

# 13 Fear of the True Self: Social Anxiety and the Silent Behaviour of Japanese Learners of English

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I would come around ((the class)) and ask if anyone had any problems or questions or knew what they needed to do. This would often be returned with not a look at me but a look towards their immediate left or right to somebody else as if I'd just disappeared from the conversation and it was amazing...I'd ask 'are there any problems?' and it was as if they took that as a stimulus to then ignore me...So more often than not they wouldn't ↑ respond and it would piss me off and I'd walk away. (Jack, English instructor at a Japanese university)

## Introduction

Feelings of frustration, like those described by Jack in the extract above, appear to be quite common for educators encountering silent, unresponsive students (e.g. Korst, 1997). However, what lies beneath this puzzling avoidance of talk? Although it is true that silence can be a positive phenomenon in some classroom contexts (e.g. when accompanying reading and writing tasks or during activities which require extended periods of reflection), in the language classroom a lack of oral production represents a serious barrier to a learner's target language development (see Long, 1996; Swain, 2005). In previous work (King, 2013a, 2013b), I have demonstrated that there is a significant trend towards silence within the foreign language classrooms of Japanese universities and that this silence emerges through multiple, complex routes. The current chapter is an attempt to highlight just one of these routes, one which is characterised

by the avoidance of talk by the socially anxious. Structuring my arguments around the seminal model of social anxiety of Clark and Wells (1995) and using data garnered from a series of interviews and classroom observations, I will discuss the self-focused attention, social fear beliefs and in-class safety behaviours of English learners in Japan and will relate how these issues appear to significantly impact upon their second language (L2) oral performance. While there already exists a significant body of research into the issue of anxiety and language learning (e.g. Aida, 1994; Hewitt & Stephenson, 2012; Horwitz *et al.*, 1986; Liu & Jackson, 2008; MacIntyre & Gardner, 1994; Woodrow, 2006; Young, 1999), serious discussion focusing on the ways in which classroom silence may be related to the cognitive processes and skewed self-concepts of socially anxious Japanese learners of English is notably absent from the literature. By the end of this chapter I hope the seemingly perplexing behaviour displayed by students like Jack's will be better understood, and perhaps be the cause for less frustration and irritation for those educators encountering it.

## What is Social Anxiety?

Characterised by a marked or persistent fear of specific social situations in which one is under the scrutiny of others (American Psychiatric Association, 2000), social anxiety (sometimes referred to as 'social phobia' – see Kring & Johnson, 2012, for more on terminology) differs from other anxiety conditions due to its emphasis on concerns regarding evaluation by others. These concerns are associated with the heightened processing of the social self and a preoccupation with self-focused attention (McManus & Hirsch, 2007). People who suffer from social anxiety excessively self-monitor during social performance situations and focus on the impression they are making on others, fearing that their true self may be revealed at any moment. They typically hold false assumptions about their perceived inability to behave in an appropriate manner in front of others and tend to be highly critical of their social performance, believing it will be negatively evaluated and will ultimately lead to embarrassment and humiliation (Clark & Wells, 1995). In addition to emotional discomfort, somatic symptoms include blushing, trembling, a dry mouth, sweating and heart palpitations (Blackmore *et al.*, 2009). A socially anxious person may endure an anxiety-provoking situation in discomfort, flee from it prematurely or actively try to avoid the situation in the first place. If the situation happens to be a classroom, then the potential for disengagement from learning is clear (see Purdon *et al.*, 2001; Topham & Russell, 2012).

Research into social anxiety has received some criticism in the past for suggesting that shyness is a form of mental illness requiring treatment. I should make clear at this point therefore that it is not my intention in this chapter to engage in the over-medicalisation (see Lane, 2008; Scott, 2006; Wakefield *et al.*, 2005) of what might be perfectly normal human emotions experienced by language learners during classroom instruction. Indeed, it would be quite wrong to assume that all learners who experience some form of social anxiety are ill. McManus and Hirsch (2007) rightly remind us that an individual's experience of social anxiety exists on a continuum. Some people may experience the anxiety only occasionally during the most demanding social performance situations, such as attending a job interview or giving a speech in public, while at the other end of the scale, others may be distressed by all of the social situations they encounter. However, if a socially anxious learner is not able to function effectively within a classroom setting over a prolonged period, then a working knowledge of the phenomenon is likely to be of great value to language practitioners because it can aid in better understanding how a skewed self-concept may impact upon the cognitive processes and in-class behaviours of inhibited students.

