the participants do

not get along well with other Taiwanese students or classmates, and there is a tendency for them to avoid other Taiwanese students, either because of the competition over their grades or English ability or to avoid speaking Chinese. Those who have had unpleasant experiences with Taiwanese students or classmates used expressions such as “shocked,” “very sad,” and “the most frustrated” to describe their feelings about this.

Finally, several of the respondents are doctoral students, so they are very anxious over their performance and grades in class; they worry about not knowing what to write for assignments and not being able to understand the professors’ lectures in class. They also have to face the frightening possibility of failing their examinations and going back home, so they have experienced high anxiety over losing face for themselves and for their family members back home. Feelings in this area are strong, and are described with phrases such as “very big pressure” and “a lot of pressure.” Participants described their emotional reaction to this pressure in claiming to be “very anxious,” “sleepless,” “very nervous,” or “worried,” and in multiple references to the concept of losing face: “I was scared of losing face”; “I cannot lose face!”; “I cannot fail!”; and “[I need to] to study harder in order not to lose face!”

b. In what kinds of classroom situations do they report that they experience language anxiety the most?

There are three situations in which they reported to have experienced language anxiety the most. First, all of them have experienced high level of language anxiety over listening comprehension: to understand their professors’ lecture and their American classmates’ English and speech rate in class. Second, all of them have experienced strong language anxiety due to participating in group discussions. Third, eight out of ten claim to have experienced strong

language anxiety over not being sure whether or not their academic papers have grammatical mistakes.

3. *How have their experiences in the community at large affected, or related to, their perceptions of their language learning process?*

Most of the participants claimed to feel distant from other people and to feel very upset about their isolated situation. For most of them, the goal in coming to the U.S. to study has been to learn English well, and they are disappointed that they have had unpleasant experiences with the target language speakers, or they have experienced difficulties building relationships with American students or the local community members in the target language community. Most of them reported that Americans, including their American classmates, American professors, or local community members, look down on them as second-language speakers, do not respect their home culture and backgrounds, or are impatient toward them when communicating. Several participants seem to resist having contacts with Taiwanese students or classmates in order to improve their English, but this only makes them feel even more dejected in the U.S. Since the experiences in both domains (community and classroom) are similar, and the participants experience both language and relationship problems in both domains, it is reasonable to suggest that the experiences they have in these two contexts may be reinforcing each other and contributing to the participants' overall anxiety and disappointment in their experience in the U.S.

a. *Have experiences with anxiety outside the classroom affected these students' feelings about their progress as language learners generally? If so, in what ways, judging from their reports?*

This question is closely linked to the issue of isolation, which was raised repeatedly in most of the interviews. There are three exceptions; these are participants who noted some degree of anxiety, but who seemed determined to overcome obstacles and seek out contact with English speakers. The most striking was Ms. I, who has several American friends, who often drinks coffee in coffee shops near campus with them, and who is very motivated to find opportunities to socialize on campus, such as student activities or community service. The second exception is Ms. C, who has been working in a language institute on campus, so she frequently uses English at work and claims not to be anxious about language use at her work. Finally, Ms. T claimed to have been very eager to participate in student activities at several universities where she studied, because of her strong motivation to learn practical English outside of the classroom.

However, even these three suffered from some problems in seeking interaction. And more to the point, most participants painted a more negative picture. Six of the participants claimed that they do not have any American friends, and basically, they stay in their dormitory or apartment studying after class. Seven of them claimed to not to speak English after class except for when grocery shopping or shopping in the mall. Surprisingly, seven of them do not even have any friends from other countries, either. One participant, Mr. K, pointed out that he seeks help from Chinese speakers when he has questions about practical tasks, a practice that causes him some shame, as it keeps him from practicing his English. In short, most participants basically do not use the target language at all after class, except for writing academic papers, watching local TV, or going shopping. Also, two of them do not even have any Taiwanese friends. This lack of contact with English speakers and lack of opportunity to use the language has affected their language learning, which several participants noted.

Ms. A claimed that she realized that she was unable to learn practical English in the U.S. soon after she arrived, so she branded herself as a “failure” early on. She had been very disappointed with the location of the university, which is too out of the way, and she realized that “it’s an illusion” to hope to learn practical everyday English in the U.S. after she arrived. She commented, “I felt my American dream was crushed.” She is currently “very upset” about her solitary situation, and hopes to have more interactions with the target language speakers in the future in order to improve her practical English ability.

Ms. Q, who claimed to have been made fun of by her Taiwanese friends when she was speaking English on the phone, chose not to speak English in front of her Taiwanese friends anymore. She conveyed that she feels that her American classmates and international classmates might look down on her due to her “poor” English. She also declared feeling very upset about her level of fluency in English: “My English has hit a plateau . . . I feel beat down.” She felt she had not made any progress in her English since she enrolled in the university, and she complained that outside of watching local TV, she does not have any opportunities to practice the target language in her daily life here. Because of the geographical isolation of the university, she claimed to have less motivation to seek contacts with the target language speakers. She has been unable to adjust to the companionless circumstances she found herself in, and for some time she considered transferring to another university. She conveyed that the number of opportunities to practice the target language with Americans is very few. Emphasizing that she had not been able to gain opportunities to practice the target language with the local community members or American classmates, she hoped to transfer to another university and enroll in a language institute there, in order to gain more experience by using English with international students.

Mr. N claimed to look up the words he will use before he goes to the store or garage to have his car fixed, because “no one can understand what I say” as he emphasized that, based on his experiences. Therefore, he chose to study English on a daily basis after class; as he expressed it, “I feel uncomfortable if I don’t study English. I feel empty.”

b. Have formal learning experiences affected their perception of their experiences, especially language-related experiences, in the culture at large? If so, in what ways, judging from their own reports?

Conflicts between Taiwanese and American classroom practices include listening comprehension and speaking, the interaction between professors and students, lack of personal opinions in academic writing, and group discussions. Five of the respondents complained that they did not get enough training in listening comprehension or English conversation at school in Taiwan. They also claimed that American students disrespect their American professors in class by interrupting the professors and asking them questions directly in class.

In American classroom, students are required to participate, which is much different from Taiwanese classroom where they are expected to sit still and be quiet. There are many group discussions, and importantly, almost all of the participants claimed to feel anxious about taking part in group discussions here. They are worried about not participating, scared, nervous, and frustrated that they cannot understand what American students say because they speak too fast and do not show patience toward second language speakers. As for writing academic English papers, they claimed that, in Taiwan’s educational system, grammar is the only focus in writing class, and they were never before required to write reflections, personal opinions, or critical ideas in their English papers.

Two of the participants, Ms. A and Ms. C, both reported that, based on theories of World Englishes, some of their American professors did not overtly emphasize native-like proficiency for non-native speakers. Yet at the same time, the participants felt that their professors look down on or cannot accept them as second-language speakers or even believe that they are not qualified to be in doctoral programs. They feel “humiliated” by their American professors. This causes them to be very anxious over their English writing proficiency. They know that they can never be native-like, but their motivation to learn English is still very high. One of the participants, Ms. G claimed that her American professors lack empathy toward Taiwanese students, who are quiet in class and were not trained to speak English well in Taiwan, which makes her “upset.” Another participant, Ms. X, claimed that one of her American professors shows “discrimination” and “ignores” international students in the program in which she is currently enrolled. Fortunately, their motivation to learn English remains very strong.

4. What coping strategies do these students say they employ as they adjust to their new culture or situation(s) in the U.S. (both inside and outside the classroom)?

Coping Strategies for Classroom-Related Issues

Based on the interviews, their coping strategies for classroom-related-issues fell in the following three categories:

- a. listening comprehension: previewing; reviewing or asking classmates immediately after class; working to understand a general idea instead of every word,
- b. speaking: requiring oneself to speak in class; making American friends/ taking part in conversations, and
- c. writing: asking professors to clarify assignment instructions; writing to the end or not worrying about word choice, grammar, or Chinese English; going to the writing center;

classmates', friends', or professors' feedback or paying an American editor.

As noted earlier, almost all of the participants have experienced anxiety stemming from not understanding professors' lectures in class. Seven of these ten Taiwanese graduate students reported overcoming listening comprehension problems by reviewing the content of the class or asking their Taiwanese classmates immediately after class. Three of them reported that previewing the content of the class is a useful approach. Two participants found out that trying to understand the general idea instead of every word is a good way to reduce anxiety in class. Surprising, only one participant, Ms. I, overcame her speaking anxiety by requiring herself to speak once every class or seeking opportunities to start conversations with American classmates after class. As a result, several of the participants seem not to be able to find a coping strategy to help them overcome their fear or anxiety over speaking in class.

As for writing, six of the participants regularly go to the Writing Center to cope with their writing problems, including three who reported going to the Writing Center regularly, six of them regularly ask for help from their friends, professors, or pay American editors for help with revision. Only one participant, Ms. C, found it helpful to ask her professors to clarify the writing instructions. Surprisingly, only one participant, Ms. I, found that writing to the end, and not worrying about grammar, Chinese English, or word choice is a useful approach to overcoming anxiety over writing.

Coping Strategies for Issues beyond the Classroom

The participants' beyond-the-classroom coping strategies fell into the following four major categories:

- a. listening comprehension: watching local TV,
- b. speaking or social issues: adjusting their attitude so they become less afraid to

- speak or lose face; having more conversations,
- c. personal or practical issues: watching Taiwanese/Chinese TV online, and
- d. forming relationships or practicing the target language: international friendship club; host family; church; home stay; workshops.

As noted earlier, as listening comprehension is a tremendous problem, four of these ten Taiwanese graduate students reported watching local TV as a useful approach to training listening skills. They felt this helped them adjust to the speech rate of the target language since most of them are very anxious about the speed at which Americans speak. Three of the participants reported that asking questions to clerks in stores to overcome the anxiety, for example, if they cannot find the product, and they need to overcome the embarrassment or fear of losing face in order to solve problems in their daily lives. In the English-speaking environment, they are forced to speak English when they encounter problems; however, a few of them reported postponing or avoiding solving problems because of the anxiety.

As noted earlier, only one participant, Ms. I, reported that she found a way to overcome her speaking-related anxiety by taking the initiative to start conversations with target language speakers in daily life. In contrast, three of these participants (Ms. A, Ms. X, & Ms. Q) have experienced high levels of speaking-related anxiety, which makes them feel “sad,” “disappointed,” and “angry.” They are constantly anxious because target language speakers are not able to understand a word they say in English. For them, so far, they have not been able to find an approach to cope with this issue: Ms. A plans to have more contacts with target language speakers by going to church, Ms. X plans to make friends with Americans, and Ms. Q plans to enroll in her previous language institute again to practice English with international students.

Two participants reported regularly watching Chinese/Taiwanese TV online to overcome the homesickness and unfamiliarity with the new environment and to lower their anxiety. Two participants joined the International Friendship Club to get to know local community members and learn practical English. A few of them applied for a host family, and their host family invited them to go to church. Moreover, by going to church, they felt they were observing an important part of American culture. Surprisingly, only one participant reported having lived with a local family, and she reported that it helped her understand aspects of the local people's lives. Also, only one participant reported attending workshops, with the goal of practicing English with local Americans. Obviously, most of these ten Taiwanese graduate students are eager to build relationships with the local community and practice the target language, and several of them do so by applying for a host family, taking part in home stay or the International Friendship Club, and attending workshops. But, the majority has not taken advantage of these resources.

a. How do they describe their strategies in anticipating or meeting the challenges of cultural and linguistic adaptation that accompany their move to study in the U.S.?

As noted earlier, seven participants' considered learning English well to be one of their goals coming to the U.S. to study; however, unfortunately, most of them reported that they do not have any American friends or do not associate even with other international students. Most respondents claimed to spend most of their time after class by themselves in their apartments, so most of their coping strategies focus on dealing with the coursework: previewing, reviewing, writing papers, and preparing to participate in class or group discussions. Based on the reports, all of the respondents, except for Ms. I, contacted the Taiwanese Students Association before arriving in the U.S. Obviously, at that stage, they tended to depend on Taiwanese students to

help them cope with the difficulties of the target language and adjustment to a new environment. As noted earlier, nine of these ten participants had now come to the U.S. to study for the second or third time. Except Ms. I, almost all of the participants claimed that, they made friends with many Taiwanese students the first time they came to the U.S. However, gradually, as their English proficiency improved and their familiarity with the local community increased, they started to spend most of their time alone studying or going grocery shopping in the U.S. One participant, Ms. T claimed that she found her grades starting to drop, so she avoided staying in the apartment to speak Chinese with her Taiwanese roommates: Instead, she studied in the library until very late. Obviously, the participants' motivation to learn English well is very strong; nonetheless, there seem to be large cultural barriers for them to overcome in order to have more contacts with American students or the community. Surprisingly, almost all of them claimed that the availability of American classmates is very low. This indicates that they do not have many opportunities to have contact with them after class. Strikingly, several of them claimed that they did not have any experience forming group discussions with American students. Obviously, several of the respondents have hardly had any contacts in class with American students, even though they are taking the same class.

b. How do they evaluate each of these strategies? Which strategies do they see as helpful or successful in overcoming language anxiety and learning to function comfortably in the society? What strategies do they feel may not have helped them? What plans do they have, if any, for dealing with language anxiety as it may arise in the future?

