Introduction
It is now the end of April, and still Pablo is not participating in class. He often talks to his friends, and his teacher has even had to conference with him about his inattention during classroom discussions. His English skills had enabled him to pass his classes and meet minimum requirements on the standardized test used by the district, thus allowing him to be mainstreamed. Yet even with support from the English as a second language (ESL) teacher, he is not doing as well in the mainstream class as he had in ESL classes, remaining shut off from the native English-speaking students. Even when he is placed in a group with other U.S.-born students who are fluent in English and Spanish, he withdraws from contact with them.

Unfortunately, Pablo’s situation is not rare among mainstreamed English language learners (ELLs). In fact, preservice teachers who go out into the
schools often write in their journals that ELL students often interact less in the mainstream classroom, choosing instead to remain as far away as possible from the action of the classroom. While there are many reasons why ELL students have difficulty in the mainstream classroom, including a lack of teacher engagement (Verplaste, 1998) and limited cognitive skills in English (Cummins, 1984), one source of difficulty that is often overlooked is the affective environment of the mainstream classroom. While educators and administrators concentrate mostly on English proficiency, factors such as anxiety are often overlooked in mainstreaming decisions.

In order to begin to address this complex issue, this study focuses on the English language anxiety of 178 middle school Spanish-speaking ELL students who were mainstreamed part of the day. More specifically, in this study I analyzed students’ responses to the English Language Anxiety Scale (ELAS) in order to answer the following questions:

1. Is there a difference between levels of English language anxiety in ESL and mainstream classes?
2. If differences occur, is there a relationship between levels of English language anxiety in ELL and mainstream classrooms and time spent in the U.S.; achievement (as noted by grades in their ESL classes); listening and speaking skills; reading and writing skills; and/or gender?

To investigate factors not anticipated through the original research questions, I posed more exploratory questions based on both the ELAS and focus group data:

3. If differences occur, is there a relationship between levels of English language anxiety in ELL and mainstream classrooms and factors that emerge during a factor analysis of the ELAS?
4. If differences occur, what corroborating and additional factors emerge through focus group discussions with research participants?
5. What coping strategies do highly anxious participants use to reduce levels of anxiety?

**Theoretical Background**

In light of the increasing diversity in U.S. classrooms, mainstream classroom teachers are seeing more ELL students in their classes. Furthermore, recent legislative changes such as Proposition 227 in California (which limits the amount of time an ELL student can spend in a sheltered English class) increase the need for extensive language accommodations for these students since they enter the mainstream at earlier points in their language acquisition. As ELL students enter classrooms with fewer language skills, they have more to be nervous about, increasing the chances that anxiety will affect the learning process, as has happened in foreign language classrooms (Daley, Onwuegbuzie, & Bailey, 1997; Ehrman & Oxford, 1995; Gardner, 1985; MacIntyre & Gardner, 1993, 1994). Consequently, it is imperative that mainstream teachers know more about the anxiety levels of
their ELL students and, more importantly, how to reduce their apprehension.

**Theories of Anxiety**

I next outline specific theories of anxiety to illustrate the development of anxiety theory, moving from generalized, all-encompassing theories (Bandura, 1991; Pekrun, 1992) to more situation-specific theories of language learning anxiety (MacIntyre & Gardner, 1994) and then to theories that focus on contextual levels of anxiety within individuals (Pappamihiel, 1999). In keeping with MacIntyre and Gardner’s (1991) view that “while the instruments used to measure language anxiety should be specific to the language area, theoretical links to the more general anxiety literature can be strengthened” (p. 43), I include not only frameworks developed specifically for language learning but also models derived from psychology.

**Anxiety: Self-efficacy and Appraisal**

General theories of anxiety can be conceptualized using two models: Pekrun’s (1992) Expectancy-Value Theory of Anxiety (EVTA) and Bandura’s (1991) theory of self-efficacy. Each of these models uses different types of appraisals to explain and predict anxiety reactions in individuals. According to these models, concepts of worry and distraction relate first to appraisals of situations as threatening or not and then to learners’ determinations of their efficacy in dealing with these situations. Pekrun’s (1992) EVTA model combines situation-outcome expectancies (appraisals of a situation as being threatening or not) with action-control expectancies (appraisals about one’s ability to initiate and carry out an effective solution). Foreseeing negative, potentially harmful events in which individuals cannot see themselves as effective mediators often produces anxiety. Similarly, Bandura’s (1991) theory of self-efficacy posits that when a situation is perceived as threatening, the resultant anxiety is dependent on an individual’s perception of his/her ability to deal positively with that threat. Bandura additionally argues that self-esteem can act as a mitigating factor in anxiety-producing circumstances.

When learners see situations as threatening, there can be an adverse affect on learning. Because highly anxious individuals are often in a state of divided attentional resources (Eysenck, 1979), their ability to concentrate and be successful at learning tasks is hampered. In other words, when students are constantly preoccupied with the threat a learning situation poses, they cannot fully concentrate on that task. At the early stages of learning, students are using many attentional resources to accomplish basic tasks that they have not yet learned how to complete automatically (Schallert, 1991). Highly anxious students are not able to automatize actions as effectively since their attentional resources are diverted through task-irrelevant processing brought about by high levels of anxiety.

In addition to challenges with resource allocation, learners sometimes engage in self-deprecating (“I’m stupid,” “I can’t do this”) and self-focused thoughts that interfere with feelings of
self-efficacy. These negative thoughts adversely affect a student’s ability to take advantage of learning opportunities, affecting students’ ability to see themselves as successful learners (Gibbons, 1991; Hass & Eisenstadt, 1991; Sarason, 1972). Anxiety is a complex concept, dependent upon not only one’s feelings of self-efficacy but also appraisals concerning the potential and perceived threats inherent in certain situations. These many appraisals coupled with the influence of task-irrelevant processing can negatively affect the learning process, often in ways that students are not even aware of (Tobias, 1986).

State, Trait, and Situational Anxiety

Pekrun (1992) argues that in instances of high anxiety, habitualized reactions can cause individuals who have experienced many threatening situations in the past to be more likely to perceive future situations as threatening. Similarly, Vasey and Daleiden (1996) note that highly anxious individuals may have a lower threshold of threat recognition, seeing generally ambiguous situations as potentially threatening more often than moderately anxious persons. Because of the possibility that some individuals are more prone to anxiety than others, it is necessary to differentiate between individuals who are often anxious and those who are not. Spielberger (1983) describes this differentiation as the state/trait dichotomy.

