THE ROLE OF EFL TEACHERS IN JAPAN:
NEGOTIATION OF CULTURES

by

YUKO UCHIDA

B.A., Kobe City University of Foreign Studies, 1991

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

Department of Language Education

(TEACHING ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE)

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

August 1995

©Yuko Uchida, 1995
In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the head of my department or by his or her representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Language Education

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

Date 8/21/95
Abstract

This study explored how EFL teachers in Japan with various backgrounds perceive their roles in relation to the teaching of culture and, further, investigated how such perceptions shaped (and were shaped by) their lived experiences of teaching English. Since the mid-1980s, Japan has been undergoing controversial educational reforms emphasizing communicative English teaching with a focus on the teaching of foreign cultures. The dramatic increase in foreign English teachers, the cultural diversity of the teachers, and the rise and decline of the English language school industry are part of the unique backdrop for this study.

Taking a qualitative research approach, a variety of procedures were employed for data collection: questionnaires, class observations, post-observation interviews, and weekly retrospective journals. Two female Japanese and two American (one male and one female) EFL teachers participated in the study for one semester (over a five-month period).

Teachers' perceptions were found to be deeply embedded in the individuals' personal histories as cultural beings, based on their educational, professional, and cultural experiences (biographical/professional basis), and subject to constant negotiation due to changing contextual elements (i.e., classroom culture, institutional culture, and textbook). Thus, the study illuminated the teachers' role in interfacing a "curriculum-as-plan" and a "lived curriculum". The complexity of the teachers' identities, their struggle for "connection," and their struggle
with the "education-control dilemma" emerged as common themes. Therefore, I argued that the issue of culture teaching in EFL classrooms requires a new approach to analyzing and preparing teachers and curricula. Implications for ESL/EFL teacher education and curriculum development with respect to taking a new view of teachers as dynamic, but complex, agents are suggested. Finally, the possibility of collaborative research in effecting desirable educational change is considered.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract .................................................. ii
Table of Contents ........................................ iv
List of Figures ........................................... vii
Acknowledgement ......................................... viii
Dedication ................................................ ix

Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION ................................. 1
1.1 TESL/TEFL and Mainstream Education
   Research Interests ................................ 1
1.2 Context of English Education in Japan .......... 7
1.3 Research Questions ................................ 12
1.4 Significance of the Study ........................ 13
1.5 Organization of the Thesis ....................... 17

Chapter 2 LITERATURE REVIEW ......................... 20
2.1 The Role of Culture in the Classroom:
   Curriculum Argument ................................ 20
   2.1.1 Curriculum-as-Plan .......................... 20
   2.1.2 Lived Curriculum ............................ 28
2.2 Teachers’ Knowledge ................................ 38

Chapter 3 METHODOLOGY AND CONTEXT .............. 54
3.1 Qualitative Research Methodology ............... 54
   3.1.1 Choice of Qualitative Research Methods
         Over Quantitative Methods .................... 54
   3.1.2 Verification of Findings .................... 59
3.2 Procedures ........................................... 64
   3.2.1 Data Collection .............................. 64
   3.2.2 Analysis ................................... 71
   3.2.3 Writing a Narrative ......................... 74
3.3 Context ............................................... 75
   3.3.1 Site ........................................ 75
   3.3.2 Participants ................................ 81
   3.3.3 Textbooks ................................. 83

Chapter 4 DANNY ........................................ 91
4.1 Teacher’s Biography: Danny’s Story ............ 91
   4.1.1 Past ....................................... 92
   4.1.2 Present ................................... 93
4.2 Teacher in the KCCI Class ....................... 99
   4.2.1 Class Description:
       Negotiation of Classroom Culture ........... 99
   4.2.2 Teacher’s Negotiation with the
       Textbook: Curriculum-as-Plan ............... 104
   4.2.3 Lesson in Action .......................... 106
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 5</th>
<th>CAROL</th>
<th>122</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Teacher’s Biography: Carol’s Story</td>
<td>122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.1 Past</td>
<td>123</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1.2 Present</td>
<td>125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Teacher in the KCCI Class</td>
<td>129</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.1 Class Description: Negotiation of Classroom Culture</td>
<td>129</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.2 Teacher’s Negotiation with the Textbook: Curriculum-as-Plan</td>
<td>134</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.3 Lesson in Action</td>
<td>137</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.4 Implicit Messages in the &quot;Lived Curriculum&quot; for EFL and Culture Teaching</td>
<td>142</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.5 Explicit Messages Conveyed in the Teaching of Culture</td>
<td>151</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 Summary of the Chapter</td>
<td>153</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 6</th>
<th>MIKI</th>
<th>155</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.1 Teacher’s Biography: Miki’s Story</td>
<td>155</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.1 Past</td>
<td>157</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.2 Present</td>
<td>159</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 Teacher in the KCCI Class</td>
<td>162</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.1 Class Description: Negotiation of Classroom Culture</td>
<td>162</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.2 Teacher’s Negotiation with the Textbook: Curriculum-as-Plan</td>
<td>166</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.3 Lesson in Action</td>
<td>169</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.4 Implicit Messages in the &quot;Lived Curriculum&quot; for EFL and Culture Teaching</td>
<td>174</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.5 Explicit Messages Conveyed in the Teaching of Culture</td>
<td>179</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3 Summary of the Chapter</td>
<td>181</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter 7</th>
<th>KIMIKO</th>
<th>182</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.1 Teacher’s Biography: Kimiko’s Story</td>
<td>182</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1.1 Past</td>
<td>183</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1.2 Present</td>
<td>186</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2 Teacher in the KCCI Class</td>
<td>189</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.1 Class Description: Negotiation of Classroom Cultures</td>
<td>189</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.2 Teacher’s Negotiation with the Textbook: Curriculum-as-Plan</td>
<td>194</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2.3 Lesson in Action</td>
<td>196</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3  KCCI fall semester calendar .................. 81
Figure 4  Danny’s sample lessons ...................... 108
Figure 5  Carol’s sample lessons ....................... 139
Figure 6  Miki’s sample lessons ......................... 170
Figure 7  Kimiko’s sample lessons ...................... 197
Figure 8.1 Lived cultures of EFL teachers:
           Their role development ......................... 212
Figure 8.2 Process of role negotiation ................. 246
Acknowledgement

I would like to thank my mentor and thesis supervisor, Dr. Patricia Duff, for not only her generous academic advice but also emotional support and inspiring enthusiasm, without which, this thesis would never have been completed. Also, I am grateful for the patience and valuable suggestions of Dr. Rick Berwick and Dr. Stephen Carey, who were on my thesis committee. I also want to thank Dr. Margaret Early, who devoted her time to read my earlier drafts and shared her insights with me. Further, I must acknowledge the tremendous understanding and care Layne, my husband, showed throughout the whole process of this project. My friend Sandie Kouritzin was generous and critical in proofreading my papers (including my thesis proposal) throughout my graduate studies and inspired me in many ways, for which I am indebted. Among all the wonderful people I know in Vancouver, I would particularly like to thank Taeko Berwick who always warmly welcomed me and made my visit so pleasant; our endless talks about Japanese women have inspired me academically as well as personally. Finally, and most importantly, I would like to thank the four remarkable teachers who participated in my study, the program coordinators, the office staff members, and the executive director at KCCI. Although, unfortunately, due to the nature of the study, I cannot reveal the identity of any of the above mentioned, it is certain that their enduring cooperation in this research project greatly contributed to its successful completion.
To my wonderful parents, Kizo and Keiko Uchida
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The inter-connectedness of language and culture has received a great deal of attention in the field of second and foreign language education in recent years. Cross-cultural awareness seminars, books, and courses attest to public as well as professional interest in this theme. However, how this relationship between language and culture is perceived and how the two are taught by teachers in English as a foreign language contexts has remained relatively unexplored.

