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ABSTRACT

Twelve conference papers on cultural aspects of second language instruction include: "Towards True Multiculturalism: Ideas for Teachers" (Brian McVeigh); Comparing Cultures Through Critical Thinking: Development and Interpretations of Meaningful Observations" (Laurel D. Kamada); "Authority and Individualism in Japan and the USA" (Alisa Woodring); "Study Trip to France" (Alain Lauffenburger) (in French); "Everything You Need To Know Begins at Kindergarten" (Laura McGregor); "Native Americans and Europeans, Ainu and Waijin: Culturally Relevant EFL Content-Based Social Studies Comparative History Curriculum Design at a Japanese Junior College" (Robert E. Gettings); "Folklore in the ESL Classroom" (Virginia A. Jenkins); "Redefining Our Educational Parameters" (Eton F. Churchill, Jr.); "Commonly Asked Global Issues Questions" (Jessica Newby Kawata, David Peaty, Donna McInnis, Junko Mukainakano); "Geography in the Global Issues Classroom" (Kawata); "Gender Issues in Language Education" (Thomas Hardy, Amy Yamashiro, Cheiron McMahill). Individual papers contain references. (MSE)

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Section Five Culture

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Towards True Multiculturalism: Ideas for Teachers

Brian McVeigh
Toyo Gakuen University

The goals of multiculturalism are certainly vital and worthwhile. However, there is much misunderstanding about what a true multiculturalism entails. Specifically, certain terms are carelessly used interchangeably, resulting in conceptual confusion. These terms are all fundamentally distinct, and though easy to understand, they are often confused, resulting in less than enlightened views about the nature of human diversity. Teaching students the importance of these distinctions is the first step in building a genuine multiculturalism. My discussion is based on experience teaching cultural anthropology, Japanese culture, English, and specialized seminars to Japanese students. Thus, the suggestions offered are specifically aimed for those working in the Japanese classroom. Appreciating the differences between ethnicity, citizenship, and race is indispensable for English content courses that deal with cultural diversity and cross-cultural understanding.

In this talk, I focus on several commonly misunderstood and misused terms. But first, allow me to ask the question, "What does it mean to be 'Japanese'?" The problem is that many confuse physical traits ("race"), ethnicity, and citizenship when answering this question. In other words, some believe that being Japanese means all of these, or that all these very different forms of identity naturally spring from some mystical essence of being Japanese. In order to answer this question, we should start with a fundamental distinction involving the difference between what people acquire through socialization and what people are born with. Or, more simply, the nurture-versus-nature distinction. Nurture refers to what is learned in the social environment (extra-genetic traits), while nature refers to innate traits (genetic traits.) This distinction is easy to understand but a surprising number of people fail to keep it in mind when discussing multiculturalism and human diversity. (see Figure 1)

<u>NURTURE:</u> <u>ACQUIRED VIA SOCIALIZATION ("CULTURE")</u>		<u>NATURE:</u> <u>GENETICALLY DETERMINED</u>
Political Affiliation Citizenship *Nationality	*Ethnicity *Culture as Art *Culture as Knowledge *Nationality Tradition Human Relations Language	*Race (<i>jinshu</i>) Physical Traits

* Designates terms with different definitions, often confusing and conflating several meanings.

Ethnicity

The first term I discuss is ethnicity, or knowledge about self-identity and group affiliation that one acquires via socialization. Ethnicity is often used interchangeably with "race," though these two concepts are fundamentally different since race is genetically determined, and ethnicity is learned. Belonging to an ethnic group is not necessarily the same as belonging to a political unit, since historically states and empires usually contain within their borders several — sometimes many — ethnic groups. Many scholars equate ethnicity with "nationality," not with political affiliation or state membership. The group affiliation of ethnicity may be based on any number of sentiments rooted in a perceived common history, heritage, religion, language, geography, or political (cf. Connor 1994; Smith 1981).

Citizenship

The next term I discuss is "citizenship," which can be simply defined as possessing membership in or belonging to a political unit usually defined as the nation-state. Historically, citizenship is a recent method of dividing up human groups, though an extremely important one. Citizenship is commonly called nationality, though as I just mentioned, many scholars equate nationality with ethnicity. Here allow me to note that what many label "nationalism" is really "statism," or possessing strong sentiments towards or attachment to political structures. "Nationalism," on the other hand, refers to strong sentiments towards or attachment to an ethnic group, and quite often, ethnic groups do not possess their own formal or official state structures. Or, whatever political structures they do possess are often components of or subordinate to a more powerful state apparatus.

Many people unthinkingly equate a geographical area with an ethnic group or with political structures. In English, the word "country" carries these multiple meanings, and in Japanese, *kuni* does. But it should be noted that there are many nations or ethnic groups that do not have a well-defined homeland due to periodic migration or have lost their homeland due to war or emigration.

Race

Simply defined, race is the categorization of humans into groups based on physical appearance or traits. Of all the concepts discussed, this is the most problematic for a number of reasons, but the main reason is that there is no scientific evidence that different human races exist. Though up to now, I have been using the word "race" as if there were many races, at this point allow me to state that there is only one human race (*homo sapiens*). Race is more of a sociopolitical and economic classification than a biological one. Usually, when we think of race, we think of skin color, facial structure, eye shape, or hair, but in actuality there are countless other ways to categorize people using physical traits, such as foot size, ear shape, finger length, and thousands of unseen biochemical and genetic traits that make up our physicality. But, probably because they are all very obvious traits, we are socially conditioned to think of race as skin color, facial structure, eye shape, and hair.

The idea that there are different races was ideologically formalized in the nineteenth century, and this ideology was driven by, as it still is in many places, political and economic reasons. Basically, there have been three theories about race, all presently discredited by most scholars (but not by all). The first theory is one of "racial types." Late 19th and early 20th century scholars attempted to identify individuals who typified "original, pure" races, with characteristics such as head form, hair color, and facial features. For example, the "Nordic" was tall, long-headed, and blond. The "Alpine" was shorter, round-headed, and had brown or red hair. There are two major problems with the racial-type theory. First, it assumes that prehistoric races lacked variation, and there is no evidence that "pure" races ever existed. Second, even if pure races existed, we could not identify their traits in modern populations because of all the interbreeding that has occurred over tens of thousands of years. Thus, few scientists believe there are racial "types."

The second theory is one of "racial stocks." Some physical anthropologists have attempted to divide people into "major stocks" or "great races." For example: Asian, African, European, or Negroid, Caucasoid,

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Mongoloid. But none of these systems work, since any given individual shares features of more than one stock. Also, it has been discovered that hidden biochemical traits cross-cut racial groups. Thus, many scientists do not believe we can scientifically divide the human species into racial stocks.

The third theory is one of "zoological subspecies." If two animals can inbreed, they are said to belong to the same species. In zoological classification, a subspecies is a major division of a species, whose members share certain traits that differentiate them from the rest of the species. If 75% of the population can be distinguished by certain identifying traits, then it can be said that they are a subspecies. Some researchers believe that the different races of humankind are "subspecies" of one human race. Recently, the concept of animal "subspecies" has been seriously doubted by zoologists. But in any case, human groups have been and still are constantly inbreeding, so human subspecies cannot exist.

As I noted above, for many people race usually means differences in skin color and facial features, but actually there are many ways to biologically distinguish human groups. There are many genetic characteristics that cross-cut groups. For example, the sickle-cell gene is shared by "white" Mediterraneans and "black" Africans; ABO blood types vary tremendously among Mongoloid populations; lactase deficiency among the Baganda of East Africa is three times that of their neighbors, the Watusi, but almost the same as Chinese. No one calls these biological differences "race," but there is no reason why we could not.

To conclude this section on race, I do not think that race is a useful scientific concept. However, regardless of the unscientific status of this concept, racism, racialism, and racist ideologies are deeply rooted in many parts of the world. Whether true or not, race, like some superstitious notions, governs the thoughts and actions of many people. We do not have to remind ourselves about the devastating effects of racism in our own societies. But here let me note that many of the differences that some Japanese attribute to culture, language (cf. Miller 1982), and history are actually parts of what seem to be a state-sponsored, or at least state-tolerated, form of racialism. In other words, the sociopolitical variable of race plays a large and disturbing role in Japanese society.

"Culture"

Finally, some words about "culture" are pertinent, which needless to say is not genetically determined and comes from the environment. Culture is a word that inevitably crops up in any discussion of Japan. It is a word so bound up with Japanese studies that any serious observer of Japan is well advised to come to terms with its uses and abuses. For many Japanese (as well as non-Japanese), this word refers to their "unique" tradition, a collection of customs and beliefs found nowhere else.

The first point to be made is that, as in Japanese, "culture" has two meanings. The first (culture as art) refers to artistic pursuits or intellectual endeavors, usually of a refined nature. The second meaning (culture as knowledge), which subsumes the latter definition, is a social scientific concept whose precise definition has been and is still debated. Here I will not treat the numerous definitions offered in the literature, but provide a provisional definition that everyone should agree on: "something learned." Or more specifically, the arts, beliefs, customs, sociopolitical institutions, and all other products of human creation and thought developed by a group of people at a particular time which is learned. Here let me note that ethnicity, tradition, historical heritage, and language are cultural since they are learned.

Distinguishing the two aforementioned definitions of culture may seem elementary, but it is surprising how many scholars conflate these two meanings. Moreover, everyday usage of the term "culture" in Japan often merges culture as art and culture as socially-acquired knowledge.

Like people anywhere, most Japanese are proud of their culture's traditions. Some are so proud, in fact, that they are more than happy to tell non-Japanese just how special and "unique" their society is. The "Japanese-culture-as-unique" line of thought (e.g., four seasons, eating raw fish, Japanese language, sleeping on floors, using chopsticks, and Japanese rice [cf. Ohnuki-Tierney 1993] are commonly reported as "unique" examples of Japanese culture) at first glance may seem innocuous, even quaint, to the more cosmopolitan, but it possesses an ideological thrust that is insidious and far from being necessarily innocent. After all, the "uniqueness of the Japanese" (often meaning "superiority") (cf. Dale 1986) was a prewar fascist and racist slogan, used to

justify imperialism, enslavement, and war atrocities. Today, non-Japanese (especially non-whites) living in Japan often receive treatment that is blatantly discriminatory. Such treatment is often justified by invoking some "unique" feature of Japanese culture. When Japanese legitimize, defend, or explain some trait as being due to the "uniqueness" of their culture they are often engaging in a form of cultural essentialism, which simply put, means to obfuscate (or to be kept unaware of) some belief or behavior's intimate relation to political plays or economic interests (Williams 1996, p. xxv). Concealing the political side of belief or behavior is a means to posit a "truth" that is immune from critical scrutiny, so that people often come to accept tautological determinism; i. e., "Japanese-act-that-way-because-they-are Japanese" (a circular argument prevalent among Japanese students I teach).

Cultural essentialism may be referred to as "culturalism." Bestor's study of the cultural dynamics that sustain and give identity to an urban neighborhood in Japan is pertinent here. He uses the term "traditionalism": "the manipulation, invention, and recombination of cultural patterns, symbols, and motifs so as to legitimize contemporary social realities by imbuing them with a patina of venerable historicity" (1989, p. 2). According to Bestor, traditionalism is a "common Japanese cultural device for managing or responding to social change" (1989, p. 10). Traditionalism and culturalist explanations are both attempts to add legitimacy to present-day social and political arrangements by constructing and reshaping conventions.

Conclusion

To conclude, I would like to say that one of the most challenging problems of a sincere multiculturalism is how to build an intelligently informed multiculturalism which relies on social scientific concepts and discards unscientific and confusing notions. Another problem is to get the state to accept diversity within its geographical borders and within its ideological boundaries. Instructors, Japanese and non-Japanese alike, have the responsibility to counter elite and state-sponsored myth-making. I would suggest that, in order to teach a genuine multiculturalism, instructors carefully consider the meaning of the words commonly used to come to terms with human diversity. I do not expect people to adopt my

own choice of definitions and uses for the terms previously explained; however, I believe that we should at least all be aware that careless usage can only lead to confusion, resulting in the perpetuation of damaging myths about the meaning of human diversity. Another suggestion is that instructors inform themselves about the facts of Japan, and carefully avoid repeating the many myths about Japan and the Japanese people (examples: "Japanese culture is unique"; "the Japanese people are homogeneous"; "the Japanese are conformist"; "the Japanese language is hard for foreigners to learn"; "Japan is a small country"; "Japanese act like this because we were a closed society during Tokugawa"; or "we live in an island country"; or "we used to live in an agricultural society"; or "we have four seasons"; "we are shy"; "we used to be vegetarians"; "we are Buddhist"; "we are Shintoist"; etc.) (cf. Yoshino 1992).

Let me end by repeating a point already made. It is extremely important to distinguish the various concepts that I have discussed, because without doing so, we run the grave danger of assuming that cultural knowledge is something determined by physical traits or genes. We also run the danger of essentializing human differences that should not be essentialized, notably physical traits, which are, after all, only skin deep.

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Comparing Cultures through Critical Thinking: Development and Interpretation of Meaningful Observations

Laurel D. Kamada
Hirosaki University

Japanese college students today come into freshman classes lacking experience in basic learning skills. This is due in part to emphasis in schools on the cognitive aspect of education at the expense of ignoring basic human dimensions such as feeling, reacting, and internalizing (Batcher, 1981; Burns, 1982). Schools emphasize teaching over learning. Studies have revealed that more favorable self-esteem develops in pupils from innovative and humanistically oriented schools than in more traditionally oriented schools (Burns, 1982; Luk, C. L. & Bond M. H., 1992).

In response to this need for an environment where students take control of their own learning, a university Comparative Cultures class in Japan was devised in which students were taught a basic methodology for approaching the subject matter through observing, thinking, and evaluating rather than being simply introduced to differences in Western culture.

Many students enter the first day of class lacking experience in using critical thinking processes to solve problems logically. Davidson describes critical thinking as

the capacity to create and analyze proofs or arguments by making sound use of evidence and logic. Such skills include the ability to construct a coherent chain of reasoning and also the ability to evaluate sources of information for their relative objectivity, coherence, and validity. (1994a, p. 20)

Students also lack the ability to debate ideas and share opposing opinions with others. Debate has been shown to be a very effective classroom tool employed by foreign instructors in Japan to facilitate Japanese students in using logical reasoning and problem solving and in expressing agreement and disagreement (Bolichowski, H. 1995; Izumi, K. 1995; Le, V., 1995).

Also, many students have well defined ethnocentric and stereotypical viewpoints limiting their ability to objectively evaluate new or unusual ideas. Many often resort to narrowing things down to over-simplistic categories of either "good" or "bad" rather than viewing other ideas, peoples or cultures in a total context. Japanese students also have a tendency to reduce things to a common consensual agreement, rather than developing and expressing their own individual ideas.

It is not so much that students are loathe to think about and discuss important or interesting issues; rather it is the problem simply of having inadequate experience and techniques for doing so. Once given the tools to do so, students often show great enthusiasm and proficiency in objectively analyzing and comparing cultures. A methodology for developing ideas and interpreting observations in a meaningful manner was needed.

An objective was established to bring students to recognize the value of diversity in cultural perspectives in differing peoples between and within cultures. An important aspect of this was to create opportunities for students to experience learning through a process of their own discovery. The purpose

here was to give Japanese students a methodology for interpreting and evaluating other cultures through a process where they would visualize themselves "standing in the shoes of others" and seeing the world from another's eyes. The theme song from the animated Disney film, *Pocahontas*, is used to illustrate this to students. The Indian princess says to the British settler, "... if you walk the footsteps of a stranger, you'll learn things you never knew you never knew" (Schwartz, 1995). The ultimate goal was that through the process of bringing students to realize the richness of cultural variety outside of their country and themselves, they would also come to see their own patterns of thought and ways of behavior as being equally important. Through this approach students would develop the means for self-critique and with it, the ability to evaluate critically.

Understanding stereotypical thinking

It is natural for people to evaluate their world from their personal perspective and to place others in broad general categories — that is, to make stereotypical generalizations of others. This can be problematic if carried to an extreme. Not only is this a problem for students, but instructors themselves are also often guilty. Much has been written about the need for more cultural understanding on the part of Western instructors coming into Asian classrooms (Cogan, 1995; Davidson 1994a, Flowerdew & Miller, 1995). Although it may not always be an easy thing to do, it is of particular importance for instructors to try to keep an objective approach in their analysis of cultures, so as to set a model for students. Davidson advises teachers to ask themselves the following question: "Are we aiming at training our students to be discerning individuals able to decide for themselves whether or not they accept an idea, or are we trying to influence them subliminally to accept uncritically our ideas?" (1994a, p. 21) From the first class, students and teacher alike must put themselves in a frame of mind where constant attempts are made to view other cultures "from the shoes of the other," as mentioned earlier. In introducing the concept of ethnocentrism to students, several illustrations and activities were presented to make

students aware, first, of the problems, and secondly, to work on ways of avoiding them.

First day classroom activity: ethnocentrism

One of the introductory activities that students are asked to do on the first day of class is to take only about three to five minutes to draw a map of the world (major continents and countries) on a white piece of paper as best they can without looking at any resources. What results from this activity is not only a great range in complexity of maps that are produced, but also variations are seen in distortions in the size of other countries compared to the size of their country, Japan. Some students draw Japan extremely oversized, others draw it undersized. Nearly all the maps drawn by Japanese students place Japan in the middle. Students are later asked to evaluate their maps noticing differences and similarities among each other. Then several other versions of maps are shown such as the European version with England in the middle, USA to the west and Japan to the East or the "Down Under" map where the globe is turned upside down with Australia centralized and the rest of the southern hemisphere in the top part of the map.

This lesson is used to illustrate our unconscious ethnocentrism. Oxford English Reference Dictionary defines ethnocentric as "evaluating other races and cultures by criteria specific to one's own." Again in referring to the lyrics from "Colors of the Wind," *Pocahontas* accuses John Smith of ethnocentrism, "You think the only people who are people are the people who look and think like you" (Schwartz, 1995).

Forming consensus & keeping integrity: panel discussion

A unit on panel discussions was introduced for the purpose of giving students experience in sharing differing attitudes based on differing points of view and then coming to an agreement or a "Conference Statement" while maintaining their integrity. The task was to question each other, but to respect others' opinions (not to argue and debate, usually). Thus, without abandoning their principles, students had to come to sympathize with

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others and come to a compromise.

Students were asked to choose from among several suggested panels a role of a person from a particular country, culture or ethnicity (sometimes including their own) or to choose the role of the moderator. They were to assume that role in discussing the particular issue of the panel. It was important that they try to come to sympathize with the role they chose and to get into their role. This could be furthered by going to the library and reading up about aspects of their role.

The role of the moderator was to keep the pace moving, to break up arguments and to be fair in deciding whose turn it was to speak during discussion—to make sure that one aggressive person wasn't keeping the microphone for too long. However, with Japanese students, prodding is often necessary to make students speak; for example, the moderator might say, "Sue Smith, from USA, what is your response to Mohammed's view on. . ." The moderator must be fair, unbiased and only play the role of facilitating the smooth discussion of the panel. Another option would be for students who chose to be moderator to also take on a regular role from another panel or for the teacher to be the moderator.

Example topic

One example of a panel topic was concerned with the bullying problem in schools. It was presented as follows: foreign students have been bullied in Japanese schools. The panel was assembled to talk in general about the rising problems of bullying in schools related to problems of "being different" in a society that emphasizes conformity, problems of children not knowing how to play and interact with each other, problems of student's frustrations and insecurities, home problems, and problems of the educational system. Seven panel members included a moderator and a Japanese and a foreigner role for each of the following: a parent of a middle school student, a middle school teacher, and a middle school student (not necessarily the child of the parent above). Students were to decide for themselves the country of origin of the foreigners.