Individuals who are more anxious and more likely to become anxious regardless of situation are referred to as having trait anxiety; that is, anxiety is a part of their character or an aspect of a more serious disorder. However, those who are able to appraise situations accurately as being threatening or not within reasonable limits are said to have state anxiety, a social type of anxiety that occurs under certain conditions. For example, a person may not ordinarily be anxious but becomes so when asked to make a public address. This differentiation is critical in the study of anxiety because it allows the separation of individuals who are likely to be anxious in any variety of situations from those who would not normally be anxious.

Some researchers further differentiate the concept of anxiety by distinguishing between cognitive (worry) and emotional (affective) components of anxiety (Deffenbacher, 1980; Schwarzer, 1986). According to Deffenbacher, anxiety related to cognitive interference (e.g., learning challenges) is due to extreme instances of worry, not the arousal element of anxiety. Thus the cognitive type of anxiety associated with classroom learning is rarely facilitative.

In the field of second language acquisition, MacIntyre and Gardner (1991) draw upon the work done by Spielberger (1983) to make an additional distinction, situation-specific anxiety. Individuals who suffer from situation-specific anxiety may appraise certain events as anxiety-producing only when certain factors are present. For example, a student may be anxiety-free when writing an essay in English. However, when asked to write a similar essay in French, a second language, the same student may then feel higher levels of anxiety.
Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1986) argue that people who feel competent in their native language can feel reduced to a childlike state when asked to use their second language. Additionally, learners of a foreign language are often subjected to threats to their self-perception in the foreign language classroom setting. They conclude that foreign language anxiety can be associated with three factors: a fear of negative evaluation, test anxiety, and communication apprehension.

Horwitz et al. (1986) conceptualize foreign language anxiety as “a distinct complex of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings, and behaviors related to classroom language learning arising from the uniqueness of the language learning process” (p.31). They distinguish foreign language anxiety from communication apprehension, as outlined by McCroskey (1987), in that individuals who show no communication apprehension in their native language will often exhibit foreign language anxiety (Applebaum & Trotter, 1986), which goes beyond communication apprehension to include a fear of negative evaluation and test anxiety. Additionally, because of the differences between a foreign language learning situation and an ESL learning situation, in which students are expected to create a second language persona, a stronger link to identity factors needs to be considered.

In terms of self-concept and identity, Guiora (1983) argues that language learning can be extremely traumatic for some students because it threatens their sense of self and worldview. In fact, the riskiness of the language learning situation may lead learners to fossilize or halt their language acquisition because the risk to the learner’s national identity may be seen as greater than the perceived benefits of acquiring better, more proficient second language skills (Beebe, 1983). Additionally, Schumann (1997), while currently investigating physiological aspects of language anxiety, maintains his pidginization hypothesis in which he posits a strong relationship between an individual’s willingness to acquire a language and his or her relationship with the target language group. In other words, the more psychological and social distance perceived, the less likely it will be for that individual to achieve high levels of language skill in the target language.

Hence, anxiety in general can be associated with threats to self-efficacy and appraisals of situations as threatening. In a specific situation such as language learning, a fear of negative evaluation, test anxiety, communication apprehension, and threats to one’s sense of self can reduce feelings of self-efficacy and increase the chances that a second language situation will be seen as threatening. Additionally, the social distance felt by many Mexicans in the U.S. can exacerbate these factors, resulting in differing levels of language anxiety based on the context of the second language situation and the social distance perceived in each.

**Situational Anxieties in ELL Students**

Assuming an individual with state anxiety rather than trait anxiety, concepts of self-efficacy are tied to past successes, vicarious experiences, and social per-
suasion (Bandura, 1991). Yet Mexican ELL students in the U.S. are often at risk because, in many cases, they lack vicarious experiences and social persuasion that would provide successful models and encouragement from others (Cummins, 1996; Zambrana & Silva-Palacios, 1989). Also, ELL students can become more susceptible to high levels of anxiety related to language learning because of the language shock often experienced by ELLs (Olsen, 1997).

Hispanic Americans experience extremely high drop out rates, with only 63% of all 18-24-year-old Hispanics completing some sort of high school education, either through the attainment of a traditional diploma or GED (Kaufman, Kwon, & Klein, 1999). Hence, they are limited in the number of academically successful models and other vicarious experiences that would increase their levels of self-efficacy. Additionally, because of the marginalization of Hispanic American groups in the U.S., Mexican ELL children often internalize negative stereotypes that reduce their feelings of self-efficacy by limiting the social persuasion (encouragement from others) that would ordinarily tell them that they can succeed (Zambrana & Silva-Palacios, 1989).

Often ELLs who lack proficiency in English are subject not only to judgments about their language ability but also about their significance as individuals (Cummins, 1996). These judgments can be aggravated by teachers’ misconceptions about language learning. The difference between social English and academic English proficiency can create false impressions about how much English an ELL student should learn in a certain amount of time. Social English, referred to by Cummins (1984, 2000) as basic interpersonal communication skills, can be acquired in one to two years. However, the cognitive/academic language proficiency that is needed to be successful academically can take anywhere from five to eight years to acquire (Collier, 1987; Cummins, 2000). When ELL students are mainstreamed, both teachers and students can have the implicit idea that they are fully prepared to work with academic English, and when they need further accommodations, students’ feelings of self-efficacy can be reduced.

Although there have been few investigations on the effect of English language anxiety on the acquisition of English, there have been several studies that have concluded that foreign language anxiety does have an adverse effect on learning (Daley et al., 1997; Ehrman & Oxford, 1995; Gardner, 1985; MacIntyre & Gardner, 1993, 1994). These same factors that adversely affect learning in the foreign language classroom are present in the ESL classroom but at a more intense level. Moreover, for Mexican ELL students these challenges can be exacerbated by difficulty in developing a positive English language identity. An ELL student’s ability to make effective situational appraisals can be hampered not only by linguistic differences but also by cultural differences.

In sum, general issues of self-efficacy and expectancy-value theory can be influenced by a fear of negative
evaluation, test anxiety, communication apprehension, and identity factors. However, these influences on anxiety do not occur in a vacuum. English language anxiety can be described as a social anxiety, dependent upon interactions with others. Therefore, the implications of English language anxiety from a socioconstructivist perspective must be considered. According to Vygotsky (1978) and others, learning is dependent upon the social interactions that occur in the classroom. Withdrawal from this interaction as a result of high levels of English language anxiety is perhaps the most harmful effect of English language anxiety.