## Social Anxiety and Culture

A number of studies (e.g. Essau *et al.*, 2012; Heinrichs *et al.*, 2006; Kleinknecht *et al.*, 1997; Schreier *et al.*, 2010; Stein, 2009) have explored the intriguing relationship between cultural factors and social anxiety. Socio-cultural values, norms and expectations all help to shape anxiety within social situations, and this appears to be particularly true within Japanese contexts where socially reticent, reserved behaviour is culturally acceptable and, indeed, positively regarded. Add to this the relatively high positive value that the Japanese tend to place on silence in comparison to overt verbalisation (see Ishii & Bruneau, 1994; Lebra, 1987) and we can see that conditions appear ripe for individuals to engage in withdrawn behaviour during social situations which require participants to talk to others, such as in a language classroom. Even so, it is interesting to note that while some researchers (e.g. Essau *et al.*, 2012) report that levels of social anxiety are relatively high in samples from East Asian nations, others (e.g. Hofmann *et al.*, 2010; Ramsawh *et al.*, 2010) report that prevalence rates within these countries are actually significantly lower in comparison to those found within Western countries, such as the United States. Low reporting rates may be explained by the fact that countries like Japan view reserved and withdrawn behaviour as being 'socially syntonic' (Rapee *et al.*, 2011: 486) meaning the behaviour might not cause distress for some individuals. Furthermore, Kawakami *et al.* (2004)

highlight the social desirability bias of many Japanese who tend to deny psychological problems because of the stigma and loss of face that is connected to admitting to a mental disorder.

An intriguing variant of social anxiety associated primarily with Japan is *taijin kyofusho*. Literally meaning ‘fear of interpersonal relations disorder’, *taijin kyofusho* is experienced by sufferers during social encounters which require face-to-face contact and is characterised by a fear that one’s ‘inappropriate’ appearance or behaviour will offend or embarrass others (Essau *et al.*, 2012; Kleinknecht *et al.*, 1997). Note that the emphasis here is on the embarrassment of others rather than oneself. Kasahara (1986) points out that individuals experiencing *taijin kyofusho* typically develop a dread of being watched, particularly when contact situations involve acquaintances rather than strangers or significant others. This level of intimacy, of course, perfectly describes most classroom environments. Even though my own study did not uncover any data specifically relating to the allocentric concerns of *taijin kyofusho* amongst its participants, I include this brief description of the phenomenon in order to provide a more rounded account of social anxiety as it exists within the Japanese context.

### Cognitive-behavioural model of Clark and Wells (1995)

The model of Clark and Wells (1995) provides us with one of the best known experimentally supported explanations of social anxiety. The model focuses on how the socially anxious have a distorted self-concept (related to their supposed inability to make a favourable impression on others), which contributes to excessively negative interpretations of social situations. These negative appraisals (also termed feared predictions or social fear beliefs) are maintained by four dynamically connected processes: (1) an increase in self-focused attention at the expense of observing the behaviour of others; (2) the use of erroneous feelings and self-images to infer how one appears to others; (3) the use of safety behaviours (see Salkovskis, 1991) which, while employed in order to lessen the risk of negative evaluation, actually work to maintain negative beliefs and anxiety and (4) negatively biased thinking about one’s performance prior to entering a situation, followed by further biased post-event reflections (Clark, 2001; Clark & Wells, 1995; Hodson *et al.*, 2008; McManus & Hirsch, 2007).

The cognitive-behavioural processes described in the model of Clark and Wells (1995) are dynamically connected meaning that, for example within a language classroom, a socially anxious learner’s feared predictions that her performance will be embarrassing cause her to engage in excessive self-focused attention as she monitors how she is coming across to others as the class progresses. This all-consuming self-focused attention, along

with a strong desire to avoid negative assessment by the instructor and peers, contributes to the learner interacting only very minimally with classmates. Such safety seeking behaviour, working in tandem with her social fear beliefs, causes the student to feel tense and to become flustered when asked a question in the target language. Thinking she looks like a fool, her discomfort, in turn, leads to yet further worry over her inept image or behaviour and these concerns extend to after the lesson has ended, therefore feeding the cycle of negative self-beliefs for the next class. While this outline nicely illustrates the way in which a socially anxious learner's pre-, post- and in-situation cognitive processes are dynamically connected, I would now like to focus on how findings from my mixed methods research into the silent behaviour of Japanese students of English relate to the various components of the model of Clark and Wells (1995).