Classroom preparation

First meeting: rules of how to play.

Students use two class periods and homework to prepare for their panel which takes place on the third class. From the beginning, students understand what is expected of them. First, each speaker is given 2 to 3 minutes to present their individual prepared statements on the issue of discussion. The content is based on the role they take on, not necessarily their real opinions. After all of the panelists present their viewpoints, a general discussion follows for about 5 to 8 minutes. Importance is stressed here for panelists to speak out and question, disagree, seek clarification, make comments or add to other panelists' views. There is no order of who speaks first. The rest of the class listens, asks questions or makes comments at the end of the time period.

On the first meeting, all points of the unit are introduced generally. Roles are decided. The number of panelists should be adjusted to fit the number of students in the class so that every student will have at least one role. Students move into panel groups and discuss freely. They should keep notes indicating areas where more information is to be needed. By the next class, students should prepare by doing library research about their role and preferably also about other panelists' roles as well. Before the next class, each panelist must prepare a draft of a two to three minute statement regarding the theme of the panel. The moderator decides the format to be used to make name placards for the panelists and moderator. Also the panelists, but especially the moderator, try to brainstorm possible consensual statements for homework, even at this early stage.

Second meeting: discussion. Having researched in the library, everyone has a deeper perspective on their role. On this day, small groups are formed in differing places around the classroom for each of the panels where each panelist presents his/her statement in their discussion group. Then they begin discussing, questioning and commenting. The moderator tries to suggest a compromise statement, and modifies it as panelists discuss, agree, or disagree. If students have not had enough discussion time together in class to feel confident to

present their panels by the following classtime, they should arrange a time to meet together outside of class to further practice in preparation.

Third meeting: panels presented. On this day the panels are presented. Students are encouraged to challenge themselves by being expressive, speaking out and questioning loudly, clearly, and confidently. If possible, the panels should be videotaped. An edited video of best excerpts can be shown on the last day of class. Students not in the panel being presented are to listen, learn, comment, and ask questions. Students evaluate others and also evaluate themselves by considering what they would do better next time.

Fourth meeting: consensus and conference statement. On the final day, any presentations not finished from the class before are presented. Then each panel meets together to discuss among themselves and come up with a statement of agreement to be submitted in written form. First, the students should write down individually what they feel to be points of agreement among all the panelists. Then all come together and share their ideas and discuss problems and points that need to be compromised. It is the moderator's job, with the help of the panelists to write up a statement that all can agree upon and sign. Since agreement is the final goal, panelists should lean toward agreement rather than debate. However, it is important that they preserve their integrity and principles. If time permits, students present their conference statements to the class. Otherwise, they are submitted in writing and copies are made later for other students to see. If students are unable to finish within the allotted classtime, they must complete it as a group for homework.

Conclusion

The purpose of this course was to give students the tools in hand so that they are equipped with a methodology for evaluating and comparing any or all aspects of cultures, not only those limited topics selected for study within the classroom time framework. Furthermore, students possess the skills and means for expressing themselves to others. Hopefully they internalize that the purpose of comparing cultures is

not to determine that one culture is right and another culture is wrong or that one culture is better than another; rather through coming to understand other cultures, students come back to look at themselves and their own country and try to find the means to be better than they already are.

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Authority and Individualism in Japan and the U.S.A.

Alisa Woodring
Hiroshima Shudo University

"Status-oriented," "hierarchical," "formal," "group-oriented," "collectivistic," "interdependent": these terms are found throughout the literature which aims to expand one's understanding of Japan and things Japanese. However, as Dean Barnlund (1989), one of the first to use and popularize such terms, notes, "it is tempting once we have become attached to certain views of a culture for such images, through constant reiteration, to acquire the power of myth" (p. 167). The myth of the Japanese student, group- and status-oriented, can be used to predict and explain students' behavior, thereby influencing all aspects of teaching. Relying on the myth of the Japanese student, accounting for students' behavior can, nevertheless, remain a hit or miss affair. It was this discrepancy between what had been read about the mythological Japanese student and what had actually been experienced with very real students in the classroom that prompted the present research.

Background

Geert Hofstede (1980), a Dutch professor of organizational anthropology and international management, has conducted exhaustive national culture research. Between 1967 and 1974, he designed and administered an international attitude survey program for International Business

Machines (IBM). The paper-and-pencil survey contained, among other items, 32 values questions. Hofstede defines a value as "a broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others . . . this definition reserves the word 'value' for mental programs that are relatively unspecific: the same mental program can be activated in a variety of situations" (p. 19). The questionnaire was translated into 20 languages and administered to matched samples of employees of IBM subsidiaries in 40 different countries. Employees were matched by occupation, age and sex. The survey was administered twice, allowing for the stability of differences found and trends over time to be examined. Over 116,000 surveys were ultimately available for analysis.

Ecological factor analysis of the 32 mean values scores of the 40 countries revealed that 49% of the variance in means could be explained by three factors, one of which was later divided into two factors (Hofstede, 1980). These four factors, or dimensions, comprise Hofstede's four-dimensional model of cultural difference. The labels chosen for the four dimensions and their interpretations are as follows:

1. **Power Distance.** This is the degree to which a society accepts the idea that power is to be distributed unequally.

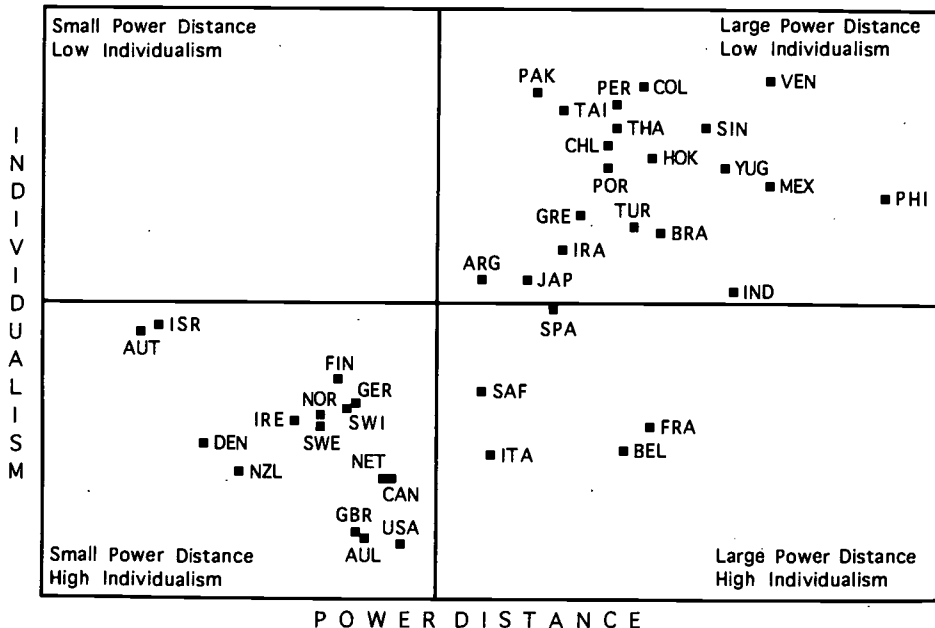
The more this is accepted, the higher the Power Distance ranking. "All societies are unequal but some are more unequal than others" (Hofstede, 1980, p. 136).

2. **Individualism.** This is the degree to which a society feels that individuals' beliefs and actions should be independent of collective thought and action. The more this idea is accepted, the higher the rank on this measure.
3. **Masculinity.** This is the degree to which a society focuses on assertiveness, task achievement, and the acquisition of things as opposed to quality of life issues such as caring for others, group solidarity, and helping the less fortunate. The more assertiveness, competitiveness, and ambition are accepted, the higher a country's Masculinity ranking.
4. **Uncertainty Avoidance.** This is the degree to which a society feels threatened by ambiguous situations and tries to avoid them by providing rules and refusing to tolerate deviance. The more a society accepts this idea, the higher its ranking in

Uncertainty Avoidance (Goodman, 1994, p. 138).

All 40 countries were given an index score on each dimension and subsequently grouped into eight culture areas (Hofstede, 1980), based upon their index scores on each dimension and their common histories, which partly explain their similar index scores. Only Japan represents a culture area by itself. It is labeled "More Developed Asian," with a medium Power Distance Index score, a medium Individualism Index score, a high Uncertainty Avoidance Index score, and a high Masculinity Index score. The U.S.A. is clustered with Australia, Canada, Great Britain, Ireland and New Zealand, and labeled "Anglo." All the countries in the "Anglo" cluster have small to medium Power Distance Index scores, high Individualism Index scores, low to medium Uncertainty Avoidance Index scores, and high Masculinity Index scores (p. 336). The relative positions of all 40 countries which Hofstede surveyed on Power Distance and Individualism axes, the values with which the present research is concerned, are shown in Figure 1. The abbreviations used are shown in Table 1.

Figure 1. Position of 40 Countries on Power Distance and Individualism. Source: *Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values*, by G. H. Hofstede, 1980 (p. 223). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.



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Table 1. Abbreviations Used in Figure 1

ARG	Argentina	GRE	Greece	PHI	Philippines
AUL	Australia	HOK	Hong Kong	POR	Portugal
AUT	Austria	IND	India	SAF	South Africa
BEL	Belgium	IRA	Iran	SIN	Singapore
BRA	Brazil	IRE	Ireland	SPA	Spain
CAN	Canada	ISR	Israel	SWE	Sweden
CHL	Chile	ITA	Italy	SWI	Switzerland
COL	Columbia	JAP	Japan	TAI	Taiwan
DEN	Denmark	MEX	Mexico	THA	Thailand
FIN	Finland	NET	Netherlands	TUR	Turkey
FRA	France	NOR	Norway	USA	United States
GBR	Great Britain	NZL	New Zealand	VEN	Venezuela
GER	Germany (West)	PAK	Pakistan	YUG	Yugoslavia
		PER	Peru		

Method

The relevance of Hofstede's research to educational settings "is based on the assumption that role patterns and value systems in a society are carried forward from the school to the job and back" (1986, p. 306). The workplace and the school are fundamental institutions found in all human societies. Both institutions have a pair of unequal but complementary basic roles or "archetypal role pairs": boss-subordinate and teacher-student. These archetypal roles are played in different ways in different societies, dependent upon each society's culture and value systems. Yet role patterns interact among institutions so that teacher-student patterns of interaction will be carried over to boss-subordinate patterns of interaction within a society.

Unfortunately for the researcher, Hofstede's original survey does not carry over from the workplace to the school as easily as role patterns and value systems. Its length and questions unrelated to values make classroom administration difficult. In subsequent writings, however, Hofstede (1986) suggested differences in teacher-student and student-student interaction related to Power Distance and Individualism. These were adapted for use in a cross-cultural training program module (Goodman, 1994), in the form of a self-assessment exercise, which easily lends itself to classroom administration (see Appendix A).

Instrument

Goodman's original self-assessment exercise presents 46 paired statements adapted from Hofstede's list of differences in teacher-student and student-student interaction related to Power Distance and Individualism. Participants are instructed to circle the statement in each pair they agree with most strongly. They are instructed to work quickly, rather than taking time to consider a "right" answer, thus helping to avoid responses predicated upon the expected cultural norm. Based upon the 23 statements chosen, participants' Individualism and Power Distance levels are then determined. A Japanese translation of Goodman's instrument was prepared through a back translation process (see Appendix B).

Participants

Japanese participants. The Japanese version of the instrument was administered to 156 first-year students at Hiroshima Shudo University in July 1995. All participants were fluent in Japanese. Seventy participants were from the Faculty of Commercial Sciences; sixty-three were from the Faculty of Humanities and Human Sciences; twenty-three participants were from the Faculty of Law.

American participants. Goodman's original survey was administered to 106 students with freshman standing at Palomar

College, San Marcos, California in January and February 1996. All participants were fluent in English and enrolled in an introductory English composition course. They ranged in age from 16 to 57, with a median age of 20 and an average age of 22. Of the Palomar participants, 75.5% were European Americans, 14.2% Hispanic Americans, 5.7% African Americans, 2.8% Asian Americans, and Native Americans and Middle Eastern Americans each comprised 0.9% of the students surveyed.

Procedure

All participants were reminded, in English, not to identify themselves by name on the instrument, to consider all of their educational experiences when completing the instrument, and to work quickly in completing the instrument. Participants completed the instrument in 3 to 10 minutes.

Results

The means of the 156 Shudo students and the 106 Palomar students on Power Distance and Individualism axes are shown in Figure 2. The abbreviations used are shown in Table 2.

Figure 2. Positions of Hiroshima Shudo University and Palomar College on Power Distance and Individualism.

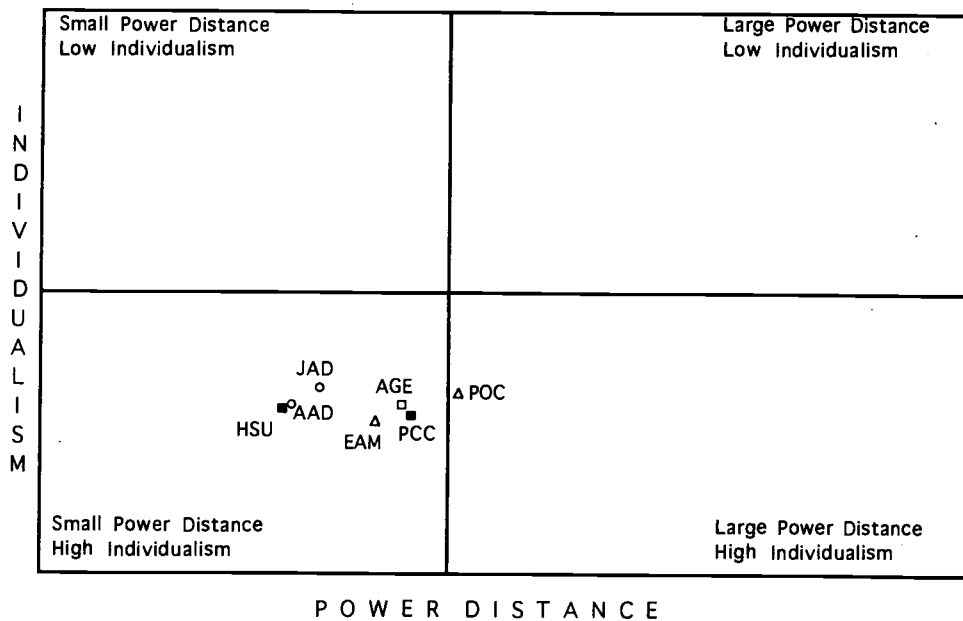


Table 2. Abbreviations Used in Figure 2

HSU	Hiroshima Shudo University	JAD	Japanese Administrator
PCC	Palomar College	AAD	American Administrator
AGE	Age Adjustment	POC	People of Color
		EAM	European Americans

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The Shudo mean represents medium to small Power Distance and medium to high Individualism. Similarly, the Palomar mean represents medium Power Distance and medium to high Individualism. Eighty-four percent of the Shudo students and 67% of the Palomar students placed within the Small Power Distance-High Individualism quadrant, the location of the U.S.A. in Hofstede's original findings. Three percent of the Shudo students and 4% of the Palomar students placed within the Large Power Distance-Low Individualism quadrant, the position of Japan in Hofstede's original research. Overall, 96% of the Shudo students and 69% of the Palomar students placed somewhere within the Small Power Distance quadrants, while 85% of the Shudo students and 94% of the Palomar students placed somewhere within the High Individualism quadrants.

Discussion

The paired statements from which respondents were instructed to choose represent extremes of Small and Large Power Distances and Low and High Individualism and, as Hofstede (1986) notes, "reality is often in between these extremes" (p. 311). Nevertheless, the picture of Shudo University students which emerges from the research, a group with Small Power Distance and High Individualism, reveals values significantly different from those revealed by Hofstede's original research and purported to be held by the mythological Japanese student, but surprisingly similar to the values held by their U.S. American counterparts at Palomar College.

Having conducted a longitudinal survey, first around 1968 and again around 1972, and having matched respondents for age, Hofstede (1980) was able to see and foresee outcomes like those revealed by the present research. While explaining the stability of cultural patterns over long periods of time due to their reinforcement by institutions, which are themselves the products of the dominant value systems, Hofstede also acknowledges that cultures do change. In addition, he recognizes that the rate of change has increased during the past two centuries. He attributes differences in values among respondents of different ages, or at different times, or both to four

possible causes: maturation, generation, *Zeitgeist*, and seniority. As a result of maturation, respondents' values shift as they age, generally with a direct relationship between increased age and increased conservatism or desire to maintain existing cultural values. As a result of generation, values are set in the young people from a certain period and stay with them throughout their lifetime. If the conditions of life during youth change drastically, this may result in different generations having different fixed values. As a result of *Zeitgeist*, trends in society, values change throughout a society or culture, regardless of age, generation or seniority. And as a result of seniority, for respondents from one particular organization, their values shift not because they have physically aged but because they have become more senior within the organization (p. 345).

Power Distance

Among Japanese students. Hofstede's research (1980) revealed "a decrease of the desired power distance worldwide" (p. 342). He attributes this decrease to a combined maturation and *Zeitgeist* effect. "Equality" generally appeals less to older than to younger individuals, although better educated people tend to mature later and stay in touch with societal trends longer (p. 355). Furthermore, across cultures, the desire for greater equality grew with an increase over time in the technology necessary to provide for an increasing world population and the accompanying increase in education levels and the size of the middle classes (p. 353). The relatively young age of the Hiroshima Shudo University participants would then explain a smaller Power Distance than that found in Japanese society as a whole. Likewise, the continuance in Japan of the trends Hofstede describes—increased technology, increased education levels and increased size of the middle classes—would also help to account for the Shudo students' small Power Distance.

Although the participants were verbally instructed to consider all their educational experiences when completing the instrument, it is possible that the context in which the Shudo students completed the survey, an EFL class taught by a U.S. American teacher, influenced their perception of the

word "teacher" when it appeared in the survey. To test for this possibility, a Japanese professor administered the Japanese language version of the survey to 19 first-year Commercial Science students enrolled in his English class at Shudo. The students originally surveyed in the Commercial Sciences faculty had a slightly larger Power Distance and slightly lower Individualism than the Shudo mean. When surveyed by a Japanese professor, there was a small increase in Power Distance and an even smaller decrease in Individualism among Commercial Science students (see Figure 2). The effect of the ethnicity of the teacher, however, is not great enough to account for the very large differences found between the cultural values of Shudo students and those claimed for mythological Japanese students.

Among American students. Similarly, maturation and *Zeitgeist* effects may account for the Power Distance of the Palomar group. The slightly older mean age of the Palomar students could result in a larger Power Distance. And, when age is controlled for, Power Distance does decrease slightly, although not to as low a level as the Shudo students' (see Figure 2). Individualism also decreases slightly, which is counter to the indirect relation Hofstede found between age and Individualism. The Palomar group does not appear to manifest "a decrease of the desired power distance" (1980, p. 342), like that shown by Hofstede's findings. One possible reason for this may be the steadily growing income inequality in the U.S.A. over the past 20 years — a *Zeitgeist* effect. While there was a trend toward greater income equality in the 1950's and 1960's, income inequality grew in the U.S.A. during the 1980's, creating the widest income gap between rich and poor of any large industrialized country, and this income disparity persists today (Wolff, 1995). Hofstede (1980) comments, "it seems that on the level of societies, inequality in power and inequality in wealth go hand in hand. The greater the power inequality, the greater the wealth inequality, and vice versa. Larger or smaller inequality in wealth is one of the elements in the causal chain that helps to explain the power distance syndrome" (p. 125). If so, it is not surprising that the Power Distance among Palomar students is not as small as one might anticipate.