It is imperative that teachers and administrators be able to identify highly anxious students within their schools and classrooms, ideally before the mainstreaming process takes place. When teachers and administrators can identify highly anxious students more efficiently, efficacy beliefs (Bandura, 1995) and expectancy-value-oriented preventions (Pekrun, 1992) can be initiated. In providing this affective support for ELL students in mainstream classes, educators can increase their chances for academic success beyond minimum standards.

**Method**

**Setting**

Situated in a medium-sized school district in a major city in Texas, the schools involved in this study were mostly in the poorer neighborhoods where most of the ELL children in this district were schooled. In four of the seven sites, ESL classes were conducted in mobile units outside the permanent buildings. The ELL density of the sites ranged from 6% of total school population to 27% of the total population. School size ranged from 509 to 1201 total students; the largest schools, however, did not have the largest number of ELLs.

**Participants**

The study included 178 Mexican-born middle school students (grades 6–8) enrolled in ESL programs. These students had all been in the U.S. for at least one year and were mainstreamed for a portion of their school day, many for almost the entire day. The range of time spent in the U.S. ranged from 1–12 years, with a mean of 2.47 years in the U.S. All students spoke English at the intermediate level or above as noted by their ESL teachers. Achievement levels for the students ranged from extremely successful to struggling. The students’ semester-end grades averaged 83.8, with a range between 50–100, on the 100-point scale used within the school (with 100 equal to an A and less than 60 equal to an F). Although many students spoke only Spanish at home, approximately 20% of the participants spoke some English at home, mostly with siblings or cousins. Almost all participants were identified as low SES based on their participation in the district’s free and reduced lunch program.

All ESL teachers involved in this study had several years of experience teaching ESL. Additionally, all had some level of proficiency in Spanish, with five teachers being native speakers of Spanish. Five of the participating teachers were female and two were male.
Data Collection

English Language Anxiety Scale
After participants were identified, the ELAS (see Appendix A) was administered during class time. The ELAS is a 20-item Likert-type scale probing participants’ level of agreement or disagreement (1-5 with a neutral option) with statements. Since each statement probes anxiety levels in two different environments (within ESL and mainstream classes), the participant responds to 40 prompts. Students were free to ask questions and request clarification on items.

The ELAS is modeled after a theoretically similar Likert-type anxiety assessment, the 33-item Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS) designed by Horwitz et al. (1986). Validated by Horwitz (1991), the FLCAS is often used in the field of second language acquisition. The ELAS and FLCAS show statistical similarities. According to Cronbach’s alpha test, the ELAS shows an internal consistency reliability of .89 with the FLCAS having an internal consistency reliability of .93.

While both the ELAS and FLCAS stem from a similar theoretical base, there are significant differences. The FLCAS was developed for a foreign language population. In other words, the target population included students who were studying another language from the perspective of their native language. The ELAS, on the other hand, was developed for ELLs, learners who are attempting to acquire a new language within the context of that language, separated to a certain extent from their own native language and culture. Hence, adaptation of the FLCAS for use with ELLs cannot be considered the ideal fit. Because of this less than perfect situation, focus groups provided additional data.

Since ELL students function in at least two different learning environments, within the ESL class and within the mainstream classroom with native English speakers, the ELAS (unlike the FLCAS) probes each environment separately, and statements are presented in both English and Spanish. Each statement in the ELAS is presented from both perspectives, as in the example below:

1. In ESL classes, I forget how to say things I know.
   *En clases de ESL, Me siento tan nervioso (a) que se me olvida cómo decir cosas que ya sé.*
2. In regular classes, I forget how to say things I know.
   *En clases regulares, Me siento tan nervioso (a) que se me olvida cómo decir cosas que ya sé.*

Accordingly, the ELAS is based on the self-efficacy and situational appraisals that are described by Bandura (1995) and Pekrun (1992). More specifically, it includes the three factors outlined by Horwitz et al. (1986) (a fear of negative evaluation, test anxiety, and communication apprehension) and an identity factor. Since the FLCAS does not include an identity factor, two items that probe identity were added to the ELAS (items 7 and 13).
Focus Groups
Since it can be difficult to give voice to quantitative data in terms of offering explanation (Flores & Alonso, 1995), the focus groups were chosen as a qualitative data-gathering method. Krueger (1994) recommends focus groups for the triangulation of quantitative data. Focus groups are further found to help with investigations of emotions such as revelations of anxiety (Morgan, 1993), although they have not been used previously in second language anxiety research. The focus groups both identified new sources of anxiety and provided corroborating illustrations of types of anxiety identified by the statistical analyses.

While focus groups have been used mostly in the field of marketing and other business specialties, over the past few decades they have been used in the social sciences as supplemental data gathering instruments and, more recently, as the sole method of gathering data in qualitative studies. There are several benefits that make their use in this study appropriate. The main benefit of focus group data is their ability to uncover information that would not normally come out in a one-on-one interview or would be difficult to see through observation.

Some participants have difficulty verbalizing their language anxiety. Although they report feeling anxiety, they have difficulty giving voice to these feelings and remembering specific instances. Focus groups are often helpful in aiding participants in articulating their feelings and reactions because of the group synergy generated in these discussions. Since focus groups rely on group interaction more than individual reports, often individuals have the opportunity to compare their experiences to those of the other participants, and new information or different perspectives may be sparked by this interaction (Hoppe, Wells, Morrison, Gillmore, & Wilsdon, 1995). According to Morgan (1997),

The basic argument in favor of self-contained focus groups is that they reveal aspects of experiences and perspectives that would not be as accessible without group interaction. (p. 20)

The focus groups used in this study were homogenous in terms of ELAS score (high anxiety) and gender, based on Krueger’s (1998) recommendation that focus groups be as homogenous as possible while still maintaining the opportunity for alternate points of view. When dealing with children and adolescents, several researchers suggest building same gender groups to prevent peacock effects. For example, male participants may structure their answers to please or have a positive effect on female participants and vice versa (Gillmore, & Wilsdon, 1995; Hoppe et al., 1995; Krueger, 1998). Hoppe et al. also suggest that when conducting focus groups with children that the groups include participants who are already familiar with each other because they “seemed to feel safer and were more willing to express their opinions in a group of children they already knew” (p. 106). Some focus groups can have a duration of more than two hours; however, Hoppe et al. recommend that children’s focus groups last no longer than one hour in order to maximize children’s attentional resources.
Focus group units were assembled so students of the same age range and gender were in the same group (Hoppe et al., 1995; Krueger, 1998). Hence, there were ten groups in all, four male groups and six female groups with members between the ages of 11 and 15. The group sessions were videotaped and conducted in the language most comfortable for the students, either Spanish or English. While there was occasional code switching between languages, all groups chose to speak primarily in Spanish. Students who were identified as highly anxious were invited to participate in focus groups during class time. While most students agreed to participate in the groups, absences prevented every highly anxious student from being involved. Since students themselves did not know the exact date of focus groups, these absences did not appear to be attempts to avoid the group.

