Language Acculturation Anxiety in Spanish speaking adults learning English

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LA ANSIEDAD EN LA ACULTURACIÓN LINGUÍSTICA EN LOS ADULTOS HISPANOHABLANTES QUE APRENDEN INGLÉS)

Este estudio analiza como inmigrantes adultos e hispanohablantes que viven en los EEUU experimen-tan.las relación entre la ansiedad en el aprendizaje de idiomas, la aculturación, y el estrés cultural. Se diseñaron tres encuestas multimedia que se pasaron por medio de Internet. Para medir la ansiedad, se adaptó el Índice de Ansiedad del Idioma Inglés (Pappamihiel, 1999) asaptado del Índice de Ansiedad en la Aula de Idiomas Extranjeras (Horwitz, 1986). Así mismo, se eligió el Inventario de Aculturación para Multigrupos de Stephenson (1999) para medir el nivel de aculturación y el Inventario Multidimensional de Estrés Aculturar (Rodríguez, Myers, Bingham Mira, Flores & Garcia-Hernandez, 202) para medir el estrés aculturar. Además, se realizaron seis entrevistas media-fijas.

De las 95 encuestas iniciales que se realizaron, se eligieron 55 casos para analizar. Los resultados no mostraron correlaciones entre los tres conceptos principales, pero las correlaciones existentes entre las preguntas individuales junto con los resultados de las entrevistas, indicaron que se el concepto de la ansiedad del aula de idiomas extranjero debe cambiar, en el caso de adultos aprendiendo inglés en un país anglohablante, y extenderlo más allá de la clase. Los resultados indican que la adquisición de una L2, combinada con los procesos de aculturación, pueden producir altos niveles de ansiedad, que se llama en términos lingüísticos ansiedad por aculturación, no solamente en el grado sino también, en la proporción de estudiantes que tengan que manejar esta ansiedad cuando hablen en inglés

The principle question of this study pertained to the nature of the relationships between foreign language anxiety, acculturation, and acculturative stress as it is experienced by adult Spanish speaking immigrants living in the United States.

Three inventories were adapted for delivery via a multimedia website. The English Language Anxiety Scale (N. E. Pappamihiel, 1999) adapted from the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (Horwitz, 1986) was adapted for measuring anxiety. The Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Inventory (1999) was selected for measuring the degree of acculturation, and the Multidimensional Acculturative Stress Inventory (Rodriguez, Myers, Bingham Mira, Flores, & Garcia-Hernandez, 2002) was selected for meas-uring acculturative stress. Six semi-structured interviews were also conducted.

From the 95 original surveys begun on the website, 55 cases were selected for analysis. Results showed no correlations between the major constructs, but correlations among various individual items in the scales, as well as analysis of 6 semi-structured interviews, indicate that, in the case of adult immigrants learning English in an English-speaking country, the concept of foreign language classroom anxiety should be moved beyond the perimeter of the classroom. Results indicate that language acquisition in the adopted country when combined with the regular processes of acculturation may produce higher levels of language anxiety, termed language acculturation anxiety, not only in degree of anxiety but also in the proportion of students dealing with anxiety when speaking English.

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1   Introduction

One of the difficulties in immigrating to a new country is the reinventing of self that must accompany it. This renegotiation of how one views oneself and one's

place in the world can be complicated by the inability to communicate in the language of the new environment.   Many times, the newcomer will either willingly or unwillingly be relegated to the margins of society. Adult immigrants coming to the United States from Spanish-speaking countries, without the symbolic capitol of English may find it difficult to overcome cultural and linguistic "laws," as Borudieu calls them, that result in the Spanish speaker being "…condemn[ed]…to a more or less desperate attempt to be correct, or so *silence*" (Bourdieu, 1983, p.97).

Adult immigrants, unlike children whose identities are less fixed, have the stress of being the "other" as well as an awareness that they are not able to present themselves as the competent communicators they are in their mother tongue (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986). When language learners are anxious, they often decide not to attempt to communicate, even if a strong desire to communicate is present (MacIntyre, Dornyei, Clement & Noels, 1998). Language anxiety, a recognized specialized anxiety, is known to affect about a third of all language learners (Horwitz, 2000). However, most studies of foreign language classroom anxiety have focused on university students in the students' home country. These students may be studying the foreign language to fulfill curricular requirements, for business purposes, or for personal enjoyment. On the other hand, adult immigrants learning the second language in the new host country are learning the language both to survive and to develop social networks in their new homes.

In the process of acclimating to the new environment, immigrants must evaluate their value systems, their personal beliefs, the views of the world imparted to them by their home culture. They can choose to assimilate, integrate, separate or be marginalized. Assimilation indicates that they determine that they value relationships and values of the new culture to be more important to their survival than their old ones. Integration means they hold the values and social networks of both cultures equally, keeping the "best of both worlds." Separation behavior is manifest by adhering closely to the home culture and society to the exclusion of that of the host culture. Marginalized individuals have rejected both cultures and social networks (Dona & Berry, 1994).

In dealing with acculturation, there is obviously a great deal of stress to which the individual is subject.   Stress is a response to the demands of an external or internal change (Monat & Lazarus, 1991). Acculturative stress has previously gone by many names, including "culture shock" (Guthrie, 1975). Acculturative stress can be caused by many factors, including loss of social support, threats to self-concept, and loss of feedback regarding social status. In addition, Spanish-speakers from Mexico, Central and South America may find racial biases in the United States, and language biases against Spanish in the Southwestern United States, a discombobulating experience.

This principal research guiding this study, therefore, looks at the experiences of Spanish speaking adult immigrants to the United States studying English as a sec-

ond language, asking how the experiences of language anxiety, acculturation, and acculturative stress relate to one another.

2   Methods

2.1   Participants

Participants were initially selected through snowball chain sampling (Berg, 2001). Members of English Now were first asked to take the survey. English Now is a nonprofit organization that the researcher founded in 2001 to meet what was perceived as a critical lack of service to adult immigrants in Austin. The concept behind English Now is that adults, as problem solvers, are able to direct their own learning provided they have adequate space, time, guidance and assistance. English Now, therefore, was set up as a community center that is open from morning until night (typically 10 to 9) and on Saturdays so that adults could come and study according to their schedules. The program is considerably different from a scholastic environment in many ways. One, the members are given a learning plan with specific steps that they must complete before taking an exam, but the order of those steps, the time it takes to complete them, when they choose to work on them, and even where they choose to work on them (at home or in the center) is entirely up to them. They also have a great deal of control over the amount of direct instruction they receive. This program, therefore, works well for adults with limited time but high motivation.