Individualism

Among Japanese students. Regarding Individualism, Hofstede's research (1980) revealed "a sharp increase in individualism" (p. 367) throughout the 40 countries surveyed, and he noted that "Japan [is] shifting fast to the individualist side" (p. 236). He attributes this increase to a *Zeitgeist* effect. There is a strong association between individualism and national wealth, and most of the countries became wealthier during the four-year period in which his research was conducted.

In the twenty years since 1974, the year in which Hofstede completed his original research, Japan's GDP per capita has increased by approximately 82%, compared with about a 54% increase during the period of Hofstede's research (Asahi, 1995, p. 279). Currently, Japan's GDP per capita is the seventh highest in the world (JETRO, 1995, p. 2). While the rate of growth has slowed since 1974, Hofstede's longitudinal study (1980) reveals a strong relation between national wealth, not economic growth, and Individualism, with causality from wealth to Individualism (p. 14). Similarly, there is a weaker negative correlation between Power Distance and national wealth (1986, p. 308). As a result of these two correlations, one finds most wealthy industrialized countries in the Small Power Distance-High Individualism quadrant. The present results place Shudo students in this same quadrant. Again, as a result of the *Zeitgeist* effect, values change throughout a culture, due to drastic, system-wide changes in conditions. Japan's increased wealth is a drastic, system-wide change which may have resulted in the increased Individualism among Shudo participants and, to a lesser degree, the decreased Power Distance.

The present, limited research makes it impossible to determine which of the four causes delineated by Hofstede may account for the findings. Undoubtedly maturation and *Zeitgeist* are important influences. It is possible that the shifts revealed may also be attributed to a generational effect in Japan, for the generation of the Japanese participants in this research has been labeled by Japanese society as *shin jin rui*, literally "new human beings." This term, popularized about five years ago, is most often applied to those approximately 25 years old and

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younger. At their worst, these new human beings are described by older Japanese as selfish, self-centered and disrespectful of their elders and of tradition, terms which can also be used to describe the negative aspects of Small Power Distance and High Individualism.

Among American students. At the time of Hofstede's research, the U.S.A. was the wealthiest country in the world, as it is today. Given the strong association between national wealth and Individualism described by Hofstede, this should contribute to greater Individualism. The lower Individualism revealed by the present research, though, may be partially accounted for by the relatively high level of ethnic diversity among the Palomar group.

In general, in intercultural studies, "American culture refers to the dominant patterns . . . of mainstream Americans, composed primarily, but not exclusively, of members of the white, male middle class" (Stewart & Bennett, 1991, xii). Although Hofstede's research was conducted across occupations in IBM, only a sizable working-class population was found in the manufacturing plants, with the middle class predominate in all other sectors. While Hofstede does not further analyze the national cultures he examines according to ethnic subcultures, it is probably safe to assume that the American IBM employees surveyed from 1967 to 1974 were not as ethnically diverse as the students surveyed at Palomar. At Palomar, 24.5% of the students surveyed were People of Color. However, they accounted for 50% of the surveyed population placing in the Low Individualism quadrants. Their Individualism mean was somewhat lower than their European American counterparts', and their Power Distance mean was significantly larger (See Figure 2).

Conclusion

Stereotypes can serve as "a first, best guess" (Brislin, 1993, p. 178) when considering a culture and how to function within it. Experiences in that culture, however, and exploratory studies such as this, "suggest there may be a substantial gap between cultural clichés and cultural realities" (Barnlund, 1989, p. 167). The mythological

Japanese student, group- and status-oriented, should be regarded alongside the present findings which indicate that first-year Hiroshima Shudo University students are surprisingly similar to their Palomar College counterparts, preferring a moderately egalitarian distribution of power in student-teacher interactions and moderately independent beliefs and actions in student-student interactions. A comparison between the student clichés and the subcultural realities suggests that a reassessment of present teaching methodologies may be required in order to accommodate the values and adequately fulfill the learning needs of very real students. Ultimately, a willingness to question stereotypes, remain tentative and less absolute regarding classroom interactions is most needed.

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Appendix A

Instructions: Below there are 46 statements that are clustered in pairs. Circle the statement in each matched pair that you are most comfortable with. There are no wrong answers. Make your choice as spontaneously as possible. You will have 23 items circled at the end of the exercise.

1. A positive association in society is with whatever is rooted in tradition.
2. A positive association in society is with whatever is "new."

3. Impersonal "truth" is stressed and can, in principle, be obtained from any competent person.
4. Personal "wisdom" is stressed and is transferred in the relationship with a particular teacher (guru).

5. A teacher should respect the independence of his or her students.
6. A teacher merits the respect of his or her students.

7. One is never too old to learn; continual education.
8. The young should learn; adults cannot accept a student role.

9. Students expect to learn how to do.
10. Students expect to learn how to learn.

11. Student-centered education (value is placed on student initiative).
12. Teacher-centered education (value is placed on teacher-ordered learning).

13. Students expect teacher to initiate communication.
14. Teacher expects students to initiate communication.

15. Teacher expects students to find their own paths.
16. Students expect teacher to outline paths to follow.

17. Individual students will speak up in class in response to a general invitation by the teacher.
18. Individual students will only speak up in class when called upon personally by the teacher.

19. Individuals will speak up in large groups.
20. Individuals will only speak up in small groups.

21. Large classes are split socially into smaller cohesive subgroups based on particularist criteria (e.g., ethnic affiliation).
22. Subgroupings in class vary from one situation to the next based on universalist criteria (e.g., the task at hand).

23. Students may speak up spontaneously in class.
24. Students speak up in class only when invited by the teacher.

25. The teacher is seldom contradicted and rarely criticized.
26. Students are allowed to contradict or criticize teacher.

27. Confrontation in learning situations can be beneficial; conflicts can be brought into the open.
28. Formal harmony in learning situations should be maintained.

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29. Effectiveness of learning is related to the excellence of the teacher.
30. Effectiveness of learning is related to the amount of two-way communication in class.
31. Neither the teacher nor any student should be made to lose face.
32. "Face-saving" is of little importance.
33. Education is a way of improving one's economic worth and self-respect based on ability and competence.
34. Education is a way of gaining prestige in one's social environment and of joining a higher status group.
35. Outside class, teachers are treated as equals to students.
36. Respect for teachers is also shown outside of class.
37. Diploma certificates are important and displayed on walls.
38. Diploma certificates have little importance.
39. In teacher-student conflicts, parents are expected to side with the student.
40. In teacher-student conflicts, parents are expected to side with the teacher.
41. Older teachers are more respected than younger teachers.
42. Younger teachers are more liked than older teachers.
43. Acquiring competence is more important than acquiring certificates.
44. Acquiring certificates is more important than acquiring competence.
45. Teachers are expected to give preferential treatment to some students (e.g., based on ethnic affiliation or on recommendation by an influential person).
46. Teachers are expected to be strictly impartial.

Source. Intercultural education at the university level: Teacher-student interaction, by N. R. Goodman, 1994. In P. Pederson (Series Ed.) & R. W. Brislin & T. Yoshida (Vol. Eds.), *Multicultural aspects of counseling series: Vol. 3. Improving intercultural interactions: Modules for cross-cultural training programs* (pp. 130-131). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

A p p e n d i x B

下記の46文は、2文ずつのペアになっています。各ペアのうち、自分の意見により近いと思う方に○をして下さい。間違った答えというものはありません。あまり考えすぎずに直感で選んで下さい。最終的には、23の○がつくことになります。

- 1、社会では、屯統に根付いたものと、積極的つながりを持つ。
- 2、社会では、「新しいもの」と、積極的つながりを持つ。
- 3、一徹的「真理」が重要であり、それはおおむね、いかなる有能な人物からも得る事ができる。
- 4、個人的「知識」が重要であり、それは特定の教師との関わりあいから得られるものである。
- 5、教師は、生徒の自立を尊重すべきである。
- 6、教師は、生徒から尊敬されるべきである。
- 7、生涯が学習であり、年齢的に遅すぎるということはけしてない。
- 8、若い方が学習に適し、大人になれば、生徒にはなれない。

- 9、生徒は何かの仕方を学びたい。
 10、生徒は学び方を学びたい。
- 11、生徒中心の教育、つまり生徒の自主性が重んじられるべきである。
 12、教師中心の教育、つまり教師の指示による学習が重んじられるべきである。
- 13、生徒は、教師にコミュニケーションの主導を期待する。
 14、教師は、生徒にコミュニケーションの主導を期待する。
- 15、教師は、生徒自身が道を見つけだすことを期待する。
 16、生徒は、教師が進むべき道を示してくれることを期待する。
- 17、クラス内では、教師の全体への呼びかけに対し、個々の生徒が自由に発言する。
 18、クラス内では、教師によって指名された生徒が発言する。
- 19、個々の生徒は、大グループ内でも発言する。
 20、個々の生徒は、小グループ内でのみ発言する。
- 21、大人数クラスは、排他的基準（民族など）により、つながりの強い小グループへと分かれる。
 22、クラス内の小グループは、一般的基準（作業内容など）により状況ごとに変わる。
- 23、生徒は、クラス内で自発的に発言してよい。
 24、生徒は、教師により指名された時のみ発言する。
- 25、教師は、反論されたり批判されたりすることはほとんどない。
 26、生徒は、教師に反論したり、教師を批判してもよい。
- 27、学習の場での対立は有益である。衝突もオープンにすべきである。
 28、学習の場では調和・協調が保たれるべきである。
- 29、有効な学習は、教師の優秀さと関係がある。
 30、有効な学習は、クラス内での相互のコミュニケーションの量に関係がある。
- 31、教師も生徒も、体面を失うようなことは避けるべきである。
 32、体面は、ほとんど重要ではない。
- 33、教育は、個人の経済的価値と能力に基づき自尊心を高めるための方法である。
 34、教育は、個人の経済的名声を得るため、より高い地位を得るための方法である。
- 35、クラス外では、教師と生徒は同等である。
 36、クラス外でも、教師に対する尊敬に念は保たれる。
- 37、資格証書は、重要であり壁に飾るべきである。
 38、資格証書は、ほとんど重要ではない。
- 39、教師と生徒の衝突の場では、親は生徒側につくべきである。
 40、教師と生徒の衝突の場では、親は教師側につくべきである。
- 41、年輩の教師は、若い教師より尊敬できる。
 42、若い教師は、年輩の教師より好かれる。
- 43、能力を得ることが、資格証書を得るより重要である。
 44、資格証書を得ることが、能力を得るより重要である。
- 45、教師は、民族の違いや有力者の影響によって、特定の生徒を優遇することがあってもよい。
 46、教師は、厳密に公平であるべきである。

Organiser un Séjour Linguistique en France pour des Étudiants Japonais: Première Expérience en Février-Mars 1996

Alain Lauffenburger
Kagoshima Immaculate Heart University

Introduction

Il est généralement de plus en plus admis qu'un séjour linguistique dans le pays d'origine est essentiel à l'acquisition d'une langue et d'une culture étrangères. Cela me paraît particulièrement vrai pour les Japonais étudiant le français, langue peu connue et peu représentée au Japon. J'ai moi-même acquis la conviction au cours de mes neuf ans d'enseignement dans ce pays qu'un séjour linguistique dans un pays francophone était un complément indispensable aux études faites ici même. Mais, bien qu'un tel séjour soit plus accessible que jamais aux étudiants japonais, nombreux sont ceux qui ne veulent pas ou n'osent pas profiter de cette possibilité, ou, ne se sentant pas "prêts", remettent à toujours plus tard sa réalisation. Plusieurs institutions japonaises, convaincues de la nécessité d'un tel séjour linguistique, l'intègrent dans leur curriculum: ainsi, par exemple, l'Université de Oou (Nakajima, 1995) et Kagoshima Immaculate Heart Junior College (Iwakiri, Ikeda, and Fujita, 1993). Notre université, qui vient d'ouvrir ses portes en avril 1994, n'a pas encore un tel système. Comment peut-on, dans ces conditions, convaincre les étudiantes (et leurs parents) de l'utilité d'un séjour linguistique entièrement à leur charge? Est-il valable et rentable d'organiser un séjour linguistique? Je vais essayer de répondre à ces questions et quelques autres dans ce rapport.

L'organisation du séjour linguistique *Les étudiantes*

Il s'agit dans notre cas d'étudiantes

spécialistes de français de la Faculté d'Études Internationales de l'Université du Coeur Immaculé de Kagoshima, une université catholique privée de jeunes filles. En 1995, j'ai proposé aux 13 étudiantes de 2e année (notre première génération d'étudiantes) un séjour linguistique à Strasbourg, France, en février et mars 1996. Ce séjour a été entièrement organisé par moi-même avec l'aide de ma femme Yoshie Lauffenburger-Hashido, et un groupe de 5 étudiantes s'est constitué, que nous avons préparé et accompagné. Comme je ne maîtrise pas suffisamment la langue et la culture japonaises, notre université avait accepté sur ma demande que ma femme soit officiellement mon assistante bénévole, mais l'université considérait par ailleurs qu'il s'agissait de mon entreprise purement personnelle. Nous n'avons pas proposé ce séjour aux étudiantes de 1ère année, car nous craignons que leur niveau de français soit insuffisant (5 cours de 90 minutes par semaine x 28 semaines = 210 heures d'enseignement au maximum). Cela est certes discutable, mais nous ne voulions pas prendre de risque pour notre premier essai. De fait, même dans le cas des étudiantes de 2ème année, plusieurs familles d'accueil d'étudiantes du groupe des 5 ont trouvé que le niveau de l'étudiante hébergée était insuffisant pour une communication de base, du moins au début. Parmi les 8 étudiantes spécialistes de français de deuxième année qui ne se sont pas jointes au groupe, 3 avaient déjà séjourné en France en été 1995, et 2 se réservaient pour un séjour ultérieur plus prolongé.

Le programme

Les 5 étudiantes ont suivi pendant 5 semaines le cours de français langue étrangère de l'IEF (Institut International d'Études Françaises), un institut autonome de l'USHS (Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg) à Strasbourg. Nous avons choisi cette ville parce que c'est ma ville d'origine, où habite ma famille et où nous, accompagnateurs, pouvions séjourner sans frais de logement supplémentaires. C'est par ailleurs une ville que je connais bien, y compris son université où j'ai fait une partie de mes études. J'avais, lors d'un séjour précédent, négocié avec l'IEF des conditions particulièrement favorables pour nos étudiantes. Chaque étudiante était hébergée dans une famille d'accueil, que nous avons dû chercher nous-mêmes car l'IEF ne s'occupe pas de l'hébergement.

Nous avons choisi la période de février-mars pour les deux raisons suivantes:

- 1) Cette période est plus économique pour les participants. Les billets d'avion, qui représentent une part importante du budget de ce projet (environ la moitié du prix total), sont bien meilleur marché en février qu'en été.
- 2) En cette période, on peut voir la France à "l'état normal", alors qu'en été beaucoup de Français, et surtout les jeunes, partent en vacances.

Les objectifs

Nos objectifs pour les étudiantes étaient les suivants: leur faire mieux connaître la société et la culture françaises; les faire progresser en français; leur faire apprendre à vivre et à communiquer avec des francophones. Comme contrôle, j'ai donné à toutes les étudiantes de la même année universitaire, aussi bien celles qui prirent part au séjour linguistique qu'aux autres, le même test à trous avant et après le séjour. D'autre part, nous avons demandé aux familles d'accueil de remplir un questionnaire à la fin du séjour.

Nous avons par ailleurs demandé aux étudiantes avant leur départ, afin de les rendre plus conscientes, d'établir une liste d'objectifs, de buts ou de souhaits (en

japonais) des deux points de vue suivants:

- 1) linguistique;
- 2) social, culturel, ou autre.

Puis, un mois après leur retour, nous leur avons demandé d'auto-évaluer le degré de réalisation de leurs objectifs.

Les résultats

Nous avons évalué notre programme de divers points de vue, à savoir celui: de l'IEF; des étudiantes; des familles d'accueil; des accompagnateurs; des enseignants de notre université avant et après le séjour. En gros, tout s'est bien passé, et les réactions des étudiantes aussi bien que celles des familles ont été positives, de sorte que nous sommes relativement satisfaits des résultats par rapport à nos objectifs. Ma propre impression positive a été confirmée au cours de l'année par ma collègue française: les étudiantes qui ont suivi le stage de Strasbourg ont progressé des points de vue de la compréhension auditive, de l'expression orale et de la participation en classe; de plus, on note chez elles une plus grande maturité. Ceci est en accord avec le rapport de Ikeda (1993) sur les étudiantes de Kagoshima Junshin Junior College après leur séjour linguistique en Australie.

Selon la post-enquête au retour concernant les objectifs établis par les étudiantes avant leur départ pour la France, celles-ci ont déclaré les avoir en partie atteints (Appendice 1-a). Le fait que le degré de réalisation de leur objectif linguistique n'a pas excédé 50% dans tous les cas sauf un peut être imputé à leurs objectifs trop ambitieux, par exemple "Je voudrais acquérir la capacité de parler couramment le français sans hésitation", ou "Je voudrais pouvoir lire couramment des romans en français." Néanmoins, selon leur auto-évaluation (Appendice 1-b), toutes les participantes ont trouvé que leur capacité linguistique (compréhension auditive, expression orale, compréhension écrite et expression écrite) s'était nettement améliorée, et dans la majorité des cas qu'elle avait au moins doublé.

Les résultats de l'auto-évaluation nous permettent d'affirmer que, grâce à ce séjour linguistique, les étudiantes ont acquis une aptitude à communiquer en français et à fonctionner de façon satisfaisante dans un

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milieu francophone, et en tout cas qu'elles ont développé une confiance en elles-mêmes qui peut leur être très favorable dans leurs études et leur vie.

Il est cependant à noter qu'aussi bien les étudiantes que les familles d'accueil ont estimé que le séjour avait été trop court et qu'un séjour plus long aurait été plus profitable: le leitmotiv à la fin du séjour était que les étudiantes venaient tout juste de s'adapter et commençaient à bien profiter. La durée idéale d'un séjour linguistique serait un point à étudier à l'avenir.

Quant à l'exploitation du test à trous (voir l'appendice 2), elle a réservé quelques surprises. Elle confirme néanmoins, dans tous les cas de figure, la supériorité linguistique significative des étudiantes ayant séjourné en France. Les tests à trous sont généralement considérés comme révélant bien l'aptitude linguistique générale (Hinofotis, 1987, p. 413). Le deuxième test à trous a dû être donné en deux fois (test A et test B), car une partie des étudiantes n'a pas suivi mon cours du semestre suivant le séjour à Strasbourg. Il est à remarquer par ailleurs que l'étudiante 12 représente un cas particulier: étudiante en difficulté au début de ses études, elle a fait un gros effort pour remonter la pente avant son séjour à Strasbourg, ce qui semble expliquer son bon score au 1er test à trous; par contre, à son retour de Strasbourg, elle n'a plus suivi aucun cours universitaire pendant un semestre, ce qui explique vraisemblablement sa chute de 16 points au 2ème test. Pour ces raisons, ses résultats ne me paraissent pas significatifs; je les ai néanmoins inclus entre parenthèses afin de ne pas donner l'impression de chercher à manipuler les résultats.