From the literature cited and prior experiences with preliminary focus groups, the following focus group parameters were set: (a) Group participants were of the same gender, (b) Group participants were familiar with each other, (c) Group participants scored within the highly anxious range on the ELAS (1 SD above the mean), (d) Group sessions were no more than one hour, and (e) Ground rules in each session included respecting each other’s opinions, not making put-downs, and letting everyone have a chance to talk.

The focus groups in this study were taped using both audio and video equipment so individuals could be easily recognized in the transcription phase. The presence of the recording equipment did not seem to interfere with students’ responses and students quickly seemed to forget about the recorder and camera.

The focus groups were used after the administration of the ELAS in order to interpret the numerical data gathered. All focus groups were conducted during class time at the research site. Only the participants and I were allowed in the room where the focus groups were taking place. As participants came in the room, they were asked to put themselves at ease and were offered refreshments, which they could eat and drink while the focus group was going on. I reintroduced myself and explained the purpose of the focus group, with special attention paid to the fact that their input was the most important aspect of the group discussion. Also, participants had the opportunity to ask questions. Many questions centered on my ethnic origin, such as, “How come you speak Spanish if you’re Greek?” After participants had the opportunity to ask questions and snack they were given an information sheet with the main focus group questions (Appendix B). They were then asked to look at the questions and write down any thoughts they had on the topics listed. Preliminary answers were written in order to reduce the influence other participants would have on each participant’s responses during the actual discussion.

After all participants had gathered and had time to get something to eat or drink and write answers to the questions, I called the meeting together and
began the warm-up phase. Participants were asked a warm-up question, such as, “Do you like speaking English?” or “Do you speak English often?” Usually, this question prompted some students to comment that often they did not like speaking English. This comment often led the group into the actual data-collection questions.

Because of the dynamics of group interaction, groups did not always follow this list of questions in their exact order. Additionally, I sometimes had to redirect the discussion. On occasion the discussion became more of a group interview with my asking a question and students answering in turn, as they would in a class. When this pattern occurred, I withdrew from the interaction, usually by sitting silently, until the students began to talk among themselves. The last question asked in focus groups probed student advice about how to reduce anxiety (“Is there any advice you would give to teachers so that students aren’t nervous?”) and was used as a wrap-up question, allowing every student to participate and add any additional information.

Focus group data can be complex in that not only must one search for ideas and concepts repeated in similar words, but also the researcher must interpret individual responses that may sound different but apply to the same concept (Krueger, 1998). Hence, the primary goal of focus group analysis is not necessarily to comment on individual responses but to search for trends and patterns that emerge across groups. Also, discussions are evolutionary in nature, as participants influence each other and possibly change each other’s minds. In order to offset this possibility, I often repeated or summarized questions in order to confirm responses. Additionally, because of the fluidity of focus groups, spontaneous questions occurred in each group.

Demographic Data
Demographic data (see Appendix C for instrument) collected on each participant include information regarding the total number of years they had been in the U.S., the language(s) spoken in the home, and self-report data that were used in the statistical analyses. In the self-reports participants were asked to rate their proficiency in subcategories of English skills. These subcategories included listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills. Participants rated themselves as “not good,” “okay,” “good,” and “very good.”

Data Analysis
English Language Anxiety Scale
Several statistical tests were used to analyze the ELAS:

Paired T-tests were used to analyze broad levels of anxiety between ESL and mainstream classes.

ANCOVAs were run on both ESL and mainstream classes to identify how levels of anxiety correlated with the specific factors of years in the U.S., levels of academic achievement, listening and speaking skills, reading and writing skills, and gender.

A factor analysis was run on both ESL and mainstream classes to analyze how levels of anxiety correlated
with various factors. Because the factor analysis was exploratory, factors were not identified a priori but rather through the analysis based on items with an eigen value of more than one.

The decision to perform two separate ANCOVAs followed from the determination of a significant difference between the English language anxiety in the ESL class and the English language anxiety felt in the mainstream classroom. To explore these differences, I treated them as separate instances of potential anxiety. Covariates in the ANCOVAs included the continuous variables of achievement and number of years in the U.S. I identified achievement as a factor because past research in the field of foreign language acquisition has shown a significant relationship between achievement and foreign language anxiety (Aida, 1994; Gardner, 1985; Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993; LaLonde & Gardner, 1985; MacIntyre & Gardner, 1994). I chose time in the U.S. as a factor since many participants in the field test phase expressed a belief that their anxiety would decrease as they spent more time in the U.S.

Fixed factors included participants’ self-reports of their listening/speaking skills (8 levels), their reading/writing skills (7 levels), and their gender. In the ANCOVA analyses the subcategories of self-reports were paired so that the social skills (listening and speaking) were distinguished from the more academic skills (reading and writing). This separation was determined to be useful based on prior student interviews during the field test phase in which participants reported feeling more comfortable with either academic or interpersonal skills.

Because this investigation is exploratory in nature, promax rotation was used with the factor analysis. Only factors with an eigen value of more than one were retained for analysis. Preliminary analyses showed that the major factors might be related; however, a higher order factor analysis did not show any good fit among the interrelated factors.