## Data Collection and Analysis

An interview approach was utilised in order to uncover students' fundamental beliefs about classroom silence and to explore their individual experiences of the phenomenon. This qualitative phase of the study was essentially exploratory in nature and involved 11 participants who were each interviewed twice in sessions lasting approximately 45 minutes. While all the interviewees discussed the issue of social anxiety and language learning to some extent, this chapter presents testimony from six participants for whom the issue appeared to be of particular consequence. Sampling was based on teacher and student recommendations in order to ensure that interviewees met a number of set criteria to create a diverse sample, thus reflecting the broad range of learners currently studying English within Japan's university system. This strategy successfully produced a cohort which consisted of both language and non-language majors who were at various points of their university education (from first-year undergraduate through to second-year postgraduate), and whose L2 proficiency levels were similarly varied (despite the fact that everyone in the sample had received at least eight years of English language instruction). To help counter this inconsistency in L2 abilities, participants were able to choose whether their interviews were conducted in English, Japanese or a mixture of both languages. After gaining the participants' consent, all interview sessions were audio recorded and later transcribed in full using a relatively detailed transcription convention (see below) based on recommendations made by Richards (2003). Data analysis took the form of an iterative, unfolding process during which the significant theme of social anxiety and learner silence emerged. Following repeated coding of the data, strong resonances and similarities with the cognitive model of social anxiety of Clark and Wells (1995) quickly became apparent in

the interviewees' testimony. Thus, the following discussion is organised into separate sections which explore the language classroom as a social situation; learners' social fear beliefs; the issue of self-focus image; learners' in-class safety behaviours; and the somatic and cognitive symptoms associated with the socially anxious.

## Results and Discussion

### The language classroom as a social situation

In order to reflect the variety of universities that exist in Japan, over the course of my research I visited nine institutions and observed 30 different class groups, encountering a diversity of classroom contexts. This ranged from an intimate seminar-style lesson for just nine learners at an elite metropolitan university, through to a massive communicative English class at a private institution containing 103 students. All of the classes I observed represented public social performance situations for the learners attending them as they were expected to perform tasks such as verbally interacting with their instructors, giving presentations, performing role plays, drills and dialogues, and engaging in discussions – all of which took place in front of others.

Indeed, the language classroom represents a social situation in which a complex array of forces are at work influencing the behaviour of participants. Dörnyei (2009) underlines this point when he notes that within educational psychology the classroom environment has been variously defined, and includes not only the dimensions of an 'instructional context' relating to the teaching method, curriculum and learning tasks but also a "social context", which is related to the fact that the classroom is also the main social arena for students, offering deeply intensive personal experiences such as friendship, love, or identity formation' (237). This last point is especially significant when we consider the unstable self-concept of some language learners whose silence emerges during the precarious process of moving between their first language (L1) and fledgling L2 selves (see Granger, 2004).

As classrooms and the students who inhabit them are themselves embedded within much broader social systems (see Breen, 1985; Holliday, 1994), we can also add macro concerns, such as socio-cultural values, norms, attitudes and beliefs, to the already dynamic mix of situational and learner-internal forces which play a role in shaping language learner behaviour. However, in order to avoid generalisations involving national traits, it is advisable to treat these macro issues more as an informative conceptual background whilst paying close attention to the immediate situational and individual features of a learner's silent behaviour.

## Feared predictions

Clark and Wells (1995) highlight that the socially anxious tend to interpret social situations negatively because they hold erroneous beliefs about themselves and how they should act during the situation. These dysfunctional self-concept and social action beliefs fall into three categories: (1) excessively high standards for social performance; (2) conditional beliefs concerning social evaluation and (3) unconditional beliefs about the self. With regard to the first of these categories, a strong theme in the interview phase of my own study was related to the belief that it was essential for students to use 'perfect English' when speaking in front of others. Interviewees spoke of their worries concerning issues connected to the pronunciation, word order, grammatical correctness and relevance of their utterances in the target language. Mistakes were viewed with dread; with some believing that their English language errors might potentially lead to rejection by peers. Discussing her fears of what would happen if she spoke out in class, one learner revealed:

I'm worried about whether the grammar is correct and there's no end of those kinds of things. But there are some people who are brighter than me (...) so I'd feel embarrassed if they thought my question wasn't relevant or was off the point. I'd also feel humiliated if my poor English ability was exposed.