As for anxiety over listening comprehension in class, almost all of the participants claimed that they have experienced problems understanding their professors' lecture, so most of them reviewed or asked their classmates—especially Taiwanese classmates—what the professors

said, especially involving work that would be due the next week. Moreover, noted that one of the participants pointed out that the Taiwanese education system never required previewing, few of the participants claimed they could cope with the difficulties of understanding professors' lectures by previewing the text. Interestingly, according to the results of the adapted version of the FLCAS, most of the participants' levels of anxiety go up if they are not prepared before attending classes. On this subject, there is a close connection between the interview and questionnaire results.

Only two of the participants contended that they "forced" or "required" themselves to understand the general idea instead of "forcing" themselves "to understand every word" from the professors' lecture in class, in order to not feel so nervous or feel bad because they cannot understand every single word of what their professors said. They lowered their expectations toward their improvement of English listening comprehension. Consequently, their level of language anxiety went down.

As for anxiety over speaking in class, surprisingly, only one participant, Ms. I, who scored the lowest on the adapted version of FLCAS among all of the participants, claimed that she copes with her speaking difficulties by "requiring" herself to speak up or ask one question in every class. Gradually, she contended that "I became used to it" and "speaking became natural." Furthermore, she looked for opportunities to take part in conversations with the target language speakers or her American classmates when she met them on campus, such as in the hallway waiting to enter the classroom or in the cafeteria. Obviously, as noted earlier, the anxiety over speaking in class has not been overcome by almost all of the participants. Based on the reports, their primary problem of speaking related anxiety in class is the fear of making errors.

As for writing, all of the participants claimed to have experienced difficulties writing academic English papers. Surprisingly, only one participant, Ms. C, claimed to use the strategy of asking professors to clarify instructions to solve her anxiety over writing an academic English paper. She used to feel “lost, panic, and struggling” when it came to an open topic English paper. Gradually, she learned to “negotiate” with her American professors and asked for advice on her ideas for writing. Also, only one participant, Ms. I, claimed to solve her problems with writing by keeping writing, non-stop, to the end and not worrying about small details, such as grammatical mistakes, word choice, or Chinese English.

Besides these two strategies to overcome or solve anxiety over writing, most of these participants choose to go to the Writing Center to have tutors check or correct their errors (i.e., grammar, Chinese English, and misuse of vocabulary) in writing. Almost all of them worry most about their grammatical errors in English academic papers. One of the participants claimed that she feels “insecure” if she does not go to the Writing Center before she turns in her papers. For them, going to the Writing Center has been a routine part of the writing process. Most of the participants who go to the Writing Center do so in order to feel secure that they are able to turn in their papers, and that their papers are correct or acceptable before they turn them in. Several of the participants also claimed to pay professionals to correct their grammar, word choice, or Chinese English in their academic papers. One of the participants blamed herself for making the same grammatical mistakes over and over in her academic English papers; however, she later mentioned that she still could not avoid making these errors in English writing. Surprisingly, only one of the participants, Ms. I, claimed that she has never gone to the Writing Center or paid professionals; instead, she seeks feedback from her American professors or friends for her writing.

After class, as for anxiety over listening comprehension, most of the participants claimed to have experienced strong anxiety over making telephone calls, and their coping strategy is to watch the local TV or American movies to train their listening skills in order to adapt to native speech rate and learn new vocabulary by applying subtitles.

As for anxiety over speaking in their daily lives after class, only three of the participants claimed to cope with it by adjusting their attitude so that they became less afraid to speak or lose face when asking questions or admitting that she/he cannot understand what the target language speaker is saying, or working hard to simply speak more often with target language speakers. As noted earlier, only one participant, Ms. I, claimed to solve the problem over speaking by taking the initiative to start a conversation with the target language speakers such as in the coffee house, cafeteria, or in the dormitory.

As for their personal or emotional problems, two of the participants watch Chinese/Taiwanese television online in order to feel more at home. Interestingly, four of the participants claimed to feel pained, homesick, or upset about the situation of being lonesome or all by themselves studying in the U.S., but only two of them dealt with the problem even by watching the Chinese/Taiwanese TV online to help them feel “balanced” and “secure.” Three of them did not reveal that they felt detached or left out, but the reports of their friendships and activities in daily lives illustrate that they spend most of their time studying in the library or their apartments by themselves in their daily lives outside of the classroom, so they can be identified as very isolated as well.

As for meeting the target language speakers outside the university, four of the participants did this: Some of them joined the host family program, the International Friendship Club, or went to church. By joining these programs, they created opportunities for themselves to

visit the local community members' houses and learn the culture in the U.S.—and, to practice genuine conversation with them. One of the participants, Mr. K, who has resided in the U.S. for four years, claimed that the first time he went to an American's house was to go to the home of a Taiwanese students' host family for Thanksgiving dinner. As noted earlier, only one of the participants, Ms. T, who has stayed in the U.S. the longest among the participants, claimed to attend non-credit workshops to look for opportunities to practice the target language with local community members. Also, only one of the participants claimed that she joined the home stay program, and through the experience, she understood local people's daily lives in the U.S.

Strategies which did not Work

One of the strategies the participants claimed to have used in the past, but had not found useful was to work hard to fit in with American students or make friends with them. But, the respondents failed and were left feeling “depressed,” “desperate,” or “inauthentic” due to “cultural differences” and “language barriers.” Several of the participants claimed to have tried to make friends with American students or go to their parties to get to know them, in order to fit in to the American students' social groups. But, they soon came to feel that American students are “not interested in talking to them” or “do not take the initiative to have conversation with them.” Few of the participants claimed that they cannot lose their “identities,” that there is “too much Chinese” in them, and that “it is hard to be like Americans.” Several of the participants claimed that American students are “superficial” or “very hard to have deep conversation” or “close relationships” with.

These Taiwanese graduate students see American students as being very much “self-centered” or not considerate of others' feelings—for example their American roommates, which caused several of the participants' very unsatisfactory experiences living with them in the

dormitory. Only one of the participants, who have had similar unpleasant experiences with American students or roommates, claimed to have successfully used this strategy of working hard to make friends or take part in more conversation with American students.

Future Plans to Overcome the Anxiety

As their future plans to deal with anxiety, two of the participants claimed they wanted to seek more opportunities to have more contact or conversations with American students, such as going to church, taking part in student activities, or taking the initiative to have conversations with target language speakers. As noted earlier, one of the participants said she would like to go to Language Institute classes to study again because she has been unable to learn practical, everyday American English studying in the academic program, and she complained that compared to the time she studied in the American language program where she reported that there were more opportunities to practice English with international students, and international students were more willing to talk to her, there are few opportunities to practice English in the Master's program in which she is currently enrolled. One of the participants said she planned to get another degree in order to stay in the U.S. longer in order to improve English. In light of the fact that most of the participants' goal coming to the U.S. to study was to learn English well, two of the participants claimed to have not been able to learn practical, everyday English and feel "upset" or "very disappointed," in the U.S. Also, as noted earlier, most of the participants claimed that American classmates are generally unavailable—i.e., "they are all gone immediately after class."

5. *How have their views of American culture, their expectations for future interactions in the culture, and their attitudes toward themselves in the culture, changed as they experienced life in their new (U.S.) culture?*

Surprisingly, other than Ms. T, who has resided in the U.S. for ten years, most of the participants do not really pay attention to the local culture here—most of them claimed that their goal coming to the U.S. was to learn English as well as to pursue an advanced degree. However, the notion of learning about the culture seldom arose in their comments.

Strikingly, several of the respondents claimed to have learned the culture by watching American movies. One of the participants, Mr. K, declared that he still does not know the culture, does not need to associate with Americans, and has resisted socializing with Americans, even though he has been studying in the U.S. for four years. Including him, two participants have resisted socializing with Americans. However, most claimed to have faced difficult problems interacting or forming relationships with the American students, American professors, or local community members: These problems involve greetings, eye contact, perceived superficiality of Americans, perceived attitudes of Americans, American roommates, or making American friends.

As noted earlier, several of them claimed to feel “very upset,” “the most upset,” and “pained” due to their companionless or solitary situation in the U.S. Three of them hope to make friends or have more contacts with target language speakers but do not have the opportunity to do so.

Ms. Q claimed that she felt “beat down” because she was unable to reach the level of English proficiency she had prescribed for herself. In contrast, when she just arrived, she claimed to feel “excited” because she expected to make many American friends and that her English would improve, but she soon felt very disappointed.

Two participants, Ms. X and Ms. C, both claimed to “feel excited” before they arrived because they expected to meet new friends including the target language speakers. However,

after arriving, they encountered obstacles building relationships or having contacts with American classmates or local members of the community. Ms. C found a way to be herself after all the trouble she went through and felt “desperate” because she failed to fit in, “being like them.” Ms. X also has encountered many obstacles associating with the members of the community and her American professors. She went on to realize that she does not plan to remain in the U.S. after she graduates.

Ms. A, who expected to learn real-life, practical, everyday English before she arrived, claimed that, after arriving, she soon came to realize that “it is an illusion. My American dream is crushed!” because she realized that she would be unable to achieve her goal here due to the difficulty of making contacts with Americans. She declared that she is a “failure” because she does not fit into the culture here. But, being Chinese, she finds it very difficult for her to change her identity, which she fears would be necessary if she were to adjust more to American culture. As she put it, she did not want to “lose her [Chinese] identity.” She also claimed that she “set my [her] mind to zero” —a Zen philosophy—before she arrived here, and her attitude toward herself is that she is nothing here—even though she is a full-time college instructor in Taiwan. She has mixed views towards this issue: She is “very upset” that she came to study “alone” in the U.S. and feels left out here, compared to having many friends in Taiwan. However, she also admitted that she does not seek close friendships here, and that she keeps her relationships here “superficial and distant,” for fear of “getting hurt,” after she was criticized by a Taiwanese classmate in the program in which she is currently enrolled.

Ms. X, who used to like to make friends with her American colleagues at YMCA in Taiwan, revealed that she used to go to church in order to learn English when she studied for her Master’s degree in another state, and the Americans she met in church were very kind to her.

Ms. X, offering the same comments as Ms. A, declared that she has not “given up” her identity to fit into the culture in the U.S. And, she still maintains her “original,” Taiwanese lifestyle here, even though she is in the U.S. However, she claimed that she “feels pained” due to her solitary situation, and has become a loner due to the pressure of doctoral study and the difficulties she experienced attempting to build close relationships with Americans.

Ms. C’s situation is different from the two participants (Ms. A and Ms. C) illustrated above. She claimed that she used to try to force herself to fit into American culture, but she could not. This led her to feel “desperate,” and she reported resisting associating with Americans due to these past dreadful experiences with American students. Later, she realized that it is very difficult for her change her identity, so she decided to be herself and keep her own, original identity.

As noted earlier, Mr. K, whose goal is to get his doctoral degree in a short time and go back to his teaching career in Taiwan, feels “ashamed of himself” because of his use of Chinese, as opposed to English, to solve many problems of his daily life in the U.S., such as ordering the flight tickets from Chinese speakers in California. He declared that it is not necessary to make friends or learn the culture in the U.S., and he admitted that he still cannot comprehend the local community members’ English and the culture in the U.S. after residing in the U.S. for four years.

In short, Mr. K and Ms. C both reported to have resisted socializing with Americans. Ms. A and Ms. X both reported to have felt very upset about their solitary circumstances and hope to make more contacts with Americans. Including these two and Ms. C, all of these three participants claimed that they would like to maintain their Chinese identities and original lifestyles.

Another participant, Ms. G, claimed that the whole point of studying abroad was to be “independent,” so she seems to avoid or resist associating with Taiwanese groups. Ironically, she feels “the most upset” about her solitary situation: “What upsets me the most is that I am all alone!” She plans to enroll in another program in order to improve her English, but she plans to eventually go back to Taiwan. As noted earlier, the geographical location of the university and the lack of Chinese authentic food are major obstacles for most of these Taiwanese participants. She finds it very inconvenient that there is no Chinese authentic food here. The location of the university is too far away from the nearest Chinese grocery, much less Chinatown.

Even though half of the participants have experienced some problems adjusting to the U.S. culture, four participants expressed that adapting to the local culture is the only way to adjust. Ms. H claimed that she persuaded herself to adjust to the culture here because she could not have changed the environment. She claimed that “I can only adjust to the environment myself. I will go home to Taiwan after I graduate.” Also, even though she reported that she is a loner, she does not feel sad about it.

Another participant, Mr. N, offering the same comments, claimed that accepting American culture was “not a problem . . . When in Rome, do as the Romans do. . . . Since you come here, you need to accept [American ways of doing things].” Offering the same comments, Ms. I claimed that “when in Rome, do as the Romans do.” Surprisingly, she has a more balanced view of this issue: “We don’t need to follow their way to do everything! If we can be a little bit confident in our own culture, we won’t think that we have to be like them!” Ms. T hopes to learn as much as she can before she graduates, and, currently, she is worried about not being able to finishing writing her dissertation. Except for the transportation and the inavailability of Chinese comfort food, she seems to have adapted well to the culture in the U.S.

In a nutshell, other than other participants who have experienced obstacles in the culture, four participants, Ms. H, Mr. N, Ms. I, and Ms. T all reported that they can only adapt themselves in order to fit into the local culture here.