This study attempted to explore the role culture plays in EFL teachers’ perceptions about teaching English in Japan, where the teaching of communicative English and the target culture has been strongly emphasized and a rapidly increasing number of native speakers of English (NS) have flocked to the English education industry. How the EFL teachers’ perception of teaching English in Japan in relation to the teaching of culture and their actual teaching practice interact with one another was investigated in depth. Teachers’ lives inside and outside of the classroom were examined to interpret their multiple constructions of the job of teaching English and culture in one particular socio-educational context.

1.1 TESL/TEFL and Mainstream Education Research Interests

As contemporary researchers acknowledge, there are many definitions of "culture" (Kramsch, 1993b; McGroarty & Galvan,
1985; Robinson, 1985; Seelye, 1984; Webber, 1987). Even in earlier days, Kroever and Kluckhohn (1954), after examining about 300 definitions, could not find a precise common denominator for the definitions of culture. Considering this situation, and the definition of culture in this study includes the following four concepts: (a) a behaviorist concept which considers culture as "observable actions and/or events," e.g., traditions, habits, or customs; (b) a functionalist concept which focuses on "the underlying structure or rules which govern and explain observable events," viewing culture as both a social phenomenon and as what can be inferred from the behavior/event; (c) a cognitive concept which treats culture as "an internal mechanism for organizing and interpreting inputs," culture as a processing mechanism similar to a "computer program" guiding members of cultures, which can be understood through the observational and interpretive practices of ethnography; and (d) a symbolic concept which focuses on the meaning resulting from "the dialectic process" between two speakers or members (p. 12), i.e., culture as a product of continually changing inter-relationships between meaning, experience, and reality. Robinson (1985) emphasizes the importance of an inclusive definition to fully develop cross-cultural understanding in foreign language instruction. However, many of the arguments and suggestions regarding the teaching of culture in foreign language classes deal with only the first two concepts (Robinson, 1985).

In various fields of research, the close relationship
between language and culture has been explored. For example, in the field of child first language acquisition, the concept of language and culture underlies the study of language socialization (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). In the field of foreign/second language education, it has also been long accepted that language and culture are inseparable (e.g., Byram, 1989; Crawford-Lange & Lange, 1987; Kitao, 1991; Littlewood, 1984, cited in Morgan, 1993; McGroarty & Galvan, 1985; Morgan, 1993; Seelye, 1984). In particular, the rise of communicative language teaching in the 1980s and the concurrent globalization of education and business has created a variety of situations where successful international, foreign language communication is called for. As a result, teaching about target cultures in the foreign language class has recently been encouraged and has begun to draw researchers' attention: as Morain (1986) pointed out, more and more frameworks and techniques for presenting culture have been developed (to name a few, Abrate, 1993; Byram, 1990; Diffey, 1992; Evans & Gonzalez, 1993; Heusinkveld, 1985; Paulston, 1992; Prodromou, 1988; Rivers, 1985).

Even though some benefits of teaching culture in the foreign language classroom, such as higher motivation and positive attitude changes, have been acknowledged (Halverson, 1985; Kitao, 1991; Morgan, 1993; Webber, 1987), important questions remain unanswered. Kitao (1991) has pointed out that what should be taught and how it could be most beneficially taught is still unclear. Additionally, "[t]he teaching of culture as a component
of language teaching has traditionally been caught between the striving for universality and the desire to maintain cultural particularity" (Kramsch, 1993b, p. 5).

Furthermore, many researchers have also acknowledged the potential danger of teaching about the target culture in the foreign language classroom and have advocated the effective use of L1 culture instead. The whole idea of teaching about a target culture in the foreign language classroom could provoke resistance from students, depending on the social contexts (e.g., Paulston, 1992). Unfortunately, it could be interpreted as a potentially alienating learners from their home culture and being imperialistic (e.g., introducing American culture in Sri Lanka, Canagarajah, 1993). As will be discussed further in the next section, some have argued this issue in the light of Japan's emphasis on superficial "internationalization" (westernization) and criticized educational policies with this goal (e.g., Edwards, 1989). On the other hand, many adult literacy educators have argued that L1 culture plays a critical role in the development of learners' L2 literacy and thus call for a consideration of the social implications of L2 learning in the learner's community or family (e.g., Bell, 1993; Klassen & Burnaby, 1993; McKay & Weinstein-Shr, 1993; Weinstein-Shr, 1993).

Most of the arguments surrounding the teaching of the target culture in the foreign language classroom seem to be based on the assumption that regardless of teachers' backgrounds, teachers can and must all acquire a body of content knowledge--including
cultural knowledge--and general pedagogical skills in teacher education courses, workshops, or in the form of lesson plans. On the contrary, in mainstream educational research, such assumptions (that view teachers as instruments acquiring a body of skills and applying them to the actual teaching in a uniform way as instructed through teacher education) have been under severe criticism for the last two decades (e.g., Shulman, 1987). The criticism seems valid because the teachers tend to formulate their particular images of teachers (cultural myths) based on their own experiences at school as students (e.g., Bell, 1993; Britzman, 1986; K. E. Johnson, 1994) or on their prior personal life experiences (e.g., Powell, 1994). These images, and not the list of activities they might learn in a teacher education program, are found to consequentially determine what and how they teach.

Numerous researchers have attempted to conduct studies using an experiential qualitative approach, taking the teacher’s biography and personal beliefs into account (e.g., Kagan, 1992). The findings from those studies are used to improve teacher education so that student teachers might better prepare to become teachers.

Contrary to the advanced mainstream educational research, the field of teaching English as a second language (TESL) lags behind in taking a research approach to cognitive dimensions of teaching (K. E. Johnson, 1994). The continuous research focus on learners over the past two decades seems to disregard the
"critical role the teacher fulfils in the classroom, as if we [the teachers] were a neutral delivery system rather than a key participant" (p. 467). Indeed, it is as necessary to find out the expectations we, the teachers, have as it is to explore learners' needs (Bell, 1993); "the way we teach is determined by very deeply held notions of learning which are not normally available to conscious scrutiny" (p. 469). Discovering how teachers think and work--conceptions of teaching, dimensions of knowledge, and teachers' lives and careers--has long been neglected in the field of ESL research (Richards, 1994).

There have been vigorous appeals for the professionalization of ESL/EFL instruction and of its teachers. Teacher development programs which more accurately reflect what happens in actual classrooms are necessary (e.g., Crandall, 1993; Terdy, 1993). K. E. Johnson (1994) stressed that "second language teacher education programs must begin to put forth a view of second language teaching that recognizes the realities of classroom life" (p. 451). Thus, there seems to be an awareness in the field that it is important to find out what is necessary for one to learn to teach.

Reflecting the need for the teaching of culture in foreign language classes mentioned above, and as an effort to provide help for teachers to become more competent, teachers' cross-cultural awareness and understanding has been recognized as an important factor for language teachers who teach abroad as well as those who teach students with different cultural backgrounds.
in their home country (e.g., Alptekin & Alptekin, 1984; Cazden, 1988; Katchen, 1988; Klassen, 1981, cited in McCroarty, 1988; Nostrand, 1989; Shade, 1989). However, teachers do not seem to achieve such goals as changing their cultural awareness simply by participating in short-term workshops or training programs which, unfortunately, have typically been the extent of cross-cultural preparation for in-service teachers (e.g., McCroarty, 1988; Roberts, 1988). That is probably because teachers' deeply embedded personal beliefs are found to be extremely resistant to change (e.g., K. E. Johnson, 1994; Kagan, 1992).