Note how this student assesses her target language ability. This is a good example of a negatively biased self-concept in that she believes her linguistic capabilities to be wholly inadequate. In reality, the learner was an English language major who had been chosen to study at a United States university for a year because of her excellent language skills. Clark and Wells (1995) make the point that setting oneself excessively high standards for social performance actually generates anxiety because such standards (e.g. appearing witty and intelligent in class whilst speaking perfect, error-free English) are extremely difficult to achieve. As a consequence of this difficulty, socially anxious learners may become preoccupied with the fact that they are failing to convey a favourable impression to classmates.

In addition to the concern that making mistakes whilst speaking in English would result in being rejected by peers, some interviewees spoke about other feared predictions which were related to social evaluation in their classrooms. For example, one fourth-year non-language major described how he was afraid that his voice would become weak and his mind would go blank as a result of the embarrassment of being called on to talk in English in front of the rest of the class. Yet other learners recounted how they avoided interacting with instructors because of

worries that they would be labelled as being 'stupid' if they did. Describing a classroom scenario in which she is unable to understand a point during the lesson, one interviewee explained how she would be reluctant to ask for help and that she believed she would be evaluated if she did speak up:

but you think (.) maybe all the other students know the answer and I will be (.) the only student who can't understand so that if I say- if I ask a question, that is showing that I'm the idiot in the class.

It seems that learners' social fears do not just involve conditional beliefs like the one in the extract above. Indeed, Clark and Wells (1995) draw attention to the dynamism of the social phobic's self-schemata. With this in mind, we can see that sometimes a socially anxious learner's feared predictions involve unconditional beliefs about the self which only come to the fore during social situations. The person may have a negative view of his/her classroom self, believing they are different, strange, inadequate, boring or stupid, but this unconditional belief does not necessarily extend into situations in which the individual perceives there to be no evaluation, for example settings involving family, friends or being alone.

### Self-focused attention

McManus and Hirsch (2007) note that the socially anxious become preoccupied with how well they are coming across during social situations and this self-focused attention interferes with social performance, making it less effective. Heightened processing of the social self encourages a preoccupation with impression management (see Leary, 1995; Tedeschi, 1981), feelings of inhibition and the use of silence as a defensive strategy. During my own research, students frequently related how they felt they were being observed and judged during their English lessons, making repeated references to the inhibiting 'eyes' that were around them. As one postgraduate student put it, 'when I speak out, I can feel people are watching me and judging me'. Another learner, who was highly proficient in English, also spoke about her preoccupation with her classroom self-image, stating that, 'I always look at people around me and I always search (hhh) what they think (.) about me- how I look- I'm very careful'. Her concerns centred more around the appeal of her utterances, rather than their lexico-grammatical accuracy, disclosing that 'when I speak, when I say something I always care what other people think and then I care if they are interested in what I'm talking about'. It would seem that such a hypersensitivity to others is supported at a societal level by the enculturated notion of an ever-present and ever-watching 'other' which exists within Japanese society (see Greer, 2000; Lebra 1976, 1993;

McVeigh, 2002). Writing about the socialisation of communicative style in Japan, Clancy (1990) argues convincingly that a concern for others' reactions is inculcated into Japanese infants from an early age by caregivers who employ it as a control strategy, teaching children to fear the criticism and disapproval of those around them.

According to Clark and Wells (1995), when a socially anxious individual faces a situation in which there is the potential for negative evaluation, a significant amount of the person's attention is shifted towards monitoring his/her self-generated image. This shift in attention inwards towards the self feeds a heightened awareness of anxiety responses, diverts attention away from the objective interpretation of external information and therefore helps to distort how the individual thinks he/she is coming across to others. Let us consider, for example, the cognitive processes of a socially anxious learner during a whole-class discussion – a daunting activity for many Japanese students and one that I rarely observed to work well over the course of the 48 classroom observations I conducted. As the discussion progresses, our socially anxious learner fears becoming the centre of everyone's attention if called upon to express an opinion. As one student put it, 'I think you might feel embarrassed when your opinion is kind of rejected in some way or- or part of you is kind of rejected, you know like, you are different from others'. This fear triggers a focus on how the learner feels and she assumes that her anxious feelings are relevant to how others perceive her. Thus, if the learner senses she is, say, blushing, she assumes that everyone can clearly see her bright red face and will consequently form a negative impression of her; even though in actual fact she may have only flushed barely noticeably. In addition to adopting silence as a defensive strategy in order to avoid attracting attention or to avoid causing offence by expressing an opinion which others in the class might disagree with, concentrating more on internal matters would make it that much more difficult for the learner to attend to the actual points of the discussion as they arose and her attention would be further diverted from the tricky process of forming a contribution in the target language. Immediate contextual factors, such as the topic under discussion, level of self-disclosure required (see Barnlund, 1974), size of the class and nature of the learner's interpersonal relationships with classmates/instructor, would all play a role in shaping the cognitive processes and level of oral participation of this socially anxious learner.