CHAPTER VII

FURTHER DISCUSSION AND REFLECTIONS

In this chapter, I will further discuss several themes which, based on the results, were found to be particularly important to these Taiwanese graduate students. Also, later in the chapter, I will discuss previous theories and literature which are associated with the findings of the study and also comment on the findings which were unexpected. Finally, I will offer some reflections on the research process.

Further Discussion

Group Discussions and Experience in the Target Society

Based on the results of the study, most of the participants have experienced strong levels of anxiety when they take part in group discussions in class. Also, outside of the classroom, according to the results, they have experienced strong levels of anxiety. In both cases the participants cited their perceived attitudes of Americans as one source of their anxiety, along with linguistic problems and isolation or loneliness. These two sets of findings represent parallel results because classroom situations, especially participating in group discussions, are a microcosm of the larger culture: The participants' anxiety is closely associated in both contexts with very similar perceived factors.

Contacts with Native English Speakers

Seven of these ten participants had hoped to improve their English during their stay in the U.S.; however, ironically, they felt they were not offered ample opportunities to use their English. Most felt that American students held negative attitudes toward them or were unavailable to spend time with the international students after class. Nine of the ten participants

reported having had unsatisfactory experiences with target language speakers. Reactions to this situation varied: Two of the participants said they resist interacting with target language speakers; of these two, one claimed he had no need to interact with Americans, while the other said he had given up on trying to do so. Two of the participants have resisted socializing with target language speakers and fitting into the target language community. Two others say they have resisted fitting into the target language culture more generally—they are willing to interact with Americans, but unwilling to acculturate themselves with the local culture. Overall, these ten Taiwanese graduate students cited numerous difficulties fitting into the target language community. These included a lack of opportunities for interaction, as well as reluctance to interact because of the perceived attitudes of Americans towards the respondents. Three felt that their own identities as Taiwanese or Chinese might be hindering them; three others were eager to interact more, but had found themselves unable to do so.

On this theme of isolation, I found it particularly surprising that seven of the participants claimed they had no contact, even with international students. Two claimed to not even have Taiwanese friends. Most of the participants are struggling to fit into the target language community or to interact more with target language speakers, and they have strong motivation; however, they perceive themselves as not having opportunities to have more interactions with the target language speakers.

Several of the participants claimed that they had made efforts to start conversations with target language speakers or had sought opportunities to have more interactions with them, such as going to church or applying for a host family; nonetheless, they still found themselves unable to make friends or have deep conversations with target language speakers. In fact, five of the participants in the study reported perceiving Americans to be superficial because of the obstacles

they faced when attempting to have conversations or build relationships with American students or local community members. Although this material was presented in earlier chapters, it is worth pondering again here, as these reported experiences add up to a considerable set of obstacles to improving the participant's language abilities, both in terms of experience and in terms of motivation, since negative experiences have discouraged the participants from trying to use English, and in many cases have even colored their view of the target language community. It is worth underlining here that the isolation described by these participants clearly represents a potentially serious problem for their development in the U.S. since practice, experience, motivation, and attitudes are attributes considered central to language learning. Fortunately, the participants' negative attitudes toward Americans due to unpleasant experiences seem not to have seriously diminished their motivation to learn the target language.

Perceived Americans' Attitudes

Closely related to this last issue is the matter of perceived attitudes by Americans. Several participants cited the way the Americans look at them as second language speakers, which they read from the American students' lack of eye contact or the fact that their American classmates ignore them in group discussions. The discomfort the participants felt about this is understandable, since eye contact is much less frequent and indirect in Taiwanese culture. According to Hall's (2006) High-Context and Low-Context orientations, Taiwanese culture is one of the most extreme high-context cultures, whereas America is an extremely low-context culture (Samovar, Porter, & McDaniel, 2006). They explain the relevance of eye contact in this context:

The hierarchical nature of Chinese society . . . dictates that direct [intense] eye contact should be avoided. Whereas in the West you are expected to maintain a high degree of

eye contact during discussions, the Chinese consider this to be rude and disrespectful. (p. 241)

Direct eye contact is the way Americans communicate, but for East Asians, direct eye contact is typically avoided or less, especially “prolonged eye contact is considered rude, threatening, or disrespectful” (Samovar, et al., 2006, p. 210). Consideration of this contrast may allow us to extrapolate that the Taiwanese are very sensitive and aware of others’ body language and gestures—nonverbal language—as a primary source of their interpersonal communication. Therefore, these participants are very sensitive or conscious about the signal (i.e., eye contact) the American students send: At the same time, they are very anxious about comprehending the discussion, and are eager to fit in and participate. The style of the American students’ eye contact may cause a misunderstanding in which the participants perceive that their eye contact is too strong or rude because both groups are unfamiliar with each other’s communicational styles. Of course, the American students may lack empathy toward the participants’ language barriers; or, on the other hand, the American students may have been quite unaware of sending negative signals at all. They may simply feel more secure or comfortable talking with their own group, which is mostly made up of members who share the same local language and culture. In both cases, the participants did not have a pleasant experience participating in the discussion. This point can be illustrated by Samovar, et al. (2004), who stated that people are “seeking similarities” (p. 286) such as the similarity of ethnicity or culture when making friends or choosing the people to be around. Samovar, et al. (2004) elaborated further on this point:

We are not suggesting that there is anything basically wrong with seeking ethnic or cultural similarity. . . . Most people prefer their “own kind” and “shut the door” on the unfamiliar. (pp. 284-285)

In any case, this seemingly minor issue offers considerable space for problems that can fester over time if not addressed in some way. Samovar, et al. (2006) stated that the subject of eye contact is very important one which causes miscommunication between Asians and Westerners.

Most of the respondents' daily lives after class are also greatly influenced by what they perceive as Americans' lack of empathy toward them as non-native speakers in everyday situations. Here, too, there are links to previous literature. Pierce (1995) conducted a study whose results are similar to those found here. Pierce argued that

SLA theorists have not adequately explored how inequitable relations of power limit the opportunities L2 learners have to practice the target language outside the classroom. In addition, many have assumed that learners can be defined unproblematically as motivated or unmotivated, introverted or extroverted, inhibited or uninhibited, without considering that such affective factors are frequently socially constructed in inequitable relations or power, changing over time and space, and possibly coexisting in contradictory ways in a single individual. (p. 12)

In her case study of immigrant women's experiences of language learning in Canada, she wrote about two of her participants' experiences of language learning as examples to show that their status as immigrant women and non-native speakers of English greatly affected their interactions with target language speakers such as their co-workers, whom they described as ignoring them and not talking to them.

Pierce's participants' personal experiences of language learning in Canada are very similar to these Taiwanese students' reported experiences studying in the U.S. Because of their status as non-native speakers of English and international students, they are sensitive about

Americans' attitudes toward them, and, most importantly, Americans' attitudes toward them have a great impact on their opportunities to interact with target language speakers. Most of them claimed that their American classmates did not take the initiative to talk to them, were not interested in talking to them, or were unavailable after class.

Another area related to American attitudes, this time involving clear power relations, identified American professors as being seen as dismissive or negative in their behaviors toward the participants. The participants' anxiety and insecurity about their writing seems to have been particularly severe, because they seemed to feel that a 'native speaker' standard was expected of them. Several of them conveyed their resentment about their American professors' expecting native-like writing from them, or not accepting them as second-language speakers. This caused them to experience much discomfort, including sleeplessness or writers' block; one mentioned drinking alcohol with friends to calm her nerves over these problems. In addition, the power relations between American students and the participants are clear as well: American students hold the power as target language speakers; in contrast, the participants do not own the power and hope to improve their target language ability.

Cultural Issues

It is important to note that cultural distance seems to have further exacerbated the isolation felt by the participants. Four of the participants mentioned "cultural differences" as the primary reason they have encountered difficulties fitting into the target language community; two claimed that target language speakers cannot accept their cultural differences, while one explicitly said that Americans do not respect her culture and background. In return, most of the participants in the study seemed not to be aware of the local culture or not to pay attention to it. Considering the fact that the range of their residence in the U.S. is from eight months to ten

years, the majority of them seemed notably unfamiliar with the culture. A couple of them claimed that they had learned about the culture by watching American movies, either in the U.S. or while still in Taiwan. Ironically, the truth is that most Hollywood movies do not illustrate the reality of America and its various component cultures.

Several of the respondents have gone to church, or plan to do so in the future. However, their stated reason was to look for chances to practice the target language with the local Americans, not to understand the local culture; moreover, because of the differences in religions between the majority of Taiwanese and Americans, the participants' plans to attend local churches often do not continue or work out for them. Gaining an understanding of the local culture is not a main goal for the participants, even though several of them claimed to have attended a church or visited local people's houses on holidays such as Thanksgiving Day.

Support for General Concepts in the Literature on Language Anxiety and Cultural Adjustment

The results from this study can be readily related to a number of definitions and claims offered in the current research on language anxiety, which were covered in Chapter 2. These include the work of Alpert and Harber (1960) on facilitating anxiety, Clément's (1980) integrative motivation model, Pappamihiels' (2002) study, Leki's (1999) study, and many others. In many cases, this study has revealed examples of phenomena that have been discovered in the literature so far, supporting previous analyses and claims. It would be impossible to cover all points of contact in one chapter. However, in this section, examples of such concepts and claims will be noted, and their relationship to the results of the present study will be examined.

Communication anxiety. Mr. K's fear of making errors when speaking English, Ms. H's high self-consciousness before speaking, and Ms. I's desire to speak English beautifully are

consistent with Foss and Reitzel's (1988) concept of language anxiety as being similar to communication anxiety.

Instructor's anxiety. Several of the participants (e.g., Mr. K and Ms. A) are college-level English instructors, and they have experienced high or moderately high language anxiety. This finding is consistent with Horwitz's (1996; 2000) argument that even advanced and successful language learners such as English instructors experience language anxiety.

Social anxiety. To give another example, the concept of social anxiety is central to the results of this study. Based on these results, presented in earlier chapters, almost all of the participants stated that they have experienced strong anxiety during in-class group discussions. This is consistent with the results of much recent literature, including Pappamihel's (2002) study, which claimed that language anxiety is closely associated to interaction between the language learners and the target language speakers in social situations. Pappamihel (2002) stated that language anxiety can be described as social anxiety. Also, several participants spoke of being "afraid to speak" or "afraid to lose face" when asking questions. This phenomenon is closely related to Leary's (1982) definition of social anxiety. Social anxiety may be referred to as communication apprehension, shyness, or embarrassment. The findings of the current study are also consistent with Selltiz, et al.'s findings (1963) that foreign students' social relationships with local community members influence their attitudes toward the host country. For example, half of the Taiwanese students believe that Americans are superficial due to the negative interactions or failure to establish relationships with American students or residents.

Isolation. Most of the participants in the current study feel very isolated socially while studying in the U.S. The finding recalls Klein, et al.'s (1971) study which found international students from Taiwan and Hong Kong to be socially isolated from Americans.

Attachment anxiety. Seven of the ten Taiwanese graduate students reported feeling “alone” studying in the U.S., although they reported that they have adjusted to the practicalities of life in the U.S. except for setting up the telephone and cable, food, and cultural and geographical isolation. Two of the participants reported feeling “the most upset” about their lack of companionship. This finding can be related to the findings of Wang and Mallinckrodt’s (2006) study that Chinese/Taiwanese students who have experienced attachment anxiety have more psychological problems adjusting to the American culture.

Contacts with Americans. Three of the participants who have had more contacts with Americans show better adjustment in the U.S. This finding is consistent with Ying and Liese’s (1994) study which concluded that Taiwanese students who have more contacts with Americans will adjust better to life in the U.S.

Identity. Although it was not a focus for the present study, the theme of *identity* did arise. Recall that three participants mentioned a sense of identity during their interviews. Ms. X, spoke of not wanting to give up her Chinese identity to integrate into the local culture: She insisted on keeping her original lifestyle, though she would like to have more contacts with the target language speakers. Also, Ms. A reported that she would like more contact with native English speakers, but felt she was too old, and felt too deep a connection to the Chinese cultural experiences she was used to (food, etc.). Ms. C, likewise, mentioned identity in a similar vein, speaking of not being able to lose or give up her Chinese identity to integrate into the local culture. Ms. C differed from the first two participants cited here, in that she had been making a sincere effort to fit in to the culture in the U.S.; however, when her attempt failed, she felt it may have been because she had been unable to adjust her Chinese identity. These viewpoints seem to illustrate Clément’s (1980) theory that learners might be afraid to lose their cultural identities and

to assimilate into the local community. However, this does not mean that it is necessary for the participants to lose their original identities in order to fit in to the target language community. On the tangentially related issue of life style, three of the participants reported that they chose to maintain their original lifestyles in the U.S. instead of adjusting to fit into the dominant or mainstream American culture, and their claims are illustrated in Zaharna's (1989) concept that the individual needs to maintain self-identities when the beliefs, values, and language, and lifestyles in a new culture are different from his/her own.