Problèmes et Perspectives

La préparation

Il n'y avait eu que quelques séances de préparation technique et culturelle des étudiantes, et l'enquête a révélé qu'elles n'avaient pas été suffisamment préparées psychologiquement et linguistiquement. C'est en grande partie parce que ce programme était hors curriculum et que la plupart de cours n'avaient aucun rapport avec le projet de séjour linguistique. Iwakiri (1993) fait remarquer que le cours donné aux étudiantes préalablement au séjour, traitant

les aspects culturels, sociaux, linguistiques, etc., a été utile pour la plupart des participantes. Si l'on souhaite que les étudiantes profitent au mieux d'un séjour linguistique, il faudrait envisager une bonne préparation soit comme une partie intégrale du curriculum, soit sous forme de cours ou de séances hors curriculum.

Les familles d'accueil

Nous sommes convaincus qu'un séjour en famille est la meilleure formule d'hébergement de tous les points de vue, sauf peut-être du point de vue financier, mais c'est une entreprise délicate aussi bien pour trouver les familles d'accueil, que pour le placement lui-même à cause des grandes différences entre les familles d'une part et les étudiantes d'autre part. Il faut également être prêt à faire face à d'éventuels conflits. Nous nous sommes nous-même occupés de la recherche des familles et de la négociation avec elles, et nous avons trouvé que ceci n'a pas été rentable, parce que c'est un travail qui demande beaucoup de temps, d'énergie et de nerfs. Il serait préférable qu'un responsable sur place s'occupe du placement en familles, comme dans certaines institutions qui proposent des cours de FLE (Français Langue Etrangère).

Les accompagnateurs

C'étaient des intermédiaires indispensables entre les étudiantes, l'IIEF et les familles d'accueil. Ce sont eux qui avaient négocié les conditions de voyage et de séjour, et qui avaient trouvé les familles d'accueil. A l'arrivée à Strasbourg, ils ont fait le lien et ont aidé les étudiantes à s'installer et à surmonter le choc linguistique et psychologique. En particulier, les étudiantes et les familles d'accueil avaient du mal à communiquer au début, il y a eu des frustrations des deux côtés, et la présence et l'intervention des accompagnateurs ont été très utiles. Ils ont également organisé diverses rencontres et sorties. Les étudiantes et les accompagnateurs se sont réunis au moins une fois par semaine pour parler des programmes de la semaine et des éventuels problèmes. Les étudiantes ont beaucoup apprécié tout cela dans l'enquête au retour.

D'autre part, les accompagnateurs étaient bénévoles, et ce séjour linguistique leur a occasionné des frais importants:

leur a occasionné des frais importants: voyage, télécopie et téléphone, transports sur place, etc. Le fait de ne pas avoir de budget pour ce travail s'est donc fait ressentir lourdement pour eux. Si l'on veut continuer ce projet chaque année, ce qui est de toute évidence dans l'intérêt des étudiantes autant que de notre Université, il faudrait à la longue un système pour aider les accompagnateurs, par exemple la prise en charge de tout ou partie de leurs frais par l'Université ou les participantes. Cette dernière solution serait envisageable dans l'hypothèse d'un groupe plus important de participantes.

Conclusion

Deux étudiantes suivent en ce moment un cours de français d'un semestre à l'IIEF (Université de Strasbourg): de septembre 1996 à janvier ou mars 1997. Ainsi, sur les treize étudiantes spécialistes de français de la première génération (actuellement en troisième année universitaire), dix ont déjà fait ou font actuellement un séjour linguistique en France. Cela crée incontestablement à notre Université une atmosphère positive par rapport aux séjours linguistiques, et le niveau des études de français s'en ressent favorablement. Il faut espérer que cet élan se maintiendra et même s'amplifiera jusqu'à sa généralisation qui me paraît des plus souhaitables, car je suis, après cette expérience, plus convaincu que jamais qu'un séjour linguistique est essentiel pour une véritable acquisition linguistique et culturelle. La solution la plus satisfaisante pour tous serait à mon sens l'intégration d'un séjour linguistique dans le curriculum. Il peut s'agir d'un séjour de courte durée comme celui du printemps dernier dont nous venons de parler, ou de plus longue

durée: un ou deux semestres. L'expérience des deux jeunes filles étudiant actuellement à Strasbourg devrait nous permettre une meilleure connaissance de l'effet de ce type de séjour.

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Appendice 1-a: Un extrait de l'enquête au retour (Note: les numéros des étudiantes correspondent à ceux de l'appendice 2)

Question: Marquez le degré d'achèvement général de vos buts /100%(en vous référant ce que vous aviez indiqué avant votre départ).

1. Concernant le français		2. Vie, culture, autres	
Etudiante		Etudiante	
9	50%	9	70%
10	50%	10	70%
11	50%	11	50%
12	50%	12	80%
13	80%	13	90%

Appendice 1-b: Un autre extrait de l'enquête au retour

Questions: Auto-évaluez votre capacité en français en la comparant avant et après le séjour en France. Jugez votre capacité de 0 à 100: 0 = pas capable du tout; 100 ne signifie pas "parfait", mais "capacité comparable à votre capacité en japonais".

1. Compréhension auditive		2. Expression orale		3. Compréhension écrite		4. Expression écrite		5. Communication*		6. Connaissance**		
Etudiante	avant	après	avant	après	avant	après	avant	après	avant	après	avant	après
9	30	50	30	50	10	30	5	30	30	60	30	50
10	30	60	30	55	40	65	35	65	35	55	35	70
11	0	50	0	25	0	25	0	20	0	30	0	25
12	10	50	10	50	20	50	20	50	10	50	20	50
13	45	60	30	60	45	55	45	60	45	75	50	75

*Capacité générale à communiquer selon la situation, en utilisant toute ses connaissances et des gestes, etc.

**Connaissance de la vie et de la culture françaises.

Appendice 2: Résultats du test à trous

Étudiantes spécialistes de français Avril 1994-	Séjour linguistique Été 1995	1er test à trous 31/1/96	Séjour linguistique Printemps 1996	2e test à trous A 20/6/96	2e test à trous B 14/10/96	Séjour linguistique actuel Sept. 1996-	Différence entre le 1er et le 2e test à trous
Groupe I							
1		40			42		+2
2		46		36			-10
3		47		34.5		Strasbourg	-13.5
4		51		59			+8
5	Angers	51			46		-5
6	Tours	58			66.5		+8.5
7	Tours	60		61			+1
8		65		73		Strasbourg	+8
Groupe II							
9		30	Strasbourg		39		+9
10		39	Strasbourg	49.5			+10.5
11		54	Strasbourg	59			+5
12		69	Strasbourg		53		-16
13		75.5	Strasbourg	72			-3.5

Le groupe I regroupe les étudiantes n'ayant pas fait de séjour linguistique de français entre le 1er et le 2e test à trous, alors que le groupe II regroupe les étudiantes ayant fait un tel séjour.

Différence moyenne entre les résultats aux 1er et 2e test par groupe I et II (entre parenthèses, les chiffres incluant l'étudiante 12*):

Groupe I Total $-1/8 = -0.125\%$

Groupe II Total $+28/4 = +7\%$ (Total $+12/5 = +2.4\%$)

Résultats aux deux tests à trous regroupés selon le critère: A = n'ont pas séjourné en France; B = ont séjourné en France (entre parenthèses, les résultats incluant l'étudiante 12). Tous les chiffres indiquent la moyenne du groupe.

1er test A 49.72 B 56.33 Différence $+6.61\%$ (51.5, Diff. $+4.48\%$)

2e test A 48.90 B 56.14 Différence $+7.24\%$ (55.75, Diff. $+6.85\%$)

* Explication dans le texte.

Everything You Need To Know Begins At Kindergarten

Laura MacGregor
Seishu Junior College

This paper begins with the premise that the more we know about our students, the better we can serve them as language teachers. "Serving our students," for the purpose of this discussion, means creating a positive environment in which English learning takes place. "Knowing our students" divides into three broad categories: 1) cultural background; 2) social and educational background; and 3) personal and family background.

In the context of living and working in Japan, the first category, culture learning, is a part of daily life. Teachers who know something about Japanese culture and who bring that knowledge to the classroom can relate better to students than teachers who know nothing about their students' cultural backgrounds. Teachers who create opportunities to communicate with students, both in and out of class, can learn about students' personal lives (category 3) — family situations, friends, home and school life, etc. This information enhances the teacher's recognition of students as individuals with various abilities and needs, not just as numbers on a class roster.

College teachers often miss out on the second category, knowing about students' social and educational backgrounds, particularly if they haven't had experience teaching or interacting with younger students. In my case, I feel fortunate to have been able to teach at Japanese junior and senior high schools before I became a college teacher in Sapporo. Those experiences gave me insight into the socialization and educational training of students, aged 12 through 18. Three years ago, I had the opportunity to enter the world of kindergarten, where I was able to observe

the same approaches to socialization and education, this time from the beginning of formal education. It then occurred to me that these approaches could and should be carried through in college classes, even those taught by non-Japanese teachers.

This paper will outline five aspects of kindergarten life, based on my experience as teacher and observer at Seishu Fuzoku Yochien, (MacGregor, 1996) and how I have integrated them into my college classes at Seishu Junior College.

Structure

At kindergarten, there is a set structure to the day. This is in marked contrast to home life, where, at least until children enter kindergarten, they can pretty well do what they like, when they like. An example of the daily routine at kindergarten is the opening of each day: children come in, change their shoes at the door, enter the classroom and put their coats, hats, and bags away. The class formally begins with a spoken greeting, bowing, and a greeting song. Next, the day, date, and weather are checked. Then, attendance is taken by roll call, followed by the distribution of attendance stickers by the teacher which children put in their attendance books. Songs and signals act as markers that define the sections of the day. The teacher uses the piano to play different tunes which children learn to identify as signals to clean up their toys, get ready for lunch, get ready to go home, etc.

The structure exhibited in the kindergarten day is noteworthy for two reasons. First, once children learn the routine, they know what is expected of them every day, and therefore can relax and move

with confidence and ease. Second, the guidelines for kindergarten education set out by the Ministry of Education states that children should "experience things important to their development by demonstrating their abilities in an emotionally secure environment" (Ministry of Education, 1989, p.1). The structurally secure environment provided by the daily schedule helps create this desired emotionally secure environment.

At college, too, teachers need to foster a sense of trust in and by the students and create an environment where they feel safe and secure. One way to do this is to provide some sort of routine or structure to the lesson. Students will feel less anxiety if they know what is expected of them. Critics may say that a fixed structure takes away the spontaneity of the lesson, restricts the creativity of the teacher, and puts students to sleep. While this may be true to some extent, too much spontaneity leaves students confused and helpless. The net result is that they won't participate in the lesson simply because they don't know what to do.

There are ways to introduce structure into the lesson that will not impede the lively atmosphere many teachers work hard to create. For example, using a good textbook in which the presentation of materials and structure of the activities is consistent from unit to unit gives students a visible anchor, which, if it is mastered during the first unit, will steer them through the rest of the book. Classroom procedures such as taking attendance and collecting and returning homework can be standardized to contribute to a structured setting. Letting students know exactly how much time they have to do an activity can help define the parameters of the lesson: knowing they have 5 minutes to complete a task will focus students' attention and keep the class running efficiently.

The Group

Since kindergarten is one of the first socialization experiences outside of the home, it is not surprising that one of the goals of preschool education set out by the Ministry of Education is to "teach the joy and importance of relationships with others by the experiences the children gain in

group life..." (Ministry of Education, 1989, p.4). At kindergarten, activities are done sometimes as a class, sometimes in small groups of 4-6 children, and rarely in pairs, unless the activity is a game or dance. Groups are of three different types: fixed teacher-selected, child selected (i.e. free-play groups), or formed by lottery. Different groupings give children opportunities to interact with many others during the kindergarten day (i.e., work groups, lunch groups, seating groups).

In college English classes, pair and group activities are popular means of maximizing students' L2 "talk time." Sometimes, however, this approach fails because either students don't talk at all, or they revert to speaking in Japanese. Why do groups fail here when they worked so well at kindergarten? Simply put, we are dealing with young adults, not with 3-to-5-year-olds. Furthermore, we are not working in a real-life situation as kindergarten children are when they are asked to build or make something together in their groups; we are working in a contrived setting because we are asking students with the same mother tongue to communicate with each other in a foreign language. Therefore, it is completely natural that students feel uncomfortable talking with their peers in English; they are anxious about making mistakes and about damaging their self-image. How can teachers minimize this anxiety? One way is to vary the way pairs and groups are selected by occasionally letting students pair or group themselves with their friends. Obviously, pairing up with a friend to practice the question, "What did you do last weekend?" doesn't make much sense because the friends have probably already discussed their weekend activities together in Japanese. The key for teachers is to be sensitive to students' self-consciousness and to strike a balance between student-selected and teacher-selected groups appropriate to the activity. Japanese students see groups as places to work together. Teachers must support this by creating a positive environment for groups to function.

Step-By-Step Learning/Repetition/Review

Step-by-step instruction is integral to kindergarten life. The following example of

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how scissors were introduced clearly illustrates this step-by-step process. First, the teacher showed the children a large pair of scissors she had made from cardboard and foil for this demonstration. She talked about what scissors could and could not be used for. Then she reviewed the information with the children: "Can we use scissors to cut our hair? Our skin? Our clothes?" To each question, the children answered with a loud, "No." Then, the teacher asked, "Can we use scissors to cut paper?" All answered, "Yes." Next, the teacher demonstrated how to hold and use scissors. The children modelled her actions using "imaginary" scissors. After showing them how to handle, pass and receive them, she gave each of the children his/her own pair of scissors. At last, the children were allowed to try cutting paper with their scissors. As well as heightening the anticipation of being able to use scissors by themselves, children learned the process as a series of steps.

At college, the concept of teaching step-by-step can be applied as a layered approach to introducing and using new language. For example, a topic can be introduced by moving gradually from the general to the specific, or put another way, from the familiar to the unfamiliar. Listening exercises in good textbooks generally ask first for general information then for specific information about a taped excerpt. Receptive activities (i.e. where students select answers from a list) precede productive activities (i.e. where students generate the response completely on their own).

Once the procedure has been explained, it is practised over and over again. In the same kindergarten class, children were taught how to make origami dogs. After finishing their first one, they happily made another, then another, then another. By the end of origami time, children had made five or six origami dogs each. Ruth Benedict offered the following explanation for this kind of repetition: "It is the habit that is taught, not just the rules,...the movements are performed over and over literally under the hands of grownups until they are automatic" (in Hendry, 1986, p.102). The saying, "practice makes perfect" certainly holds true here, with a greater emphasis on the practice, or the process, than the result.

College teachers need to remember to repeat and review material. It is easy to fall into the habit of working steadily through a course or textbook, and not take time to look back. Without clear direction from the teacher, however, students are unlikely to practice or review material themselves. Regular homework, and periodic review activities and tests will encourage students to make review and reflection a natural part of the learning process.

Curiosity

One of the most refreshing aspects of teaching at kindergarten is that the children are full of questions which they are eager to ask. They are very curious about their Canadian teacher — why she has brown hair, why she can speak English, where she lives, what she eats. They also want to talk about themselves and any opportunities to do so are exploited fully.

Although they might not be quite as energetic, college students have questions for their teachers, too. They are interested in knowing about us as people. Therefore, it is important to share our experiences with them -- they remember our stories! While teachers are right to be wary of too much "teacher talk," spending a few minutes from time to time to simply talk about themselves, to explain something about their culture, or to give their views on a current topic, is not only interesting, but is also good listening comprehension practice. Students who understand the story, or at least part of it, will have a great sense of achievement. The others who can't keep up will get it in translation from their friends.

Motivation

Kindergarten children are highly self-motivated. Generally speaking, they need little in the way of encouragement to get involved. Even so, teachers spend a lot of time preparing and explaining the purpose of activities. One day, a teacher planned to have students draw pictures to reflect on the operetta that the kindergarten had performed the previous weekend. She set up the activity by saying,

See your pictures on the wall behind us now? They're the ones we made way back in September

after sports day. Now, you know, next week your mothers will visit kindergarten, and if we leave those pictures up your mothers will say, 'Oh, those pictures are so old. We saw them the last time we visited kindergarten. Can't these children draw anything new?' Let's not disappoint your mothers. Let's draw beautiful pictures of the operetta.

Even without this explanation, the children probably would have been quite happy to draw the pictures. However, the added motivation of their mothers' visit and the responsibility bestowed on them by the teacher, guaranteed that every child would do his/her best.

At college, we can also motivate our students to want/need to get involved. The key is to give them a reason for doing so. For example, practicing how to tell time can be helpful preparation for travelling abroad (which more and more students are doing these days); assigning short speeches help develop public speaking skills which are important in job interviews (some of which are partly conducted in English). Stronger incentives for participation include bonus point systems and giving separate grades

for attendance. To focus students' attention and motivate their curiosity and participation, puzzles and questions with an element of mystery to them are guaranteed to spark interest.

Conclusion

The above paper has provided an outline of five teaching approaches that are integral to kindergarten education, and some concrete steps towards integrating them at the college level. No doubt there are many more areas that need to be taken into consideration in order to create a satisfying college learning environment for both teachers and students. By taking a few steps back, even as far as kindergarten, teachers can gain perspective on how this can be achieved.

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Native Americans and Europeans, Ainu and Wajin: Culturally Relevant EFL Content-Based Social Studies Comparative History Curriculum Design at a Japanese Junior College

Robert E. Gettings
Hokusei Gakuen Women's Junior College

Content based language teaching has been described as "the concurrent teaching of academic subject matter and second language skills." (Brinton, Snow & Wesche,

1989). Some studies on language content have indicated broad issues of cultural relevance for students that arise from the type of world English taught (Kachru, 1996)

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or the inclusion or exclusion of the students' mother languages in instruction (Auerbach, 1993). Movements within the language teaching profession represented by organizations such as Linguapax or global issues interest groups have stressed the relationship of language learning to teaching about culture and society. (Marti, 1996; Dyer & Bushell, 1996). Social studies curricula have also been linked to national goals such as the movement for a multicultural curriculum in the United States. (Furmanovsky, 1995)

This paper will examine the relationship of students' cultural identities to curriculum design decisions involving the selection of social studies content, pedagogical process, and classroom management. The classroom is a complex web of culture going beyond national identity, involving locations of gender, class, race, ethnicity, age, and other identities or experiences of members, teachers and students alike. Each individual entering the classroom carries a unique social/cultural identity, and a unique history of learning and experience. The English as a Foreign Language (EFL) content based social studies curriculum takes place within this web and its content examines some aspect of human society and culture. Can an examination of this relationship help us make curricula more culturally relevant?

Paulo Freire (1970) identifies two kinds of education: banking education and education for critical consciousness. In banking education the teacher deposits information in the students' minds as one might deposit money or valued possessions in a bank. The teacher, the active subject of the exchange, is the valued location of knowledge. The students, not seen as locations of knowledge, are passive objects receiving that knowledge. Freire proposes a new pedagogy, education for critical consciousness, which engages students and teachers together in an active process of critical reflection and praxis in dialogue with the world around them.

bell hooks (1994), coming from the location of an American multicultural college classroom, broadens Freire's focus by including students' cultural locations of class, race, gender, age and other identities and their influence on student voice in

creating a climate for education for critical consciousness.

Accepting the decentering of the West globally, embracing multiculturalism, compels educators to focus attention on the issue of voice. Who speaks? Who listens? And why? (hooks, 1994, p. 40).