**Focus Groups**

The analysis of focus group data required several steps, including participant verification and the coding of data. Data were coded and grouped with the help of an analytical program (NUD*IST). In this procedure, as topics were repeated and reinforced in group transcriptions, they were organized together to make trends more evident. Responses were then color-coded under several broad categories including responses pertaining to academic and social aspects of anxiety. Responses that fell into each category were then cross-referenced with specific focus group questions relating to the interactions with teachers, Anglo students, and Chicano students in ESL and mainstream classrooms. Hence, the excerpts I report are representative of the cross-referenced categories. In many cases a student would make a remark with others either voicing assent or nodding in agreement. Excerpts reported from these trends are direct quotes but also reflect the overall spirit
of the focus groups. Hence, while the actual words of different participants varied slightly, quotes that directly and clearly described a situation or feeling were used to represent the entire participant pool. Excerpts fall into two broad coding categories: interpersonal and academic English language anxiety. These categories were then divided into subcategories including English language anxiety related to teachers, Chicano students, Anglo students, and fellow ESL students.

As a confirmation of accuracy, responses were clarified through participant verification procedures. This verification involves the confirmation that the moderator has understood the intent of the participants. Here, confirmation was accomplished, as thoroughly as possible, through the use of written responses immediately prior to the focus group session and clarification checks made throughout the focus group time. During clarification checks the moderator would restate or rephrase an idea to allow participants the opportunity to clarify or correct.

Results
The presentation of results follows the organization of the research questions, drawing from both statistical tests and qualitative data from the focus groups for evidence for the study’s major claims.

Is There a Difference between Levels of English Language Anxiety in ESL and Mainstream Classes?
The first research question asked simply whether there were differences between anxiety in the ESL and mainstream classrooms. The paired t-test showed a significant difference between ELAS score within mainstream and ESL classes (see Table 1). The results suggest that when many ELL students go to their mainstream classes, their overall English language anxiety level increases.

When asked about their anxiety in the focus groups, participants offered a variety of reasons and clarifications that almost always dealt with anxiety associated with social and interpersonal interaction, as in the following excerpts:

**RESEARCHER:** Are you more nervous in ESL or regular (mainstream) classes?
**PARTICIPANT A:** Regular . . . because I feel like when I say something the other students are going to laugh at me.

**RESEARCHER:** Are you more nervous in ESL or regular classes?

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<tr>
<td><strong>Paired t-test</strong></td>
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<td>Pair 1 ESL-MAIN</td>
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*ESL Students and English Language Anxiety* 339
Participant B: In the regular classes . . .
the ones who know English and Spanish get impatient. They don’t want to work with them (ELLs) because they don’t know how to do it.
Researcher: Why don’t you like talking with them (non-ELLs)?
Participant D: Because they know more English than me, and if I say something wrong, they laugh.

Interactions with English-speaking students tended to be strained and avoided, as evidenced by this student’s comment: “There [in the mainstream classroom], I talk a little bit, with friends of mine who don’t speak Spanish; with them I don’t like talking English.”

When asked about interactions with teachers in the mainstream classroom, many students commented that they were not so nervous speaking with teachers who used at least some Spanish in the classroom. One participant, for instance, said that “I feel okay with those teachers, the ones who speak Spanish.” This comment suggests that comfort levels for at least some students increased when teachers sanctioned students’ mother tongue in class.

What Accounts for This Difference?
The ANCOVA analyses (see Table 2) helped to provide texture to the broad finding that students were more anxious in mainstream than ESL classes. To investigate the second research question, the ANCOVAs tested the ELAS responses for relationships between anxiety in the two settings and factors previously identified by researchers as contributing to anxiety: years in school, levels of achievement, listening and speaking skills, reading and writing skills, and gender. Of these factors, three—achievement, reading and writing skills, and gender—were found to be significantly related to anxiety.

Achievement
In ESL classes a significant relationship (.002 at \( p < .05 \)) between achievement and English language anxiety appeared. Further investigation in the direction of this relationship indicated that as ESL achievement increased, English language anxiety decreased (beta weight=-.383). This finding is consistent with others who have found similar results in foreign language classes (Aida, 1994; MacIntyre & Gardner, 1993, 1994). Yet, the same relationship was not apparent when ELL students were in mainstream classes (achievement=.183). Therefore, in mainstream classes students who were high achievers in their ESL classes seemed just as likely to suffer from high levels of English language anxiety as low ESL achievers. This result suggests that it would be difficult for teachers and administrators to rely on ESL achievement as an indicator of English language anxiety in mainstream classes.

Reading and Writing Skills
ANCOVA analysis revealed a slight main effect in the mainstream classroom with reading/writing skills (.042). Pearson’s product moment correlation indicated a negative relationship (-.251) in which ELL students in mainstream classes who believed they had good or very good reading and writing skills

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### Table 2

**ANCOVA for ESL and Mainstream Classes**

*Tests of Between-Subjects Effects*

<table>
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<th>SOURCE</th>
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* R Squared = .495 (Adjusted R Squared = .263)
* R Squared = .427 (Adjusted R Squared = .163)
* The Type IV testable hypothesis is not unique.
were less anxious than ELL students who believed their academic skills were poor. This finding is consistent with results of others (Bailey, Onwuegbuzie, & Daley, 1999) who found that students with high self-perceived skills were less anxious than students who estimated their own skills as low.

**Gender**

ANCOVA results also showed a significant main effect for gender (.021) in mainstream classes. Many of the excerpts used to illustrate the findings of this study involved girls. When highly anxious students were separated out to form the groups, there were many girls identified as highly anxious when using the English language. This main effect is consistent with other studies showing that girls tend to be more anxious than boys (Bernstein, Garfinkel, & Hoberman, 1989; Gierl & Rogers, 1996; Padilla et al., 1988; Plancherel & Bolognini, 1995). However, this finding is tempered by reports that males are less likely to admit anxiety than females (Williams, 1996).

Yet heightened anxiety among girls was not evident in ESL classes, a result that the statistical tests cannot explain conclusively. Two sources of evidence—the focus group responses and the likelihood that anxiety in the mainstream classroom is related to peer interaction and performance—suggest that the higher levels of English language anxiety were related to changing social relationships in adolescence. Girls often have close interpersonal relationships with teachers (Bracken & Crain, 1994) that could mitigate high levels of English language anxiety in the ESL classroom where tension is more related to academic achievement. However, in mainstream classrooms where English language anxiety seemed to be more closely related to performance types of anxiety, girls did not seem to have adequate coping strategies to help them save face in front of their native English-speaking or Chicana peers.

Additionally, new relationships in mainstream classrooms must cross more cultural and linguistic boundaries, creating additional challenges for girls to navigate in order to form safe peer group interactions. This conclusion is consistent with Schumann’s views of social distance that mark the importance of the relationships formed between groups (1997). Social factors seem to mark many of the most anxiety-producing situations within the mainstream environment.