The members of English Now who agreed to participate in this study were then asked to email those of their acquaintances who fit the population parameters (adult immigrants learning English as a Second Language in the United States whose native language was Spanish). In order to encourage more individuals to complete the surveys, purposeful sampling was also conducted by emailing invitations to various adult literacy organizations in Austin that those students might participate as well. Five hundred business cards were also purposefully distributed to Spanish speakers at various places (taco restaurants, churches, literacy classes) with an invitation to participate in this survey.

Several measures had to be taken with regard to the quantitative data before the data could be analyzed. In the original data set there were 95 cases. The relatively few number of cases yielded after a year of collection may be the result of under-estimating the effect of the digital divide (Selwyn, Gorard, and Williams, 2001). Although Hispanic Americans are twice as likely to own computers now as 10 years ago, they are still 40% less likely to have Internet access than their White American counterparts (Steele-Carlin, 2000). Immigrant adults are even less likely to own computer or have Internet access. In fact, it appears that in the period from 1997 to 2003, the digital divide widened with regard to adult immigrants, whether or not the computer were located at home or in a public forum. Computer use at

work was the only area that did not significantly change. Furthermore, Spanish-speaking immigrant households are only about as half as likely (0.42) to own a computer compared to other immigrant groups. The ready availability of Internet access in places like Internet Cafes or the public library have not been successful at reaching the Spanish-speaking immigrant population, although as English level improved, the likelihood of computer ownership and Internet use did increase (Ono and Zavodny, 2007). Asking the members of English Now to extend the invitation to participate to their friends, family, and acquaintances via the Internet proved to be an ineffective method of increasing the sample size, as did passing out business card invitations or emailing other literacy organizations. Because of the method of delivery of these surveys, the sample size was much smaller than originally expected.

In looking over the original data, it was clear that data in many of the cases were incomplete. Fifteen of the cases, for example, only had identification numbers. These cases were treated as refusals to participate, since they did not pass the informed consent page, and were deleted. Of the 80 remaining cases, twenty-five cases completed only one of the three surveys. Since the focus of this study is the relationships between the three constructs, these data were also excluded from analysis. The final number of cases used in the analysis, therefore, was fifty-five.

2.1.1 Demographics

The first question to be addressed by the data was: Who were the participants? Simple frequencies, means (with standard deviations) and ranges were calculated to address this question. Since this is not a randomized sample, statistics about the general foreign born population as it relates to various demographic statistics are also provided where possible, that the reader might make a determination as to how generalizable this study is in that area.

2.1.2 Gender, Age, and Residency

The sample consisted of 23 (43%) men, 29 (55%) women and 3 participants who declined to indicate their gender. This is a slightly out of line with the national estimates of Texas averages for foreign born individuals (not specifying country of origin), which are 52% male and 48% female (MPI, 2008). Estimates for Mexican immigrants nationwide are similar (54% male, 46% female) (Gutiérrez, Wallace, and Castañeda, 2004).

With regard to age, four participants did not change the default value (year of birth 1935) on the screen. These were treated as "decline to respond" as well as the five participants who chose "decline to respond" as an option. The mean for the age was 33 (n=46). (The median age for all foreign-born immigrants in Texas in 2006 was 37.2 years (MPI, 2008).) The standard deviation for age, though, was relatively high, 11.57. This indicates that the majority of the respondents were between 22 and 44 years of age. The actual range in this study was from 20 to 61 years. (Ages were calculated by subtracting year of birth from 2007). This is com-

parable to the estimate that 63% of the foreign born population in Texas is between 25 and 64 (MPI, 2008).

Age of entry (by subtracting year of birth from year of entry) averaged 28 years, with a standard deviation of 9.2. This is comparable to the national average of 21 years (Gutiérrez, Wallace, and Castañeda, 2004). The range was from 16 to 44 years. The length of time spent living in the United States was calculated by subtracting the year of entry from 2007. The average length of residence was 5.8 years, with a standard deviation of 5.37. The range was from 4 months to 25.5 years.

2.1.3   Country of Origin

Most of the participants (74.5%) were from Mexico. Of those who came from Mexico, the majority (41%) came from Central Mexico (Guanajuato or Mexico State/Federal District). Another 17.72% hailed from South America (Bolivia, Venezuela, Peru, and Ecuador). Central Americans from El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras comprised another 7.2%.

2.1.4   Education

The education levels of the participants were pretty evenly distributed. Of the 53 participants who responded to the questions asking for their personal highest level of education, 17 (32%) did not complete high school. It is important to consider at this point that in Mexico "graduating" means graduation from "la secundaria," which is the equivalent of U.S. Middle School (9 years). Nine of the 17 (53%, 17% of the total) had graduated from the 9th grade which means 8 (15%) did not complete a primary education. Thirty-six of the participants (68%) had finished High School (12 years), and seventeen (32%) of those had gone all to attend university. Eleven (21%) of those who attended college had graduated, and one (2%) had a post-grad (doctoral) degree.

In 2000, the national average for the highest level of education of Spanish-speaking adult immigrants was similar to this study's sample: 18% less than a primary education, 33% with a primary education, 50% having graduated from high school and 18% being college graduates (Lowell and Suro, 2002).

The education levels of the parents reflect the changes occurring in Central and South America where younger generations are more likely to stay in school for longer periods of time (Lowell and Suro, 2002). Seventy-four percent of fathers had less than a high school education with 63% having less than a primary education. Only 15% reported that their fathers had attended university and 11% graduated. The statistics were similar for the mothers: 76% had less than a high school education, 65% less than a primary education. Mother's were more likely to complete high school (10% for women 5% for men) but less likely to attend and graduate college (6% and 4% respectively).