For Freire and hooks, education — involving critical consciousness — is culturally relevant to all of the members of the classroom, teacher and student alike, because it is a dialog in the cultural codes of the members about the cultural world they find themselves engaged in. A pedagogy that does not take students' voice or cultural codes into account, and encourage critical consciousness, retards or prevents education.

The location of voice is particularly important for language learning. Critical reflection requires meaningful language production as students and teacher write/read speak/listen to each other's knowledge and reflect on the dialogue critically. A focus on student voice requires the kind of active and meaningful use of the target language that many educators have claimed is necessary for successful language learning (Krashen, 1982).

The location of voice is also important in creating culturally relevant content in the EFL content based class. Each student speaks from a unique cultural location of class, gender, race, or other identity. As the teacher engages with student voice, the content of the curriculum can be adjusted to meet students' cultural needs. Student reflection/criticism also can influence the pedagogical approach. In this way, the class becomes more and more culturally relevant to all its members.

In the banking approach, the teacher as expert decides the cultural relevance and only the teacher's voice is heard. Often unaware of students' unique cultural experience, the teacher has no data on which to base curriculum design decisions apart from his/her own experience or observation of passive students.

In education for critical consciousness, each student is a valued location of knowledge, essential to the class. Each student investigates texts and the voices of other members of the class and creates knowledge in a community of critical

reflection. The classroom becomes decentralized. As students explore new problems, they need access to large amounts of knowledge. In an EFL teaching situation, that knowledge is often not available in the target language; however, there may be a wealth of textual sources in the students' native language(s). Furthermore, new technologies, such as the Internet, may be especially useful in providing a variety of target language sources. (Halvorsen & Gettings, 1996; Gettings, 1997).

Teachers must adjust the content the class covers and use methods suitable for the mix of cultural locations and codes students bring to each individual classroom. The teacher approaches curriculum design with the same process of critical reflection and praxis that students use in approaching content. The teacher might design materials based on dialogues with students and his/her own understanding of the target content. As the class becomes engaged with each other's reflections, the curriculum is adjusted or may even take on a new direction. It is at this point that the curriculum becomes truly relevant culturally and personally to students.

In this way, the problem-posing educator constantly re-forms his reflections in the reflections of the students. The students — no longer docile listeners — are now critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher. The teacher presents the material to the students for their consideration, and re-considers his earlier considerations as the students express their own. (Freire, 1970, p. 68)

An EFL History unit: Ainu and Wajin, Native Americans and Europeans — What was similar? What was different?

The author has taught History to second year junior college English majors in Hokkaido, Japan for the past four years. During that time, themes of gender, national identity and ethnicity have often arisen in dialogues with students and he has used a problem posing approach concerning these themes in the study of units on comparative North American, United States, Japanese, Hawaiian, and Korean History.

Following is a description of one unit,

comparing North American and Japanese History. For the teacher to identify his own voice is an important part of the curriculum development process. The writing of this paper itself, has been part of an ongoing process of critical reflection/praxis in the author's development of the curriculum. The teacher is not an objective academic "he" being described, but an active subject "I" in an historic context of dialogue with the voices of students. Because of this, the first person, rather than the academic third person will be used in the following description.

The pedagogical approach was to present students with information from a variety of points of view in texts and lectures. Students would identify points of view and distinguish fact, opinion, and the authors' selection of facts in the texts. Students would explore their own knowledge in small group discussion and journal writing related to the general themes, discuss differences and similarities in the two histories, and make decisions about their own point of view of the history of contact between indigenous peoples and colonizers.

In designing this unit, I chose these themes because national identity, race, ethnicity, and a sense that Japanese were different from all other peoples were constant themes in discussions with students. Also, class members were living in Hokkaido, one of the homes of the Ainu people. I hoped that students would find the unit interesting and gain a richer sense of their history and national identity as Japanese.

The texts included the voices of Native Americans (Reyna, 1992), European and European-Americans (O'Calaghan, 1990; USIA, publication date unlisted), Ainu (Kayano, 1994; Ainu Minzoku Hakubutsukan, 1993) and Wajin (Enomoto, 1983). I also presented my own and other points of view in lectures.

At first, students read stories of European explorers (O'Calaghan, 1990; USIA, publication date unlisted) and examined the point of view of the writers. I lectured on some of the negative aspects of contact with Europeans: the spread of disease, loss of land, disruption of economy, suppression of culture, and the

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psychological aspects of conquest. Students discussed what parts of the story they would include in a history of contact between Europeans and Native Americans. Following was a lecture and reading on the frontier in North America as multicultural — a mix of North American and European cultural groups. The Iroquois-English and French-Huron alliances and the status of women in Japanese, English, and Iroquois society in the 1600s were compared. Students discussed which situation they felt was best for women.

After completing the North American segment of the curriculum I intended to rely on students' knowledge of Japanese History and add only a few details in lecture before I asked them to compare similarities and differences between North America and Japan. However, during a brainstorm to see what they could remember about Ainu-Wajin history, most students stated that they didn't know or hadn't learned any relevant information in secondary school. The images of Ainu people that arose during discussion were mostly based on racial caricatures. Students expressed the belief that there were either no more Ainu living in Hokkaido or that they only worked in resort areas such as tourist villages.

Students did not have the information that I had expected. The lesson plan could not continue as I had planned it. Also, another question arose that was related to the curriculum. How would students' views of Japanese minorities effect their understanding of Japanese History or of themselves as Japanese?

I pursued these issues by asking students to discuss questions in small groups and report their results to the class. What were the major minority groups in Japan? Had they ever met members of these minority groups? How could they tell if they had met a member of a minority group?

Most students could not list more than one or two of the major groups: Ainu, Korean-Japanese, Chinese-Japanese, Ryukyu-jin, or burakumin. After these minority groups were identified, most students were certain that they had never met a minority group member because the person's face, clothing, way of speaking Japanese, or social customs would have

been different. However, when each minority group was discussed and students were asked what characteristics were different, it was decided that, in fact, the differences between minority and majority Japanese were almost invisible.

Following this we explored the reasons why differences were kept invisible in Japan. I asked students to personalize the discussion by imagining what they would feel if they were an elementary student and a member of a minority. Would they want their classmates to know their minority identity?

The problems related to minorities in Japan that I posed for student discussion were new to the curriculum. They developed as I listened and responded to students' reflections and students listened and responded to mine. I realized that I had not included Ainu voices in the content and that students had not heard these voices even though they were in the Japanese media. Desperately searching for a way to include these voices, I found English and Japanese resources on the Internet and a colleague loaned me a private video tape of a speech by Kayano Shigeru, a representative from Hokkaido who is Ainu, to the Japanese Diet.

The unit ended with a video on Pueblo History (Reyna, 1992), a discussion of "Columbus, the Indians and Human Progress" (Zinn, 1980) and writing an essay based on the comparison of the histories of Japan and North America and the points of view of the colonizers and the colonized.

Reflections on the pedagogical process of the unit

As part of the process of critical reflection/praxis, the teacher engages with student voices, reflects on the messages or criticism, and adjusts the pedagogical process or content of the curriculum. This kind of engagement is often uncomfortable, especially when the teacher makes mistakes or misunderstands the students' knowledge or cultural locations. Nevertheless, the process is always valuable because it is a rich source of data for improving curriculum design.

Before the lesson I had posed several problems for myself related to pedagogical process. What effects did my location of

race, national identity, gender, and as teacher have on the process of discussion? Issues of race, ethnicity, and caste are near invisible and not important to most majority Japanese. Was I forcing an issue? Were these issues really culturally relevant? During the course of the lesson four major problems were posed from engagement with students:

1. Was I forcing student voice by requiring them to express an answer to a question in front of the entire class?
2. Was I including Ainu voices in the process?;
3. Was I adjusting the process in consideration for the members of the class who might be invisible minority members, especially Ainu?
4. Was I ignoring gender in the content, process and cultural codes of the classroom?

My reflection from observation of class discussions and student feedback was that I was not addressing these problems adequately. I attempted to address the forcing of voice by reducing whole class discussions, allowing students to pass, and putting the emphasis on reflection in small groups or private journal writing. I attempted to find more Ainu sources as the class progressed. Although I tried to ease tension that invisible class minority members might feel by asking students to imagine and discuss hypothetical situations, and by sharing my and friends' experience as minorities, I feel that this alone was not adequate. Finally, the texts and lectures included women's stories but were mediated by a "neutral" male voice. In the future, I want to include texts that speak from a location of gender, both male and female. My students are especially interested in gender because of their location as young women beginning adult lives experiencing increasing gender discrimination in the job market.

Conclusion

The classroom is a complex web of culture going beyond national identity, involving locations of gender, class, race, ethnicity, age, and other identities or

experiences of members. In order to create a culturally relevant learning environment, the voices of all members must be engaged in the learning process. Freire's approach of critical consciousness and hooks' attention to student voice, cultural codes, and the locations of gender, class, and race offer teachers two valuable models for curriculum development and pedagogical practice. Engagement with student voice requires constant alteration of the content and pedagogical process of the curriculum. Although this engaged pedagogy has its difficulties, it provides a rich source of the kind of data that is essential for developing curricula that is culturally relevant to students.

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Folklore in the ESL Classroom

Virginia A. Jenkins
Showa Women's University

Folklore, a language-rich medium which manifests itself in myriad expressions, recipes, customs, tales, myths, legends, superstitions, rituals, riddles, games, and art, is communicative in nature. Folklore is meant to be heard, felt, sung, written, spoken, and, in some cases, even eaten. Like language, folklore endures as long as it remains meaningful to human beings' lives as it is "diffused through time (passed down through generations) and space" (spread from one region to another), (Georges and Jones, 1995). Certainly, the Hmong's Pandau Flower Cloths, colorfully embroidered quilts originally designed to depict familial rites of passage, but later used to recount the Hmong's horrific escape to freedom across the Mekong River at the end of the Vietnam War (Conquergood, 1992), give testimony to a folklore sample's ability to adapt itself to the changing times.

Undoubtedly, folklore also represents a moveable mosaic of cultures, mirroring the traditions of diverse peoples who create

them and the vast regions from which they spring and to which they spread. The Jack Tales (originally from Scotland and England) were used to teach children acceptable norms of behavior within the Appalachian community. Through storyteller Ray Hicks' renditions of "Whickity Whack: Death in a Sack," children learned the values of self-sufficiency and fairness to others, in spite of class distinctions (Higgs, Manning, and Miller, 1995). Folklore survivals can also preserve values such as respect for life, peace and harmony as seen in the ancient Origin tales of the Hopi Native Americans of Arizona (Wilson, 1994).

In this paper, I hope to shed some light on folklore's versatility for teaching English as a second language and on its potential for communicating across cultures. The paper presents an argument for using folklore as a springboard to design and integrate listening, reading, writing, and speaking activities that, although at first may seem

pedagogic in design, can still lead to communicative and creative uses of language in the classroom. Several graphic organizers, some suggestions for using folktales, and a brief list of recommended folktales are provided.

Communication: A Social Event

In any act of communication it takes a willingness on the part of both sender and receiver to do what is necessary in order to be understood. As quite often the case, communication between two parties takes place in a social context, (Berns, 1990) and, therefore, gestures, face to face contact, pausing before responding, and other paralinguistic gestures employed in the real world occur when trying to communicate (Hymes, 1974).

Naturally, scholars believe that teachers should design learning tasks for the classroom which most resemble these kinds of problem-solving strategies for communicating in real world situations such as asking for directions to a company conducting job interviews or ordering from a menu, etc. (Nunan, 1989).

The Battle Between the Tasks: Pedagogical or Communicative?

The debate over the value of pedagogical tasks as opposed to communicative tasks is a heated one at best. In effect, since pedagogical tasks require students to do things in the classroom that would rarely be done outside the classroom (such as listening to an audio tape of a news program and having to take a quiz on the topic introduced), scholars argue that they are less meaning-focused and should not be stressed as much as communicative tasks (Nunan, 1989). For example, Nunan points out that having students listen to a weather forecast to decide whether or not to bring an umbrella to work is based in real world kinds of communication more than it is in pedagogic activities, because it demands that language learners engage in problem solving, something senders and receivers of messages do when they try to "negotiate for meaning" in the real world (Nunan, 1989).

Yet, there are difficulties in differentiating a communicative task from a pedagogic one, since some tasks may be pedagogical in structure but communicative

in application — although they are done in class, they could conceivably be done in the real world as well. (Nunan, 1989). For example, note taking is an in-class activity, vital to students' success in their course work, yet also an activity necessary for a number of occupations in the real world, such as journalism or business.

On the contrary, there are communicative tasks that would rarely be done in the real world but contain authentic language, some of which may be used in real-life contexts (Nunan, 1989). For instance, creative activities such as dramas and imaginative role-plays use authentic language, yet, it is hardly likely that students will have an opportunity to perform a folk cure, let alone receive one, in the real world. However, it is possible that while practicing how to perform a folk cure in class, a humorous activity to break up the ice, students can learn medical terminology about disease, how to give advice in the form of if-conditionals and imperatives, and learn the social dynamic of what to do and say when visiting the doctor to explain symptoms of illness.

The question still nags: what can be done to encourage learners to partake in a number of language activities as they try to solve the overall problem of being understood? How do we get students to, in the words of Nunan, "put language to use?" (Nunan, 1989)

A Treatise for Teaching Folklore

First and foremost, we should develop activities that students enjoy doing. As previously stated, folklore provides a multitude of interesting trivia and humorous stories, but unless the activities created from the materials can spin off relevant themes of interest to students, unless they can provide chances for students to experience them from their unique perspectives, and unless they can decode some of the complex language typical of authentic materials (i.e. jargon, idioms, and other regional varieties) students may lose interest in the materials, and teachers may lose an opportunity to supplement their lesson plans with some fun and exciting learning tasks.

Perhaps one available compromise

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would be to build a bridge between both pedagogical and communicative tasks through the use of advanced organizers that ease learners into a number of integrated speaking and listening activities. Schemata theory research suggests that schematic organizers and pre-thinking activities supply students with background knowledge which may aid their comprehension of texts (Omaggio Hadley, 1993). For example, if teaching a tale about a character who shows impatience by rolling his eyes, one can create a pre-thinking task for the students: matching phrases to pictures of gestures, followed by a speaking task in which pair groups discuss their results and then perform a skit using the gestures before reading the folktale. So, if, for example, students in Japan do not use this expression to show impatience, perhaps the condition for the context can be created for the students through first a graphic organizer and then a speaking and listening activity to aid their comprehension.

Conclusion

Although I agree that good lessons require realistic goals, as well as good materials, if lessons are to have some positive effect on our students, I have found that the quality of materials can sometimes make or break a lesson. Overall, my motives for using folklore were to provide diverse texts and materials to create opportunities for students to learn about other cultures and respond to them from their experiences, to provide some cohesion in the themes and the sequencing of the tasks, to integrate, as much as possible, the powerful mediums of language folklore provides (that which can be heard, spoken, gestured, written, read, and created), to provide opportunities for students to create language in role plays and dramas, and to be sensitive to the idea that they might need visual cues and other kinds of organizers to help them build background knowledge to grasp the meaning of some of the materials — especially when working with authentic materials.

Rationale for Some Materials Used in Class: Working with Origin Tales

In this unit I used a number of materials with converging themes in order to give

second-year university students both practical skills to apply in the real world, as well as to encourage them to make connections between the texts and their experiences. A number of graphic organizers were used to break up the complexity of the folktale's language and length and to ease the students into listening and speaking activities before they actually read the tale and before they wrote an origin tale of their own. The popular African American origin tale, "How the Snake Got his Rattles," as told by Julius Lester (1969), is a hilarious but moving tale about a snake who cannot avoid being stepped on since he has no way of alerting others to his location in the forest. As a result, he complains a lot about being stepped on.

As a way to bounce off the theme of complaining in the tale and to give students the chance to complain about something in their lives, I provided them with a graphic organizer of various phrases to use when making complaints. Next, they listened to a summary of the folktale and in groups wrote down all the characters' complaints every time they heard them, before actually reading the folktale.

Another material, a folk song about an illegal alien living in the United States, "My Name Joe" by Dave Massengill (1989), was played in class. Students were given an organizer to match the idioms to their meanings in the song and discuss in pairs the concepts — what does it mean to be an outsider in the song? In Japan? In their day-to-day lives?

Finally, in preparation for writing the origin tale, students returned to the "Snake" folktale to discuss what Snake was missing (his rattles) and how his loss affected the action in the story. Later we chose an object (a squid) from which to model an origin tale in class. Inspired by Snake's anatomical loss, we created a Squid who could not swim. In a brainstorming session we asked: What kinds of problems would Squid have if he could not swim? How would Squid solve his problems? Would Squid have friends to help him solve his problems?

In a speaking and listening task students were given the name of a Japanese food and had to guess the name of their partner's food. Each student had to describe the food to his or her partner. Later, they

used the descriptions gleaned from their guessing game to help them write a short origin tale about the food. Some exceptional tales were written; one student's origin tale stood out among the others, "Why is O-Mochi Sticky?"

Working with Recipes

Students interviewed their partners about their favorite foods. Later, they compared them to foods from different regions to build upon background knowledge before writing a recipe for making O-Mochi. Students compared Fasenachts of the Pennsylvania Dutch to O-Mochi, using an organizer and interview chart.

Ideas to Think About when Using Folktales in Class

1. Do folktales have parallels between the themes of the tales and the issues students face in their lives? My students were interested in foods, health, and popular culture, so my classes used similar themes: health and beauty/folk cures; foods/recipes from different regions of America; and popular culture/ heroic folktales.
2. Can interesting tangents be siphoned from the main topic to create new tasks that lead to use of other authentic materials? For example, in a Hopi origin tale "Coyote Decorates the Sky," students interviewed each other about poems and songs with stars in them before reading the folktale.
3. Do the tales introduce "appropriate" content. Beware; some tales have ethnic slurs and sexist language. How could you use these kinds of tales to teach respect for people of diverse cultures?
4. Is the complexity of the dialect manageable? How can you use this complexity to your advantage — to teach grammar and reductions?
5. Can students perform roles to increase their understanding of the tale? Students might take the role of

an investigative reporter to interview another student portraying the main hero of the folktale. Are there opportunities for the teacher and students to perform the tale together?

6. Can the folktale be dissected? For example, can the ending be removed so that students can write a new ending or vice versa?
7. Can the folktale be personalized to create a sense of place — reset in a student's hometown or recast with someone the student knows: a friend, relative, teacher, or you?

Some Multicultural Folktales with Universal Themes

Here is a short list of world folktales mentioned for their relevance to "Crossing Borders" and their universal appeal to those committed to making connections across cultures.

"Hiaka," a Hawaiian folktale; (*Cut from the same cloth: American women of myth, legend, and tall tale*, by San Souci/Pinkney, Philomel Books, New York, 1993, pp.121-128). Themes: love triangle, power struggles, reconciliation, peace and war.

"Buddha Prevents A War," a folktale from India, (*Peace tales: World folktales to talk about*, by Margaret Read Macdonald, Linnet Books, 1992, pp. 89-90). Themes: reason, problem solving, compromise, peace and war.

"The Fly," a Vietnamese folktale, (*Favorite folktales from around the world*, by Jane Yolen, Pantheon Books, New York, 1986, pp. 55-57). Themes: triumph over injustice, the underdog, reason and common sense.

"The Dancing Children," a folktale from the Onondoga Native Americans, (*Multicultural myths and legends: Stories and activities to*

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promote cultural awareness, by Tara McCarthy, Scholastic Professional Books, 1994, pp. 89-90). Themes: unrealistic demands, compromise, cooperation.