### Safety behaviours

Safety behaviours are strategies that the socially anxious employ so as to prevent or minimise a feared event from occurring (Salkovskis, 1991). Clark and Wells (1995) point out that individuals tend to engage in

multiple safety-seeking behaviours in order to minimise the risk of negative evaluation. In the context of Japan's language classrooms, these strategies primarily involve the ways in which learners avoid or minimise the chance of having to speak English in front of others. Not asking questions, not initiating discourse and providing monosyllabic answers are all effective ways of achieving this. On occasion during classroom observations I was able to observe learners performing such strategies and also a number of interviewees provided testimony about their own safety-seeking behaviours. One of the most common strategies involved the learner's seating position within the classroom. One fourth-year student explained how he would:

usually sit at the back. Nobody goes to the front, they sit at the back instead. I don't have any other plan, I just sit at the back to avoid being asked a question in English, like translate something into Japanese.

Another student, who spoke extensively about her fear of negative evaluation, also related how she invariably made a beeline for the back of the language classroom because, 'I won't be noticed and when there are lots of people, if I sit at the back, as I'm small, I can occasionally hide myself in the shadow of someone sitting in front'. This fourth-year human sciences student went on to recount how, when entering the room, she would avoid eye contact with her teacher and would not greet her either. Once sitting, her gaze would remain lowered throughout the class. Through these safety behaviours, the student believed she would become less memorable and noticeable to the instructor and this would consequently reduce the likelihood of being nominated to speak during the lesson, thus allowing her to maintain her silence.

Of course, avoiding nomination is not always possible and interviewees also described some safety behaviours that they performed in the event of being called on to speak in the target language. One postgraduate student revealed:

I was strongly concerned about 'what if I made a mistake?' ((spoken while laughing)). So I think when I was invited to speak, first of all, (1.5) I would make sure my answer was right. I would check with the person next to me before I spoke.

This strategy of consulting a partner before speaking was something I observed numerous times during my classroom research. While the intention may be to avoid the feared prediction of making a mistake and being negatively evaluated, what actually happens is the long, silent pause for peer consultation has the effect of slowing the pace of interaction right

down, and consequently target language talk becomes further restricted. A similar scenario occurs when a student mentally rehearses a response or spends an extended interval translating their utterance (safety behaviours may also involve internal mental processes (Clark, 1999; Clark & Wells, 1995)). Hinting at an intolerance of silence by some educators in Japan, Mulligan (2005: 33) asks, ‘how many of us have observed the agonizing period of silence, the long pause, the language conversion process of translating what has been said into Japanese and then going through the same process when answering?’.

While the postgraduate student in the example above consulted his neighbours in a safety-seeking effort to ensure an accurate target language response, conversely another interviewee related how a safety behaviour she employed had been intended to ensure the inaccuracy of her responses. After having been privately tutored in English from an early age, this third-year education student had become far more proficient in the language than her classmates. She described how she felt that her good pronunciation made her stand out in class and her oral performances were negatively evaluated by peers. The student explained that as a consequence, ‘I purposely tried to pronounce things badly so that it’d sound the same as everyone else’. This safety behaviour involved pretending to be disfluent by adopting *katakana* pronunciation (also known as vowel-marking - see Carroll, 2005) where vowels are added to word-final consonants (e.g. *good morning* is pronounced *goodo morningu*) and mixing up the letter *r* with the letter *l* – a common error for novice Japanese learners of English. She provided the following illustration:

‘I want to have a lice! Lice, you know? Lice! It’s very- ((spoken while laughing)) I want to have lice or (..) I (.) will (.) go (.) to (.) *sho-pin-gu*. I (.) will (.) go (.) *sho-pin-gu* next, or something like that. I changed my accent, talking like my friend...I tried to- tried to cut my speaking time. I didn’t want- I didn’t want be laughed ((at)) by everyone. So when I- I talk in English only- ((it was)) only when I ((I was)) nominated by teacher so I- I wasn’t active in the classroom.