2.1.5 English Studies

Of the 53 participants who responded to the question about English study in the home country, 58% (32) indicated that they had not studied English prior to coming to the United States. Of the 21 individuals (38%) that indicated that they had studied English prior to coming to the US, the average length of study was 7 months, with a standard deviation of 17.69 months and a range of 1 to 60 months. The majority of those who had studied English as a Foreign Language (EFL) had a year or less of study.

Roughly two-thirds of the participants had studied or were currently studying English at the time they participated in the study (36 out of 55 or 65.5%). Two people preferred not to respond to the question, but the remaining 17 had not studied English in the United States prior to the study.

The mean combined total of all English studies was around 14 months and the median only 6 months.

2.1.6 Self Analysis of English Abilities

Four of the questions in the demographic section dealt with the individual's self-analysis of their English ability. Because anxiety arousal is mediated by perceived self-efficacy (Bandura and Adams, 1977), it is important to understand how these particular participants perceive their English abilities. Their feelings about their abilities, however, may or may not be a reflection of their actually abilities. In 1996, Huang and Chang showed that students' perceptions of their ability could be higher or lower than their actual ability in a study of adult students in an Intensive English Program.

Regardless of the technical accuracy of these data, the beliefs about their own abilities influence decisions they make about entering into certain situations, because people have a tendency to avoid situations that they feel they are unable to handle (Bandura, 1977). This implies that a second language learner's perception of his or her ability may be as important, or even more important, in determining that learner's potential use of the language than his or her actual skill proficiency. These responses provide insight into how the individual participant *feels* about his or her English ability in different areas, which may indicate how likely he or she would be to *use* English in different contexts.

The responses to the questions regarding self-analysis of ability in this study were scored by percent, meaning that the individual could select any number from 0 to 100 to represent their ability in a given area. All participants responded to these questions. There were no missing responses in the cases selected for analysis (n=55).

The productive skills, speaking and writing, received lower scores than the receptive skills, writing and reading. That is, the participants were less certain of their ability to speak and write English than to understand and read English. They were

most certain about their reading skills, with a mean of 35.64 (sd=31.85) and a median of 29. Listening comprehension was close behind with a mean of 30.16 (sd=29.29) and a median of 25. Writing was the highest of the productive skills with a mean of 27.35 (sd=26.71) and a median of 21. Finally, the participants were the least sure about their speaking ability, with a mean of 23.22 (sd=24.8). The median for speaking was 15. In paired t-tests, the difference between the productive and receptive skills was significant. For reading and writing, the t-value was -4.151 (p<.001) and for speaking and listening it was -3.638 (p<.001).

Because of the large standard deviation and the difference between the means and medians in each category (indicating skewness), the categories of Beginner (0 to 33), Intermediate (34 to 66), and Advanced (67 to 100) were created to better understand the responses.

2.1.7 Summary of Demographic Information

To review, the participants of this study are similar in age and country of origin as the national statistics. More women than men completed the surveys. They are predominantly Mexican with a Middle or High School education. The majority have family backgrounds that indicate a low socio-economic status. In general, these participants have studied English for less than a year and perceive themselves as beginners in all four skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing. Their lengths of residence in the United States vary a great deal, but the vast majority have lived in the United States for more than one year.

2.2 Procedures

In order to investigate the nature of the relationships among language anxiety, acculturation and acculturative stress, three instruments were employed. Six semi-structured interviews were also conducted to better interpret the findings of the quantitative data.

The English Language Anxiety Scale (ELAS) was a modification of the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS) developed by Horwitz (1986). Pappamihiel (1999) adapted the FLCAS to be used with middle school students who were taking both English as a Second Language (ESL) and regular content classes in English. The scale included 23 items to which participants responded once thinking about their ESL classes and once thinking of their regular classes. One item addressed whether the participant felt more nervous in the ESL class or outside the ESL class. Given that the target population of the current study is adult immigrants, these items had to be adapted to reflect their life situation. The distinction of in ESL or Regular Classes was changed to "In ESL class" and "Real Life". In the ESL class context, an additional question to determine if adults were more anxious in small groups or large class settings. In the "Real Life" section, questions that referred to teachers were changed to "compañeros," which could be co-workers, friends, acquaintances or classmates. Two additional questions were added. One question

asked if the participant felt more nervous talking to "White Americans" than with "Chicanos." The other asked if the participant became angry when people that know how to speak Spanish refuse to do so. These questions were based on conversations with adult immigrant students in Texas who frequently referred to these issues as problematic and stressful. Because the scale was administered by Pappamihiel in Spanish, no translation was necessary, but the items were freshly randomized using a randomization table.

The Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale (SMAS) (Stephenson, 2000) was selected to measure the degree of acculturation. Because the SMAS was designed to be delivered to multiple generations, four of the items were not applicable to the target population and were consequently removed from the scale. Reference to "native language" were uniformly changed to "Spanish" and "native country" was changed to "my country." The scale was then translated into Spanish and back translated into English for verification. Adjustments to the instrument were made accordingly and the items randomized.

The Multidimensional Acculturative Stress Inventory (MASI) (Rodriguez et al., 2002) also dealt with both first and subsequent generations of Americans. Nonetheless, all items were initially left in under the premise that acculturative stress may be caused by feelings of moving away from (abandoning) the native culture, of moving toward the target culture, or, both, simultaneously away from the target culture and toward the native culture. This inventory was published in Spanish, so no translation was necessary, but it was randomized using a randomization table.

All instruments were tested by way of administration to a small group of participants. During the pilot study it became evident that for many participants an oral delivery system would better ensure that the questions be properly understood. After much consideration, the decision was made to develop a multimedia website for the delivery of these instruments. The website was found at www.glendarose.com. The original order of delivery was: introduction and informed consent, personal data, ELAS in class, SMAS, ELAS in real life, MASI, and finally a form to volunteer to participate in the interviews. After a few weeks of data collection, it became clear that the two ELAS surveys were causing people to think that they had entered a computer "loop" and were back at the beginning. As a result, many people failed to complete the rest of the survey. It was decided that the real issue under question was the managing of English outside the classroom so the entire ELAS in class section was removed. Additionally, the time it took to take the survey via the website hindered the completion rate. Originally, the surveys took 45 minutes to an hour to complete. Removing ELAS in class clearly helped, but additionally, questions in the MASI that were directed more toward second or subsequent generations were removed. Also, some participants mentioned that not knowing where they were in the process was discouraging. As a result, each slide had the number of the question, and the number of questions in that section. The website was in operation for one year.