1.2 Context of English Education in Japan

Economic growth and technological advancement have made it possible for many Japanese to have access to foreign countries, something relatively uncommon even fifteen years ago. Currently, many young students go to English-speaking countries to study and many others travel overseas. In both Japanese business and personal life, some type of communication in English is being more frequently utilized nowadays. Under such circumstances, the need for communicative English among Japanese people seems to become ever more intensified year after year. Ever since the Educational Reform Council first introduced their keen interest in Japan's internationalization ("peaceful and prosperous international community based on coexistence and cooperation among diverse cultures," Rinjikyoiku Shingikai, Fourth and Final Report on Educational Reform, August 7, 1987, p. 13) in the mid-1980s, the goals of internationalization became tightly bound
with "learning communicative English." Schoppa (1991) pointed that out in his analysis of Japan's recent educational reform:

[T]he council did also recommend an upgrading of English language education in the schools through greater emphasis on communicative teaching methods, exams which do more than test grammar and reading comprehension, and the employment of foreigners and foreign-trained teachers. (p. 70)

Also, the failure of the traditional (grammar/translation-oriented) English instruction at junior and senior high schools became the focus of criticism:

[T]he education ministry came out advocating the need to "raise internationally-minded talent." As a first step, it urgently called for a radical change in English education, away from an approach based on grammar-centered, English-to-Japanese translation methods rooted in the Meiji era and towards one that teaches "usable English" or real, conversational language. (Kawanari, 1993, p. 41)

Among various efforts, it is noteworthy that the Education Ministry in cooperation with Ministries of Home Affairs and Foreign Affairs tried to enhance communicative English learning and internationalization, by founding a new English Education Program called The Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program in 1987 (Ellington, 1992). The program has hired and maintained over 3,000 English-speaking nationals who team-teach English with Japanese teachers. The native-speaker (NS) teachers in the JET program are expected to be actively involved in cultural exchange as well as teaching English (Hughes, 1993). However, many JET participants are not utilized to their full potential (Thomas, 1993). Further, they tend to be treated as "cultural showpieces" rather than language teachers.

In the private sector, the rise of private language schools
is prominent; according to Yano Research Institute Ltd., in 1992, there were 8,000-10,000 English language schools in Japan (O'Toole, 1992). These language schools focus on communicative English courses with English native-speakers as teachers.

The failure [of grammar/translation-oriented English education at high schools] has given rise to large numbers of private schools across the nation trying to prosper at teaching English amid cutthroat competition. The 'English industry' has developed into a huge market worth several trillion yen a year. (Nakazono, 1995, p. 9)

Ellington (1992) studied the Japanese educational life-cycle and mentioned that it was estimated that at least one out of every ten Japanese were engaged in learning English, the majority of whom took English courses at a special language school. Despite the apparent popularity of English language schools, what is actually happening inside those schools has not been studied in depth. Occasionally, comments are written by NS teachers who teach at language schools in the English newspapers in Japan. For example:

I have been teaching in Japan for three years and have benefited from the "English boom" in this country. ... The schools don't care if you can teach or even if the students learn. As long as the school makes a profit, that's all that matters. (cited in Nozawa, 1995, p. 9)

Further, without a clear definition, the term internationalization often referred to in relation to English education in Japan has been causing considerable controversy. The lack of a clear definition seems rooted in the paradoxical claim made in the Fourth and Final Report on Educational Reform (1987). In the report, the council emphasized the need for international awareness among Japanese students. However, such awareness was
acknowledged as a means to realization and appreciation of Japanese culture, which ironically made the purpose of the reform sound "nationalistic" (Schoppa, 1991). The word "internationalization" is often misused as a synonym for "Westernization" (Edwards, 1989). Some argue that there is an important distinction between superficial and true internationalization: the former is "superficial knowledge or recognition of a culture" while the latter is, "acquiring specific knowledge about another country and having some permanent change happen inside oneself" (Brown, 1993, p.80). Brown (1993) has even criticized the Japanese media for promoting "superficial internationalization." As a result of this controversy, many people in Japan have noticed that profound, not superficial, internationalization has to be achieved. Some even fear that the concept of internationalization, together with learning English, might have been distorted, giving rise to the rather extreme illusion that "speaking English makes a Japanese somehow more complete" (Kawanari, 1993). Furthermore, the current ambivalence between internationalization and Nihonjinron (which stresses the uniqueness, and hence separateness of Japanese culture) indicates that the role of culture in English education has been drawing many researchers' attention in Japan (Edwards, 1989). However, they seem to be at a loss when it comes to practical implementation. Thus, they continue to import NS English teachers randomly, without regard to background or experience.
As a consequence, a variety of NS English teachers have been brought to Japan, ranging from those interested in Japan and its culture, those with teaching experiences or education backgrounds, to those who do not care about anything but an attractive salary and/or an exotic (i.e., superficial cultural) experience; in 1991, it was estimated that 15,000-20,000 foreigners taught English in Japan (Holland, 1991). Moreover, the above-mentioned confusion over internationalization and the perceived Japanese need for communicative competence in English has resulted in the attraction of various types of students to many English language schools. Some study English merely because they like it and enjoy doing so, while others study for more immediate instrumental needs (e.g., job requirement or studying abroad). In a sense, studying communicative English has become one of the most popular hobbies in Japan (Ellington, 1992).

Despite rapidly increasing demands for English teachers' skills for teaching and/or promoting internationalization, foreign cultures, as well as communicative English in Japan, very little is known about those who actually teach English in Japan. How do teachers perceive their role in such a sociocultural context? What kind of knowledge do teachers use to teach communicative English in Japan when there is such a high demand for teaching target (particularly American) culture? How do teachers gain this knowledge? How do teachers' pre-existing (established) beliefs about culture, foreign language, teaching, and learning interact with their lived experiences of teaching?
These questions have not previously been empirically studied and yet are very significant in light of the phenomenal political, economic, and sociocultural underpinnings of the EFL industry in Japan.

**1.3 Research Questions**

Considering the inadequacies of existing research and the increasing interest in English education in Japan, it is crucial to find out more about the professional life, experiences, and development of EFL teachers in Japan. This is a longitudinal case study and ethnography of four teachers at one English language school in Japan. The research questions addressed in this study are as follows:

1. How do EFL teachers in Japan (both Japanese nationals and expatriates) perceive their role in the implicit and explicit teaching and negotiation of culture in the classroom?
2. What factors influence teachers' perceptions of their role as teachers of English and culture in Japan?
3. How can the local cultures of EFL classrooms be characterized and how do they interact with teachers' perceptions of teaching English and culture in Japan?
4. What are teachers' perceptions with regard to language, culture, and the role of teachers reflected in actual practices (i.e., mediating the curriculum-as-plan and the lived curriculum, see Chapter 2 for definition)?
1.4 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study lies in its methodological, contextual considerations and attention to the pressing need for studies on teachers and a new approach to curriculum development in the field.

First of all, despite the long-term acknowledgement of the importance of the teaching and the role of culture in foreign language classes and the increased demand for communicative competence in foreign languages, as Kramsch (1993b) pointed out, there is no singular theoretical base. The current situation suggests that qualitative studies should be encouraged. For example, the following researchers support the use of ethnography for the development of the theory: "[E]thnography allows theory development to be pursued in a highly effective and economical manner" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983, p. 24) and "[a] completed ethnography offers a grounded theory of the setting and its culture" (Watson-Gegeo, 1988, p. 583). The discussion about techniques and lesson plans for teaching culture has gone too far without theoretical background; therefore, many conflicting views exist. For example, some (Abrate, 1993; Evans & Gonzalez, 1993; Halverson, 1985; Heusinkveld, 1985) emphasize the use of cultural comparison and the importance of taking the local/learners' L1 culture into account (e.g., Alptekin, 1993; Alptekin & Alptekin, 1984; Prodromou, 1988); others such as Kitao (1988) insist on teaching only target culture.