**Is There a Relationship between Levels of English Language Anxiety in ESL and Mainstream Classrooms and Factors That Emerge during a Factor Analysis of the ELAS?**

The factor analysis (see Table 3) was conducted on the ELAS to answer the third research question, which did not investigate a priori factors, as did the ANCOVA analyses, but rather was exploratory, seeking to identify additional or corroborating factors implicated in students’ anxiety. The factor analysis revealed the presence of an academic anxiety in ESL classrooms that was different from the interactional anxiety evident in mainstream classes. Performance anxiety included up to
24% of the total variance and academic anxiety only 5% of the total variance in the mainstream classroom. This difference may be attributable to the low level of meaningful interaction between teachers and ELLs in the mainstream classes. English interactions in the mainstream classroom primarily seemed to involve student-to-student interaction.

Several students in focus groups confirmed that ESL classrooms were sites of teacher-interaction anxiety:

**Researcher:** Are you more comfortable talking with teachers or students?

**Participant C:** Students . . . because teachers are correcting me all the time.

**Participant D:** I’m nervous because when you answer to the teachers, you had to do it very quickly. I feel nervous when I talk to the teachers and they correct me.

**Researcher:** Are you more comfortable talking with teachers or students in the ESL class?

**Participant D:** With the students because if I say something wrong, they don’t know it either.

However, academic anxiety related to student-teacher interactions also surfaced in the mainstream classroom. Several students commented that they did not like interacting with teachers as well as students and expressed frustration. One student, for instance, said that the teachers “know English well, I feel
like they’re not going to tell—well, I don’t know what they’re saying to me!” Hence, while there did seem to be some academic anxiety associated with the mainstream classes, it appeared to be overshadowed by the interactional anxiety.

The factor analysis results suggest that there were different types of English language anxiety present in the different environments. In the ESL classes most of English language anxiety seemed to stem more from academic sources, accounting for approximately 26% of the total variance.

In ESL classes the ANCOVA showed a significant negative relationship between ESL achievement and English language anxiety. This result, along with the factor analysis that shows a more achievement-related type of anxiety in ESL classes, suggests that in ESL classes students tended to be more concerned about their own achievement in English and how well they were learning the language than they were with social issues. However, the factor analysis shows that in mainstream classes students experienced socially-oriented English language anxiety.

**What Corroborating and Additional Factors Emerge through Focus Group Discussions?**

The fourth research question relied on a systematic analysis of focus group data to identify additional or corroborating factors related to students’ anxiety levels. Focus group participants reported a substantial amount of English language anxiety associated with the Chicano students. This type of anxiety did not emerge in the factor analysis, which identified teacher-student anxiety but not specifically student-student anxiety. The ELAS is an instrument modeled after the FLCAS, an instrument primarily designed to measure foreign language classroom anxiety. Hence, the implied emphasis is on classroom interaction, typically thought of as teacher-student interaction.

Student-student anxiety, however, became a significant topic in the focus groups. In focus groups student-student interaction was a direct question and participants had more opportunity to discuss the sources of their anxiety.

To some these two groups—Mexican-born ESL students and Chicanos—may seem to be similar in language and culture, but there are significant differences that often put the two groups at odds with each other. Chicanos represent a group of students who were born in the U.S. and are of Mexican descent. These students may or may not speak Spanish. In this study Chicano students looked down upon and teased students coming from Mexico. Teachers and administrators in the schools where the study was conducted commented on the strained relations between the two groups. This finding seemed to be one of the most important issues related to English language anxiety among the student participants and warrants further research.

This tension is evidenced in comments made by focus group participants. One student, for instance, said that she was more comfortable with Mexican students “because, well, they make mistakes, too, like us. They make
In groups with male participants, the boys involved reported fighting quite a bit with Chicano students because they were often referred to as “mojados” (wetbacks). These sorts of conflicts and tensions appear to have contributed to the kinds of anxiety experienced by Mexican students in mainstream classrooms.

What Coping Strategies Do Highly Anxious Participants Use to Reduce Levels of Anxiety?
The fifth research question relied on focus group data to identify coping strategies identified by the students to alleviate anxiety. According to Prins (1986) and Bailey et al. (1999), one of the most common coping strategies for adolescents is avoidance, and focus group participants reported using this strategy most often. When asked what they did to avoid being anxious in their mainstream classroom, most responded that they do not speak in class. One student commented, “I just sit there, silent.” Additionally, when I asked what their teachers could do to reduce their anxiety, they said they wanted their teachers to leave them alone and not require them to speak in front of the class or when they are really nervous. Several students came up with suggestions, such as “When they ask us something, they should give us the chance to answer in Spanish or for the people that can’t speak English, they should help them, so the others don’t tease them.”

While avoidance was the most common coping strategy, some students, especially the female students, had elaborate methods to participate indirectly. In some cases girls would form friendships with Mexican girls who spoke English well and use them as intermediaries in class. For example, if Maria (who was highly anxious) knew the answer but did not want to speak out in class, she would tell the answer to Juana (who spoke English well), and Juana would raise her hand and respond. This strategy seemed to work well for the girls as long as the teacher tolerated student-to-student interactions during class.

Another coping strategy used by students with high levels of English language anxiety was to pretend that there was no one else around and ignore the class and teacher when speaking. One participant commented, “I imagine that there’s no one there.” Other students found relief in classes where teachers would allow them to respond in Spanish to questions. Another participant in the same focus group was asked what she would do if she didn’t know a word in English. She commented, “I wouldn’t say it, or I would say it in Spanish.” Some were made more comfortable by being allowed to express themselves more in written and nonverbal formats than oral assignments.

Interestingly, students’ coping strategies were often in line with recommendations from teachers and other researchers (Young, 1992, 1993). Many of the most common anxiety reduction techniques were mentioned, including:
(a) allowing for a reasonable silent
period (a stage of language acquisition characterized by considerable language processing but little language production), (b) giving ELL students extra wait time, (c) allowing the use of the students’ native language with classmates, and (d) not demanding that students talk in front of the class.

One strategy not mentioned by the teachers but put forth by the students was the avoidance of Chicano students. As noted, students often mentioned the tense relations they had with the Chicanos. When asked with whom he would rather speak English, one student responded, “They [the Chicanos] feel like they know more than us.” Avoiding Chicano students, then, appeared to be a coping strategy for reducing anxiety in mainstream classes.