After the initial data collection, six semistandardized interviews (Berg, 2001) were conducted. Participants were selected from those that provided their contact information on the survey form. They were purposefully selected to vary in all aspects of their experience. Three were male and three were female. They had varying lengths of residence in the United States and ranged from beginning English to advanced English levels. Respondents were allowed to choose Spanish, English or both for the interview. Sometimes questions asked in English were repeated in Spanish to ensure they were understood. Likewise, participants were sometimes encouraged to repeat an answer in Spanish to check meaning. The interviews were fairly short, ranging from 15 to 30 minutes depending on the participant's willingness to expound on his or her comments.

These data were transcribed in the language of the interview. The transcriptions were then verified by a third party to ensure the accuracy of the transcription. Translations were not conducted unless the comment is being used in this report. The data were imported into XSight, a program for assisting in the analysis of qualitative data. They were then analyzed thematically with regards to language and immigration issues.

2.3 Data Analysis

With regard to the English Language Anxiety Scale, inter-item correlations were still sufficiently high to produce a high coefficient of reliability, (Cronbach's alpha = .923), which indicates that the modifications did not adversely affect the reliability of the scale. In fact, the consistency among items was a little higher than the .889 reported by Pappamihiel in the study from which this version of the scale was adapted.

In this version of the scale, the maximum total score was 125. The mean response was 89 (sd-19.4). In dividing the possible maximum score in thirds a score of 0 to 41 indicated low anxiety; 42 to 81 moderate; 82 and higher as high anxiety. By this estimation, the average participant was highly anxious. In fact, 62% of the participants tested as highly anxious and 36% in the moderately anxious category. Only 2% (1 individual) registered low anxiety. These numbers were much higher than anticipated. The usual rate of anxious individuals is around 33% (Horwitz, 2000).

The reliability of the Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale was also relatively high, .903 (Cronbach's alpha), slightly higher than the published reliability (.86), indicating that the modifications made, including translation, did not adversely affect the reliability of the scale.

The maximum response for this version was 140. The mean was 60.81 (sd 17). Breaking the maximum response into thirds, most participants were in the process of adapting to life in the United States (78%). Only 18% were still completely oriented toward their home culture, and even fewer (4%) were more or less assimi-

lated into living in the United States.

The reliability of the Multidimensional Acculturative stress inventory was a bit lower at .720. However, this is still an acceptable level (using the social science standard of .700 as a cutoff (Nunally, 1978)). Furthermore, it is close to Rodriguez et al.'s own Spanish estimates of .74 to .91. Rodriguez et al. calculated the reliability of each section of the scale: Spanish competency pressures (.75), English competency pressures (.89), pressure to acculturate (.83) and pressure against acculturation (.74). The overall reliability for the scale was .91. It is important to consider that Cronbach's alpha is expected to show how well the items measure a single construct. Since this statistic is higher on the overall scale than in the subsections, this may indicate that the scale as a whole measures the construct of acculturative stress better than its subsets.

Forty-eight (87%) of participants indicated some English competency pressure. Forty-nine (89%) experienced pressure toward acculturating. About half of the participants experienced pressure against acculturating.

2.3.1 Relationships among Items

2.3.1.1 Correlations by Demographic Variables

Age

Some relationships were identified by demographic variables. Age was moderately and significantly ($p<.05$) negatively correlated with self-assessments in speaking ($r_s=-0.409$), understanding ($r_s=-0.290$), reading ($r_s=-0.358$), and writing ($r_s=-0.407$). This indicates that younger learners are more confident in their abilities, particularly in speaking and writing, than are their older counterparts. It is interesting to note that the correlation is stronger for productive skills than receptive ones. This phenomenon also shows up in the ELAS item "Even when I'm prepared to speak English, I get nervous." There was a moderate relationship between this item and age ($r_s=0.304$, *p<.05)*. This means that older students were more likely to feel nervous than were younger students. Nevertheless it was the older students who were more likely to read an American newspaper ($r_s=-0.323$, *p*<.05) and know important figures from United States history ($r_s=-0.572$, *p*<.05), but they were also more likely to have difficulty relating to Americans ($r_s=.409$, *p*<.05). Younger participants, on the other hand, were more likely to feel uncomfortable that their families did not know American ways of doing things ($r_s=-0.387$, *p*<.05) and be bothered when their Latino values were not respected ($r_s=-0.338$, *p*<.05)

Gender

Using the Mann-Whitney U test, there were no significant difference between the men and the women with regard to age, age of entry into the United States, length of residence in the United States, self-assessments, or in their overall scores

in language anxiety, acculturation or acculturative stress, but, in general the men were more educated than the women (Z=-2.239, p<.05).

Men were much more likely to be bothered by correction they did not understand than were women (m=32.48 vs. 21.76, Z=-2.632, p=.008). This might be explained by examining one of the cultural norms of the Latino world, and Mexico in particular, *machismo*. This concept, while generally interpreted as the equivalent of what Americans call male chauvinism or sexism, is actually two constructs. One is traditional *Machismo,* which is often associated with negative stereotypes of male-domination (and associated displays such as drinking, cursing, and fighting) has been found not to have a strong correlation with the ethnic identity of Latinos. Alternatively, *caballerismo (*which includes the positive stereotypes of family protector, wise father, and provider) has been shown to be more associated with modern Latino identity. (*Caballerismo* is similar to a "gentleman's code of conduct." The word comes from *caballo,* horse, which indicates the mode of transportation "gentleman" (*caballeros*) in previous centuries used.) In fact, Latino men will distance themselves from the Traditional Machismo stereotype (Arciniega et al., 2008). Protecting this sense of identity may cause a Latino man to avoid situations in which he would be perceived as weak or in need, as these would undermine his sense of "manliness" (Heppner, 1981). Being corrected publicly would highlight an area of vulnerability and thus be uncomfortable at best.