Facilitating anxiety. Ms. I's experience in the U.S. can be understood as a good example of Alpert and Harber's (1960) facilitating anxiety, a type of anxiety which helps the language learner to learn the target language; this also recalls Gardner and MacIntyre's (1993) study which indicates that facilitating anxiety and motivation are similar in conceptual definitions. Like the other participants, Ms. I claimed to have experienced severe anxiety when she first attended classes in the U.S. However, her response to this situation was to push herself to communicate more, so that, ultimately, one could claim that her anxiety took on a facilitating character. However, other participants chose to withdraw from communicative situations or did not take the initiative to start a conversation with target language speakers due to negative experiences. So, it is interesting to note that, although Ms. I's response illustrates a classic concept in the field, her response was unusual, at least among this group of participants.

Self-confidence. The literature reminds us to view experiences such as those reported by Ms. I as having multiple effects, not only on anxiety but also in other important related areas such as self-confidence. Clément's ideas (1980) are also relevant when considering Ms. I's statement that she gained confidence in speaking the target language due to the frequency of her contact with target language speakers. In this case, the relation is to Clément's theory that in the

second language motivation process, language learners' self-confidence and motivation is greatly affected by the quality and frequency of the contact with the target language community. Ms. I's claim of gaining self-confidence in speaking English by participating in extracurricular activities or working on campus is also consistent with Clément, Dörnyei, and Noel's (1994) findings that language learners' extracurricular activities may promote their self-confidence and lower their language anxiety.

Teacher attitudes. Ms. A, Ms. X, and Ms. C all claimed that their professors' negative comments/written feedback on their English academic papers or unsupportive attitudes toward them—the respondents' perceptions that their professors look down on them as second language speakers—have enormously influenced their anxiety in their writing, language learning, and studying at their American university. This finding recalls MacIntyre and Gardner's (1991d) claim that teachers should encourage language learners more and enhance their self-confidence in the target language in order to reduce their language anxiety.

One of the participants, Ms. A, specifically cited one of her American professor's comment on her academic paper: "Be careful about your ESL issues in writing," which he wrote on her returned paper with no other feedback. Although the professor may have written this remark casually, thinking the writer would simply take it in stride, the comment ultimately made her very upset and worried about native vs. non-native speaker issues. Her professor's comment caused her to be very conscious of herself as a second-language speaker or writer. Again, this finding can be related to Leki's (1999) finding that writing anxiety is associated with learner's educational experiences, in particular to the fear of "[being] judged or evaluated" on their writing ability. In reporting their strategy of having friends check their papers, two participants were

unwittingly illustrating Leki's suggestion that peer evaluation in writing class is a way to reduce students' anxiety in writing.

Fear of being judged or evaluated. On a related point, the participants generally spoke of their anxiety over being judged or evaluated. Ms. Q was particularly emphatic on this point, citing her worry that her classmates were making fun of her when she spoke. Young (1990) offered a comment that would apply to Ms. Q and others in this study, when she observed that anxiety can arise from language learners' fear of being judged or evaluated by their classmates in class. Pappamihiels' (2002) study reported similar results when she looked at Mexican ESL learners' language anxiety, relating this anxiety in her participants to their interaction with English and Chicano students in their classes.

Fear of making mistakes or perfectionism. Price's (1991) study found that language students' fear of making mistakes is one of the primary reasons for their language anxiety, and this finding is consistent with the findings of the current study. Half of the participants in this study explicitly expressed a fear of making errors when speaking in class. Ehrman and Oxford's (1995) study identified similar concerns among learners about making errors or expressing themselves clearly as a significant factor in language learning.

The high anxiety over not being able to understand what professors said in class and making grammatical mistakes in English academic writing is all the more intense because some of the participants set high standards for themselves. This perfectionism can intensify a learner's anxiety over making mistakes. This relationship, too, has been identified in the literature. For instance, Price's (1991), Gregersen and Horwitz's (2002), and Hilleson's (1996) studies all show that language learners' high anxiety can be related to over-concern over performing without flaws. This also brings to mind Horwitz, et al.'s (1986) and Horwitz's (1988) studies, which

concluded that the primary source of language anxiety is students' belief in the necessity of high levels of target language accuracy. Also, the current study also found that professors' expectations or requirements of native-like ability in English academic writing have intensified their language anxiety.

Fear of losing face. This fear of making errors is also closely related to the concept of losing face. Although this term did not come up often in the interviews for the present study, one participant, Ms. X reported pretending to understand what target language speakers talk about because she is afraid of losing face. She reported that if she does not understand what the target speaker says, she pretends that she does understand. This finding is identified in Zhou, Knoke, and Skamoto's (2005) study which concluded that some of the Chinese students reveal that they are afraid to lose face—to let classmates know that they do not understand the content of the class, so they choose not to participate or ask questions in class.

Past experience. The finding of the current study suggests that these Taiwanese students' experiences studying in the U.S. have been greatly affected by Americans' attitudes in situations such as group discussions, running chores in their daily lives, or making telephone calls. This finding is consistent with MacIntyre and Gardner's (1991a) findings relating experience to language anxiety, and it exemplifies Gardner and MacIntyre's (1993) claim that language anxiety develops as a result of "repeated, negative experiences" (p. 6) and a "learned emotional response" (p. 6). In the present study, the participants' unpleasant experiences with target language speakers have affected their attitudes toward the target language community and their level of language anxiety; however, it does not seem to strongly affect their motivation towards learning the target language. Their unsatisfactory experiences and language anxiety are associated with perceived Americans' attitudes toward them.

Level of control. The findings confirm that the Taiwanese students' level of control in the U.S. had declined dramatically in comparison with their ability to control their lives previously in Taiwan. For example, in the U.S., the cable or telephone companies offer no Chinese language support, and as a result, they have experienced enormous anxiety when they had to communicate with these businesses. Unlike in Taiwan, public transportation in suburban areas in the U.S. is not convenient, so several of the participants claimed that after they received their driver's license in the U.S. and purchased a car, the quality of their lives become much better. Also, the unavailability of night markets, food stands, or genuine Chinese or Taiwanese food make half of them feel uncomfortable and homesick. This finding is identified in Ying and Liese's (1994) study that Taiwanese students' level of control affects their adjustment in the U.S.

Unfamiliarity with the classroom interaction format. Almost all of the participants reported having a hard time participating in group discussions in the U.S. The primary reasons include that they are not used to the classroom format (i.e., group discussions), speaking in class, Americans' speech rate, and perceived Americans' attitudes towards them. This finding is partly consistent with Zhou, et al.'s (2005) study on Chinese graduate students studying in Canada, which concluded that they seldom participate in class due to their unfamiliarity with the interaction format in Canada and the lack of background knowledge of Canadian culture.

To cite one detail involving classroom format, some participants reported having experienced high language anxiety when called on in class by their professors. This finding is identified in Young's (1990) study, which concluded that having students volunteer to answer questions is better than calling on them individually in class, as the latter practice may cause their anxiety level to go up. This particular aspect of classroom dynamics could be said to apply to all students, though it may be particularly relevant for Taiwanese or other Asian students.

Anxiety/Uncertainty Management (AUM) Theory of Intercultural Adjustment.

Gudykunst's (2005) Anxiety/Uncertainty Management (AUM) Theory of Intercultural Adjustment is both consistent with and partly divergent from the findings of the current study. Two of the participants reported to be anxious over "the silent period" when interacting with the target language speakers. This finding can be identified in Gudykunst's (2005) Anxiety/Uncertainty Management (AUM) Theory of Intercultural Adjustment, noting that sojourners' anxiety or feelings of uncertainty come from being unable to predict the people's behavior from the host culture.

Three of the participants reported possessing strong Taiwanese/Chinese identities; therefore, they have resisted integrating into the local culture, and they have chosen to keep their original lifestyles in the U.S. This finding is not consistent with Gudykunst's (2005) Anxiety/Uncertainty Management Theory of Intercultural Adjustment because their identities seem not to be the main factor affecting their adjustment in the U.S.

Questioning or Expanding Previous Views

In a few cases, the results of the present study interact in a more in-depth way with the available literature, as claims and analyses offered by previous researchers can be used to help understand the present results; or conversely, the present results can be used as a filter to question or refine earlier claims. These issues will be discussed briefly here.

Oral and written English. The findings of the study are not consistent with Kang's (1972) study which concluded that mastering spoken English and written English is the primary difficulty for Chinese students studying abroad. In the current study, forming relationships (i.e., Americans' attitudes) is found to be a significant factor affecting Taiwanese graduate students' language anxiety and adjustment in the U.S.

The findings of the study are only partly illustrated in Constantine, et al.'s (2004) study which found that international students' oral English ability might determine their adjustment in the U.S. However, in the current study, factors such as written English, participation in group discussions, Americans' attitudes, and loneliness/isolation are found to be significant factors as well.

Self-rated English proficiency. The participants' self-rated English proficiency is not negatively related to the level of their language anxiety and adjustment in the U.S. This result is not consistent with Wang and Mallinckrodt's (2006) study which concluded that international students' self-perceived language proficiency is negatively related to adjustment and anxiety.

Speaking in class. On the specifics of classroom speaking anxiety, none of them present participants mentioned that they are afraid to speak due to the fear of showing off in front of classmates. This finding is not consistent with Martin and Nakayama's (2008) study, which suggested that Chinese students consider other students who ask too many questions or express their opinions too much to be showoffs or insincere; however, there did seem to be some resentment over American students' speaking out too forcefully or too much in class.

Membership. One of the findings of the study is consistent with Krashen's (1980) suggestion of "club membership," and Terrell's (1991b, 1991) "target language group identification" as mentioned by Young (1991b, 1992) that language learners' affective filter goes down as they identify themselves as the members of the target language group or community. The finding of the study concluded that most of the Taiwanese graduate students are not identified, or more importantly, do not feel they could be accepted, as members of the academic or local community by their American classmates, professors, or the local community. Most of them hardly interact with target language speakers and reported feeling detached and lonely in

their daily lives in class or after class. Their anxiety is enormously influenced by Americans' attitudes toward them in and out of the classroom.

Nonetheless, the results also do not support Krashen's (1980) concept of "club membership." These Taiwanese students hold *memberships* in their discussion groups with American students; but the interactions with other members (i.e., American students) have not increased, the level of their language anxiety remains high or even increases, and the *affective filter* does not go down, but instead goes up due to American students' attitudes (e.g., apathy, impatience, etc.), the participants' inability to comprehend what they are saying (i.e., speech rate), and their anxiety about participating.

American roommates. Purnell (2000) concluded that the Taiwanese students in his study seem not to be aware of the advantage of having American roommates, which should facilitate opportunities to learn the target language and culture. However, in the current study, the Taiwanese graduate students knew the advantages and the disadvantages of having American roommates. Unfortunately, only one participant, Mr. N, reported having a friendship with his American roommate. Also, two participants spoke more emphatically about having negative experiences or not being able to get to know their American roommates.

Pre-residence. There is a general belief that length of experience in the target culture is an important factor in language learning; likewise, *pre-residence* is believed to play some role in a learner's level of anxiety. One participant's case in the current study is consistent with one of Aida's (1994) findings, namely that foreign students' pre-residence in the target language country influenced the level of language anxiety in the language classroom. This is, indeed, the case with one participant, at least in the converse sense that lacking pre-residence may lead to

greater anxiety: Recall that Ms. A, who had been in the U.S. for only eight months and was in the country for the first time, showed the highest level of anxiety of all the participants.

But the relationship between length of residence and anxiety is far from straightforward or clear. It is especially worth noting that, in spite of the fact that she had been in the U.S. for about the same amount of time (four years) as most of the others who chose to minimize interaction rather than taking the initiative to seek conversation partners, Ms. I overcame much of her anxiety, presumably by taking active steps that others did not engage in. An especially striking comparison can be drawn between Ms. I and Ms. T, who had lived in the U.S. for about ten years, and seems to still have a relatively high degree of anxiety—in other words, not to have been able to overcome her original discomfort using English, in her case, especially when writing English academic papers.

U curve development. One of the findings of the current study is potentially consistent with Lysgaard's (1955), Swell and Davidsen's (1961) and Selltiz, et al.'s (1963) studies that found that foreign students' attitudes toward the host country change in a U curve development: from first, enthusiasm to easily meet Americans; second, encountering difficulties establishing deeper relationships and feeling negatively toward the host community; to finally establishing satisfying relationships with the local people. However, if this pattern is valid for most students, most of the Taiwanese graduate students in my study are on the second stage of the U curve model: encountering difficulties and criticizing the host because they are having difficulties establishing relationships with the Americans in the academic or local community. Only three participants, Ms. I, Ms. T, and Mr. N, have claimed to have established positive relationships with the academic or local community. Most of the Taiwanese graduate students have resisted interacting or have hardly interacted with the target language group due to negative experiences,

fear of losing their Chinese or Taiwanese identity, or not being offered opportunities to associate with the target language people. This is consistent with their being in the second stage of a U curve model; however, the present study has little data to support the hypothesis of the third stage. It is worth noting that Ms. I shows signs of moving into this third stage. Possibly more important, the survey respondents with lowest anxiety did not take part in the study. They may, in fact, have gone through the first two stages, and now be experiencing low anxiety due to having reached the third stage.