The former view has been taken in studies on teaching
children from different ethnic backgrounds at schools in North America (e.g., Cazden, 1988; Shade, 1989; Spindler, 1987). Those studies have normally been ethnographic. Moreover, as mentioned above, in the field of TESL, current studies on adult literacy issues have been taking the same view. Kramsch (1993b) pointed out the immediate need for further studies in various research fields for the teaching of culture in the foreign language class, one useful approach being ethnography. Watson-Gegeo (1988), emphasizing the important role of ethnography in ESL research, stated that ethnographic research is helpful when we study the "role of culture in second language teaching and learning" and it "gives us a way of addressing this issue" (p. 586). As mentioned above, many of the studies on the teaching of culture in the foreign language class have overlooked what is actually happening in the classroom; neither teachers nor students were looked at closely.

Secondly, the current lack of research in this area has been repeatedly pointed out in the hope of increasing such research: as van Lier (1988) puts it, "the wider context of the second language classroom is as yet almost completely unresearched" (p. 89). D. M. Johnson (1992) also highlights the predominance of ethnographic studies involving young language learners, but not of adult EFL learners or teachers. Even studies such as that of the cross-cultural workshops McCroarty (1988) investigated neglected to follow up on what changes actually resulted from the instruction by studying the participants in their classrooms. As
has been found in the mainstream educational research on teachers’ beliefs, it is extremely difficult for teachers’ pre-existing beliefs about teaching to change (e.g., K. E. Johnson, 1994; Kagan, 1992); therefore, without studying the long-term effects of such short-term workshops, it seems too premature to jump to conclusions about their efficacy. In this sense, qualitative studies of teachers and adult students in their lived experiences should be more actively conducted.

Thirdly, the current situation in Japan merits special attention. As discussed above, due to the high demand for improvement of communicative proficiency in English which has been packaged together with internationalization, more and more native-speaker English teachers from overseas are hired every year at both public high schools and private language schools. Increasing numbers of learners of English travel to English-speaking countries, too. This situation presents a unique phenomenon to study, that of teaching communicative English and target culture. It has also created a new issue: the need for successful intercultural communication among Japanese teachers, administrators, students, and native-speaker English teachers.

Finally, and most importantly, the need for professionalism among ESL teachers has been widely acknowledged in the field. Although little has been researched on the relationship between a teacher education program and its effect on teachers in their actual teaching practice in the field of TESL, there seems to be agreement that basic requirements for ESL teachers should include
"cross-cultural awareness, and the development of skills for teaching ESL literacy to adults in educationally and culturally appropriate ways" (Crandall, 1993, p. 501). However, such arguments in the field of TESL seem to be based on the assumption that teachers are "neutral delivery systems" and teaching consists of "a certain set of behaviors". As Crandall (1993) stressed:

Professional development for adult ESL literacy, like teacher education in general, is most beneficial when it builds on teacher/learner strengths, views teachers education as shared learning rather than training, and considers teacher development a lifelong process of questioning, reflection, discussion, and collaboration. (p. 513)

On the other hand, in the field of mainstream education, it has been recognized that teachers are "active thinkers" with their own "biographies" (i.e., prior personal as well as school experiences, beliefs, personality, etc.) which ultimately interact with their actual teaching. Considering the cultural complexity that might be involved in ESL (and also EFL) classrooms, particularly concerning the issue of teaching culture in communicative English classrooms, how teachers deal with the implementation of the curriculum in such classrooms seems too important to ignore. However, except for very recent calls to shift the research focus to teachers (e.g., how they think and work, what influences their thinking in the class), the concept of a new curriculum landscape viewing teachers as existing between and negotiating with both curriculum-as-plan (template) and lived curriculum (delivery) seems to be completely neglected
in the field of TESL/TEFL. Pressing needs to study teachers' lives, the teachers' lived experiences of teaching in and out of classroom, have become apparent. As such, this study on EFL teachers in Japan can be seen as a pioneering approach to a critical issue.

1.5 Organization of the Thesis

This thesis consists of nine chapters. In Chapter 2, the Literature Review, recent arguments concerning the teaching of culture in foreign language education will be introduced and I will stress how narrowly both the proponents and opponents of teaching culture in FL classroom view curriculum; namely, the arguments are centered only around curriculum-as-plan. Then, research focused on the issue of culture in the classroom which takes the other type of curriculum, lived curriculum, into consideration will be reviewed; however, the research focus has tended to be on students and such research still has not explored the full scope of teachers as active decision makers bringing in their own life (biography). Finally, the new view of teachers as mediators and agents between the two curricula, who actively create their own lived cultures of teaching, will be discussed based on the current mainstream educational research findings on teachers' knowledge.

Chapter 3 consists of two parts: methodology and context. I will first argue for the use of qualitative research methods instead of quantitative methods. Then, the procedures I used in data collection, analysis, and writing will be described in
detail. Because this is a case study using qualitative methods, the context of the study plays a critical role in interpreting the data. Therefore, in the last section, the context will be introduced in terms of site (institution), participants (four teachers), and textbooks (two foreign-made commercial textbooks used in this study and some comparison with Japanese English textbooks used at high schools).

Chapters 4 through 7 will reveal the stories of four EFL teachers. Each chapter corresponds to each case (one teacher) separately in order to underscore the many layers of culture within each teacher and each classroom. These chapters are rich descriptions and interpretations of teachers' negotiation between curriculum-as-plan and lived curriculum which is the complexity of their past, present, and their path to the future.

In Chapter 8, the Discussion, while answering each research question introduced above, I will discuss how teachers perceive their roles as teachers of EFL and culture, using the emergent framework of analysis which reflects the complexity of teachers' perceptions. The common emergent themes of (a) complexity, (b) connection, and (c) education-control dilemma will be discussed.

In Chapter 9, Implications: Change and Continuity, implications for EFL/ESL teacher education and for curriculum development will be discussed. The view of teachers as active creators of curricula will be considered. After that, regarding the possibility of collaboration found in my study, the reflexivity between me as the researcher and the four teachers as
the researched will be reviewed in terms of professional development, i.e., the growth of teachers and researchers. The final chapter will conclude with suggestions for further research. The critical role of collaborative research will also be emphasized.
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 The Role of Culture in the Classroom: Curriculum Argument

In order to review literature on the teaching of culture in the foreign language classroom, I would like to take a broad and dynamic view of curriculum; there exists a multiplicity of curricula in each classroom (Aoki, 1993). Curriculum should not only be "equated with a lesson plan or a curriculum guide" with its origin outside the classroom, but also "viewed as an event" (or a series of events), in the actual class with all participants involved (King, 1986). The former corresponds to what Aoki (1993) calls "curriculum-as-plan" while the latter corresponds to "lived curriculum." From this viewpoint, past research will be reviewed according to these two categories: (a) curriculum-as-plan, including national education policy, school curriculum, textbooks, lesson plans, methods, and techniques; and (b) lived curriculum, which describes and analyzes what actually happens in the classroom, what teachers and their students experience in their classrooms, through discourse analysis and ethnography of the school, teachers, students, and institutional communication.

2.1.1 Curriculum-as-Plan

Kramsch (1991) reviewed various educational traditions in the teaching of language in the United States and found close ties between language and cultural competence if foreign language
learners are expected to perform appropriately in the target language. However, she emphasized that current efforts in the U.S. to link the teaching of language to that of culture face many obstacles. Due to advances in technologies which bring the outside world closer to students, there is also a possibility of reducing "the concepts of language and culture to positivistic, information-processing models that only thinly conceal age-old ethnocentric biases" (p. 237). This issue was also raised by Webber (1987), citing Pfeiffer (1983) and Buttjes (1981), who had the same concerns over this issue: "Students should be able to participate in the foreign culture [only] to the extent they wish" (Webber, 1987, p. 255).