Women felt slightly less pressure about learning English than did the men (m=25.00 vs.28.39, Z=-1.983, p=.047). This may have to do with workplace English. As already mentioned, the male role in the Latino family includes that of provider. In order to provide in the United States, English is not required. In fact, English level was found to be a negative factor in the wage earnings of immigrants with low-education and little or no experience. However, with increased human capital (such as education, experience, or even marriage), English made a significant difference in the amount earned by the worker, up to a 72.6% difference between college graduates who spoke English well and those who did not! "Moreover, it seems that English language proficiency is negatively correlated with earnings not because employers prefer stricter English ability, but because English language deficiency prevents immigrants from making use of their acquired human capital in the US labor market" (Sandford, 2002).

Length of Time in the United States

Length of Time in the United States (LOT) did not correlate with any of the self-assessments or with any of the scales as a whole, but it did significantly (p<.05) correlate several with acculturation items: regularly reading an American paper (.439), having American friends (.392), knowing how to cook American food (.352), feeling comfortable in the United States (.353), and knowing important U.S. historical figures (.323). There was a moderate inverse correlation between LOT and being bothered by one's accent in English (-.447), meaning that the less time

the individual had spent in the U.S., the more likely they were to be bothered by their accent. ESL students are therefore aware of their pronunciation difficulties very early, but to be less concerned about their accent the longer they are in the U.S.

In one study by Derwin (2003) ninety-seven of the one hundred intermediate-level ESL students interviewed felt strongly that good pronunciation was very important. Forty-eight felt strongly or very strongly that they would be more respected by native speakers (Canadians) if they pronounced English well. Nonetheless, in this study, time seemed to desensitize speakers to their accents. The difference may be that the majority of participants in this study were overwhelmingly currently employed as unskilled laborers (52.7%). No one reported working in a professional field. English ability has no economic effect in these kinds of jobs, therefore, there is no financial sanction for poor pronunciation.

Level of Education

Level of Education (LOE) had a significant ($p<.05$) relationship with all four self-assessments. The association with writing was the highest ($r_s=.509$), followed by speaking ($r_s=.480$). The receptive skills were also significantly related to LOE, but slightly less so. More educated participants had more confidence in their reading ($r_s=.408$) and listening Comprehension ($r_s=.365$). .

Similarly, Level of Education had a small but significant relationship with language anxiety as a whole ($r_s=-.292$, $p<.05$). Less educated participants were more likely to be anxious than those who had more education. Moreover, physical response items had the highest correlation in this regard. "I feel that my heart is pounding when I have to answer in English" had the strongest correlation ($r_s= -.337$, $p<.05$) followed by "I tremble when I know I'm going to have to speak English" ($r_s= -.327$, $p<.05$). Besides the correlation with physical expressions of anxiety, LOE also had some relationship with being bothered by friends' correction ($r_s= -.301$, $p<.05$), fear of being laughed at by native speakers ($r_s= -.320$, $p<.05$), feeling panic when having to speak English without preparation ($r_s= -.272$, $p<.05$), and feeling like there are more rules than they learn ($r_s= -.274$, $p<.05$). However, Level of Education had an inverse relationship with being irritated by Spanish speakers who do not speak Spanish to them ($r_s= -.312$, $p<.05$).

Length of Education did not correlate significantly with the acculturation scale overall, although it did have some moderate correlations with English use: thinks in English ($r_s=.347$, $p<.05$) and speaks in English with their partner ($r_s= .308$, $p<.05$). It also had a moderate relationship with acquiring an American palate ($r_s= .346$ $p<.05$). Conversely, length of education was negatively correlated with maintaining relationships with family in the home country ($r_s= -.293$, $p<.05$).

LOE also did not correlate with acculturative stress overall, but it did correlate slightly with being bothered when assumed to be a Spanish speaker ($r_s= .291$

$p<.05$) and negatively with having been discriminated against because of their English (r_s= -.282 $p<.05$).

English Studied

The amount of English (EFL or ESL) studied had no significant relationship with the acculturation or any of the individual items in the scale. It also did not have a relationship with the acculturative stress scale, although the longer ESL was studied the more likely individuals were to become uncomfortable that their families did not know American ways of doing things (r_s=-.401, $p<.05$). However, that relationship disappears when controlling for length of time in the United States.

Language anxiety as a whole was significantly related in an inverse direction to the length of ESL study (r_s=-.423, $p<.05$), meaning the longer one studied, the less anxious over time. On the other hand, it had no relationship with EFL study.

Several individual anxiety items had moderate to fairly strong correlations with length of ESL and/or EFL study. For example, length of study of English in the target country was related to many items that dealt directly with conversations with native speakers. ESL study, and not EFL study, was related to less fear of being made fun of by native speakers (r_s=-.462, $p<.05$), to feel like a different person when speaking English (r_s=-.483, $p<.05$), to be afraid of falling behind in a conversation in English (r_s=-.447, $p<.05$), to over-think prior to speaking (r_s=-.404, $p<.05$), feel panic when they have to speak without preparation (r_s=-.436, $p<.05$), or to feel like people do not really know them when they speak English (r_s=-.499, $p<.05$). These relational issues decrease over the time English is studied in the ESL context, but has no relationship with English studied in countries where English is a foreign language.

In addition, over time ESL has a slight advantage in reducing anxiety-induced forgetfulness (r_s=-.319, $p<.05$), feeling sure of oneself while speaking (r_s=-.356, $p<.05$), and trembling (r_s=-.300, $p<.05$). EFL did not have any relationship with these items, but it did have some relationship to ambiguity intolerance (r_s=-.314, $p<.05$), although still less so than ESL (r_s=-.484, $p<.05$), which is not a statistically significant difference (Z=1.42, p=.07). Length of EFL study, though, did have a slightly stronger correlation with anxiety caused by being overwhelmed by the number of grammar rules than did ESL study (r_s=-.464 and -.315 respectively, $p<.05$), but this was not a significant difference (Z=-1.24, p=.107). These findings are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1

Language Anxiety and Length of Time Studying English as a Foreign or Second Language