Even though the socially anxious engage in safety behaviours in order to reduce anxiety, behaviours like this student described actually work to maintain a person’s anxiety as they encourage self-monitoring and perpetuate biased predictions about how one will be perceived (Clark, 1999; Clark & Wells, 1995; McManus & Hirsch, 2007; Wells *et al.*, 1995). Within language learning situations, safety seeking behaviours aimed at avoiding or minimising oral participation can make learners appear indifferent and unfriendly. Doing little for good interpersonal relationships and making cooperation between participants less likely, these strategies tend to make social interactions in the classroom less successful.

## Somatic and cognitive symptoms

Somatic and cognitive symptoms make up the final component of the cognitive-behavioural model of Clark and Wells (1995). The socially anxious experience marked arousal in feared situations and consequently there is a range of symptoms associated with the condition. Sufferers tend to become concerned that others will notice their symptoms and therefore 'interpret them as signs of impending or actual failure to meet their desired standards of social performance' (Clark, 2001: 410). This leads to an increase in self-monitoring as individuals often become hypervigilant, searching for signs of anxiety which they believe are all too obvious to others. In this section I will briefly discuss some of the symptoms that learners described experiencing during their language classes.

One student, an English language major at a private university famous for its study abroad schemes, spoke of the tense atmosphere which dominated her intensive English class (15 hours of instruction per week) and described what she felt at the prospect of being called on to speak in the target language in front of her classmates:

I can feel my heart- heart rate maybe going up or (..) I feel colder maybe (3.0) and I would feel inferior (.) I would feel I'm idiot (..) I wanna just run away, disappear ((laughs)).

The palpitations this learner experiences are a common physical symptom associated with social anxiety. In the extract she links her somatic symptoms to a negative self-image and a desire to seek safety by fleeing from the situation (an action she claimed never to have carried out, choosing instead to endure the situation in discomfort). Her description of feeling cold is somewhat odd as we could reasonably have expected the opposite; a feeling of being hot and sweaty. This is certainly what another interviewee described when she talked about the anxious feelings she experienced in her weekly English class:

At first my hands become really sweaty, and then I kind of restlessly look back and forth between my dictionary and notebook and nervously look around to see if everybody else is following... it's kind of nerve-wracking and erm my brain's working hard and gets full.

Note how this student depicts not just the physical symptoms of her anxiety, but cognitive and behavioural components too. The account of her brain 'working hard' and getting 'full' suggests she has experienced a