Findings Inconsistent with the Previous Studies

Socio-educational model. One of the findings of the study is not consistent with Gardner's (1985) socio-educational model and Gardner and MacIntyre's (1993) revised socio-educational model—i.e., that learner's motivation toward the target language community is positively related to their language learning achievement, and their attitudes and motivation are negatively related to language anxiety. However, based on the findings of the study, almost all of the participants have strong motivation to learn English well. Even though their unpleasant experiences with Americans have influenced their attitudes toward the target language community, this did not affect their motivation to learn English. These unpleasant experiences have left most of the participants feeling very left out. Based on the findings of the study, the participants' language anxiety is negatively associated with their perceptions of Americans' attitudes. Also, based on the findings of the study, the participants' language anxiety did not decrease due to their strong integrative or instrumental motivation. Gardner's (1985) socio-educational model and Gardner and MacIntyre's (1993) revised socio-educational model viewed learner's attitudes and motivation as virtually a single concept. Based on the findings of this study, language learners' attitudes and motivation can not be viewed as necessarily so closely

linked. Instead, attitudes can be affected independently of motivation by language learners' living environment and the local people's attitudes toward them.

Attitudes. On a somewhat similar theme, Schumann's (1978b) study claimed that the second language group's attitudes toward the target language group affect their attitudes toward learning the target language and culture. Most of the Taiwanese graduate students in the study view the target language group negatively due to their negative past experiences with the local population; however, this did not affect their motivation or attitudes toward learning the target language. In fact, most of the Taiwanese graduate students were not interested in learning the target culture: Learning the target language was the primary goal of their studies in the U.S. Taylor (1980) pointed out that an ethnolinguistic minority group refused to learn or avoid learning the target language due to their lack of acceptance by the target language/ dominant group. The present study, where the participants feel rejected and yet remain motivated to learn, suggests that, at best, this correlation of motivation and attitudes is not automatic for all groups or individuals within a group.

As noted earlier, the findings of the current study suggest that most of the participants had hoped to form friendships with Americans, but they reported that "it is very difficult to form close friendships with Americans," and Americans are "very superficial." Respondents' attitudes toward forming friendships with Taiwanese students were also somewhat negative, or they have resisted or avoided interacting with Taiwanese students. Most of them still do not have American friends. As a result, they are very isolated while studying in the U.S. This finding is not consistent with Ying's (2002) study that Taiwanese students' positive attitudes toward forming friendships with Americans and negative attitudes toward forming friendships with Taiwanese students would cause them to form more friendships with Americans and to

better adjust to the target culture. Given the picture painted by this study's participants, the process of forming friendships is complex and hinges on more factors than these attitudes.

Social status. Based on the findings of the study, the participants' attitudes toward the target language community were affected enormously by perceived Americans' attitudes toward them as second-language speakers. The participants fear that local community members or American classmates look down on them because they are second language speakers, or they feel that Americans do not accept them because of cultural differences or language barriers. However, the participants in the current study still maintained strong motivation to learn the target language but encountered obstacles establishing relationships with the academic or local communities. Though this has affected their emotional state and their attitudes, and has surely interfered with their learning, it has not affected their motivation, which again seems somewhat independent, and seems to be rooted in factors other than their experience or perceived attitudes of Americans in the U.S. This finding is inconsistent with MacIntyre and Gardner's (1991a) finding that language anxiety is associated to learners' social statuses, and their social statuses affect their attitudes and motivation to learn the target language.

National status. Selltitz, et al.'s (1963) finding that foreign students' perceived national statuses in the host country can affect their attitudes to meet the target language speakers and learn the language is not consistent with the present findings of the study: Three participants reported that their American classmates or friends are not interested in their home culture, Taiwanese culture, and that they perceive that Americans do not respect other cultures. However, their motivation to learn the target language or interact with target language speakers still remains high.

Public speaking. Price's (1991) research found that public speaking is one of the main reasons for foreign students' language anxiety in class, and MacIntyre and Gardner's (1991d) and MacIntyre's (1999) studies which concluded that public speaking is the primary source of language anxiety. This finding is not consistent with the results of the current study, which found that Taiwanese students' language anxiety in class is primarily associated with participating in group discussions, listening comprehension, and writing (grammar) —public speaking was actually not mentioned by most of the participants as a primary source of anxiety.

In Woodrow's (2006) study on the causes of speaking anxiety in and outside of the classroom among English for Academic Purposes (EAP) students, the results suggested that students have experienced the most in-class speaking anxiety when performing in English in front of classmates, and she also found that participants experienced low levels of speaking anxiety during group discussions. This finding is directly opposite to the results of the current study, which found that participating in group discussions is the most anxiety provoking class activity.

Out-of class speaking anxiety. Woodrow (2006) found that the highest out-of-class speaking anxiety is experienced when talking to native speakers who are strangers, but not to people the subjects knew, such as teachers or classmates. This finding is not consistent with the results of the current study, which found that the students have experienced high anxiety with native speakers. They know, due to their perception that these speakers look down on them.

Communication apprehension. The findings in the current study are not consistent with previous studies (e.g., Daly, 1991; Horwitz, et al., 1986; Mejias, et al., 1991) on communication apprehension, which concluded that language anxiety causes avoidance behavior. Based on the

findings of the current study, the causes of the participants' avoidance behavior are associated with cultural factors (Confucianism) and Taiwanese educational backgrounds.

Stress or frustration over not being able to effectively express one's feelings. The finding from Price's (1991) study that learners' language anxiety comes from the stress or frustration of not being able to express one's feelings effectively in class is not consistent with the current findings of the study, in which in-class anxiety stems primarily from listening comprehension, participation in group discussions, and grammatical errors in writing. However, the participants in the present study reported their fear of not being able to be understood when talking with target language speakers outside of the classroom.

Group activities/group discussions. The finding of the current study is also not consistent with Young's (1990) findings that having foreign students practice the target language in group activities may reduce language anxiety, an assumption that many teachers might take for granted. In the current study, almost all the participants reported having experienced high or even their highest language anxiety in group discussions.

On a related point, Hsu's (1981) study, concluded that Chinese culture, which emphasizes maintaining group harmony, is one of the primary reasons that the Chinese students have experienced communication apprehension in group discussions. However, the findings of the current study are not consistent with this previous study, since the Taiwanese students reported being eager to participate in the group discussions. The sources of their anxiety over group discussions seemed to stem primarily from insecurity over language difficulties, and their perception of American students' attitudes.

Chinese/Taiwanese students. The findings of the current study found that the Taiwanese graduate students do not share the same house or apartment, and most of their relationships with

other Taiwanese students are not close, either. This finding is not consistent with Kang's (1972) study which concluded that Chinese students all live together and form an ethnic community.

Extra-curricular activities. In the current the study, half of the participants reported having experience participating in extra-curricular activities on campus, going to church, attending workshops, or joining the International Friendship Club. This finding is not consistent with Kang's (1972) study which concluded that Chinese students' participation in extra-curricular activities on campus is low.

Residence in the target language country. The results of this current study are not consistent with Aida's (1994) and Selltitz, et al.'s (1963) studies which pointed out that foreign students' residence in the target language country will reduce their language anxiety and help them adjust to the target country. The length of the participants' residence in the U.S. ranged from eight months to ten years; however, most of the participants are not active in the community. Based on their reports, they spent most of the time in their apartments or study carrels alone. These results suggest that a stay in the target culture can help to reduce language anxiety but must be supported by positive experiences in the culture. The benefit does not come automatically.

Reflections on the Research Process

One observation can be made that reflects more on the research process than on the questions that were being examined in this study. That involves the considerable discrepancies between the participants' open-ended questionnaire responses and their individual interview responses.

Based on the scores on the adapted version of the FLCAS (from items 1-33), the participants feel the most anxious over being asked to speak when not prepared in advance, and over not preparing well for the class. This result on the adapted version of the FLCAS is not

consistent with the responses from the individual and focus group interviews, which have been discussed in detail in this chapter and the previous one.

Other items showed more striking discrepancies. In the adapted version of the FLCAS, in the open-ended question, item 34, twelve of the participants answered that they feel “comfortable” talking to a native speaker of English after class. Only two participants responded that they feel anxious when talking to a target language speaker. Four of the participants responded that the level of comfort when talking to a native speaker of English depends on the situation or topic or whether or not the respondent or speaker is a friend. However, during the interview stage, most of the participants reported having experienced high levels of language anxiety interacting with American students or local people in class or outside of the classroom.

On item 35 on the adapted version of FLCAS, their responses are discrepant with their responses during the interviews. During the individual interviews, most of the participants reported having experienced high anxiety over going grocery shopping, to the post office, or to department stores when they interacted with local Americans, while most of the respondents noted no such anxiety on this related questionnaire item.

In the opened-ended responses, on item 36, only one participant answered that listening comprehension is the most difficult thing about using English. Nonetheless, during the interviews, almost all the participants reported feeling highly anxious about not being able to understand the lecture or participate in group discussions due to speech rate, inability to comprehend what the American classmates or instructors said, or perceived attitudes of American classmates. Seven participants responded writing, but among these seven, only one participant’s answer was related to grammatical errors; however, more importantly, during the interviews, grammatical errors were found to be a factor which causes most of them the most

anxiety about writing. Four participants answered “using it in real life” or talking on the telephone to be the most difficult thing about using English; but none of the participants mentioned the connections between these two concepts and American’s attitudes, a connection which the participants would later reveal during the individual interviews. Also, one third of the participants answered that they feel the most anxious about speaking. Nonetheless, during the interviews, half of the participants claimed to have felt anxiety over speaking in class. So, on item 36, the responses in the open-ended statement do not give a full picture consistent with the responses in the individual interviews.

On the subject of communicating with professors, half of their answers to open-ended questionnaire statements about writing academic papers and speaking to professors do not show strong anxiety; so their responses to these items (38 and 41) do not provide a full picture consistent with the responses later in the individual interviews.

On item 39, only two participants reported anxiety over not being able to be understood by a native speaker of English, so their responses on item 39 are not consistent with the interview responses, in which several of the participants reported to have experienced strong level of anxiety over the fear of not being able to be understood when communication with native speakers.

The differences between these two stages of the study may stem partly from the fact that the questionnaire was completely in English, and the individual interviews were conducted in Mandarin Chinese. Also, during the contact with each of the participants in the interview stage, the participants and I got to know each other, leading them to gradually reveal their genuine reaction and, therefore, provide genuine and personal responses to me in Chinese during the individual interviews. In any case, this set of notable discrepancies may constitute a cautionary

note emphasizing the importance of the research instrument itself as exerting a strong influence on the results of a study.

One further note on methodology is in order. In the third stage of the study, the focus group interview, I observed that most of the participants were reluctant to share or reveal their personal or genuine feelings or opinions with other participants when I asked questions about their personal experiences of language anxiety and adjustment. I concluded that, because the participants do not know one another or do not know one another very well, they were reluctant to share their personal experiences in front of other participants whom they may hardly know. Recall that, they had also not been reluctant to share their personal experiences with me during individual interviews after I introduced myself to them and also answered questions about myself. This observation confirms my hypothesis that shyness may have caused them to be reluctant when completing the survey. It also confirms and reinforces the importance for these participants in “saving face” among their peers, which came up as a possible reason why contacts among Taiwanese were not more frequent.

CHAPTER VIII

IMPLICATIONS, LIMITATIONS, AND FURTHER RESEARCH

In this chapter, I will discuss the implications of the main themes cited above, and will make suggestions that may help international students to better adjust their lives in the U.S., and ultimately to better meet their goals while studying in the U.S. These will fall under two general headings: improving international students' social lives and assessing international student writing. In addition, I will identify the limitations of the study and offer my suggestions for future research.

Implications

Improving International Students' Social Lives

Based on the responses, most of the ten participants feel very isolated studying in an American university, and this has clearly impacted their ability to learn and improve their language skills, in at least two respects. First, it is obvious that more interaction with English speakers would give them practice and experience with the language. But in addition, it has become increasingly evident in studies of cognition that emotional stability is important as a basis for learning. In Goleman's *Emotional Intelligence* (1994), he stated that while IQ cannot indicate happiness or success later in life, Emotional Intelligence can. He wrote

Much evidence testifies that people who are emotionally adept—who know and manage their own feelings well, and who read and deal effectively with other people's feelings — are at an advantage in any domain of life, whether romance and intimate relationships or picking up the unspoken rules that govern success in organizational politics. People with well-developed emotional skills are also more likely to be content and effective in their

lives, mastering the habits of mind that foster their own productivity; people who cannot marshal some control over their emotional life fight inner battles that sabotage their ability for focused work and clear thought. (p. 36)

Also, in Damasio's (1994) book, *Descartes' Error*, he asserted that our emotion, brain, and reason not separate, but related. In the two cases he used in the book, Elliot and Phineas Gage who both had damage in their prefrontal cortexes, these men did not lose their intelligence (cognitive ability), but did develop impairments in decision-making and were unable to function well emotionally and socially in every day lives. What Damasio tried to convey is the critical influence our emotion or feelings have on our decision-making processes. Damasio (1994) argued that the damage of the prefrontal cortex impairs them from functioning well in their daily lives because they both lose their ability to reason and the necessary feelings or emotion to make appropriate decisions. Although the participants in the current study are not physically impaired, it is clear that steps towards improving the participants' social lives would also improve their emotional well-being and, further, improve their language skills, enhance their education and adjustment, thus enriching their experience in the U.S.