		Length of EFL study n=51	Lenth of ESL study n=54	Total Studies n=54
Afraid of being laughed at by native speakers	r	p>.05	-0.462	-0.507
There're so many rules that feels they will never learn them all	r	-0.464	-0.315	-0.346
Feels like a different person when speaking English	r	p>.05	-0.483	-0.381
Feels so nervous that forgets things they already know	r	p>.05	-0.319	-0.291
Never sure of themselves when speaking English	r	p>.05	-0.356	-0.270
Friends speak so quickly that fears wil fall behind b/c of English	r	-0.277	-0.447	-0.368
Afraid friend are ready to correct every error in English	r	p>.05	-0.278	-0.354
Tremble when they know they will have to speak English	r	p>.05	-0.300	-0.269
Thinks too much when they have to speak English to native speakers	r	p>.05	-0.404	-0.319
Feels nervous when doesn't understand all the words	r	-0.314	-0.484	-0.442
Feels panic when has to speak English without preparation	r	p>.05	-0.436	-0.399
Feels that people don't really know them when they speak English	r	p>.05	-0.499	-0.399

The amount of English studied did have a relationship with all of the self-assessments, as seen in Table 2. In addition, English studied in the United States had a consistently stronger relationship with self-assessment than did English studied in the home country.

Table 2

EFL vs. ESL Study Correlations with Self-Assessments (n=51)

		EFL Study	ESL Study
Speaking Self Assessment	r_s	0.401	0.571
	p	0.00	0.00
Listening Self Assessment	r_s	0.357	0.595
	p	0.01	0.00
Writing Self Assessment	r_s	0.452	0.582
	p	0.00	0.00
Reading Self Assessment	r_s	0.427	0.613
	p	0.00	0.00

Moreover, using Fisher's method of comparing correlations, I calculated the Z scores for these differences, as seen in Table 3. Through this process, only the listening self-assessment was significant at the .05 level. The difference in the

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slopes of the regression lines for listening (.3448) was also significant (t=-3.132, df(50)). This implies that learning to understand English is undertaken better in the ESL context than in the EFL context. Even when controlled for length of time in the United States, these relationships remain significant.

Table 3

Comparison of Correlations for Length of Study of EFL/ESL and Self-Assessments

	r_s=EFL	r_s=ESL	EFL (Fishers)	ESL (Fishers)	Z	p
READING	0.427	0.613	0.456	0.713	1.29	.09
WRITING	0.452	0.582	0.487	0.665	0.89	.18
LISTENING	0.357	0.595	0.373	0.685	**1.56**	**.05**
SPEAKING	0.401	0.571	0.424	0.649	1.12	.13

Self-Assessments

In addition to the relationships already mentioned, the sum of the self-assessments had a fairly strong inverse relationship with language anxiety as a whole (r_s=-.564, *p<.05*). The relationship with the self-assessments of each skill can be found in Table 4 which follows. It is interesting to note that the strongest relationships are in the productive skills, speaking and writing. As the student becomes more confident in these two skills, the level of language anxiety tends to decrease even more so than when confidence in reading and listening. These difference, however, are not statistically significant (Z=-.545, p>.05 for speaking and listening; Z=-1.00, p>.05 for writing and reading).

Self assessments, individually or in sum, did not have significant correlation with the acculturation scale as a whole. There were some small relationships between individual skills and items. For example, for some reason, people who spoke Spanish with a partner were more likely to rate themselves well on all four skills, speaking, listening, writing and reading (r_s=.291, .280, .318 and .329 respectively) and also for thinking in Spanish (r_s=.274, .285, .362 and .343 respectively). I find this counterintuitive. It seems that people who are thinking and speaking Spanish are rating themselves higher in English proficiency across the board. In looking at those who speak English at home, the relationship with the level of speaking and reading self-assessment is roughly equal to those who speak Spanish at home (r_s=.287 and .344 respectively). Writing has no relationship with speaking English at home. The only visual difference is in understanding. The relationship with understanding English self-assessment and speaking English at home is .321, but the difference, while more obvious, is not statistically significant (Z=-.305, p>.05). Also interesting is that understanding, and not speaking, had a positive relationship with being comfortable speaking English (r_s=.269, p>.05) and being comfortable with Americans (r_s=.311, p>.05). These correlations, though interesting, are none-

theless rather small. A larger study may clarify the true nature of these relation-ships.

Table 4

Correlations for Self-Assessments and Language Anxiety (n=55)

		Anxiety
Speaking	r_s	-0.561
	p	0.00
Listening	r_s	-0.505
	p	0.00
Writing	r_s	-0.615
	p	0.00
Reading	r_s	-0.519
	p	0.07

Self-assessments also did not have a significant relationship with acculturative stress either as a group or individually with either stress toward or against accul-turation or in general. In fact, the only items that had any relationship with self-assessments from the stress scale were feeling uncomfortable that the family doesn't know American ways of doing things (r_s-.289 with speaking, -.272 with listening, -.335 with writing, and -.300 with reading; $p<.05$) and having had con-flicts because they preferred Latino ways of doing things (r_s=.299 with speaking and .300 with understanding). I thought perhaps feeling uncomfortable about not knowing American ways was a function of length of time in the U.S., but the corre-lations and significance change minimally when LOT is controlled for. The conflicts, however, do not stand the test. LOT is not directly correlated with this item. A more elegant statistical analysis than these data will allow is required to determine the nature of the relationship among LOT, speaking and understanding self-assessment, and experiencing conflicts.

2.3.1.2 Correlations between scale items

A closer look at the correlations of individual items in the scales was also con-ducted. A few of these relationships are interesting and merit mention. For exam-ple, the language anxiety items "I enjoy speaking English" and "I feel fully confi-dent speaking English" correlate rather well with the overall acculturation scale (r_s=.588, and .666 respectively, $p>.05$). There was also a slightly less strong cor-relation between the acculturation scale and not worrying about errors (r_s=.456, $p>.05$). This would seem to imply that reaching the point of enjoying English and being confident using it is associated with becoming acculturated in a positive sense (integration or assimilation). Conversely, there was an inverse relationship between use of Spanish items on the acculturation scale and language anxiety as a whole. Thinking in Spanish (r_s=-.415, $p<.05$) and speaking Spanish with friends

(r_s=-.377, p<.05) indicate low acculturation and by these relationships a tendency toward increased language anxiety.