Since the rise of the communicative approach in foreign language education in the 1980s, researchers and teachers in foreign language education have become increasingly interested in the teaching of culture (e.g., Morgan, 1993). Many techniques, lesson plans, and curricula for the teaching of culture in foreign language classes have been proposed. However, many of those (e.g., Abrate, 1993; Evans & Gonzalez, 1993; Halverson, 1985; Heusinkveld, 1985) ignore implicit aspects of culture and only present explicit or fixed aspects of culture (e.g., culture with a big "C", or "high culture", such as literature, music, art, and/or culture with a small "c", every-day life, customs and habits) into consideration. Some researchers, such as Kramsch (1993a), Morgan (1993), and Robinson (1985), consider teaching culture as "an interpersonal process" and criticize a
unidirectional teaching of culture, that is, a transfer of cultural facts, which does not represent an intercultural approach to the teaching of culture. Such a view fits in with that of Schieffelin and Ochs (1986); in their explanation of language socialization, they introduced the phenomenological view that "members' perceptions and conceptions of entities are grounded in their subjective experiences and that members bring somewhat different realities to interpersonal encounters" (p. 165). That is, cultural understandings are negotiated and co-constructed. A model for language and culture teaching based on a similar view was proposed by Byram (1989); from a psychological and linguistic point of view, "it is necessary to create modifications in learners' concepts and schemata by a process of further socialization and experiential learning in the foreign language which itself embodies the foreign culture" (pp. 136-137). He emphasized that learners should be exposed to the culture in all the "complexity which propositional description and interpretation can facilitate" (p. 121) coupled with direct experience. This view is also reflected in some textbooks, such as those which promote world studies (Starkey, 1991). Thus, it seems critical to recognize the complexity involved in examining the teaching of culture; culture is found in many layers, some of which are ever-changing in a particular sociocultural context, among groups, and within a particular individual.

Broader investigation of teaching practices and their effects on learners' understanding and attitudes has been called
for in the teaching of culture in the foreign language class (Morgan, 1993). Byram (1989) attempted to tackle this challenge. He argued that it is important to present "ideas, concepts, facts, and material about or from the foreign country and people in a structured way" (p. 120), "from the simple to the complex and relating the information to learners' existing knowledge" (p. 121). Citing extracts from his own case study by observing the class using a specific French textbook as well as interviewing teachers and students, he found that the textbook used did not help "develop pupils' ethnocentric curiosity into an empathy with [an]other culture and a different people" (p. 135). However, as he admitted, the extracts of such a large-scale case study are an insufficient basis from which to generalize.

In an overview of culture teaching in the foreign language class, Kramsch (1993b) emphasized that because of the role language plays in the co-construction of culture and vice versa, language teachers have to pay more attention to culture in their class. She further pointed out the lack of awareness of post-colonialist/structuralist views of culture in the field of foreign language education; "language teaching and learning is still hostage of the native speaker and the target culture, structuralist views of the target language, and hardly addresses issues of bicultural identity" (Kramsch, 1993b, p. 8). She criticized current culture teaching in foreign language classrooms for its narrow conception of language and culture based on a dichotomous approach, e.g., Us vs. Them or the
universal vs. the particular, "focussed on what is on the other side of the border, but ... not yet [devising] ways to systematically reflect on the border crossing itself"; as a result, she observes "[i]n practice, teachers teach language and culture, or culture in language, but not language as culture" (p. 9). This view leads to a new dimension of the issue of culture teaching in the language classroom.

The new approach to culture teaching is exemplified by Kramsch (1993a). She proposed developing cross-cultural understanding through the "third place"; rather than attempt to bridge cultural differences and find the universal, this approach attempts to create "dialogic context in which the vital necessity to continue the dialogue ensures a mutual base to explore the incommensurability of cultures" (Kramsch, 1993b, p. 10). She examined the false assumption that it is possible to transform cultural barriers into cultural bridges, by analyzing three types of bridges: (a) cognitive bridges, (b) professional bridges, and (c) ideological bridges. She emphasized the importance of a deep understanding of the boundaries which divide the learners' home culture and the target culture. Throughout the exercises she proposed, learners are expected to identify and explore such boundaries and to critically examine themselves in the process, not necessarily to "reach a right or wrong solution" (Kramsch, 1993a, p. 231). Therefore, dialogue plays a vital role in this approach: "Through dialogue and the search for each other's understanding, each person tries to see the world through the
other's eyes without losing sight of him or herself" (p. 231).

Thus, finding the third place is the major task for language learners, according to Kramsch (1993a), and teachers cannot impose their construction of this third place on learners. Some researchers have begun to analyze textbooks from this view. For example, in order to analyze German English textbooks, Kubanek (1991) put the emphasis on the concept of "otherness" and cited Hunfeld (1990): "understanding comes by way of seeing the limits of understanding" (Kubanek, 1991, p. 194).

Kramsch's (1993a) argument for the development of the third culture that grows in the gap between the learner's home culture and the new culture he or she is being introduced to reflects aspects of a new direction which the field of TESL has been taking: "critical pedagogy." Preceding Kramsch, there have been other researchers who addressed the same concern. For example, Young (1987) reviewed past research done on the English learning of Chinese speakers. After introducing the research on Chinese learners of English and English teachers for Chinese speakers, he pointed out that the culturally different expectations with regard to behavior, teaching and learning style, and the roles of teachers and student in the classroom should be taken into account when innovations in methods or materials are implemented.

Burnaby and Sun (1989) investigated the introduction of a "Western" language-teaching method (communicative approach) to determine its appropriacy and effectiveness in China. Surveying Chinese teachers of English, they found that this approach is
considered effective only for students who would be going to an English-speaking country and that the teachers were concerned about their own limited communicative competence in English. The most important finding was that the methods embodying Western educational philosophies, presumably effective at home, do not necessarily work successfully when exported to different cultures.

Despite some interesting findings which are frequently cited in discussions of cross-cultural TEFL methods, there are limitations to their study, however. The questionnaire responses by 14 Chinese teachers and informal interview results of 10 Chinese teachers were the only data used. Not only is there some problem with sampling (too small a sample and ambiguous sampling procedures for a quantitative study), but classroom teaching was never observed. No details were revealed as to how or why Western methods were culturally difficult to adopt in China. Nevertheless, the issue raised in this study is noteworthy. Following Young (1987) and Burnaby and Sun (1989), more researchers have begun to address this issue. For example, Paulston (1992) mentioned that "to insist in China that students with no plans for study abroad behave with English in a way that is culturally appropriate in the United States and which reflects American values sounds to me much like cultural imperialism" (p. 123).

Pennycook (1989), in examining the concept of Method in second language education, argued that Method is prescriptive and
"plays an important role in maintaining inequities" (p. 589) between the experts in academia in the West, and the teachers and the classrooms in socially, culturally, politically, and economically different contexts. He illustrated questions of teachers in an EFL context regarding the applicability of methods to their teaching situation and their resentment of the imposition of these by experts from the West. His argument raises a much broader and more fundamental issue about the role of culture in education which must be considered before discussing the validity of the specific techniques of the teaching of culture or the process of fostering cultural understanding in the foreign language class. This issue indicates the need for further studies on cultural differences in expectations of learning and teaching between teachers and students.

Furthermore, the increasing stress on the relevance of ESL class contents to the learners' needs, their life, and attention to social implications of English education itself makes it clear that researchers should shift their attention to the lived curriculum rather than inventing a new curriculum-as-plan (e.g., techniques, methods, and lesson plans) and canonically imposing it on teachers. Although Pennycook's general position was affirmed by many, Canagarajah (1993) observed that Pennycook's paper ignored the complexities involved in classroom culture and "focus[ed] on politics of TESOL-related macrostructures, and only assume[d] implications for language classrooms rather than reporting empirical observations of the classroom itself for how
domination is experienced and oppositional tendencies are formed there" (p. 603). Canagarajah stressed the need to look at "the day-to-day functioning of the classroom and the lived culture of the students" (p. 603).