"Why People Speak Many Languages," a Seneca Native American folktale, (*Spinning tales weaving hope: Stories of peace, justice and the environment*, by Joseph Bruchac, New Society Publishers, Philadelphia, Pa., 1992, pp. 160-1). Themes: peace and harmony, barriers, group versus the individual, and the power of language.

"Urashima the Fisherman," a Japanese folktale, (*Tales alive: Ten multicultural folktales with activities*, by Susan Milford, Williamson Publishing, 1995, pp. 103-7). Themes: trust, bargains, debts, love and sorrow.

"How the Stars Fell into the Sky: A Navajo Legend," (*The Navajo Native Americans*, by Jerrie Oughton, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1992, pp.1-30). Themes: disappointment, impatience, the price for progress, and trust in a trickster.

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Redefining our Educational Parameters

Eton F. Churchill, Jr.
Kyoto Nishi High School

JALT 1996 has given us an opportunity to consider the constructs within which we pursue our profession. In particular, the conference asked us to reflect on the 'barriers' that influence the decisions we make in designing curriculae. The 'barriers' mentioned in plenary sessions and in individual presentations included the gap

between the classroom and the real world and the differences in approaches taken to English education. In addition, Dr. Kachru made an eloquent argument for redefining the way we view World Englishes, thereby encouraging participants to deconstruct the 'barriers' that exist between the Englishes spoken and taught in regions as

geographically diverse as Indonesia and England. Furthermore, the delegation from Linguapax argued that the languages taught around the world can be an instrument for cross-cultural understanding both across and within national borders. Finally, many presentations gave concrete illustrations of how teachers can use global issues in their EFL classes to bridge the 'boundaries' that exist between disciplines. As we make the transition from this fruitful and important discussion back into the reality of the classroom, we should appraise our work for its ability to address the questions posed at JALT '96. The Model United Nations has the potential to address many of these concerns.

The MUN in an EFL context

The Model United Nations is a simulation of the United Nations system in which learners take on the role of delegates to specific countries to debate issues of international import. Muldoon (1992, p. 2) has stated that the Model United Nations (MUN) serves a tripartite educational objective of content, process and product. As learners prepare for their participation at the actual event - the product, they go through the process of researching and developing a specialized understanding of the issue and their assigned country's position on the issue - the content. In terms of EFL tasks, the MUN is an elaborate jigsaw activity in which learners not only exchange unique knowledge, but are also made responsible for the retrieval and acquisition of specialized information. Furthermore, they must work together in cooperation with their teachers to create a shared schema regarding the topic of their MUN conference and the proceedings of the United Nations. While the ability of the MUN to help students cross the 'borders' of cultural understanding are most transparent, the MUN in the EFL setting also disintegrates many of the perceived 'barriers' discussed at the 1996 JALT conference.

Redefining the educational environment

The very decision to conduct an MUN liberates the students and teachers from the bindings of a single text and casts them into

the exciting, if somewhat uncertain, rapids of content-based instruction. Caught in the flow of information, the skipper and crew are left to the devices of their collective decision making abilities and their skill in resourcing information. Each one of the decisions made in the planning process helps define the boundaries of the entire educational experience. First, one needs to decide the issue that will be discussed by the students. Secondly, the organizers need to determine which UN body would normally debate the chosen issue. Once this decision has been made, one can quickly learn which countries are represented in the given UN body at a given time. These countries will be the ones that the participants in the MUN will research and eventually represent. Finally, the planners need to decide who the participants in the MUN will be. The decisions regarding which topic, which UN body, which countries and which participants are required of all MUNs and each one of these decisions allows the organizers to challenge the 'barriers' that may exist in the minds of the delegates as well as those that persist in the views held by institutional administrators.

The first decision that must be made is perhaps the most important as it regards the topic of the MUN conference. While the proceedings of the UN provides a plethora of agenda items to discuss, the curriculum planner is well advised to take their time in making the decision of which topic to debate as the topic is most influential in determining the language that will be required of participants. For this reason, it is important to take into consideration the level of the students, their background in global issues and the lexicon of the agenda items under consideration. A MUN debate on the environment will stimulate the use of a very different lexicon than a discussion over arms control. For this reason, organizers of MUN conferences in EFL settings have tended towards social and environmental topics.

Regardless of the focus that is taken, the moment a topic is chosen the classroom is transformed into a venue for interdisciplinary education. To illustrate this point, one need merely to review the agenda items of past MUN conferences hosted by

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Kyoto Nishi High School. Organizers and delegates have tackled agenda items as diverse as family planning, the rights of the girl child, indigenous peoples, and the Palestine question. As students research and debate an issue such as family planning, they are required to draw from and build upon their knowledge of science, health, economics and mathematics. This interdisciplinary study is guided by the EFL instructor as he/she seeks out and selects materials, but it can be facilitated by willing specialists in other subjects. In this way, the mere selection of a topic to debate is an invitation to cross the 'chasm' that is traditionally maintained between disciplines. Moreover, the need to obtain current information on the issue drives students and teachers to seek out resources beyond the confines of the institutional walls. Thus, the choice of topic not only weakens the barriers that exist between academic departments, but also challenges the traditional notion of educational setting.

Once the conference topic has been chosen, the MUN organizers need to settle on the UN body that will be simulated. This decision requires some basic knowledge about the activities and proceedings of the United Nations, but is easily made after consulting an encyclopedia or a local United Nations Information Center. For example, one would expect to find the main discussion of family planning at the UN to be conducted in the Population Commission or the Economic and Social Council. Thus, if the topic of an MUN were family planning, one would have students simulate the proceedings of ECOSOC or the Population Commission. To facilitate research, one should attempt to approximate the activities of the United Nations as closely as possible, so it is important to determine current membership on the committee or commission that one has chosen (Again, a UN Information Center can prove an invaluable resource for this task.). Thus, the decision regarding the agenda for the MUN conference dictates the committee that is simulated. In turn, the actual countries that the students will research and subsequently represent are indicated by the membership of the committee at the time of your conference.

The final step to defining the

educational parameters of an MUN simulation is the selection of participants, or delegates, to represent the selected countries. While one can easily conduct an MUN within the traditional confines of a single classroom, the decision over who will be the delegates provides yet another opportunity to challenge the parameters that are imposed on the classroom. Delegates can be taken from an entire institution, or from all students of a certain age group within a given region. As the preparation process often necessitates communication between delegates leading up to the event, an MUN can be most easily conducted with participants coming from a single locale. However, as will be illustrated later in this paper, the rewards of drawing delegates from a greater geographical area are enticing.

The preparation process

Once the students have chosen their countries and begin their research, they start using their language skills to build an understanding across the physical, epistemological and psychological 'barriers' that exist between countries and between the cultures within those countries. This search takes the students' use of their L2 out of the classroom and places them in direct contact with the Englishes of the world. This claim can be supported by a brief overview of the process involved in preparing for the MUN at Kyoto Nishi High School (KNHS).

When the students are assigned their countries, they are often disappointed initially. A typical comment from the students might be, "Ghana? I wanted to be Australia or England!", followed by "Where's Ghana?". They then go to a map on the wall or consult an almanac and thus begin their journey to cross-cultural understanding. One of the first assignments given to the students is to write a letter to the country embassy in Japan and to their assigned country's permanent mission to the United Nations to request background information on the country and material specifically related to the agenda of the MUN. More often than not, they receive a package of information with an accompanying letter from an employee of the government that the students are

representing. In most cases, English is the government employee's second or third language.

In the event that material does not come to the students in a timely manner, the students are encouraged to make a telephone call to the embassy in Japan to follow up on their letter. This real world task demands that the students negotiate with a speaker of an English that is quite different than their own and different from that of their Canadian, Australian or American teachers. The students predictably complain that it is difficult to understand the other speaker's English. Later, the students interview other nationals from their assigned country living in Japan and make subsequent contact with government officials. Through this process, what begins as a complaint over the differences in Englishes evolves into an understanding that such Englishes exist and that communication is successfully conducted in spite of the differences. Furthermore, this contact with speakers of other Englishes prepares the students for the conference where they are called upon to speak with exchange students hailing from countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia, the Netherlands, Korea, and Japan. By the end of the MUN conference, all prejudices regarding a perceived hierarchy of Englishes are not eliminated, but the students have taken a chisel and have started to reshape the indoctrinated foundations upon which their perceptions of the world rest.

In addition to the real world task of writing letters to the embassies and permanent missions and interviewing nationals living in Japan, the students also use their L2 in other settings beyond the classroom. For example, students at KNHS are required to go to the United Nations depository and search for relevant United Nations documents. As the large majority of these documents are in English, the task of finding appropriate information calls upon the students to conduct their search in their L2. The students also use the English newspapers as a regular resource and, recently, they have begun conducting searches for information on the internet. Many of the permanent missions to the United Nations, NGO's and governmental departments provide a large amount of

current information on the World Wide Web.

A second area in which the students use their English in a real world context is that of support for the conference. Students at KNHS are required to work on a committee with specific responsibilities in preparing for the conference. One group of students works with a native speaker on developing a program for the event and another group cooperates with another teacher to plan for a post-event celebration. Yet another group is assigned the task of being press representatives and they work to contact the local media. As students work with their teachers to create materials (placards, name tags, etc.) and plan other aspects of the event, they use their English for real purposes. The communication is real and it occurs largely beyond the confines of the forty-five minute class.

An additional area of real communication for real purposes stems from the decision that KNHS has made regarding participation. To date, KNHS has had the luxury of keeping the event open to all high schools interested in participating. This decision has allowed us to promote the use of English for real purposes, to cross the physical space that exists between institutions, and to challenge the stereotypes commonly held regarding the roles of teachers and learners. As students prepare for the event and negotiate with participants from other institutions, they send faxes and e-mail messages to each other in their L2. Because the students use these communications to negotiate with each other over country policies, they become each other's teachers. Moreover, since they are conducting this communication beyond the confines of a single institution, the walls that separate our institutions grow thinner.

Beyond the obvious gains to the learners, the network of participating schools also provides opportunities for cooperative teacher development and allows Japanese teachers of English to work with native speaking colleagues. To prepare for the 1996 Kyoto MUN, teachers from twelve institutions met three times throughout the year to plan and to exchange teaching materials. Beyond the organizational meetings, regular communication between the participating schools was maintained through faxes and

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phone calls to address any questions that arose and to insure that things were running according to schedule. As three of the participating schools had Japanese nationals as their principal instructors, the ongoing planning and communication afforded native speakers of English and the Japanese nationals an opportunity to work together in planning the educational event. This cooperation not only allowed the MUN facilitators to work across what are normally perceived 'barriers' of institutional walls, but also made inroads to the improved understanding of differences in teaching style.

Conclusion

At JALT 96, Kachru repeated his question of 'What are the implications of our notion of a speech community?'. From this we may extrapolate the corollary of 'What are the implications of our notion of an educational setting?'. The use of an MUN in an EFL context addresses this second

question by demonstrating that a broader definition of educational setting creates opportunities to deconstruct the barriers that are often viewed as impediments to our profession. The planning process for an MUN turns perceived barriers into opportunities for language use for real purposes and also places our students in direct contact with the Englishes of the world. Moreover, the act of preparing for participation in an MUN demonstrates to the students that their linguistic resources can lead them to greater cross-cultural understanding. As used by KNHS, the MUN also helps bridge the gap between English instruction by Japanese nationals and that of native speakers of English. With this in mind, the MUN hosted by KNHS may serve as a possible answer to the concerns brought up at JALT '96.

Reference

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Commonly Asked Global Issues Questions

Jessica Newby Kawata
Sanyo Gakuen University

David Peaty
Ritsumeikan University

Donna McInnis
Soka University

Other Participant in the Discussion:

Junko Mukainakano
Towada Junior High School

Introduction

Teaching global issues is a growing field within the EFL/ESL world. It is a broad field that encompasses a wide variety of topics including human rights, poverty, the environment, refugees, AIDS, and cross-cultural issues, to name just a few. These are difficult topics. For some people they are difficult to discuss in their own language, let

alone a foreign language. There are many problems that teachers encounter when they use global issue content in the classroom. This discussion will address some of those problems.

How can we make global issues fun without trivializing them?

Issues like hunger, poverty and

oppression are not entertaining and should not be. They are relevant, urgent and very real — but not fun. As language teachers, we have no obligation to entertain, but we must maintain interest and motivation. How?

Vary the activities

For example, when working with a potentially boring text, teachers can use quizzes, predictions, brainstorming, skimming, scanning, critical reading, note-taking, summary, jigsaw, matching texts with titles, re-ordering scrambled sentences, and matching sentence halves. It is also helpful to incorporate other kinds of materials such as listening, writing, speaking, role plays, games, videos, interviews with other people, and materials or guest speakers from NGOs. Keeping the students moving, thinking, sharing, drawing, singing or listening to “music with a message” are other ways.

For teachers trying to create materials and activities, it’s important to remember that any standard activity used in teaching, such as the games “Snakes & Ladders” and “Tic-Tac-Toe” can be adapted to global issue topics.

Vary the resources

Resources don’t need to consist solely of a textbook or article. The more varied, the more interesting the topic becomes for the student. Possibilities include questionnaires, comics and cartoons, headlines, photos, quotes, data, artifacts, fiction, poems, case studies, videos, songs, interviews, puzzles, student-generated materials based on research, L1 news, and short talks by the teacher.

Emphasize problem solving

Students like puzzles; global issues are huge problems crying for a solution. Reinforce the positive side and emphasize what the students can do as members of society to help solve these problems.

Cooperative learning exercises and student-centered activities involve the students, increasing their interest and motivation. Let the students make the discoveries for themselves. Design task-based projects and hands-on projects. Have students create something. Work towards a

goal. Reinforce the positive side and emphasize what the students can do as members of society to help solve these problems.

How can we make a global issues program learner-centered?

Nunan (1988) recommends that we involve the learner in each stage of the curriculum. In our content-based curriculum, we are especially concerned with planning, implementation and evaluation.

1. **Planning.** Teachers should first analyze students’ needs and determine their goals. Then students and teachers together should decide on selection of themes and resources and methods of final assessment.
2. **Implementation.** A contract between the teacher and learner is made so that the learner takes responsibility for learning. There should be plenty of learner input and exchange of ideas during this stage.
3. **Evaluation.** There needs to be learner feedback on the tasks, procedures and resources. This should be incorporated into the later stages of the program and any future program.

Other ways to encourage learner-centered classes are to include cooperative learning, group work, and self discovery, and to devise small research projects, at the end of which students share what they have learned with the class.

Development of both interpersonal and intrapersonal (reflective) intelligence is very important when dealing with global issues in the classroom. Students may already be concerned about these issues, but this process allows them to examine their feelings and attitudes towards each issue. For some students, this is the first time that someone has asked them their opinions, so they need time to reflect on their ideas and views on these subjects.

When having the students choose the topics for the semester in a global issues framework, the teacher generally provides the content, but the students can write the discussion questions themselves, with questions exchanged in class between

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groups. Also, students can devise projects for their own homework.

How do we evaluate learner performance and progress?

Individual learners, for final grades or remedial work

1. Criteria must be established at the outset and not changed unilaterally. It's important to be as objective as possible, so for grading performance on project presentations, for example, we should prepare a standard form listing relevant criteria such as pronunciation, grammar, fluency, and content, and grade them for each criterion according to a numerical scale, adding up the total score at the end and returning the form to the students so they can find out their strong and weak points. This form should be shown to students at the beginning of the program so they are fully aware of how they will be graded.
2. Weekly quizzes, homework, presentations and final tests can be used for evaluation. We can also evaluate students by monitoring their group-work, checking their projects and research, and keeping a binder or portfolio of all work done by each student. We should try to balance the subjective (e.g. scores for presentation) with the objective (e.g. scores on reading and listening quizzes). Students should be made to take responsibility for their learning, grades and organization, with a goal of "genuine understanding" by means of which the students are able to take what they learn in the classroom and apply it outside the classroom.
3. In accordance with the agreed goals of the program, content is a means towards an end; that end being higher language proficiency. We are therefore not justified in testing acquisition of content knowledge (e.g. global issues), we can only test acquisition of language. However, we must test this in context, and global

issues are an appropriate context. We are thus fully justified in using reading or listening texts dealing with issues already covered. We must never evaluate opinions when grading, but we should evaluate how proficiently opinions are expressed. For example, we could have students listen to statements about topics they have already discussed and then write their opinions, which would tell us a) if they understood and b) how well they could communicate their opinions.

Of the whole program

We can include measures which show how well the content has been understood, and evaluate students' response to it. But we still must focus on how well our language objectives have been achieved, because for the administration, the students, the parents and our colleagues, this is a language program, not a social studies course.

How can we exploit authentic global issue resources for EFL (bearing in mind that they are often too difficult for learners)?

College classes

1. Using authentic reading

Authentic reading is not a problem per se; the students should be able to understand it with some help. If there is no challenge, there is no progress. Nuttall (1982, p. 146) says we should get the students started and then stand back and watch them struggle, but if it's too difficult they will be frustrated. So, how can we help?

- We can activate schema before reading (brainstorm, question and answer, discussion, etc.).
- We can provide key words and concepts in L1 or in clear L2 context, or provide L2-L1 glossaries.
- We can provide questions that direct readers' attention to the main ideas.
- We can simplify, guide, explain, exemplify and elaborate points for the students.
- We can give the learners plenty of time to do the reading, for example,

as homework which is collected and graded.

2. Using authentic listening

This can be a major problem, because it is quite difficult for them. And playing the tape over and over is not the solution. Ask yourself the question, could they understand it if they read the tapescript? If not, abandon it.

If they could understand the tapescript, the task may be simplified by:

- increasing and lengthening pauses
- providing key words and phrases or an outline
- giving a simple summary first
- pausing and elaborating or reading aloud
- providing the tapescript before they listen

Using other resources, for example data, pictures, cartoons, and surveys, in most cases may pose no problem.

High school classes

The goal of high school English should be to raise proficiency to the point at which they can understand unsimplified text and speech. Most high school third year students read materials which are almost authentic (with a lot of help). Below third year, authentic materials other than those designed for children are seldom accessible because of the vocabulary and grammar, and because of subject matter and cultural limitations. Artifacts, however, are accessible; so are chants, diagrams, maps and photos.

Sources such as *The Daily Yomiuri* environment pages can be used by high school students for research activities on issues such as endangered species in Japan, but students should be provided beforehand with a glossary, either English to English, or English to Japanese, so all their time isn't consumed by looking up words in the dictionary.

Materials available from Educators for Social Responsibility and Social Studies School Services are applicable and useful for both college level and high school. Materials aimed at native speaker middle school students are often appropriate for lower level EFL students. Some activities in books designed for native speaker high school students work quite well with Japanese college students, and can be adapted for use at various levels.

Conclusion

This discussion has attempted to answer four key questions about the use of global issues content in EFL classes. For answers to other questions, please refer to Cates (1992).

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Geography in the Global Issues Classroom

Jessica Newby Kawata
Sanyo Gakuen University

Introduction

Like many teachers who teach global issues, I am concerned about the students' lack of geographical knowledge. On numerous occasions the students' ideas about the locations of certain countries has

astounded me. I'm from California. I used to wonder how the students got the notion that California is a country, as well as why they didn't realize that both San Francisco and Los Angeles were actually in California. These weren't the only ideas that astonished

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me. Others include that Africa is one country, that Paris is in England, and that the Great Wall of China is in Thailand. The list of incredulous ideas about geography goes on and on. I'm sure each teacher has their own stories to tell, too.