Discussion
Results from this study suggest that English language anxiety is multidimensional, affecting ELL students differently depending on the context of the situation. Because of the apparent dynamic nature of English language anxiety, it is possible that it will affect ELLs at many different levels, engendering a need for a variety of coping strategies.

As previously mentioned, ELL students often have difficulty in the transition from ESL to mainstream classrooms. While some of these difficulties can be traced to the fact that these students are often mainstreamed before they have reached the academic proficiency needed to be successful in the mainstream, there are also affective considerations that need to be dealt with.

In the case of the ESL classroom, what was not anxiety producing might become so in the mainstream classroom. In other words, where ELL students may have not been anxious in the ESL classroom because they had above average achievement, they may very well suffer from high levels of English language anxiety in the mainstream classroom because of diminished feelings of self-efficacy when confronted with higher demands in listening and speaking skills and social relationships.

Furthermore, female ELLs who have stable interpersonal relationships in their ESL classes may struggle to establish safe relationships in the mainstream classroom and withdraw from classroom interactions. This type of withdrawal can be especially harmful since many coping strategies seem to depend on some type of student-to-student interaction. If female students are not able to form stable relationships in their mainstream classes, feelings of self-efficacy could be reduced even more, creating an English language anxiety cycle in which anxiety increases as coping opportunities decrease.

In sum, changes in anxiety levels can stem from many sources including factors that affect fears of negative evaluation, test anxiety, communication apprehension, and identity creation tension, but all threaten an ELL student’s sense of self-efficacy, increasing anxiety beyond normal limits. Additionally, as Pekrun’s (1992) EVTA would suggest, when ELL students enter into new environments, they may have difficulty
judging situations appropriately as threatening or non-threatening since the mainstream classroom appears similar to the ESL classroom yet can be very different due to the presence of native speakers of English. Hence, ELL students might find it difficult to maintain high levels of self-efficacy and make positive situational appraisals because of the mitigating factors associated with social distance, fear of negative evaluation, test anxiety, communication apprehension, and threats to their senses of self. These factors tend to be very situational, based on the environment of the encounter.

Faced with this situation, some continue to suffer from or begin to experience high levels of anxiety that can result in withdrawal from the learning experience. Some of these highly anxious students begin to see any English language situation as threatening and cannot see themselves as being able to overcome the perceived threats from their fears of negative evaluation, test anxiety, communication apprehension, and identity issues. Yet others find ways to deal with these feelings of inadequacy and helplessness.

**Educational Implications**

Since the situational aspects of English language anxiety are complementary to the theories of Pekrun (1992) and Bandura (1991), perhaps the most important educational implication for mainstream teachers lies in the socioconstructivist view of learning that takes into consideration the interpersonal construction of knowledge. Language and social interactions are the major mediation tools in constructing knowledge (Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1985). More specifically put, learning can be optimized through the use of such authentic interactions as peer collaboration (Tudge, 1990). When ELL students withdraw from interactions with peers and/or teachers because of anxiety, their English development can be negatively altered.

Upon entering the mainstream classroom, ELL students often make negative situation–outcome appraisals (the expected outcome of a potentially threatening situation) when confronted with situations in which their usual ESL classroom coping strategies are no longer valid or adequate. When they cannot see any successful course of action (action–outcome expectancies), high levels of anxiety involving the use of English result. Helping ELL students to view potentially threatening situations in a different light can circumvent these negative appraisals. Also, by increasing feelings of self-efficacy, ELL students can feel more in control and better prepared to deal with negative outcomes.

**Implications for Future Research**

The differences that have been discussed thus far may be attributable to the distinction alluded to by Deffenbacher (1980). The academic English language anxiety felt by students in ESL classes may be more associated with worry aspects of anxiety, and the English language performance anxiety felt in mainstream classes may be more similar to the affective anxiety associated with the more emotional aspects.
of anxiety. Additionally, the differences may be characteristic of a variety of second language situational anxieties that are currently being explored by other researchers (Bailey et al., 1999; Cheng, 1999; Saito, Horwitz, & Garza, 1999).

Currently, in the field of foreign language research, such researchers are investigating anxieties related to specific skills such as reading and writing. In light of the findings in this study, such research should be done with ELLs. Additionally, this study is a representation of a point in time. Future studies of English language anxiety should be more longitudinal in nature in order to further explore changes in anxiety levels as students move from sheltered classes to more mainstream environments.

Finally, findings in this study imply a deeper relationship among English language anxiety, identity development, and interethnic interactions. Future studies should focus on the interface among these factors. As more and more ELLs are mainstreamed at earlier points in their English language acquisition, researchers should also focus on the social factors involved in this process of academic, cultural, and linguistic acculturation. It will not be sufficient to single out one factor, such as language proficiency, to determine a student’s probability of success in the mainstream classroom.

Conclusions
I have argued that the affective environment of a classroom can affect learning to such a degree that teachers must take an active role in reducing the English language anxiety that ELL students often experience in mainstream classrooms. The research questions first posed have been answered, but the answers are not simple.

Although my data establish that there were differences between levels of English language anxiety in ESL and mainstream classes, this finding seems to muddy the anxiety waters instead of clearing them. There appear to be different types of English language anxiety at work, and the type of anxiety seems to be dependent upon the context of the interaction and how fears of negative evaluation, test anxiety, communication apprehensions, and identity issues affect the self-efficacy and appraisals of the ELL students involved.

My data also point to other factors that can affect the interactions within the different environments. In mainstream classes girls tended to be more anxious than boys were. Students were more stressed about the social aspects of interactions with peers in the mainstream classroom and more anxious about their academic performance in ESL classes.

Finally, my focus group data pointed to a number of strategies students used to reduce anxiety. Although avoidance was the most common strategy, students used other, more elaborate strategies as well, including enlisting friends to act as intermediaries, responding in Spanish, and using writing to express themselves. An unexpected coping strategy was avoiding Chicano students who were perceived as being highly critical of my participants’ oral English.
Many teacher-training programs continue to treat ESL issues as marginal and graduates from these programs feel less than competent when faced with an ELL student in their classes (Henley & Young, 1989). Furthermore, many teachers do not understand the situational anxiety that is the result of reduced feelings of self-efficacy and negative appraisals since they have rarely been in a similar situation (Diffey, 1990). While it is never easy to put oneself in another person's position, teachers of ELL students must strive to understand not only the linguistic challenges that these students face but also the affective factors that can affect learning. ELL students are not just learning another language, but another life.