As for coping with the speaking-related anxiety, other than the fact that they hope to have more opportunities to interact with American students or local community members in the future, most of the participants remain unable to find or develop coping strategies to help cope with this anxiety. Note that only one participant—the one who scored the lowest among these ten Taiwanese graduate students and who found a way to cope with this anxiety by requiring herself to speak in class and taking the initiative to start conversations with American students experienced better adjustment as a result. This implies that students who have fewer interactions with target language speakers experience higher language anxiety. So, we, as educators should

call for action to help international students make more contacts with the target language speakers.

This can be done in a number of ways. Each separate program in each department at American universities could establish a support group, such as an “International Students’ Club” which consists of international students enrolled in each of the separate programs in the department. In these groups, the more experienced international students can provide help or advice or share their experiences with coursework, housing, local people’s lifestyles, or basic everyday chores, such as setting up telephone service, with the new international students in the program.

Moreover, each of the separate programs in each department could encourage members of this “International Students’ Club” to take part in activities on campus with the American student groups or clubs. Or, the chair of each of the programs could hold projects or activities (e.g., cultural affairs on campus, community service activities, BBQs, giving out ice cream, etc.) aimed at encouraging American students and international students in the same program or department to work together in pairs in order to create interactions and communication between international students and American students and develop the “atmosphere or feelings of belonging” for international students in the program or in the community at large.

Based on the 2009 report of the U.S. Department of State, in 2008, more than 19,400 U.S. student visas were issued to Taiwanese citizens. Moreover, according to the U.S. Census, in 2003, approximately 22 percent or 9.9 million of all 45 million public-school students in the country do not speak English as their first language, and by 2040, one-half of the residents or citizens in the U.S. will speak Spanish as their first language (Samovar, et al., 2006).

Considering that more and more immigrants are calling this country home, and the huge

population of international students studying in this country, in order to achieve the goal of multicultural education, American undergraduate students should be required to work on at least one or two projects in a prerequisite course with international students or residents who speak English as second language in the U.S. in order to graduate. Likewise, international students enrolled in American universities should also be required to work on one or two projects in a prerequisite course with American students in order to graduate. The purpose of this suggestion is to help students from both groups (mainstream vs. diverse; majority vs. minority; native vs. non-native) alleviate cultural, ethnic, or language barriers, thus teaching them to better understand and communicate with each other in order to function effectively in today's ever-changing, multicultural society.

In the same manner, the challenges of multicultural education in the U.S. should begin with K-12 public schools. American K-12 students should be educated about multicultural issues, so they can later welcome international students or immigrants in the U.S. and develop the intercultural skills necessary to interact with people from diverse backgrounds who may speak English as second language.

Universities could sponsor the group of international students, with volunteers made up of target language speakers, including members in the community, American students, or professors, who are willing to help international students to interact more with the target language speakers in the local community.

In addition, departments could hold seminars, group meetings, or activities in which target language speakers, including members of the local community, American students, or professors, share their cross-cultural experiences with international students, promote cultural awareness among local community members and target language students, and provide

opportunities for international students to share their obstacles, stemming from their study or adjustment with their professors, American students, or community members in order to help them to solve the difficulties they face: both academic—such as the reading of textbooks, course papers, or dissertation writing, and non-academic—such as housing, roommates, or setting up telephone or internet. Importantly, departments could provide American students scholarships for guiding and assisting international students.

Furthermore, departments could provide international students with information about internships or encourage them to participate in extra-curricular activities on campus, so they are able to learn the target language and culture in the U.S. by interacting more with the local community members or American students.

Other initiatives are possible with the range being virtually unlimited. For instance, departments or Offices of International Affairs could set up “How to Communicate with American Professors” workshops to teach international students—especially East Asian students, who are most influenced by Confucianism—how to interact with professors. Such workshops could provide great benefits to international students because their learning is deeply affected by their communication with American professors. Also, when international students first arrive, part of their orientation could be spending time in the homes of instructors or local community members, or visiting local churches.

Before departing for the U.S. or just after arriving in the U.S., students who plan on studying abroad in the U.S., should be required to attend an “Interaction with Americans” workshop and an “American Education” workshop by the Office of International Affairs or their departments at the university, so they will begin their studies trained and aware of Americans’ interaction styles, such as greeting, eye contact, calling the telephone companies, recording voice

messages, etc. This would also make them aware of common classroom format and teacher-student interactional styles in the U.S. classrooms which do not exist in Confucian culture. Also, this can make them aware of American community members' interactional styles, which can promote the understanding and relationships between them.

Departments could set up anonymous opinion boxes which international students could use to express their personal opinions in a manner in which they feel safe, in order to make the faculty aware of their academic difficulties. This in turn would allow educators to better understand international students' adjustment to learning situations and the academic environment in the U.S.

Equally important, instructors or professors could be required to attend "Intercultural Communications/Education" workshops held by the departments, in order to better develop awareness of their present or potential international students' learning and communication styles (i.e., verbal and nonverbal) as well as their goals and expectations towards their studies in order to better accommodate their international students' learning in the U.S. Furthermore, departments could hold mandatory seminars for instructors or professors to attend in order to learn to understand *their own* biases, stereotypes, or prejudice towards people whose ethnic, cultural, or values are different from their own: This, in turn, can help make them aware of any biases they may have which could lead them to stereotype or discriminate against international students or students from other diverse backgrounds.

Ideally, during departmental meetings, instructors and professors could be informed that East Asian students are likely to be very anxious in group discussions, so assigning students to work in pairs might be a much better approach in class. Also, in the beginning of the class period, professors could design activities for international students (especially East Asian

students) and American students to talk to one another, so international students can at least practice the target language with American students for a short period of time each class period and provide them a chance to break the ice with target language students. As for Taiwanese graduate students' anxiety over writing academic papers, instructors could be encouraged to integrate non-threatening pre-writing activities such as clustering, brainstorming, and scratch outline into the class design. Instructors could also apply Peter Elbow's (2004) free writing approach and Mike Rose's (2004) concept of writing around rules in class to let international students be less anxious about writing academic papers. Also, instructors can have students use free writing, writing around rules, and pre-writing activities (e.g., outlining, brainstorming, etc.) to help them write their academic papers especially in the early stages of their papers. Instructors could meet with students one-on-one in class to give each of the students opportunities to discuss writing topics or early drafts in order to answer their questions about the written assignment and lessen their anxiety. Additionally, they can have students discuss drafts with classmates in pairs, so they can develop some ideas about assignment parameters, discover any vagueness in the assignment instructions, and preliminarily begin work on the assignment in-class, all of which can work to reduce second language speakers' writing anxiety.

East Asian immigrants' or students' mental and psychological health should be paid enormous attention since the Virginia Tech rampage campus shooting, which is the worst mass shooting in American history. When Korean-American, Seung-Hui Cho, 23-year-old, senior English major, who was diagnosed with social anxiety disorder (Grohol, 2007), killed 32 students and teachers before committing suicide in university building in April 2007, he was described by his seven-year neighbor as a "lonely guy" and "[a]ll of high school, [his fellow student] never saw him with a friend" (Riley, 2007, para. 2). And, several of his classmates, who

took a playwriting class with him in Virginia Tech, described him as a student who “kept to himself, [and was] very isolated” (para. 3) and wrote disturbing and violent plays (Riley, 2007). His roommates at Virginia Tech said “Cho didn't appear to have any friends, male or female” (Riley, 2007, para. 9), and when spoken to, “[h]e would just give one-word answers, not try to carry on a conversation” (Riley, 2007, para. 10). Cho also concerned his professor, Lucinda Roy, in the English department, leading her to describe him as “extraordinarily lonely—the loneliest person I have ever met in my life” (Riley, 2007, para. 14); she claimed to be disturbed by his writing and described his writing as “very angry” but not involving killing (Riley, 2009, para. 9).

Again, two years later, in April 2009, the Vietnamese-American, Jiverly A. Wong, 41 years old, a former student in the Binghamton’s American Civic Association [community language school] in Upstate New York, killed 13 people, wounded 4 people, and took his own life. The American Civic Association offers free English lessons and citizenship classes to U.S. resident aliens. Even though his motive for the shooting is not clear, he is described as a loner, who very much disliked America, had recently lost his job, and “felt ‘people made fun of him’ possibly because of his poor English skills” according to Mr. Joe Zikuski, Binghamton’s chief of police (Phillips, 2009, para. 11). Based on the initial investigation, he said, “[w]e picked up that . . . apparently people were making fun of him. He felt that he was being degraded because . . . of his inability to speak English. And he was upset about that” (Phillips, 2009, para. 12).

By taking these two past incidents into account and noting the findings of this study, educators should take action aimed at preventing future tragedies. Based on the results of this study, almost all of the participants’ anxiety is related to Americans’ attitudes, including the fear of not being accepted as second-language speakers by American professors, students, and the

community at large, and the fear of being looked down upon as second language speakers. The implication of this finding is to realize how strongly Americans' attitudes affect foreign students' language anxiety and adjustment in the U.S. We, as educators, should not ignore this issue, and we should be eager to take action to prevent tragedies like these from happening in the future. Instructors should notify the Student Service Center in the educational institute once he/ she identifies a student who seems to be violent, depressed, dejected, lonely, or whose work shows serious mental problems. Counselors in student service centers also must be required to be trained with knowledge of international students' home cultures, world views, and acculturation issues (Chandras, Eddy, & Spaulding, 1999), and learning and interactional styles in order to correctly identify their problems (i.e., academic or adjustment issues) and provide adequate and sufficient help for them.

Assessing International Student Writing

Based on the results of the study, these Taiwanese graduate students' fear of making errors in their English academic writing is a serious source of anxiety and stress. Knowing that very few second language learners possess the ability to write native-quality papers, instructors should understand that grammatical errors are unavoidable in second or foreign language speakers' writing. Instead, instructors need to concentrate on meaning, and to "correct" errors only selectively, choosing those that most affect a writer's meaning. It is important for these instructors to become aware of the concept of World Englishes, realizing that some patterns emerging in their international writers' papers may include a variety of English spoken or used in other countries.

However, there are still many educators who expect their second or foreign language students to write native-proficiency papers. In her continua model of biliteracy, Hornberger

(2004) stated that second/foreign language educators should “give consideration to the traditionally less powerful ends of the continua, i.e., to dissimilar, divergent, nonstandard varieties and writing practices, and to codeswitching and language mixing practices, as learners draw on all the available communicative resources in their developing biliteracy” (p. 162). According to Hornberger (2004), language educators should be aware of and recognize the development of varieties of English or World English and encourage learners to take advantage of and apply all the resources of their daily lives to their language learning. Moreover, addressing the dilemma of standard/nonstandard English, Hornberger (2004) wrote that

Bilingual, foreign, and second language speakers of English make it [World English] their own, changing the language as they spread it. Varieties of English, in this view, are not aberrations or temporary digressions from the standard to be ignored in hope they will go away, but are instead essential to the very life of the language and therefore to be recognized and valued. (p. 162)

As for whether or not international students or second or foreign language students should “depend on” the standard of native speaker’s English, Acar (2007) argued that

[T]aking inner circle varieties [USA, Canada, Australia, or UK, etc.] as a model in this circle does not necessarily mean the students should achieve native like proficiency at all levels of language. Pragmatic and discourse variation in the expanding circle [China, Russia, Israel, etc.] speaker’s English use will better be considered as a natural consequence of the sociocultural context of these speakers since such norms are strongly shaped by the cultures of these speech communities. (p. 50)

International students’ use of English forms which are influenced by their mother tongues is inevitable, leading Acar (2007) to state

It is argued that while the inner-circle, native-speaker standard English should still serve as the pedagogical model in this circle, there must be allowance for pragmatic and discourse variations in these English users' speech since these levels of language are strongly shaped by the cultural contexts of these speakers. (p. 51)

As for the dilemma over whether to focus on language or content, Hornberger (2004) stated that when evaluating foreign or second language learners' work, educators should always take into account "an ungrammatical expression of accurate content, or a grammatically correct expression of inaccurate content, may be just as much a sign of learning as a grammatically correct expression of accurate content" (p. 166). Instructors or professors teaching at universities in the inner circle countries (i.e., USA, Canada, UK, or Australia) might consider focusing on foreign students' content, and take into account the influence of their native languages in their academic writing. Also, Latham (1992), a guidance counselor and English teacher at The McCallie School, wrote

Circling grammatical errors and deducting five points for each inflates its importance and distracts writers from the ideas the grammar is meant to serve. In defense against this persecution, writers tend to resort to uninspired syntax because it doesn't require semicolons and dependent clauses. (p. 48)

So, instructors who focus too much on students' grammatical errors, cause students to be very cautious about making these mistakes and hinder improvement of their writing ability. Instead, Latham (1992) contended that instructors should give students clear instructions for assignments-objectives, make students aware that writing is a process by utilizing peer editing and revision in class and also concentrating on ideas and content.

According to Vitanova and Gonzalez (2008), graduate students in TESOL programs must re-evaluate their beliefs about the standards of their foreign students' performance in writing.

Vitanova and Gonzalez (2008) stated that

[L]anguage teachers preparing to work abroad may have to re-evaluate not only the mainstream model of the native speaker, but also what constitutes an error. In other words, what may be viewed as an error by a speaker in the Inner-circle countries may be the norm in one of the new varieties of English. (para. 10)

Instructors or professors who are called upon to teach or work with international students could reconsider or adjust their attitudes toward errors in their students' writing in English in order to lower their anxiety towards academic English writing.