Kumaravadivelu (1994) claimed, in his explanation of the postmethod condition in the field of ESL/EFL teaching, that teachers play a much more active role in implementing the curriculum-as-plan; they are not passive channels but autonomous decision makers. The fact that the field of TESL has been preoccupied with methods and techniques has also enhanced the illusion that the field is "apolitical" (Canagarajah, 1993). Thus, studies which have been sensitive to such concepts as lived curriculum have become more relevant to the issue of culture teaching in ESL/EFL classrooms. The claims and propositions with regard to culture teaching in foreign language classrooms introduced above are detached from the lived curriculum. The proposed curriculum-as-plan--techniques and new methods mentioned above--seems to oversimplify the reality in the classroom and applications in actual teaching might be extremely difficult to realize as a result.

2.1.2 Lived Curriculum

In educational anthropology, the notion of education as cultural transmission has been investigated (e.g., Spindler, 1987). Culture is considered to not only play a vital role in education, but education, in turn, also plays a vital role in the reproduction of culture (e.g., Freire, 1970). In critical
pedagogy, the "hidden culture in curriculum" has been studied and
the culture of schooling and its social implications have been
addressed (e.g., Giroux, 1988; Spindler, 1987). With regard to
language acquisition in particular, the concept of language
socialization (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986)--that people acquire
social knowledge while they acquire a language--has been drawing
researchers' attention from a variety of perspectives. The close
relationship between language and sociocultural structures and
processes, in other words "culture," underlies this view. Just as
the role of culture teaching has started drawing researchers'
attention, the concept of language socialization is relevant to
second language acquisition too (Willet, 1987, cited in D. M.
Johnson, 1992). Since it deals with socialization which can be
achieved through interaction between people, the classroom has
become a rich locus for ESL research. Some researchers noticed
that foreign teachers bring assumptions about students that might
be different from those which local teachers have (e.g.,
Abdulmalik & Chapman, 1994; Alptekin & Alptekin, 1984; Burnaby &
Sun, 1989; Busch, 1982; White, 1987; Young, 1987). This section
reviews the studies conducted on what is actually happening in
the classroom with contextual dynamics, teachers and students as
active participants.

Until recently, a major focus of research in this area has
been discourse analysis, particularly the interaction between the
teacher and the students or among students (Chaudron, 1988).
Analyzing the language of teaching and learning in a class
attended by students with different cultural backgrounds, Cazden (1988) stated that, "patterns of teacher-student interactions in typical classroom lessons are cultural phenomena, not 'natural' in any sense" (p. 67). Citing Erickson (1982), she also pointed out that only some learners and teachers adapt their classroom interaction style to each other's, and she noted "differential treatment" in which "teachers ... differentiate among their students in ways that may reinforce, even increase, inequalities of knowledge and skills that are present when students start school" (p. 81). However, studies reviewed in her book as well as in her article entitled "Classroom Discourse" (1986) all focused on mainstream classrooms of young children, not on the foreign language classroom (and, needless to say, not adult EFL classrooms).

Looking at teacher-student interaction in the adult ESL class, Poole's (1992) study sheds light on cultural messages a teacher conveys in class. Studying two American ESL teachers' classroom discourse at a private university in the United States, she found that their interactional sequences were consistent with those of white middle class American caregivers; e.g., the use of accommodation, such as display questions, incomplete sentence frames, expansions, scaffolding, as well as asking novices to perform beyond their current competence and then accommodating; the use of the first person plural pronoun in the openings and second person in the closings of the task; and avoidance of the overt display of asymmetry. This suggests that a teacher's
language behavior is highly culturally constrained even though these sociocultural underpinnings may be subtle and implicit.

In a discussion of her findings, Poole mentioned that in foreign language contexts, interactional patterns may be more similar to those of the local peoples. However, she also indicated that changing the discourse patterns of the classroom is very difficult because it is "concomitant with change in an individual's self-perception, both as teacher and cultural member" (p. 612). This study leaves the following question unanswered: In the context of EFL, do English native-speaker teachers use their native-speaker discourse patterns and Japanese English teachers their Japanese discourse patterns even though English is spoken in the class? Discourse here is not only defined in terms of observed linguistic behaviors, but also the norms and expectations relating language and its social context (Ochs, 1988). As Poole admitted, her study was not intended to address this question, nor whether teachers' knowledge of students' culture affects the classroom discourse pattern.

While discourse analysis tends to focus in limited ways on teachers' and learners' backgrounds which are brought to the classroom, the ethnographic studies taking a more interpretive approach seem to be able to provide an in-depth knowledge of the experience of learning or teaching. With regard to cultural assumptions of teaching and learning, White's (1987) ethnography of education in Japan should be noted. She attempted to describe in psychocultural, historical, and social terms, how Japanese
children learn at home and at schools, after observing schools and interviewing teachers, families, students, and Ministry of Education officers. Throughout her book, she constantly compared American and Japanese educational situations, referring to differences in underlying beliefs about concepts between the two cultures. Among all the findings, the different role relationships among teachers, students, and parents is most insightful for non-Japanese teachers who teach Japanese students. Interestingly, in her argument about "creativity," the author maintained that Westerners put much higher priority on creativity based on their folk and academic psychology. But Western creativity is different from Japanese creativity; with the media criticizing the rigid Japanese educational system, creativity which is unique to Japanese might have been downplayed to a great degree. If such differences are understood by foreign teachers in Japan, there will be less frustration on both sides, for teachers and for students.

Further, in the field of TESL, recently, there has been a new perspective which considers the political underpinnings and implications of foreign language teaching. Some studies have attempted to explore what it really means to learn English as a second language in a certain society, seeking connections between sociopolitical agendas and social interaction in the classrooms.

For example, Duff (1995) examined educational discourse in social studies classes at Hungarian secondary schools with English immersion programs in order to investigate macro-level
(e.g., political transformations) and micro-level (e.g., classroom interaction patterns in English immersion programs) changes during times of political and educational reform. The adoption of English immersion programs themselves can be viewed as a political as much as an educational act. Employing ethnographic techniques, in the original study she observed fifty history lessons taught by eight Hungarian history teachers at three schools (some in dual language, DL, classes, and others in regular non-DL ones), among whom, she chose one teacher and her class to discuss further the changes over the three-year period (1989-1992). She conducted discourse analysis based on the data from the classes observed and videotaped, student interviews, and English essays written by students. As the unit of analysis, she selected "short student lectures" in English at the beginning of the class since that represents a change from a traditional Hungarian-medium instruction reflected in "recitations." Thus, seeing such recitation activities as a "microcosm of social and educational changes taking place in and out of schools" (Duff, 1995), it was revealed that the participants in the immersion programs viewed their practices in the classrooms as a "departure from things past, a more egalitarian approach to instruction in which they could assume more active roles" (Duff, 1995); the distribution of responsibility in the classrooms from teachers to students was highlighted in the "student lectures." This very change in the classroom participation pattern itself, after all, reflects a more democratic ideology which had been claimed at a
national level.

Other studies seem to take the same perspective but attempt a further step for the purpose of students' empowerment by examining how learners experience domination and resistance. Canagarajah (1993) conducted a critical ethnographic study of 22 Tamil university students taking a mandatory English course he taught, using an American textbook. Through participant observation as a teacher, students' pictures and comments found in textbooks, questionnaires, and interviews, he experienced the students' conflicting attitudes, one showing an oppositional attitude "manifested in the ... unreflected, untheorized lived culture of the students" (p. 621), and another showing a receptive attitude expressed by students consciously in the interviews and questionnaire.

He interpreted such dual attitudes as reflecting the "conflict students faced in the [English] course between the threats of cultural alienation experienced intuitively or instinctively and the promises of a socioeconomic necessity acknowledged at a more conscious level" (p. 621). As a result of such conflict, many students showed a definite preference for the grammar-based, product-oriented English learning which, they believe, will protect their "cultural integrity" and also will make it easier for them to pass the course, increasing their chances for socioeconomic advancement. Taken at face value, the students' resorting to a grammatical approach to English learning looks like an expression of their resistance to the ideological
thrust of the foreign language and textbook. However, such a formalistic approach to English learning, ironically, is what ends up keeping the students marginalized, "giving in to social and ideological reproduction through English" (p. 624). Canagarajah concluded that the study was his attempt to extricate the conflicting attitudes in the classroom culture of marginalized students to make a pedagogy educationally meaningful and at the same time ideologically liberating for those students.