Why is geography important?

Holistic view of the world

The holistic view of the world presents the earth as being one entity, a whole, as opposed to all countries being separate from each other. Each of its parts influences every other part; they are all interconnected. With this view, our individual countries are not as important as the whole itself. Yet being part of that whole requires knowing about the other countries that make up the earth, their locations, basic facts, and in what ways each country affects another.

We live in the global age

Through information technology like computers, the Internet, and the mass media, our lives are becoming increasingly intertwined and linked. The "global village" is being built at this very moment. Since we are being exposed to other countries and cultures on a daily basis, some basic knowledge of them is essential.

On a personal level

Not only are we connected to the world through technology, but we are involved in it with the clothes we wear, the food we eat, the cars we drive, and the appliances we use. Everyday we come in contact with the world, whether we realize it or not. Realizing and comprehending this notion is another essential part of teaching global issues and geographical skills.

Insularity and Japan

Many countries in this world are insular, concerned only with their own country. Students in the U.S. are infamous for their poor geography skills. Students in Japan are also quite uninformed about the world. The commonly held view in Japan is that the country and its people are trying to internationalize, but how can this happen when students can't tell you where Thailand is? Or Mexico? Or Germany? Part of internationalizing is knowing where

countries are in the world. This leads to the final reason.

Geography is fundamental in teaching global issues

According to Cates (1990, p. 4), one of the goals of global education is knowledge about problems in the world. If I want to teach about human rights, or poverty, it's essential that the students have some knowledge about the country or countries in question. It's difficult to jump into the problem of human rights abuses in a certain country if the students don't have any information about that country, such as where it is located, the climate, land, culture, and history — these are basic facts that are an integral part of geography that will also aid in comprehension of the issue. Also, if there is some knowledge, some relevance or connection to their lives, their interest and understanding of the issue in question increases.

Some of the following activities I designed myself; others are games that are available through educational materials companies for which I've created follow-up activities. Some of these games I've had to adapt to language teaching, to the class size, and of course to the class level.

When playing games it's also important to remember that this is a good opportunity for students to use the target language in a real situation, so be sure to prepare them with the necessary vocabulary for playing games.

For example: Whose turn is it?
It's your turn.
Next.
Pick a card.

Geography Activities

Geography Game

Materials needed: A map including a list of capital cities and a handout. The handout consists of questions such as:

- Is it above/below the equator?
- Is it in the north? South? East? West?
- Is it a big country? Medium-sized? Small?
- Does it border _____?
- Is the capital _____?
- Is it _____?

Students work in pairs. One student chooses a country, the other student must ask the above "yes" or "no" questions about the location to find out what country it is.

World 7

Materials needed: *World 7* card game

Students get into groups of 4-5. Each student gets a map and 7 cards. The first player to get seven countries (cards) that are bordering wins.

Follow-up:

1. Have the students choose one country out of the countries on their cards. They went on vacation there. Each member in the group will ask one question about that vacation. Remind them to use their imagination!!! Continue so all members have answered questions.
2. Do an oral report on one of the countries on the cards.
3. Choose one global issue (e.g. poverty). Have each student bring information on poverty for one country. Compare and discuss the causes and effects of poverty in those countries.

Postcard Game

Materials needed: postcards or photos from around the world

Optional: map

Place numbered postcards from various countries around the classroom.

Variations:

1. The students, in pairs or individually, go around the room and guess what country that postcard is from. Go over the answers as a class.
2. Give the students a blanked out map

of the countries on the postcards. Have them fill it in either while they're guessing, or after you've gone over the answers.

3. Give the students a map with the countries on the postcards highlighted. Have the students match the postcard with the country.
4. Discuss the images on the postcards. What can you tell about the country from the photo?

World Geography & Famous Places

Materials needed: Trivia games *World Geography, Famous Places*

The students take turns asking and answering questions for each card either as a team, or individually. The person or team with the most right answers wins.

Follow-up:

1. After the student has answered the question, have them locate the place and mark it on a map.
2. Have the students make a large map for the classroom, drawing in the different places on their cards. Or each team can make a map for one continent, including famous places, cities, mountains, etc.

References

Cates, K. (1990). Teaching for a better world: Global issues in language education. *The Language Teacher* 14 (5), 3-5.

Note

Some of the educational games noted in the text are available through Social Studies School Service, 10200 Jefferson Boulevard, Room 13, PO Box 802, Culver City, CA 90232-0802 USA.

Gender Issues In Language Education

Thomas Hardy
Tamagawa University

Amy Yamashiro
Keio University

Cheiron McMahonill
Gunma Prefectural Women's University

Gender issues in language education has received relatively little attention, particularly in Japan, given the importance of the topic and the pervasive ways it influences language, language acquisition, culture, and teaching. Increasingly, however, educators are using gender issues as topics for discussions or as thematic units within content-based courses — courses that encourage students to use the target language for acquiring knowledge (Brinton, Snow & Wesche, 1989). The topics a gender issues course can include — such as the family, gender roles, and sexuality — have an obvious appeal for educators. Such topics can generate high interest, are relatively easy to relate to student experience, and have volumes of accessible authentic materials; all of which allows language learning to be contextualized in a realistic and pragmatic form. Each of the three papers presented in the session, *Gender issues in language education*,¹ critically addressed specific gender based issues and topics of interest to language educators in Japan.

Why Gender in the ESL Classroom: A Modest Proposal

In this paper, Yamashiro discusses the rationale for producing a monograph on gender issues (Casanave & Yamashiro, 1996), its relevance for language education, and its motivating effect for the writers involved in the project. One reason for creating this volume was the clear need for

more publications specifically on gender issues within the EFL context.

Considering how often gender issues serve as topics for thematic units in content-based English courses or to perk up an English conversation class, it was not difficult to gather educators to write on this theme. Moreover, sexism in language, constraining gender roles, and inequality are issues that educators must face both in and out of the classroom. What and how to teach requires choices. These choices directly affect our students in terms of their cultural knowledge, attitudes, and awareness of what is appropriate to say and do within an English speaking environment. In short, there is a clear need for all educators to raise their awareness of these issues and for researchers to develop the themes Sunderland (1994) outlines in her excellent volume, *Exploring Gender: Questions and Implications for English Language Education*. To place the matter clearly within the Japanese context, Fujimura-Fanselow and Kameda (1995) have produced a fine collection of original and translated essays.

Finally, in line with the rationales for global-education, meaningful content that was seen as relevant at either the personal and/or professional level motivated writers to produce multiple drafts and actively participate during each of the peer review sessions. In terms of professional development, the writing process helped the contributors to further clarify both the complexity of the issues and the diversity of opinions held.

Teaching About Social Inequality And Gender In The Language Classroom

In the second paper, Hardy explores ways teaching about social inequality and gender in English classrooms in Japan crosses boundaries, for students and teachers, by helping to both reflect on their assumptions and responses to the topic.

He starts by reviewing his personal, professional, and social motives for teaching a class on gender inequality. The speaker's personal experience of social inequality as a member of a relatively marginalized sexual orientation awakened him to the pervasiveness and power of the inequalities such groups face. Professionally, he studied anthropology and sees the discipline as committed to the study of social inequality and gender issues (Wolf, 1982; Gailey, 1987). Also, he sees anthropology as a discipline in which the Other (formerly exotic and primitive cultures) is used to inform an understanding and critique of one's own culture (Diamond, 1974). The writer's social motives come from his sense that teachers have an obligation to teach critical thinking skills and social awareness, in addition to the manifest content of their classes (Postman & Weingartner, 1969; Dale, 1995). These motives interact with and compliment the explicit goals of content based English classes: language acquisition and increasing social awareness.

Hardy then describes the teaching of a class in gender inequality. He starts by dividing the class into small groups and asking students how societies divide themselves into groups. After a short discussion period, he has each group write its answers on the blackboard. He then reduces the students' list to the basic sociological categories of sex, class, age, ethnicity, and race. He asks students, "What is divided unequally among these groups?" Or, "What does society give the lucky groups and keep from the unlucky groups?" Again, students discuss the question in groups and write their collective answers on the board. And again, Hardy reduces these to the classic sociological rewards of wealth, power, and prestige. Students read and discuss brief passages describing gender inequality in the United States. They then form groups and each group is assigned to watch and analyze one film with strong

gender content, such as *Thelma and Louise* or *Steel Magnolias*. The groups watch the films and fill out a worksheet asking them to summarize the film and find instances in it of gender based preferences in access to wealth, power and prestige. The instructor collects these worksheets in the following class and immediately has students interview experts on other films — an extended information gap activity.

With a fair grasp of the forms and operations of gender inequality in another culture, in this case the anthropological Other being the United States, students turn their attention to Japan. In groups they generate short reading and discussion passages on selected aspects of gender inequality in Japan and share these with other groups. They then watch and analyze films as they did for the United States. The final class project is short individual papers.

Student comments on end-of-term evaluations indicate a successful class in terms of language acquisition including vocabulary, "I learned to make ourselves the words of reports in English" (Yukiko); listening comprehension, "I think you will become understand native English" (Kayoko); and speaking skills "I learned to communication by speaking in English with the other people" (Toru). The course helped develop social and group skills, "To cooperate with group member is interesting" (Akiko), "I noticed hard and pleasure of the group by the project. I thought the group was hard but it was very enjoy and became study for me very much" (Miho).

Students also commented on their intellectual development. They seemed to have learned to recognize gender inequalities in their own lives and the lives of those around them. "There are many discrimination to women around me. I have never thought about why women cook? Why women must clean? . . . I think it is bad to say you can't do it because you are a girl or you must do that because you are a boy. All men and women is same man. So we must not make a discrimination men and women, I thought" (Akiko).

A further success of the class has been raising the awareness of the instructor concerning his cultural assumptions about gender relations and the functions of inequality in maintaining social stability.

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Forging Alliances: Grassroots Feminists Language Education in the Tokyo Area

In the third paper, McMahon describes a movement towards grassroots feminist language education which has been invented by independent groups of women in response to a growing awareness of the limitations of existing educational institutions in nurturing cross-cultural feminist consciousness.

In grassroots feminist language education, the participants are feminists in search of a second language or cross-cultural contacts in order to engage more fully in activist or feminist work, and the goal of the classes extends beyond mere language acquisition to the empowerment of participants. It is a means whereby "... participants study themselves, name the problems that need to be researched, collect data, and analyze them, thus generating their own knowledge, and ultimately produce plans for action based on the results of the research" (Auerbach, 1994, pp. 694-695).

In her paper, McMahon uses her personal experience with feminism and feminist language classes in Japan, data gathered with these sources through questionnaires and interviews to identify and describe four modes of grassroots feminist English/Japanese language education alive in the Tokyo area — namely peer tutoring, peer language exchange with a facilitator, small language study groups, and feminist language schools. Motivations for choosing these over other options, such as commercial language schools, are explored. The paper concludes that grassroots feminist language education has emerged as a means of resistance, not only against the content, but also against the pedagogical practice of Japan's dominant educational paradigms. This is because the instructor works within structures controlled by the learners, and implicit in this is at least a partial relinquishment of the educator's role as an expert or depositor of knowledge.

The author observes that these feminist language education experiments provide the opportunity to break down and redefine traditional power relations between teachers and students, even when an instructor is

officially contracted to teach a small group. One reason for this is that feminist pedagogy, with its roots in leaderless consciousness-raising groups and collectives, has emphasized egalitarian relationships between students and teachers and posits equal importance between experience and feeling as legitimate sources of knowledge (Weiler, 1994).

Conclusion

Taken as a whole, the three papers clearly stress the need for language teachers and students to recognise the extent to which gender-related issues pervade our language and lives in ways that are as political as they are pedagogical. Indeed, a more basic need is recognize that the two cannot be separated. We urge educators to construct an atmosphere in their schools and classrooms that will help them and their students develop this awareness.

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Note

¹ Earlier versions of these papers have appeared in Casanave C.P. & Yamashiro, A.D. (Eds.) 1996). We thank the editors of that volume for their help in working through the ideas, materials, and organization of these papers. Of course, any errors of omission or commission that remain are the responsibility of the writers.

Culture, Variation And English Language Education*

Yamuna Kachru

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Introduction

This paper looks at variation in English and its educational implications from the perspective of critical linguistics (Fowler, Hodge, Kress and Trew (1979), Fowler (1988), Fairclough (1992), Hodge and Kress (1993 [1979]), among others.). Sociolinguistic research has shown that structural variations observed in English around the world have resulted from a number of well-defined processes (see, e.g., B. Kachru 1983; Lowenberg 1984, 1992a; Platt and Webber 1980; Tay 1993; Teh 1986). The same is true of discourse structures and strategies across languages and cultures. There is, however, a great deal of resistance to according equal status to all varieties of English, and the questions of 'standards' and 'norms' are still being debated widely and passionately (see, e.g., the debate in B. Kachru 1988, 1991, Lowenberg 1993, Quirk 1985, 1988, Tickoo 1991). As a result, the underlying assumptions of English language education at present differ a great deal across the world. The ESL/EFL profession is largely driven by principles and practices developed in response to the concerns of the

perceived needs of the international students enrolled in educational institutions in the UK and USA and their teachers. Consequently, the concerns of English education in the Outer and Expanding Circle play at best a marginal role in building theories or developing methodologies.¹ This leaves the professionals in these Circles in a difficult situation whether the perceived need is for appropriate theories, methodologies, or practices. The aim of this paper is to argue for shifting the perspective of the profession. I hope to accomplish this goal by focusing on a characterization of (a) the competence in English required for successful cross-cultural interaction, and (b) programs with principles and practices that respond to the world-wide concerns of English education by providing opportunities to facilitate the acquisition of such competence. Data for the discussion are drawn from structures and discourses in several varieties of world Englishes. I will first discuss variation in English and what motivates it, and subsequently characterize the competence needed for cross-cultural communication.

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Finally, I will suggest how programs could fulfill the perceived needs of world majority learners of English.

Variation in English

There are two ways of looking at variation: one is to label all variation substandard, which is articulated in the following quote:

I believe that the fashion of undermining belief in standard English has wrought educational damage in the ENL [Inner Circle] countries, though I am ready to concede that there may well have been compensating educational gains in the wider tolerance for an enjoyment of the extraordinary variety of English around us in any of these countries. But then just such an airy contempt for standards started to be exported to EFL and ESL countries, and for this I can find no such mitigating compensation. *The relatively narrow range of purposes for which the non-native needs to use English (even in ESL countries) is arguably well-catered for by a single monochrome standard form that looks as good on paper as it sounds in speech.* There are only the most dubious advantages in exposing the learner to a great variety of usage, no part of which he will have time to master properly, little of which he will be called upon to exercise, all of which is embedded in a controversial sociolinguistic matrix he cannot be expected to understand. [Quirk 1985:6 (emphasis added)]

However, sociolinguistic research on varieties of English has shown that the use of world Englishes has acquired a range and depth in different speech communities which makes it clear that the italicized part of the quote above is obsolete.² In fact, it is no longer justified to look at these varieties from the perspective of acquisitional deficiency and label them substandard. Concepts of 'interlanguage' and 'fossilization' are irrelevant in characterizing

the institutionalized varieties of the Outer Circle, and are fast becoming so in accounting for the acrolectal forms of performance varieties of the Expanding Circle.² The observations of Quirk (1985) about the 'monochrome' standard go against the sociolinguistic realities in the Outer as well as Expanding Circle contexts.

Two major factors are responsible for the observable differences among the varieties of English: language contact and the communicative needs of the speech communities that use them. At the risk of overgeneralizing, it is reasonable to say that phonological and lexicogrammatical variation in the diaspora varieties largely results from language contact, whereas variation in discourse strategies and literary styles is additionally motivated by the relevant speech communities attempting to express their own meanings in English. This is as true of the Outer and Expanding Circle varieties as it is of the Inner Circle Englishes. As a consequence, communicative competence in English can no longer be equated with "native speaker" competence of any one set of users of English for verbal interaction (Nelson 1992).

Communicative Competence in Varieties of English

For successful communication in world Englishes across languages and cultures, we need to pay attention to some major factors. The first relevant factor is that not all users of world Englishes in the three circles need to communicate across regional and national boundaries. Those who are required to participate in intercultural communication, for whatever purposes, need to be sensitized to variation that exists in the language so that issues of intelligibility do not assume proportions such that successful interaction becomes impossible. Intelligibility includes not only the ability to decode the incoming message in terms of sounds, words and grammatical structures, but also in terms of comprehending the utterance(s) and interpreting the intentions of the encoder of the message. The distinction that Smith (1992) makes in terms of intelligibility, comprehensibility and interpretability is crucial here. Intelligibility refers to utterance recognition, comprehensibility to utterance recognition of utterance meaning, and

interpretability to the recognition of the illocutionary force and implicature of utterances. Obviously, for the users of different varieties to be intelligible in this sense requires a great deal of awareness of linguistic as well as cultural context. The linguistic factors that are involved are phonological, lexicogrammatical, and discursal. I would like to discuss variation in each of these areas in world Englishes in some detail to see what is involved in acquiring competence in more than one variety.

A. Phonology

It has been claimed that more than segmental sounds, the rhythmic patterns in speech are responsible for ensuring interpretability. This means that unfamiliar stress and intonational patterns can lead to breakdown in communication (see Gumperz 1982a, 1982b for examples). It is also a well-known fact that stress assignment in words differs across varieties. For instance, word stress in the American and British varieties differs significantly. In the Outer and Expanding Circle varieties, stress placement is different from the Inner Circle varieties in one crucial respect. Most Outer and Expanding Circle varieties have a syllable-timed rather than a stress-timed rhythm (Bamgbose 1992, B. Kachru 1983). As such, stress assignment follows the values attached to the "mores" (weight of syllables in terms of duration) in these varieties. Stress placement in IE and NE follows from the principle of syllable weight. In success, both syllables are short; therefore, the default rule of placing the stress on the first syllable applies. In recognize, however, since the vowels in re- and -cog- are short and not as weighty as the diphthong in -nize, the primary stress goes with the heavier syllable. Rhythm in these varieties is based on the mores of the syllables; the long syllables are twice as long as the short, but the quality of the vowel in long as well as short syllables remains the same. In the case of a word with several long syllables, all the syllables are pronounced long irrespective of their stressed or unstressed character. In the Inner Circle Englishes, the stressed syllable has a longer duration as compared to the unstressed syllable; in fact, the rhythmic pattern of these Englishes is such

that in a multisyllabic word, the duration of the several unstressed syllables is roughly equivalent to the one stressed syllable. Consequently, vowel quality has a strong correlation with stress. To the Inner Circle speakers of English, the other varieties sound as though they have a staccato rhythm. In situations of reasonable long term contact, however, users of different varieties seem to adjust well to each other's rhythm and manage to communicate successfully. This is obvious when one looks at the educational, financial, media-related, and political and diplomatic institutions around the world.

B. Lexicogrammar

a. *Lexicon*

Most varieties have their own characteristic lexicon, developed in response to local contexts. Well-known examples of this phenomenon are innovations that take place in a variety as a response to local needs, items that are borrowed from the substratum languages, and hybrid items that are formed by juxtaposing such a borrowed item and an English item. Some examples from both Inner and Outer Circle varieties are as follows:

American English innovations:

affiliate, caboose, collide, downtown, endorse, hammock, hominy, jeopardize, moccasin, opossum, predicate, itemize, boomer, boomtown, bouncer, roller-coaster, fill the bill, fizzle out, make tracks, peter out, keep tab, etc.