Limitations of the Study

This study's findings lack generalization because the primary sources of data collection came from qualitative methods and the number of the participants is small. In this study, each participant was investigated as a unique individual. Other studies of this nature will be needed before it can be known whether the findings of this study are similar to what emerges from studying the same or other populations in other contexts.

Recommendations for Future Research

The results of this study found that participating in group discussions and perceived Americans' attitudes as two of the primary factors associating with these Taiwanese students' language anxiety and cultural adjustment. As a result, there is a need for future research on international students' anxiety, especially East Asian students, stemming from participating in group discussions in class in a foreign country. Besides that, future research should focus on both international students'—or only East Asian students'—and target language speakers'

language anxiety and cross-cultural communication in group discussions in class in the target country. In addition, there is an urge for future research on international students' anxiety stemming from the perceived attitudes of target language speakers.

There is very little research focusing on international students' anxiety over language outside of the classroom (i.e., Woodrow, 2006; Gardner, Smythe, & Clément, 1979). For instance, little is known about their language learning experiences and anxiety in their daily lives studying in an American university. Most of the previous studies only focused on language anxiety in academic settings. On a related point, there have been few studies (i.e., Clément, 1980; MacIntyre & Gardner, 1991a), like this one, focusing on anxiety stemming from social or cultural influences on international students' anxiety while studying in a foreign university. It is necessary to have more studies investigate social and cultural factors related to anxiety, because international students coming to the U.S. to study not only deal with the difficulties of the target language, but must also adjust to the local culture.

In addition, there have been few studies (i.e., Casado & Dereshiwsky, 2001; Leki, 1999; Phillips, Lo, & Yu, 2002; Samimy, 1994; Stroud & Wee, 2006; Young, 1990) which have focused on seeking the foreign students' coping strategies for language anxiety. Therefore, it is also necessary to encourage more studies focusing on international students' coping strategies for language learning-related anxiety, so educators or counselors can teach international students to apply effective coping strategies to solving their problems with language anxiety and understand what issues associated with language anxiety or adjustment which international students have experienced but have had problems coping with or have been unable to overcome.

Equally important, international students' loneliness and isolation studying in the U.S. should not be ignored, so there should be more studies focusing on how to solve these problems and help international students better adjust to the life studying in the U.S.

This current study is only concentrating on Taiwanese graduate students' side of the story. In the future, both target language speakers' and international students' or East Asian students' adjustment into the target culture should also be investigated in order to uncover a fuller account of these research topics.

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Appendices

Appendix A

The First Form (for Questionnaire Participants)

Informed Consent Form

You are invited to participate in this research study. The following information is provided in order to help you to make an informed decision whether or not to participate. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to ask.

The purpose of this study is to understand Taiwanese graduate students' experiences with language learning and cultural adjustment in the United States. Participation or non-participation will not affect the evaluation of your performance at the university. You will complete a 41-item self-reported questionnaire. The first 33 items ask you to evaluate statements, using a 5-point Likert Scale, ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree; the last items ask you to complete brief statements. There are no known risks or discomforts associated with this research; the questionnaire should not take more than about 15 or 20 minutes.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to decide not to participate in this study or to withdraw at any time without adversely affecting your relationship with me. If you choose to participate, you may withdraw at any time by notifying the Project Director, Dr. Jeannine Fontaine, or me. Upon your request to withdraw, all information pertaining to you will be destroyed. If you choose to participate, all information will be held in strict confidence.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign the statement below.

Researcher: Yi-Wen Huang, PhD Candidate, Indiana University of Pennsylvania
English Department, Leonard Hall
47 Fayette Ave., Oakdale, PA 15071
724-693-0649
kkql@iup.edu

Project Director: Dr. Jeannine Fontaine
110 Leonard Hall
Indiana University of Pennsylvania
Indiana, PA 15705
Phone: 724-357-2457

This project has been approved by the Indiana University of Pennsylvania Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (Phone: 724/357-7730).

Informed Consent Form

VOLUNTARY CONSENT FORM:

I have read and understand the information on the form and I consent to volunteer to be a subject in this study. I understand that my responses are completely confidential and that I have the right to withdraw at any time. I have received an unsigned copy of this informed Consent Form to keep in my possession.

Name (*PLEASE PRINT*) _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Phone number or location where you can be reached: _____

Best days and times to reach you: _____

I certify that I have explained to the above individual the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research study, have answered any questions that have been raised, and have witnessed the above signature.

Date: _____ **Investigator's Signature:** _____

Appendix B
The Second Form
Informed Consent Form

You are invited to participate in this research study. The following information is provided in order to help you to make an informed decision whether or not to participate. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to ask.

The purpose of this study is to understand Taiwanese graduate students' experiences with language learning and cultural adjustment in the United States. I am inviting you to participate in the study because you have indicated that you would be willing to take part in interviews about your experiences while studying English in the U.S. Participation in this study will require 60 minutes of your time for each interview (there will be a total of 4) and one 15-minute writing exercise. Before the first interview, I will invite you to write a few short paragraphs about your experiences with language learning in the U.S. The writing exercise will take proximately 15 minutes. Participation or non-participation will not affect the evaluation of your performance at the university. The study involves two stages: first, one writing exercise and three individual in-depth interviews and second, one group interview. You will have one writing exercise and three individual interviews with me, at times and in places that are convenient to you, and one group interview with other Taiwanese graduate students from Taiwan studying in the United States. Each interview will take approximately 60 minutes. The language you will use during the writing exercise, individual interviews, or group meeting will be either Chinese Mandarin or English, at your convenience. You do not need to prepare answers to the questions; they will be provided to you simply for your information.

Your interviews will be tape-recorded. Therefore, I ask your permission to record our conversations. There are no known risks or discomforts associated with this research.

You may find the learning experience enjoyable, and this experience may be helpful to you because you will have the opportunities to listen to other participants' experiences with language-related learning and cultural adjustment, as well as to share your own personal stories.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to decide not to participate in this study or to withdraw at any time without adversely affecting your relationship with me. If you choose to participate, you may withdraw at any time by notifying the Project Director, Dr. Jeannine Fontaine, or me. Upon your request to withdraw, all information pertaining to you will be destroyed. If you choose to participate, all information will be held in strict confidence.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign the statement below.

Researcher: Yi-Wen Huang, PhD Candidate, Indiana University of Pennsylvania
English Department, Leonard Hall
47 Fayette Ave., Oakdale, PA 15071
724-693-0649
kkql@iup.edu

Project Director: Dr. Jeannine Fontaine
110 Leonard Hall
Indiana University of Pennsylvania
Indiana, PA 15705
Phone: 724-357-2261

This project has been approved by the Indiana University of Pennsylvania Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (Phone: 724/357-7730)

Informed Consent Form

VOLUNTARY CONSENT FORM:

I have read and understand the information on the form and I consent to volunteer to be a subject in this study. I understand that my responses are completely confidential and that I have the right to withdraw at any time. I have received an unsigned copy of this informed Consent Form to keep in my possession.

Name (*PLEASE PRINT*)

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Phone number or location where you can be reached: _____

Best days and times to reach you: _____

I certify that I have explained to the above individual the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research study, have answered any questions that have been raised, and have witnessed the above signature.

Date: _____ **Investigator's Signature:** _____

Appendix C

Adapted Version of Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale

(The original Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale is created by Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope in 1986.)

Please circle the response that best represents your reaction to each of these statements. SA means 'strongly agree,' A means 'agree,' N means 'neither agree nor disagree,' D means 'disagree,' and SD means 'strongly disagree.'

SA=Strongly Agree A=Agree N= Neither agree nor disagree

D=Disagree SD=Strongly Disagree

1. I never feel quite sure of myself when I am speaking in my classes in English in the U.S.
SA A N D SD
2. I don't worry about making mistakes in class in the U.S.
SA A N D SD
3. I tremble when I know that I'm going to be called on in class in the U.S.
SA A N D SD
4. It frightens me when I don't understand what the teacher is saying in English.
SA A N D SD
5. It wouldn't bother me at all to take more English classes.
SA A N D SD
6. During my classes in the U.S., I find myself thinking about things that have nothing to do with the courses.
SA A N D SD
7. I keep thinking that the other students are better at languages than I am.
SA A N D SD
8. I am usually at ease during tests in my classes in the U.S.
SA A N D SD
9. I start to panic when I have to speak without preparation in my classes in the U.S.
SA A N D SD
10. I worry about the consequences of failing my classes in the U.S.
SA A N D SD
11. I don't understand why some people get so upset over English classes.
SA A N D SD
12. In class in the U.S., I can get so nervous I forget things I know.
SA A N D SD
13. It embarrasses me to volunteer answers in my classes in the U.S.
SA A N D SD
14. I would not be nervous speaking English with native speakers.
SA A N D SD

15. I get upset when I don't understand what the teacher is correcting.
SA A N D SD
16. Even if I am well prepared for the classes in the U.S., I feel anxious about it.
SA A N D SD
17. I often feel like not going to my classes in the U.S.
SA A N D SD
18. I feel confident when I speak in class in the U.S.
SA A N D SD
19. I am afraid that my teacher is ready to correct every mistake I make.
SA A N D SD
20. I can feel my heart pounding when I 'm going to be called on in class in the U.S.
SA A N D SD
21. The more I study for a test, the more confused I get.
SA A N D SD
22. I *don't* feel pressure to prepare very well for class in the U.S.
SA A N D SD
23. I always feel that the other students speak English better than I do.
SA A N D SD
24. I feel very self-conscious about speaking English in front of other students.
SA A N D SD
25. Class in the U.S. moves so quickly I worry about getting left behind.
SA A N D SD
26. I feel more tense and nervous in my class in the U.S. than in my other classes in Taiwan.
SA A N D SD
27. I get nervous and confused when I am speaking in my class in the U.S.
SA A N D SD
28. When I'm on my way to classes in the U.S., I feel very sure and relaxed.
SA A N D SD
29. I get nervous when I don't understand every word the teacher says in the U.S.
SA A N D SD
30. I feel overwhelmed by the number of rules you have to learn to speak English.
SA A N D SD
31. I am afraid that the other student will laugh at me when I speak English.
SA A N D SD
32. I would probably feel comfortable around native speakers of English.
SA A N D SD
33. I get nervous when the teacher asks questions in the U.S. which I haven't prepared in advance.
SA A N D SD

Please complete the following statements with a brief answer:

34. When speaking English to Americans after class in the U.S., I usually feel _____

35. Doing errands or going grocery shopping in the U.S., is like _____
36. The most difficult thing about using English is _____
37. It makes me feel _____ if I don't understand what a native speaker of English says to me.
38. Talking to my American professors is _____
39. If a native speaker of English does not understand my English, I _____
40. I like using English best when _____
41. When I write a paper in English, I usually feel _____

Appendix D

Demographic Information Sheet

Name:

Date:

Major at IUP:

Major in College in Taiwan:

Marital Status:

Age:

Occupation in Taiwan:

Month/Year arriving in the U.S.:

Years studying English in Taiwan:

Date of the first time coming to the U.S.:

Self-Rated English Proficiency: (a) very poor, (b) poor, (c) fair, (d) intermediate, (e) very good, (f) excellent:

Length of Residence in the U.S.: year(s) month(s)

Writing Exercise

Instructions to participants: please write a short answer, just a paragraph, in answer to each of these three questions:

1. Can you describe your first class in the U.S.?
2. How about now? Tell me about a more recent story with learning English.
3. How have your language use evolved over time?

Appendix E

Interview Guide (Interview Questions) for the researcher (myself)

These questions are meant as initial ‘openers’; participants will be invited to elaborate on answers, and I will also ask follow-up questions to clarify details about what they say.

- a. How comfortable have you felt generally in your classrooms in the U.S.?
- b. Characterize your language use in the class (positive & negative experience). Can you tell me about the class that you have enjoyed most while studying in the U.S.? Why do you think you enjoyed that particular class? Do you think that the instructor helped you feel motivated or at ease in the class?
- c. Characterize your language use in the class (positive & negative experience). Can you tell me about a class in which you felt uncomfortable or anxious? What do you think made you feel so (subject matter, the way the class was conducted, the other participants, etc.)
- d. Again, when you are not in class, when do you feel most comfortable in the U.S.? This may be any place outside the class (while shopping, visiting friends, etc.)
- e. When you are not in class, can you speak about one or more situations where you feel uncomfortable?
- f. When you need to contact someone in the U.S., do you prefer to do this in person, by telephone, by email, or by some other means? Can you think of specific examples, and can you say more about your choices.
- g. Have you encountered any problems with communication, either in classes or elsewhere?
- h. When you feel anxious or tense about communicating in the U.S. classroom, what do you do to overcome the anxiety in and outside the classroom? Follow-up questions here will

refer to the answers to previous questions.