Reviewing studies in the area of the lived curriculum, the role of the culture is repeatedly demonstrated. Culture is explicitly as well as implicitly transmitted, perceived through teacher-student interaction in the class. The various conscious and unconscious assumptions about the class (teacher, student, teaching, learning and sometimes socio-political facets in local people's lives) play an essential role in the classroom. Therefore, in the foreign language classes where more than two cultures (students' home culture and the target culture) exist, unless such assumptions (implicit culture) are understood, learning in the L2 classroom is very difficult.

The gap between curriculum-as-plan and lived curriculum is obvious. Particularly, the field of TESL has long been preoccupied with techniques and methods, dismissing the active role teachers take in curriculum in terms of decision making and judgement (e.g., Canagarajah, 1993; Freeman & Richards, 1993; Kumaravadivelu, 1994). Bell (1993) argued that the "focus on learners [in the field of TESL] has downplayed the very critical
role the teacher fulfills in the classroom, as if we were a neutral delivery system rather than a key participant in the interaction" (p. 467). This tendency seems to be even more outstanding in the arguments surrounding culture teaching in L2 classrooms. Further, this indicates the narrow view of curriculum, the C & I (curriculum and implementation) landscape Aoki (1993) questioned; teachers' active negotiation of multiple curricula, existing between plan and implementation/experience, seems to be largely ignored.

The issue leads to the current focus of arguments concerning teachers' knowledge. The issue of teachers' knowledge has been long neglected in the field of TESL but is currently attracting researchers' attention. Traditionally, in TESL, "research on teachers' thinking has focused on teachers' knowledge as external to the teacher" (Golombek, 1994, p. 404), "given to teachers by outside authorities ... fail[ing] to acknowledge the teacher as a thinking person" (p. 405). Woods (1993) also pointed out:

Although assumptions in teaching around the world are based on the notion that one learns a language from teachers, what teachers do, and what they think about what they do, has played a remarkably small role in the SLA literature ... [B]oth teacher and learner cognitions are relevant to the study of second language acquisition. (p. 21)

Concerned with this state of affairs, Bell (1993) claimed, "If we [ESL teachers] are to understand and improve what happens in our classrooms, it is as important to become aware of the kinds of expectations which we teachers have about the classroom as it is to explore what the learners need" (p. 468). Thus, it has become clear that despite the pressing needs for more research efforts
in TESL, with regard to "teachers' knowledge," especially what has been inside teachers rather than what has been given to teachers from outside, have remained unresearched.

In mainstream educational research, novice teachers' learning of how to teach has been recognized as "an active construction of meaning that is lived as a process of becoming" (Britzman, 1989, p. 146). In studying teachers, "the moral and existential dilemmas that are so much a part of the work of teachers and the rich complexities of social interaction, subjective experience, and dependency and struggle that characterize life in and outside of the classroom" should not be neglected (Britzman, 1989, p. 147). The oversimplification of the process of learning to teach is caused by an emphasis on the development of certain skills. This view of teaching disregards the biography of teachers and conceptions of self-as-teacher and the relationship between teaching and the teacher's entire life situation (Bullough, 1990, cited in Kagan, 1992). This is exactly where the failure of numerous educational reforms are rooted:

[I]t is not enough ... to provide a syllabus which favours process over products, or to identify key characteristics of effective teaching. What is required is to pay close attention to the meaning teachers make of ... the syllabus or particular teaching practices. Before proposing a change, we must learn to ask, 'How does this change relate to these teachers' understanding of their work?' (Louden, 1991, p. x)

Furthermore, "[r]ecent case studies of seasoned teachers ... suggest that each teacher represents a unique ecological system of pedagogical beliefs and practices that is inextricably connected to the teacher's personality and prior experiences in
life" (Kagan, 1992, p. 159). The life stories of teachers (e.g., as Kagan cited: Cohen, 1991; Louden, 1991) have also revealed the strong connection between classroom teaching and personality and prior experiences and that learning to teach takes "a journey into the deepest recess of one's self awareness" (Kagan, 1992, p. 164). In the studies of culture teaching in L2 classrooms, such perspectives (of studying teachers' backgrounds such as personality, prior experiences, etc.) seem to be almost absent, although L2 classrooms are the very place where a greater complexity of cultural, educational, and linguistic backgrounds of teachers are normally present and involved in the construction of teachers' knowledge.

Therefore, in the next section, I would like to review studies on teachers' knowledge--not only mere content/subject knowledge but also conceptions of learning and teaching--mainly from the field of mainstream education.

2.2 Teachers' Knowledge

The concept of teachers' knowledge has emerged, in relation to the vigorous call for the professionalization of teaching. Qualities and understandings, and skills and abilities which render someone a competent teacher have been provocative subjects among educators. Shulman (1987) criticized the general assumption held by policymakers and teacher educators--that is, the assumption that "teaching requires basic skills, content knowledge, and general pedagogical skills" (p. 6) and the fact that it has been reflected in teacher assessments consisting of
basic-skills tests, tests in subject matter, and observations for the purpose of ensuring "certain kinds of general teaching behavior" (p. 6). He believes that such assumptions trivialize teaching, dismissing its complexities.

In the paper, Shulman further discussed his view of the knowledge base for teaching as a complexity, subdividing it into the following categories: (a) content knowledge; (b) general pedagogical knowledge (e.g., classroom management); (c) curriculum knowledge, (d) pedagogical content knowledge (e.g., special form of professional understanding); (e) knowledge of learners and their characteristics; (f) knowledge of educational contexts; and (g) knowledge of educational ends, purposes, and values, and their philosophical and historical grounds. Despite his new acknowledgement of teachers' knowledge as a complexity beyond a body of "skills and behaviors" and teachers as actively involved in their construction of knowledge, his view still does not embrace the more personal aspects of teachers' knowledge construction, such as the role played by teachers' life experiences discussed in the following studies.

Based on the findings from research on teachers' knowledge, some models of teachers' professional development have been established. Kagan (1992) reviewed 40 studies done between 1987 and 1991 on evolution of professional growth among preservice and beginning (first-year) teachers called "learning-to-teach literature." While the experimental studies done on teacher change during the 1960s and 1970s focused on teacher behavior,
the qualitative studies on learning to teach after 1980s focused on "the cognitions, beliefs, and mental processes that underlie teachers' classroom behaviors" (p. 129). By reviewing such studies and comparing the findings with those from the older learning-to-teach studies published prior to 1987, she inferred the emergent teacher developmental model which validated and elaborated Fuller’s (1969) and Berliner’s (1988) models.

In the emergent model of professional development, Kagan identifies three major factors which determine the accomplishment of developmental tasks by novice teachers: (a) the teacher candidate’s biography, (b) the configuration of a preservice teacher education program, and (c) the contexts in which practice and beginning teaching occur. In the model, a teacher candidate’s biography (experiences in classrooms, relationships with teachers and other authority figures, recollections of how it felt to be a pupil in the classrooms) plays a vital role: it constructs the novice teacher’s inflexible beliefs and images about teaching. It also determines the quantity and interpretation of knowledge novices acquire from teacher education courses. Inadequate knowledge of pupils and classroom procedures is common among teacher candidates. Therefore, the need for extended practica and opportunities for candidates to be able to better understand pupils, such as research projects with systematic observations of pupils, is identified.

Among all the findings from Kagan’s literature review, the most relevant to this study is how a teacher’s biography
interacts with his/her teaching. Kagan said that "a variety of research has documented the close connection between a teacher's biography (personal beliefs, past experiences, personality) and his or her classroom practice" (p. 159).