Thinking in Spanish also correlated with being nervous even when prepared (r_s=-.481, p<.05) and thinking everyone speaks English better (r_s=-.447, p<.05). (Thinking in Spanish is a negatively coded item. Therefore, the less likely one thinks in Spanish, the more likely they will indicate higher anxiety on these items.) Further, thinking in Spanish correlated with feeling nervous and confused when speaking English (r_s=-.448, p<.05). Thinking in Spanish was also related to being unable to express one's true feelings (r_s=-.343, p<.05), nervous forgetfulness (r_s=-.369, p<.05), being insecure in English (r_s=-.405, p<.05), and feeling that people don't really know them when they speak English (r_s=-.322, p<.05).

Thinking in English, on the other hand, decreased the likelihood that the participant would be bothered by friends' correction (r_s=-.454, p<.05), but increased the likelihood that the participant enjoyed English (r_s=.625, p<.05) and was fully confident in English (r_s=.379, p<.05), which seem like a logical relationships. Moreover, thinking in English was also negatively correlated with being bothered by the assumption that they speak Spanish (r_s=-.321, p<.05). It seems from these relationships that the language of thought may have an impact on affect with regard to the language of use.

Enjoying English, for example, was strongly associated with being comfortable in English (r_s=.798, p<.05), having American friends (r_s=.572, p<.05), reading American newspapers (r_s=.607, p<.05), speaking English at home (r_s=.618, p<.05), and feeling comfortable in the United States (r_s=.548, p<.05). It also had a moderate relationship with the tendency to feel accepted by Americans (r_s=.492, p<.05) and attend social functions with them (r_s=.485, p<.05). It also had a moderate relationship with knowing how to prepare American food (r_s=.411, p<.05) and an inverse relationship with being bothered when it is assumed they speak Spanish (r_s=-.346, p<.05).

Similarly, feeling fully confident in English had strong correlations with being comfortable speaking English (r_s=.691, p<.05), speaking English with a partner (r_s=.572, p<.05), having American friends (r_s=.552, p<.05), preparing American food (r_s=.544, p<.05), reading American newspapers (r_s=.537, p<.05), speaking English at home (r_s=.695, p<.05), and generally feeling comfortable with Americans (r_s=.512, p<.05) and attending social functions with them (r_s=.461, p<.05). Furthermore, not worrying about errors is associated with feeling comfortable in the United States (r_s=.534, p<.05).

These results imply that both affect and self-efficacy have a bearing on target language use.

3   Results

According to the Pew Foundation, the number of Spanish speaking Latinos is currently greater than Bilingual or English-dominant adult Latinos because of immigration. In 2004, they researched how language was associated with acculturation by conducting a telephone survey of 4,213 Hispanic adults, 1309 of whom were Spanish dominant. They found that language contributed substantially to all key questions of acculturation, even when controlling for all other variables, including the generation in the United States. (61% of adult Hispanics in the United States are first generation immigrants). This study is what caused me to ask what would happen if I considered all items as part of one scale. Was there consistency and sufficient correlations among the items that would point to some phenomenon subsuming language anxiety, acculturation, and acculturative stress?   The answer is yes. As discussed in the previous chapter, Cronbach's alpha for all items treated as one scale is .878, a very high measure of reliability, especially given that the scales themselves did not correlate with one another as wholes.

Therefore, although the data supports the existence of language anxiety, acculturation, and acculturative stress as separate constructs, and the instruments developed to measure these phenomena proved to be reliable with results consistent with those of previous studies, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that these three constructs contribute to a larger construct.

In examining the proportion of participants who were anxious with regards to language learning, I found that it was nearly double that found in studies where the language learning context was academic. In fact 62% were highly anxious and 36% moderately anxious, leaving only 2% to feel little anxiety while learning English. The usual finding for language classroom anxiety is approximately one-third (Horwitz, 2000). This indicates that there is something decisively different about learning language as an adult within the target language group environment than learning a language as a college student in one's native language environment. Rather than foreign language *classroom* anxiety, these data point toward the possibility of a more encompassing phenomenon, *language acculturation anxiety*.

That this is a different phenomenon is further supported by the differences found in the relationships of EFL and ESL study and the various items. Study of English in the home language environment (EFL) had no statistically significant relationship to the level of language anxiety, but studying English in the United States (ESL) was negatively correlated with language anxiety. English studied in the home country did not seem to immunize in any way against anxious feelings while continuing to learn English in the United States, but studying English in the United States, whether or not it had been previously studied at home, was related to decreased levels of language anxiety. Furthermore, those who had studied ESL for longer periods of time were less likely to feel as though they were different people

when speaking English. Over time, ESL study seemed to decrease the "new dress" effect of language that Stengel (1939) suggested was a super-ego protection mechanism. ESL students became less uncomfortable in their new English dress code the longer they studied. Studying English prior to immigration, however, had no effect on this perception of identity.   In addition, EFL study tended to be more concerned with grammar rules, as indicated by the correlations and by Elena's comment that she studied "higher" English in Mexico than she was being taught in her ESL program. It seems that the focusing on grammar rules in the EFL increases feelings of hopelessness (there are so many rules, I'll *never* learn them all) which can contribute to anxiety.

More supporting evidence for language acculturation anxiety comes from the length of time in the United States. It is interesting that length of time in the United States did not directly correlate with acculturation or language anxiety. This seems to support Schumann's acculturation model of language acquisition, as it is not only the length of exposure, but the degree of exposure (or enclosure) that is associated with the degree of language acquisition. Although these participants are in the target language culture, and may have incorporated some aspects of the culture (knowing how to cook American food, having American friends, reading an American newspaper) they are still socially and/or psychologically distant from the target language culture.

Moreover, thinking in Spanish (i.e., not being language acculturated) was correlated with higher nervousness, including feeling nervous and confused when speaking English and forgetting things already learned. It was also correlated with feeling insecure and believing everyone speaks better than you. Being unable to express your true feelings and feeling that others don't know you as your "true self" were also correlated with thinking in Spanish. On the other hand, thinking in English was correlated with being fully confident, enjoying English, not being bothered by correction, and not being bothered when someone assumes you are a Spanish speaker.