This research provides teachers and administrators with a starting point. If educators can begin discussions with students who are potentially suffering from high levels of anxiety, they can work to reduce those tensions before they become habitualized and result in academic and emotional strain for ELL students. In ESL classes, where English language anxiety seems to be more associated with academic tasks, this anxiety can be treated by the teacher by using less-anxiety causing activities and by acknowledging English language anxiety. However, in the mainstream classroom, where English language anxiety is more closely related to interpersonal anxieties, the teacher’s role is often de-emphasized in favor of the importance of peer relationships. In these situations the teacher can take on the role of mediator between the ELL students and their native English-speaking peers, helping each to understand the other.

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References


**APPENDIX A: ENGLISH LANGUAGE ANXIETY SCALE**

1. In ESL classes, I forget how to say things I know.  
   *En clases de ESL, Me siento tan nervioso (a) que se me olvida cómo decir cosas que ya sé.*

2. In regular classes, I forget how to say things I know.  
   *En clases regulares, Me siento tan nervioso (a) que se me olvida cómo decir cosas que ya sé.*

3. In ESL classes, I tremble when I know I’m going to have to speak in English.  
   *En clases de ESL, tiemblo cuando sé que voy a tener que hablar en inglés.*

4. In regular classes, I tremble when I know I’m going to have to speak in English.  
   *En clases regulares, tiemblo cuando sé que voy a tener que hablar en inglés.*

5. In ESL classes, I start to panic when I have to speak English without preparation.  
   *En clases de ESL, empiezo a sentir pánico cuando tengo que hablar inglés sin preparación.*

6. In regular classes, I start to panic when I have to speak English without preparation.  
   *En clases regulares, empiezo a sentir pánico cuando tengo que hablar inglés sin preparación.*

7. In ESL classes, when I speak English, I feel like a different person.  
   *En clases de ESL, cuando hablo inglés, me siento como una persona diferente.*

8. In regular classes, when I speak English, I feel like a different person.  
   *En clases regulares, cuando hablo inglés, me siento como una persona diferente.*

9. In ESL classes, even when I’m prepared to speak English, I get nervous.  
   *En clases de ESL, aún cuando estoy preparado(a) para hablar en inglés, me pongo nervioso(a).*

10. In regular classes, even when I’m prepared to speak English, I get nervous.  
    *En clases regulares, aún cuando estoy preparado(a) para hablar en inglés, me pongo nervioso(a).*

11. In ESL classes, I’m afraid that my teachers are ready to correct every mistake I make.  
    *En clases de ESL, me da miedo pensar que mis maestros están listos para corregir cada error que cometa en inglés.*

12. In regular classes, I’m afraid that my teachers are ready to correct every mistake I make.  
    *En clases regulares, me da miedo pensar que mis maestros están listos para corregir cada error que cometa en inglés.*

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13. In ESL classes, sometimes I can’t express my true feelings in English and this makes me uncomfortable.  
_En clases de ESL, hay veces que no puedo expresar mis verdaderos sentimientos in inglés y esto me incomoda._

14. In regular classes, I can’t express my true feelings in English and this makes me uncomfortable.  
_En clases regulares, hay veces que no puedo expresar mis verdaderos sentimientos in inglés y esto me incomoda._

15. In regular classes, I feel very self-conscious about speaking English in front of native speaking students.  
_En clases regulares, pienso demasiado cuando hablo inglés ante los estudiantes cuyo primer idioma es el inglés._

16. In ESL classes, I get nervous and confused when I’m speaking English.  
_En clases de ESL, me siento nervioso(a) y lleno(a) de confusión cuando estoy hablando inglés._

17. In regular classes, I get nervous and confused when I’m speaking English.  
_En clases regulares, me siento nervioso(a) y lleno(a) de confusión cuando estoy hablando inglés._

18. In regular classes, there are so many rules in English, I feel like I can’t learn them all.  
_En clases regulares, hay tantas reglas en inglés que siento que nunca las voy a aprender todas._

19. In ESL classes, there are so many rules in English, I feel like I can’t learn them all.  
_En clases de ESL, hay tantas reglas en inglés que siento que nunca las voy a aprender todas._

20. In ESL classes, I’m afraid that native English speakers will laugh at me when I speak English.  
_En clases de ESL, tengo miedo que las personas cuyo primer idioma es el inglés se burlarán de mí cuando hable inglés._

**APPENDIX B: FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS**

1. In what situations do you feel uncomfortable speaking English?

2. Are you more comfortable speaking English in ESL classes or regular classes?

3. Are you more comfortable speaking English with teachers or other students?

4. Are you more comfortable speaking English with Hispanic students or Anglo students?

5. How does someone get over being nervous when he or she speaks English?

6. When does someone become an American?

7. When you speak English, do you feel Mexican or like a different person?

8. Is there any advice you would give to teachers so that students aren’t nervous?
APPENDIX C: ELAS INFORMATION SHEET

Nombre: _______________________________________
Número de identificación: _________________________
Edad: _______ Sexo: _______ Grado: ______________
¿Cuántos años tiene Ud. en Los Estados Unidos? ______________
¿Cuántos años tenía Ud. cuando vinó a Los Estados Unidos? ______________
A veces, habla Ud. inglés en su casa? ____________
¿Con quién? ____________________________________________
¿Antes de vivir en Los Estados Unidos, estudió inglés en México? ________________

En las siguientes preguntas, haga Ud. un círculo sobre su respuesta.

¿Qué nivel escolar terminaron sus padres?
Madre: escuela primaria escuela secundaria universidad
Padre: escuela primaria escuela secundaria universidad

Por lo general, ¿cómo se siente cuando habla inglés?
…en las clases de ESL?
Confortable poco nervioso(a) muy nervioso(a)

…en las clases regulares?
Confortable poco nervioso(a) muy nervioso(a)

How well do you speak English?
Very well good okay not good

How well do you read English?
Very well good okay not good

How well do you understand other people speaking to you in English?
Very well good okay not good

How well do you write English?
Very well good okay not good

Si estaría Ud. disponible para participar en grupo de discusión, déme su número de teléfono aquí: ________________