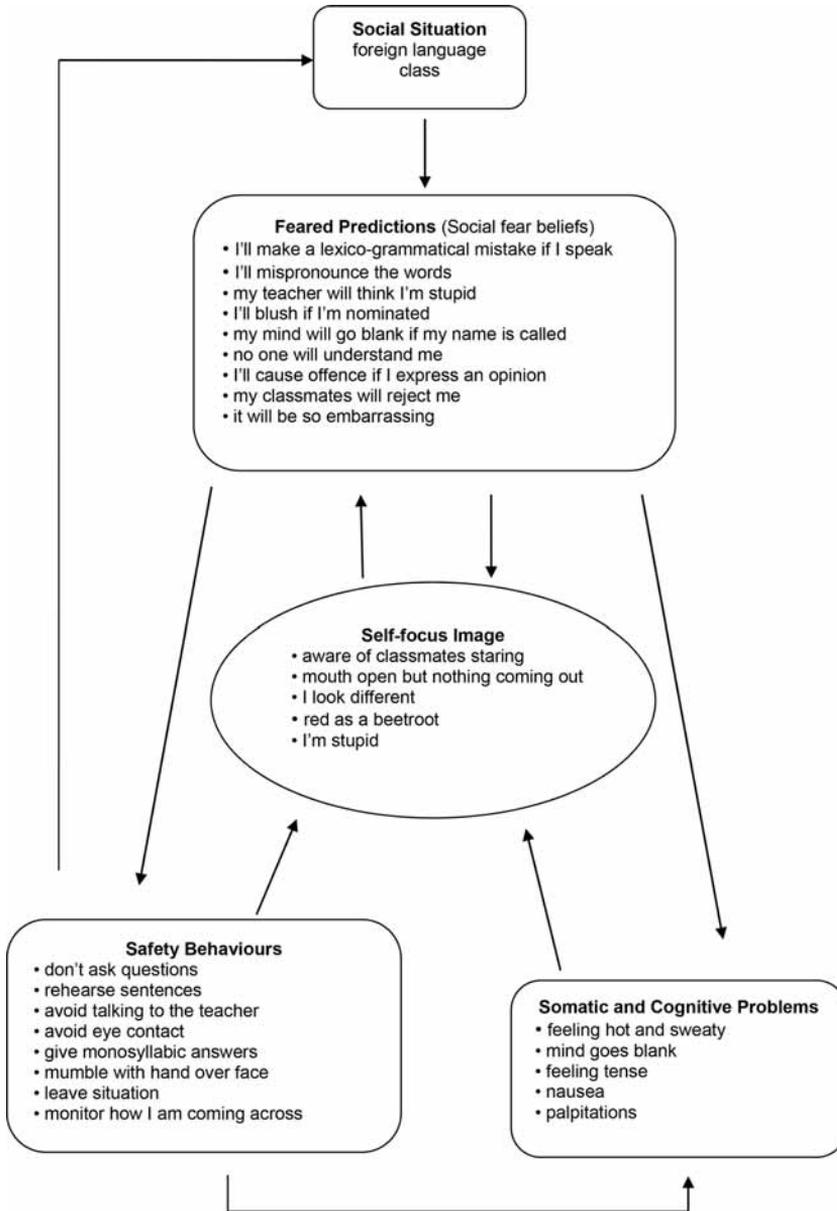
kind of cognitive overload brought about by the attention-draining activities of self-monitoring, scrutinising others' reactions and engaging in safety behaviours whilst at the same time trying to attend to the lesson content. It is no wonder this student described feeling 'absolutely flustered' in her language class and admitted to retreating into the safety that silence offered. A further interviewee, who spoke extensively about his feelings of embarrassment during lessons, recounted similar panicky experiences when he was called upon to speak English in front of his classmates:

It's like my mind goes blank um (2) it goes into a panic. How can I say? I feel flustered like 'what can I do, what can I do?' comes one after another.

Mental blanks are recognised as a common cognitive symptom of social anxiety (Clark, 1999, 2001; Clark & Wells, 1995; McManus & Hirsch, 2007). They also represent a feared prediction for some learners, particularly when there is a requirement to perform some form of public speaking activity individually in the classroom (e.g. giving a presentation). Mental blanks, in common with other cognitive and somatic symptoms, tend to be exacerbated by safety behaviours.

## Conclusion

There is a pronounced tendency for Japanese learners of English to avoid oral participation in their university language classrooms, and we should acknowledge that the reasons behind this phenomenon are numerous and complex. A learner's silence may emerge through any number of multiple, interconnected routes, and these routes are influenced by variables at individual, classroom, institutional and societal levels. From the testimony I have collected about their experiences of classroom-based language instruction, I believe one of the most salient conceptions of silence for these students is the silence of social anxiety – a silence born from inhibition, withdrawal, fear and distress. Based primarily on the work of Clark and Wells (1995) and adapted to summarise the main points of the arguments put forward in this chapter, I conclude by presenting a cognitive-behavioural model of an L2 learner's silence-inducing social anxiety (see Fig. 13.1). The model illustrates how a skewed, negatively-biased self-concept, working in tandem with an overriding fear of negative evaluation, influences the cognitive processes and in-class behaviours of language learners who seek to minimise their oral participation and retreat into silence.



**Figure 13.1** Acognitive-behavioural model of an L2 learner's silence-inducing social anxiety (Adapted from Clark & Wells, 1995; McManus & Hirsch, 2007)

## Transcript convention

.	Falling 'final' intonation	That'll do just fine
,	Continuing 'list' intonation	We studied reading, writing, listening
?	Question intonation	Really?
↑	Shift into higher pitch	It was ↑ wonderful
!	Animated talk	Lice!
(.)	Pause of less than 0.5 second	I (.) will (.) go
(..)	Pause of about 0.5 second	But (..) it works anyway
(...)	Pause of about 1 second	I think (...) it takes time
(2)	Pause of about 2 seconds	It was (2) a Tuesday
-	Abrupt cut off	I- we were on time
(.hhh)	Inhalation	(-hhh) let me see
(( ))	Other details	You're terrible ((spoken while laughing))
.....	Emphasis	<u>Everybody was looking</u> (adapted from Richards, 2003)

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Uncorrected Proofs