African English innovations:

be on seat (be in one's place of work), been-to (one who has been to England), be coupled (find a partner at dance), me-and-my-darling (love seat), bush meat (game), tight friend (close friend), small room (toilet) (Bokamba 1992); long legs (influence) (B. Kachru 1995)

Indian English innovations:

gherao (sit-in), interdine (sharing a meal with people of different caste or religion), co-brother-in-law (wife's sister's husband), nine-stranded

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thread (sacred thread worn by a married caste Hindu), homely (home-loving)

Lexical innovations are easily observable and there have been several compilations of variety-specific items (see, e.g., Yule and Burnell 1886, Grote 1992). Grammatical and discursal variations, on the other hand, are much more complex and require serious research effort. I will discuss a few areas of grammatical variation first.

b. Grammar

Grammatical features that vary noticeably in performance are the following: the article system, use of infinitives and gerunds, and systems of tenses and question answering. I will discuss the article system in some detail here.

The conventions of use of articles with nouns can be stated as follows:

- a. a(n): indefinite non-specific, or indefinite specific, or generic (with count nouns in the singular)
 - the: definite specific (with count and mass nouns), or non-specific generic (with count nouns only)
 - some: indefinite non-specific, or indefinite specific (with count nouns in the plural, with mass nouns)
 - Ø: generic (with count nouns in the plural, with mass nouns)

The description makes it clear that there is considerable overlap among the forms of articles and the meanings they signal. Of course, the generic reference is not signaled by the articles exclusively; the tense-aspect of the utterance is relevant, too (cf. A tiger roars vs. A tiger is roaring or A tiger roared).

There are three factors that complicate the learning of the above system of articles in areas where English is not acquired as the first language. First, there is no one-to-one correlation between the forms (i.e. a, the, some) and the meanings they signal. Second, there are inconsistencies in the use of articles even with the count nouns, as has been pointed out by McArthur (1994) and Ilson (1995). For instance, there is variation in the use of articles in American and British English which manifests itself in the dropping of a(n) or replacing an with a:

b. Dropping a(n):

The Sunday Times, 13 June 93: 'He was decent, caring man who was disgusted by the vandalism.' (McArthur 1994: 2)

International Herald Tribune, 15 April 93, quoting an American: 'It is virulent strand of racism.' (McArthur 1994: 2)

The Observer: The point is that it is platform for good journalism with differing views.' (Ilson 1995: 43)

In addition, the norms of article use in American English seem to be undergoing a change (Stewart and Fawcett 1994):

- c. an > a in American English (Stewart and Fawcett 1994: 20-22)

President Carter	a election process (1976)
President Bush	a internal (1990)
Dick Cavett	a emergency (1986)
Phil Donahue	a upper class (1986)
Robert Ballard (scientist)	a unqualified success (1985)
Jana Williams (educator)	a interesting game (1982)

Third, in many languages of the world, only the indefinite noun is marked either with a determiner or with an affix, the definite is unmarked, and the generic is a function of the definite. This is true of all the major languages of South Asia, of Persian, and of several other languages of the world. In view of these facts, it is not surprising that the Outer and Expanding Circle Englishes do not use articles in the way that the existing English grammars prescribe.

The picture is further complicated by the fact that depending upon speaker intentions, the choice of articles may vary in what appears to the learners the same context. For example, note the following responses by B to A:

- d. A: I am thirsty.
B: There is (some) orange juice in the fridge.

Except for the implication of quantity in the use of some as opposed to the zero

article, there is no difference in referential meaning that is signaled by this choice.

A related complication is that nouns, according to grammars, are said to be inherently either count or mass and the use of articles is determined by these properties of the nouns. In fact, grammatical descriptions differ from each other considerably. According to Allan (1980), in terms of countability, there are eight different classes of nouns in English in view of (a) their potential for combining with the following types of determiners: the zero determiner; unit determiners such as a(n), one; fuzzy quantifiers such as several, about fifty; the determiner all in the sense of 'completely'; and (b) their potentiality for being marked as plural, either inflectionally or in terms of agreement features. According to Huddleston (1984: 245), there are six classes of nouns exemplified by equipment (fully mass), knowledge (almost mass, but occur with a, e.g., a good knowledge of Latin), clothes (occur with fuzzy quantifiers such as many, few, hence are more count-like), cattle (occur with fuzzy quantifiers and large round numbers), people (collective noun, have plural forms, e.g., peoples, but are not fully countable in that these nouns do not occur in a singular form), and dog (fully count). Inner Circle varieties seem to treat nouns differently in terms of countability:

e. Countability of nouns: lettuce, attendance, entertainment Non-count in AE, Count in BE; knowledge, evidence used as countable by reputed linguists in AE (Lowenberg 1992b)

It is clear that the English system of countability is complex. Moreover, the conventions of marking countability differs across languages. In English, mass nouns (equipment, sugar) are inherently singular, but in Sinhalese and Ki-Swahili, they are treated as plural. In many languages, there is no distinction between a shirt and (a pair of) trousers. Thus, there does not seem to be any conceptual basis for treating several categories of nouns in any particular way, grammatically speaking.

In African, Caribbean, East, South and South-East Asian varieties of English, the complex system of marking count/mass

distinction in English is simplified. Perceptually countable items such as furniture, equipment, luggage are regularly used with a plural marker to denote more than one piece (see the papers in B. Kachru 1992b). Since neither the determiner nor the countability system is clearly described in any language learning/teaching text, there is a great deal of variation in the Outer and Expanding Circle varieties in the usage of determiners and the categorization of nouns. In some varieties, such as Singaporean and Thai, inflectional marking of plural is not always consistent, partly as a result of phonological processes such as final consonant cluster simplification. According to the several generations of American MATESL candidates that I have had the privilege to interact with, these do not cause problems of intelligibility, even though they identify speakers as non-native users of English.

The assertion that grammatical differences are responsible for lack of intelligibility in native-non-native interaction is only partially true. I would like to contrast some differences between Inner Circle Englishes with those between the Inner and the Outer Circle Englishes. Consider the examples given in e and f:

f. Reversal of meaning in restrictive vs. non-restrictive relative clauses (Newbrook 1992):

AusE: The students who had finished left the hall. [all the relevant students]

The students, who had finished, left the hall. [only a subset]

BE: The students who had finished left the hall. [a subset of students]

The students, who had finished, left the hall. [all the relevant students]

g. Question-Answering system (in IE, AFE (Bokamba 1992), PhE (Gumperz 1982a))

A: Isn't your car running?

B: Yes (implication: It isn't running)

No (implication: It is)

One wonders why g is likely to cause more problems in intelligibility than f? The differences in both are equally salient from the point of view of meaning. Attitudes

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toward varieties may be one explanation, but that requires separate treatment. I would like to move on to discourse now.

C. Discourse

Speech Acts

Communicative competence across varieties of English depends a great deal on familiarity with cultural conventions of language use. English is used in a particular variety to express the sociocultural meanings that the users of that variety have and that are unfamiliar to those who are outside the context. One example may make this clear. There is a speech genre *saugandh khana* or *qasam khana* which is roughly translatable as 'to swear'. It is, however, different from the English item 'swear' in that it only shares the following meanings with it: 'to assert, promise, agree to, or confirm on oath.' The other, more negative meanings of the English item are not shared by the Hindi item. Another difference is that one can 'swear' by anything dear or valuable to one, e.g., one's own self, one's kin, and, of course, the sacred text, *Bhagvadgita* or God. It has the illocutionary force of strong assertion, persuasion, challenge, promise, or entreaty, depending upon the context. Two examples of how it is used in Indian English with the illocutionary forces of strong assertion and persuasion, respectively, are given in a and b below:

- a. 'Hé, brother, what is it all about?'
'Nothing. I think it's about the quarrel between Ramaji and Subbaji. You know about the Cornerstone?'
'But, on my mother's soul, I thought they were going to the court?' [Rao. 1978: 17]

The context is that one villager is trying to find out from another villager what the bailiff's drum meant. The first villager 'swears' in order to convince the second that he had a certain piece of information which he really believed to be true.

In the second example (b), an older sister is scolding a younger brother for arguing with her:

- b. '...And Ramu,' she cried desperately, 'I have enough of quarreling all the time. In the name of our holy mother can't you leave

me alone!' [Raja Rao: 88]

The expression holy mother in the above example does not refer to any deity; it refers to the female (biological) parent of the siblings. The sister is trying to persuade her brother to drop the topic they have been arguing about.

The examples make it clear that the cultural meaning of *saugandh khana* is very different from 'to swear' in the native English-speaking context. The two instances of swearing are interpretable only in the context of a society or culture that shares the specific meanings with South Asian society and culture. Notice that it is not the meaning of assertion or persuasion that is unfamiliar to other variety users; it is the linguistic device of using 'swear' to accomplish assertion or persuasion that is unfamiliar. Some further patterns of familiar speech genres in IE are given below.

- c. Pattern of greeting and response (If B is older in age or relationship)
A: Greeting
B: Blessing
- d. Pattern of compliment-response
A: Compliment
B: Not deserving the compliment OR lowering of head in humility OR silence
- e. Pattern of invitation-response (Also in Chinese, Mao 1992)
A: Invitation
B: Initial unwillingness to cause trouble
A: Insistence
B: Acceptance
- f. Patterns of expressing gratitude (Y. Kachru 1995c)

Informal situations: Blessing (if expressing gratitude to a younger person), appreciation of inherent qualities or effort or help rendered (if expressing gratitude to an equal), expression of one's helplessness and grateful acceptance of favor (if expressing gratitude to a superior in status)

Formal situations: Thanks.

To ensure success in intercultural communication, it is necessary to be aware of how conventions differ across varieties.

Writing Conventions

Non-native writing has been a source of great concern to educators in the Inner Circle institutions. The problem is that most Outer Circle and Expanding Circle writers would agree with Chinua Achebe—substituting their own region for “African”—when he says:

- a. “Most African writers write out of an African experience and of commitment to an African destiny. For them that destiny does not include a future European identity for which the present is but an apprenticeship.” (Jussawalla and Dasenbrock 1992: 34)

Writing from one’s own experience means that conventions of writing differ across varieties. Some of the conventions of writing personal and business letters are listed in b:

- b. Formulas for opening and closing letters: compare the following from Indian English with the Inner Circle norms:

B. Kachru (1992a: 313): “If the writer is senior in age, the use of blessings seems excessive to a person who is not part of the culture . . . ” Consider, for example, the following: “I always send my love and prayers to you all everyday; unseen unheard. May Lord Shiva always protect you all and look after you.”

Bamgbose (1992: 159) claims that in the context of Nigerian English, “one has little choice but to mix formulas for opening and closing letters (i.e., open with Dear Sir [instead of Dear surname or first name] and close with Yours sincerely), “since it will be considered impolite to address an older person by his surname, and positively disrespectful, if not impudent, to use his first name.”

One example of a culturally different personal letter is in c :

- c. Japanese letter: written by a Japanese professor of English to a colleague at an American university whom the writer had met a few weeks ago. The writer and the

addressee had gone on a tour of a shrine and had shared a meal along with several other colleagues.

Dear Professor X,

It passed around three months that a couple of you enjoyed sharing happy talks and spending a lot of beautiful times to chat and eat out dinner at typical Japanese cuisine restaurant with moss garden. I was very glad that I could have 90-minute long academic lecture from DR. X on [date]. I’m afraid that you would exhaust after your return to the US with very heavy and busy schedule in Japan. I’m sure that your daughter finished with joy and in safe. Please let us show me a beautiful wedding picture of your daughter on [date] when I will call at your house some time.

I’m very sorry that I could not contact with you this summer. I visited [city] and stayed at an American family as a tour escort for [No.] Japanese College Students’ Home-Stay Program from [dates]. I dropped into Hawaii for three days on my way to return to my home. I’m very exciting to attend the World Englishes Congress in UH at Manoa and meet you again next December. I wish that I could have a good communication with you when I’ll visit the US.

Please let me know and mail your itinerary of next year if the intensive or term linguistics will be held by the Department of Linguistics at [university]. I hope to see you again in Finland on the 11th World Congress of Applied Linguistics from 4-9 August in 1996 if you visit there.

Yours sincerely,

The Japanese letter reflects the dominant cultural value of emphasis on what Jenkins and Hinds (1987) term ‘space,’ i.e., the relationship between the reader and the writer. The opening situates the letter in a shared experience, which is followed by an expression of concern for the addressee and a personal event of considerable interest to the addressee. The transition is provided by the first sentence of the second paragraph, where the writer informs the addressee of the writer’s activities as they relate to the addressee’s location. The request follows in the opening sentence of

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the third paragraph. The second sentence of the third paragraph, which is the last sentence of the letter, attempts to establish the desired harmonious relationship by expressing the hope of meeting the addressee again. For some one not familiar with the Japanese conventions of letter writing, it is difficult to judge if the request is serious, or just a casual indication of interest in an ongoing academic program that the two interlocutors had talked about briefly.

One of the conventions of Outer Circle English that has been discussed much in Inner Circle academic institutions is that of ornateness and deferential or 'high' style in prose. That such a style is important for cultural identity is supported by the following fact: An Inner Circle speaker of English, Chuck, who became Acyutananda Svami, expresses his gratitude to his 'guru' or 'spiritual teacher' in the following words (Acyutananda Svami: Songs of the Vaisnava Acaryas. Los Angeles, 1974: xviii):

d. I offer my prostrate obeisance first unto all the devotees that have surrendered unto his divine lotus feet and next unto the devotees who will in the future take shelter of his lotus feet, and I then offer my humble obeisances unto his lotusfeet again and again. May he bless this first translation attempt so that it may be accepted by the Lord Sri Krshna, and may he engage me in the service of the six Gosvamis of Vrndavana, Lord Caitanya, and Radharani.

That there are adverse reactions to such styles in the Inner Circle is well-documented. In fact, there are strong reactions against regional varieties of Inner Circle Englishes, too, as illustrated by the events that followed the award of the Booker Prize to the Scottish writer James Kelman.

The author, reacting to the response to his novel *How Late it Was, How Late*, which was called a "disgrace" by one of the judges, Rabbi Julia Neuberger, and "literary vandalism" by Simon Jenkins, had this to say in *The Times of London*:

"A fine line can exist between eliticism and racism," he said. "On matters concerning language and culture, the

distinction can sometimes cease to exist altogether."

Recalling times when Glaswegian accents were banned from the radio or when his two daughters were 'reprimanded' in school for using the Scotts 'aye' instead of the English 'yes,' he said it was wrong to call the language of his work 'vernacular' or 'dialect.'

"To me, those words are just another way of inferiorizing the language by indicating that there's a standard," he said. "The dictionary would use the term 'debased.' But it's the language! The living language and it comes out of many different sources, including Scotland before the English arrived." (Reported in *The New York Times*, November 29, 1994: B1-2)

In academic writing there are also several myths. One is that indirection is bad, and all good writing must be direct and linear, and in the absence of the capability to write in this preferred manner, no scientific or technological progress is possible. In view of the fact that almost all styles of writing—German, Russian, African, Asian—have been shown to be indirect or circular or digressive, one wonders how any scientific progress was possible in the centuries preceding the latter half of the 20th century? After all, the so-called direct, linear style of writing is, historically speaking, a recent phenomenon in the literate English-speaking world (see Y. Kachru 1995a and 1995b for a detailed discussion of this point).

Challenges for English Education

I will address this question from the perspective of a teacher educator involved in the higher education of ESL and EFL teachers. As important as courses in teaching methodologies, psychology of learning and second language acquisition are for prospective teachers of English, no less important are courses that provide a comprehensive view of world Englishes and their uses and users. This is especially important since there is little awareness of the languages of wider communication, such as English, in the SLA literature. The perspective on language variation and its implications for language learning and teaching presented in this paper is almost totally absent in the SLA literature. There is

resistance to acknowledging the social reality of varieties and their relevance for human interaction across languages and cultures. This attitude is reflected in the quote from Quirk (1985) in 5 above. It is also reflected in the lack of courses in the area of language variation in general and world Englishes in particular in the MATESL programs of the Inner Circle institutions of higher education (Vavrus 1991). There seems to be little understanding of the fact that awareness of variation does not preclude teachers helping learners acquire whichever variety the educational system of a particular region or nation prefers. On the contrary, it leads both teachers and students to assess realistically what motivates such preferences, and prepares them to respond professionally to performance requirements in a responsible manner.

The critical linguistic perspective advocates student empowerment by making it possible for them to become aware of language variation, attitudes toward variation, and societal consequences of these attitudes (Rampton 1992). A wealth of material is now available on varieties of English and some attempts have been made to suggest ways of making ESL professionals aware of these resources (e.g., B. Kachru 1995, Tawake 1993). There is no excuse for not using these resources to raise the consciousness of all ESL professionals. Educational practices are cultural practices. Language education does not and should not mean perpetuation of outdated prejudices and attitudes that result from them.

As a result of the explosion of technology and developments in international business and commerce, the dream of the world being a "global village" is closer to reality. There is no denying the fact that all over the world, educators feel the need for English education, and international students flock to American, Australian, British, and Canadian universities in ever larger numbers. However, we must not forget that they represent the majority of English-users and come with their own identities and world-views. As an experienced writing teacher says (Fox 1994: 74), these "world majority students," who find "the [Inner Circle] academic form dull or dry ("like a skeleton,

there's no juicy, meaty part in it," said a Japanese student) or who are disheartened by its implicit competitiveness could join legions of U.S. graduate students who, for a time at least, resist the veiled attacks on other authors, the name-dropping, the abandonment of common-sense vocabulary, the surrender of voice." She goes on to suggest (Fox 1994: 126):

... there are ways to see and experience the world that most of us have never dreamed of, ways of creating and communicating knowledge that are vastly different from what we have long been convinced is "good writing," "good thinking," and "proper understanding." As teachers, we have an obligation to help world majority students [international students] find a voice at the university by explaining in respectful, knowledgeable ways how we expect them to think, investigate, and express themselves in the U.S. context. And if we listen closely to what they have to tell us, we will not only teach more completely but deepen the meaning of our own intellectual lives as well.

And as Geertz (1983: 234) says in the context of anthropological research, "the world is a various place" and it is "various" in many ways:...various between lawyers and anthropologists, various between Muslims and Hindus, various between little traditions and great, various between colonial thens and nationalist nows. . . " Nevertheless, "much is to be gained, scientifically and otherwise, by confronting that grand actuality rather than wishing it away in a haze of forceless generalities and false comforts."

Conclusion

The English language, as a language of wider communication, has become pluricentric, and carries the weight of various sociocultural identities. Consequently, the language teaching profession faces a situation which provides both challenges and opportunities. The challenge is to see and appreciate the

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pluricentricity of English and the opportunity is to educate future generations of language professionals in dealing with the complexities of world Englishes.

Notes

*This is a revised version of the paper presented at JALT '96 in Hiroshima, November 2, 1996.

1. B. Kachru (1985) divides the English-using world into three concentric circles. The Inner Circle consists of the native English-speaking countries, e.g. Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the U.K. and the U.S.A. The Outer Circle comprises the former colonies or spheres of influence of the U.K. and the U.S.A., e.g. India, Kenya, Nigeria, the Philippines, Singapore, among others. In these countries, nativized varieties of English have achieved the status of either an official language, or of a language widely used in education, administration, legal system, etc. The Expanding Circle consists of countries where English is fast becoming a dominant second language in the domains of education, science, and technology, e.g., China, Japan, Taiwan, Thailand, and the countries of Europe.
2. By range is meant the functional allocation of the language in terms of its users, and by depth is meant the penetration of the language in various strata of society across cultures and languages (B. Kachru 1986).

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