- i. How do you feel about American people generally?
- j. How do you feel when you are with American people—in a bar, or in class, or while standing in line at a grocery store. Please talk about your experiences in situations where you are with American people. Do you find it easy to communicate with a new person in each of these settings? Can you think of times when it was difficult for you?
- k. What bothers (bothered) you the most when you are (were) with the American people or in the community in the U.S.?
- l. In what kinds of situations have you been the most anxious?
- m. What do (did) you do to overcome this anxiety?
- n. What are (were) your attitudes toward Taiwanese people? Have your views of Taiwanese people or culture changed during your stay in the U.S.? If so, in what ways?
- o. What are (were) your attitudes toward American students or the local people (the hosts)? Have these changed during your stay in the U.S.?
- p. What are (were) your attitudes toward American culture?
- q. How many close American friends do you have? Can you say more about these friendships? How do they differ from your friendships with Taiwanese people? With people from other nationalities?
- r. What are (were) your expectations about studying abroad in the U.S. (here) (before you arrived)? Have you been surprised about anything that has happened here? In what ways have your expectations been met?
- s. What are your expectations toward yourself here (in the U.S.) in the future?
- t. What are (were) your housing conditions like since coming to the U.S.? Do you have any

American roommates? If so, how many? What kinds of experience did you have with them? What about your relationships with neighbors, or people living near you?

- u. What bothers (bothered) you the most when you are (were) in the target language group or community in the U.S.?
- v. In what kinds of situations have you most experienced problems related to cultural adjustment or culture shock?
- w. What do you do to overcome problems related to cultural situations that you meet in the U.S.?
- x. What are (were) your attitudes toward yourself?
- y. How do you feel about writing course papers in English?

Interview Questions (Chinese Translation)

- a. 在美國, 在學校上課的時候你通常感覺有多舒適? 有甚麼感覺?
- b. 請告訴我你在美國對於英語的使用 (正面或負面的經驗). 你可以告訴我在美國你最喜愛的課嗎? 為甚麼? 你覺得是你的教授讓你對這堂課有上課的動機或感覺輕鬆愉快嗎?
- c. 請告訴我你在美國對於英語的使用 (正面或負面的經驗). 你可以告訴我有那些課你覺得讓你感覺不舒服或焦慮嗎? 你覺得是因為甚麼原因嗎?
- d. 那 在美國, 當你沒有課的時候 你甚麼時候覺得最舒服? 譬如說下課後在甚麼地方?
- e. 當你沒有課的時候, 你可以告訴我在甚麼情況下或哪些情況下你覺得不舒服?
- f. 在美國, 當你需要和某人聯絡, 你比較喜歡面對面聯絡, 用打電話, 用電子郵件, 或用其它方式? 你可以給我一個例子嗎? 你可以告訴我多一點關於你的選擇嗎?
- g. 從過去到現在, 在課堂上或其他地方, 你有遇到過溝通上的問題嗎?
- h. 在美國課堂上, 因為溝通上的問題當你覺得焦慮或壓力大, 你怎麼做去克服焦慮在課堂上或下課後? 連接性的問題
- i. 一般來講你覺得美國人基本上怎麼樣?
- j. 當你跟美國人在一起你覺得如何? 譬如在酒吧, 俱樂部, 課堂上, 或在商店裡, 請告訴我關於某些情況你和美國人在一起的經驗. 在這些情況你覺得跟一個新認識的人容易溝通嗎? 你可以想到過去的一些時候你有困難跟一個新認識的人溝通嗎?

- k. 在美國當你和美國人在一起或在社區裡, 甚麼最讓你感到困擾或不舒服?
- l. 從過去到現在甚麼情況下你感覺最焦慮?
- m. 你怎麼做去克服這種焦慮?
- n. 你(現在或過去)覺得我們台灣人怎麼樣? 在美國讀書這段時間, 你對台灣人或自己台灣文化的看法或感覺有改變嗎? 如果有, 是在甚麼方面有改變?
- o. 你對美國學生或這邊當地人的感覺或態度怎麼樣? 在美國這段時間你對美國人或美國學生的感覺有甚麼改變嗎?
- p. 你對美國文化的感覺或態度如何? 過去和現在
- q. 你有幾個要好的美國朋友? 你可分享多一點嗎? 這個友誼跟你和台灣人的友誼有怎麼不一樣? 那跟其他國家來的人呢?
- r. 對於來美國留學你(在過去 或 還沒來美國前)(現在)有甚麼期望? 在這裡有甚麼讓你感到驚訝的事? 有符合你的期盼或期望嗎?
- s. 你對你自己未來在這裡或在美國有甚麼期望?
- t. 來到美國之後, 請問你住在哪裡? 居住環境怎麼樣? 那你有美國室友嗎? 如果有, 幾個? 那你跟他們(美國室友)住在一起覺得怎麼樣? 是怎麼樣的經驗? 那你跟鄰居和這附近的人或同學相處的如何?
- u. 在美國當和美國同學或這裡當地的人在一起的時候, 有甚麼是讓你感到最困擾的?
- v. 在美國, 請問你在甚麼情況下最有這些有關於適應美國的文化或是文化衝擊的相關的問題?
- w. 那你怎麼做去克服這些你在美國遇到與美國文化相關的這個問題?

- x. 你覺得自己怎樣? 過去和現在
- y. 你對寫英文報告的感覺如何?

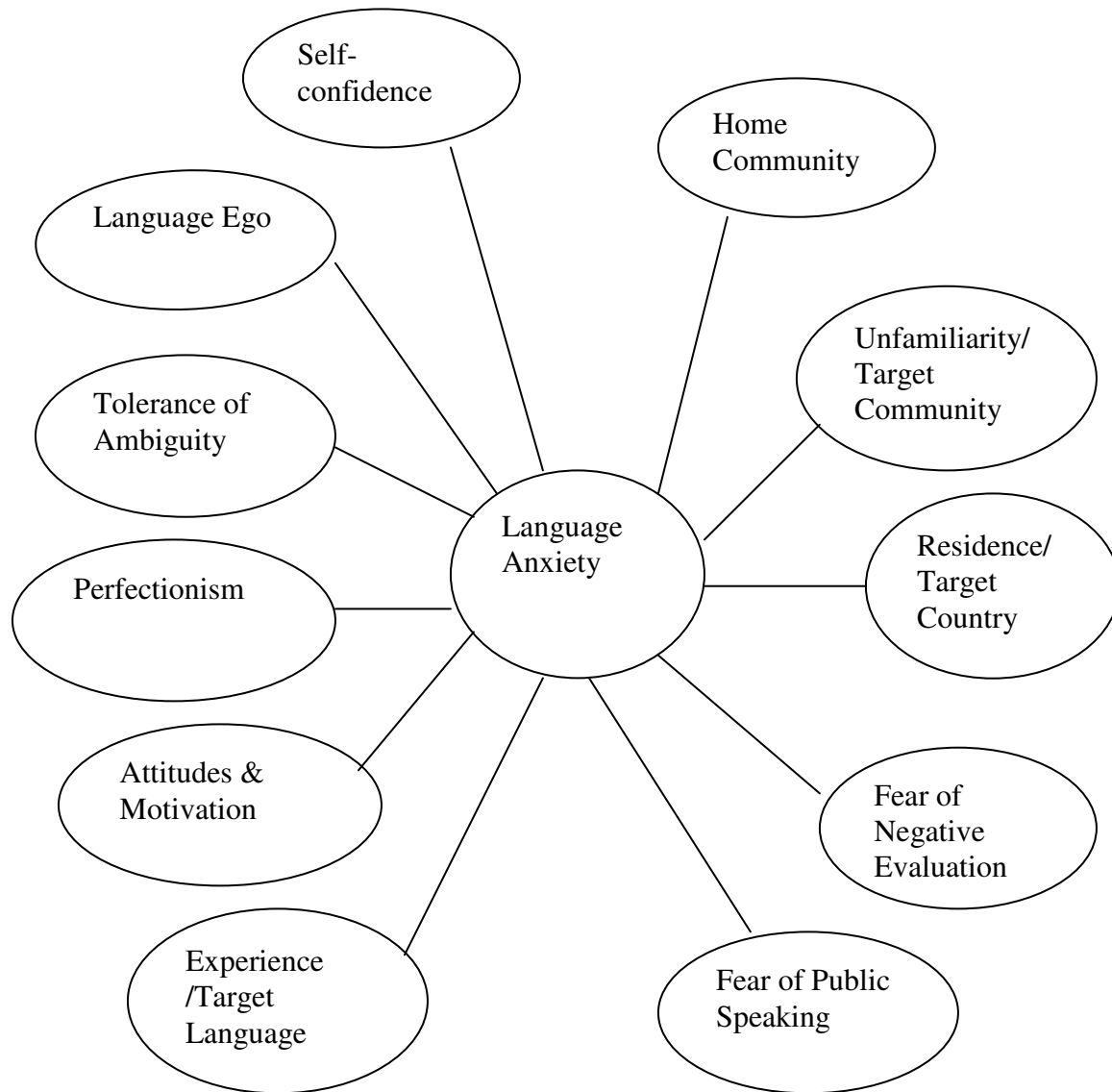
Group Interview for the researcher (myself)

I will begin the group interview by asking if any of the participants have thought of additional things they would like to share: either ideas or more details about the subjects they talked about in the individual interviews. I will then choose topics from the individual interviews, asking the participants to discuss these as a group, and to react to the stories they are most interested in sharing. I will also ask them to react to any theme that may have been raised by only one participant, or any themes that may not have come up in the interviews, but which would produce useful data for the study.

Appendix F

Factors Associated with Language Anxiety

Appendix E shows the factors which are associated with language anxiety. However, the purpose of the figure is not to point out causes and effect relationships.



Appendix G

Item in the Adapted Version of FLCAS, Listed from High to Low Average Ratings for
the Group

Item					
33 I get nervous when the teacher asks questions in the U.S. which I haven't prepared for in advance. 3.833	SA4	A 10	N 2	D1	SD1
26 I feel more tense and nervous in my class in the U.S. than in my other classes in Taiwan.3.777	SA5	A9	N	D3	SD1
10 I worry about the consequences of failing my classes in the U.S. 3.722	SA 3	A11	N 1	D 2	SD1
22 I <i>don't</i> feel pressure to prepare very well for class in the U.S. 3.611	SA	A 3	N 4	D 8	SD3
20 I can feel my heart pounding when I'm going to be called on in class in the U.S.3.555	SA 2	A 11	N 2	D1	SD2
11 I don't understand why some people get so upset over English classes. 3.5	SA 1	A	N 6	D11	SD
16 Even if I am well prepared for the classes in the U.S., I feel anxious about them. 3.44	SA	A12	N 2	D 4	SD
9 I start to panic when I have to speak without preparation in my classes in the U.S.3.33	SA 2	A 8	N 3	D 4	SD1
25 Class in the U.S. moves so quickly that I worry about getting left behind. 3.2777	SA2	A8	N 2	D5	SD1
3 I tremble when I know that I'm going to be called on in class in the U.S. 3.22	SA 1	A 8	N 4	D 4	SD1
15 I get upset when I don't understand what the teacher is correcting. 3.222	SA 3	A 5	N 4	D 5	SD1
8 I am usually at ease during tests in my classes in the U.S. 3.166	SA 1	A 3	N6	D 8	SD
23 I always feel that the other students speak English better than I do. 3.1666	SA2	A 6	N 4	D 5	SD1
24 I feel very self-conscious about speaking English in front of other Students .3.1666	SA1	A8	N 3	D 5	SD1
4 It frightens me when I don't understand what the teacher is saying in English. 3.11	SA 1	A 8	N 3	D 4	SD2
27 I get nervous and confused when I am speaking in my class in the U.S. 3.111	SA	A8	N 5	D 4	SD1
12 In class in the U.S., I can get so nervous I forget things I know. 3.055	SA 1	A 9	N 1	D 4	SD 3
18 I feel confident when I speak in class in the U.S. 3	SA 1	A 3	N10	D3	SD1

- 2 I don't worry about making mistakes in class in the U.S. 2.944
SA 2 A 6 N 1 D 9 SD
- 7 I keep thinking that the other students are better at languages than I am. 2.944
SA1 A 5 N 5 D 6 SD1
- 13 It embarrasses me to volunteer answers in my classes in the U.S. 2.944
SA A 8 N3 D5 SD2
- 32 I would probably feel comfortable around native speakers of English. 2.7647
SA 1 A5 N8 D 3 SD No Answer 1
- 28 When I'm on my way to classes in the U.S., I feel very sure and relaxed. 2.777
SA2 A5 N 7 D 3 SD1
- 29 I get nervous when I don't understand every word the teacher says in the U.S. 2.777
SA1 A 3 N 7 D 5 SD2
- 5 It wouldn't bother me at all to take more English classes. 2.666
SA 3 A 7 N 2 D 5 SD1
- 1 I never feel quite sure of myself when I am speaking in my classes in English in the U.S.
2.647
SA A 4 N 3 D 10 SD No Answer 1
- 19 I am afraid that my teacher is ready to correct every mistake I make. 2.611
SA A 4 N6 D5 SD3
- 30 I feel overwhelmed by the number of rules you have to learn to speak English. 2.555
SA A4 N 4 D 8 SD2
- 31 I am afraid that the other student will laugh at me when I speak English. 2.5
SA A 5 N 3 D6 SD4
- 14 I would not be nervous speaking English with native speakers. 2.444
SA4 A 4 N 8 D2 SD
- 6 During my classes in the U.S., I find myself thinking about things that have nothing to do
with the courses. 2.33
SA A 3 N 4 D7 SD4
- 21 The more I study for a test, the more confused I get. 2.1666
SA1 A 2 N3 D8 SD4
- 17 I often feel like not going to my classes in the U.S. 1.888
SA A 1 N 1 D 11 SD5
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