Enjoying English, likewise, was highly correlated with being comfortable in the United States and with speaking English, reading American newspapers, speaking English at home, feeling accepted by Americans and having them as friends, and even socializing with Americans. Similarly, feeling fully confident in English was highly correlated with being comfortable in the United States, speaking English with a partner at home, not worrying about errors, reading American newspapers, having American friends and socializing with them, and eating American food. Clearly, there is a relationship between how an immigrant to the United States feels about English and the degree to which they are acculturated into American society.

Language Acculturation Anxiety, then, is a construct that takes into consideration the level of language anxiety, the level of acculturation, and the level of accultura-

tive stress. The interactions of these elements produces something greater than the sum of the parts, much like a pancake is not the sum of its elemental parts of milk, flour, and eggs.

4   Limitations

This study has several limitations that need to be considered both in the interpretation of the results and for future research. First, the mode of delivery (website survey) was chosen because it was believed that it would be a more consistent way to collect the data compared to face to face interactions, and also because it was believed that it would be more expedient. What was overlooked was that computer literacy among recent immigrants from Latin America is not as high as among citizens of the United States, as discussed in chapter 3. Moreover, only 56% of all adult Latinos (immigrant and citizen) use the Internet, compared to 71% of non-Hispanic whites and 60% of non-Hispanic blacks. That proportion drops to 43% for Latinos born outside of the States, and for those who consider Spanish their dominant language, that number drops to 32%. In addition, the level of education for all races decreases the likelihood of Internet use (32% for whites, 31% for Hispanics, and 25% for African Americans). However, since 41% of Latino adults (immigrant and citizens) have not finished high school, they are less likely to use computers because of their educational level as well (Fox and Livingston, 2007).

These data impacted this study in two ways. First, the sample was restricted to those adults with Internet access. In effect, this meant that the majority of the participants were members of English Now, which has a computer lab and requires computer literacy as part of the curriculum. The chain or snowball sampling was not effective because the majority of participants did not have enough computer contacts to refer other participants. In addition, those participants that were reached by referral were more likely to be more highly educated and not representative.

Secondly, the sample was restricted in size. Although the website ran for over a year, it only yielded 95 surveys, nearly half of which (40) were eventually discarded for too many missing data points. The website was advertised through business cards, emails, and direct requests repeatedly over the course of the year, all to no avail. Because of the resulting small sample size, the kinds of legitimate statistical analyses that could be conducted were limited to very basic types (descriptive and simple correlations). In addition, all data results have to be taken cautiously as to their generalizability to other context because of both the small size and type sample.

Another limitation of this study is that it focused exclusively on immigrants whose first language is Spanish. It is possible that other language groups may have very

different results. Furthermore, because the participants were mostly past or present members of English Now, where we do frequently discuss these issues, they may have been more aware of the issues addressed in the items and responded differently than others from the same background. The sample was not randomized and the degree to which it applies to an ESL teacher's own situation can only be determined by that instructor.

5   Implications for Teaching

All education is inherently intertwined with socialization. K-12 teachers are aware of their responsibility not to simply convey facts and figures but to prepare children to be responsible participants in the culture in which they live. The Texas Statutes Education Code 4.001 (b) Objective 5 states that "Educators will prepare students to be thoughtful, active citizens who have an appreciation for the basic values of our state and national heritage and who can understand and productively function in a free enterprise society." For adult educators, the socialization aspect is not usually as clearly defined, but we certainly do not operate in a culturally neutral environment. Cultural issues of class, gender, race and power always abound. Our students are often all too aware of racial issues. It is our job to help them understand that we believe "all men (and women) are created equal." We need to help our students learn to live and function productively in our culture. This can be a trying task, since our students have already been entrenched to their home society and now must adapt to one that is significantly different in many ways. From an additive perspective, we must balance between helping our students learn how to live in this culture without abandoning their own.

During this acculturation process for adults, they clearly experience some emotional, and often physical, stress and anxiety. That nearly all the participants in this study scored as moderately to highly anxious should be taken seriously by every instructor of adult ESL. "A shift from one language to another is a shift between different worlds, where speakers of each one thing their version is "objective," but they're both wrong" (Agar, 1994). Unfortunately, culture isn't just a thing that can be dissected and explained. It is an experience. It is what is happening to our students every day as they try to make sense of their place in this society and redefine themselves accordingly. As an adult educator, we are in a unique position that allows us to help these people navigate the changes in their environment and themselves.

The data indicate that we should keep in mind also that recent immigrants often have a more difficult time than those who have been here a while. Yet, if someone has been in this country some time but has not interacted with the culture, has isolated themselves from the influences of the dominant culture and language,

she may still find learning English a threatening task. Also, the data indicate that men are more likely to feel their socio-identity is threatened. Women in this culture have considerable freedom and the gender roles, while still a far cry from equal, are more equivalent than in many other cultures, including the Latino culture. From anecdotal evidence, I know that some men view the change in the women in their life (who seem to adopt quickly the liberty of American women) as undermining their authority in the home and their social status as a male. Since many ESL teachers are women, this sometimes results in awkward situations such as proposals (decent and indecent) or acting disrespectfully (by American standards) to women in the classroom.

ESL instructors need to address directly the feelings of their students and allow their students to discuss their feelings openly. Having discussion times in either English or the first language may help students feel less isolated as they realize their classmates are having similar experiences. While ESL instructors are generally not psychologists, maintaining open communication with our students is vital. We need to make the ESL classroom a safe environment not only to learn and practice English, but to discuss the process as well. Having a list of referral services such as mental health providers who speak their language, clinics, houses of worship, legal aid, clothes closets and food pantries proves very useful and builds confidence between the student and teacher. Our students might not care how much we know until they know how much we care.

I would also suggest that this study implies that we should keep out of class work to a minimum. Unlike college students, our students are usually very busy with their jobs, home, and social obligations. Adding homework to the mix adds one more straw to the camel's back, and we do not know which straw will be the last one. Additionally, when homework that has been assigned is not completed, showing disapproval without understanding is likely to cause a breach in communication between the teacher and student. Additionally, if the classroom can be arranged so that the learner has a balance between a sense of autonomy and accountability, it is likely that we can limit the additional stress and at the same time promote lifelong learning. "The most important attitude that can be formed is that of desire to go on learning" (Dewey, 1938).

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