Among those studies on a student teacher's biography and his/her classroom practice, Calderhead and Robson (1991), for example, followed seven student primary teachers in their first year of a B. Ed. course at a college in England to elicit the taken-for-granted assumptions about teaching and pupils. They interviewed the student teachers about their views on teaching and learning, as well as their biographical details.

Their case studies yield some questions relevant to the nature of teachers' professional growth. The pre-existing students' conceptions of teaching and learning can determine what they learn from teacher education courses and how they analyze their own and others' teaching. They conclude their study by stressing the need for teacher educators' awareness of the relationship between students' existing knowledge and training activities. Use of student teachers' images of teaching and learning should be integrated into the teacher education curriculum. However, whether and how such images can be employed in a way that facilitates professional development was not advanced in their research.

Some researchers have been trying to find a way to incorporate the findings concerning the role of student teachers' biography and professional growth and teacher education courses.
Based on the "theoretical assumptions that knowledge of one's belief system, insight and reflection are vital components of good teaching" (p. 370), Rothenberg (1994) studied the role of memories of schooling in the development and practice of teachers. Four hundred and ten undergraduate students and graduate students (about half of whom had taught more than two years) in educational psychology courses were asked to write a descriptive essay on best and worst experiences in school. The descriptive essays were analyzed according to emergent themes (general features, success and failure, assessment, transition, humiliation, and challenge). She stressed the valid use of such memories in teacher education courses, for example, by abstracting pedagogy that students remember, as exemplary and non-exemplary types of teaching. Applied analysis can also "be used to discern and evaluate issues surrounding the negative pedagogical practices" (p. 377). Through this study, some positive effects were felt by the students in the course; asking students to write essays about their own memories of schooling helped develop personalization and encouraged more introspection and incorporation of new materials and their own experience.

However, as the author admitted, this study was preliminary. Therefore, the findings seemed too general. How individual differences in schooling memories influenced the student teachers' development as teachers is not known from this study. Further, in Rothenberg's (1994) study, only memories from schooling were considered in terms of the construction of student
teacher's pre-existing beliefs about teaching. The differences in student teachers' prior non-schooling experiences were completely neglected. However, in other studies, it has already been found that there are other factors which influence the construction of beliefs about teaching: e.g., whether they have other careers before entering teacher education program. Other studies suggest that "pre-existing beliefs about teaching and learning, especially for second-career teachers entering the profession later in life, are linked as much to prior professional and personal experiences (e.g., having children) as to prior schooling experiences or to teacher preparation programs" (Powell, 1994, p. 351).

Powell, therefore, conducted a longitudinal research program examining how prior experiences influence teacher development for second-career teachers. In the first phase of the study, he confirmed that second-career preservice teachers have conceptions of teaching grounded in personal value systems about teaching while traditional preservice teachers were influenced more by experiences as students in terms of conceptions of teaching.

The second phase of the study, using in-depth case studies as method, examined how prior experiences and beliefs about teaching interacted with classroom instruction and, ultimately the classroom climate for second-career student teachers. The author chose ten second-career student teachers, considering diversity in their backgrounds. He looked first at those second-career student teachers' instructional tasks which in the past
research studies had been found to be critical in initial teacher development: (a) maintaining learner discipline, (b) developing classroom routines, (c) teaching content, and (c) negotiating the role of teacher (construction of clear image of self as teacher). As the research continued, two more emergent tasks were added: communicating implicit messages to learners and showing empathy to learners.

Sources of data included: observations of student teaching, interviews with student teachers, informal discussions with cooperating teachers and university supervisors, lesson plans, and teaching materials. In addition, he conducted post-lesson conferences to explore the lesson taught and student teachers' concerns. He even held seminars every other week to discuss teaching concerns and the insights of teaching the student teachers were developing.

The findings indicated that "the interaction between school classroom context, beginning teachers' prior beliefs, and autobiographical factors influence preservice teachers' classroom climate by shaping their instructional tasks" (p. 363). Four implications were drawn for teachers' professional growth and teacher education. First, activities which help student teachers understand the relationship between classroom reality and their beliefs about teaching have to be included. Second, abundant exposure to pupils at the early stage of teacher preparation is recommended. Third, the teacher education program should help student teachers construct well-developed images of self as
Finally, it needs to be understood that establishing an effective classroom climate at the initial stage of learning to teach is a complex process which requires ongoing interaction of various instructional elements as well as a personal aptitude for teaching.

The possibility that teachers' backgrounds could influence the change in teachers' beliefs and their teaching practice was further explored by Johnston (1994). She related the issue of teachers' knowledge to the possibility of change in teachers' beliefs and actual teaching practices by examining teachers' development of reflective thinking. The elementary school teachers who participated in the study were enrolled in a Master's program with an emphasis on reflective thinking about their own beliefs and teaching practices and were followed throughout their studies and one year after their graduation. She chose three teachers based on diversity in their beliefs and teaching practices.

The focus of the study was on the complexity and the variations in the ways changes in the teachers' reflective thinking occurred based on "the assumption that change in reflective thinking ... will be influenced by teachers' backgrounds and personalities and affected by their beliefs, teaching practices, and the context in which they teach" (p. 10). Johnston collected data in interviews, classroom observations, video-tapes, stimulated recall interviews, journals, and course work. She also used the metaphors teachers wrote at the end of
the two-year Master's program: in such metaphors, teachers were asked to describe their experiences in the master's program with special attention to how they had or had not changed.

She found that the process of becoming more reflective was empowering but stressful and risky; without the ongoing (long-term) support provided even after finishing the graduate studies, teachers would not have made progress. Although all three teachers became more complex in their thinking, there were differences in how much each valued the change and how reflection interacted with changes in their beliefs and teaching practices. Such differences suggest "the complexity inherent in any process of change and point to the individual aspects of constructed meanings" (p. 24). She recognized that individual experiences, beliefs, and personalities determine what teachers take from teacher education courses (master's program). The study also indicated the importance of making agendas explicit and open about researchers'/educators' expectations.

Furthermore, concerning the issue of teachers' knowledge and changes in their teaching practice, Louden (1991) noted the vital role of personal and professional experiences of teachers in their construction of the meaning of teaching (i.e., teachers' knowledge) and interpreted teaching as follows:

[T]eaching is a struggle to discover and maintain a settled practice, a set of routines and patterns of action which resolve the problems posed by particular subjects and groups of children. These patterns, content and resolutions to familiar classroom problems are shaped by each teacher's biography and professional experience. The meaning of these patterns of action only becomes clear when they are set in the context of a teacher's personal and professional
history, her hopes and dreams for teaching, and the school in which she works. (p. xi)

Therefore, educational reform cannot be successful without paying attention to the meaning teachers make of their teaching practices, he claimed.

Louden conducted an intensive longitudinal case study of one female teacher with twenty years of teaching experience in various settings and subjects (art, music, and drama). The teacher was teaching Grades 7 and 8 at a public alternative school in Canada but had to begin teaching additional subjects (writing and science) during the course of Louden’s research. Through intensive participant-observations in and out of the classes over one year, life history interviews, and constantly (both formally and informally) discussions about her teaching and classes, the teacher’s planning, her classroom teaching, and the biographical context she related to her work were examined. The new subjects (writing and science) she had to start teaching, in addition to her established teaching of art and music, created many interesting educational challenges for the teacher and as a result, a series of profound reflections occurred. This reflection in the end led to negotiations and changes as well as continuity in this teacher’s teaching.

Further, the additional science and writing classes made the research take a more collaborative form than originally intended. The researcher, a former writing teacher, helped the teacher with the new subject classes. Eventually the researcher took the principal teacher role, particularly in the science classes. The
teacher and the researcher fostered a comfortable partnership based on mutual trust and respect in their collaboration. The collaborative aspect of this study further enhanced an enormous range and volume of reflection on the teacher's side, in her struggles to learn to teach new subjects. Using the framework of analysis that emerged from this case study, Louden (1991) analyzed a variety of reflection found in this study according to two dimensions: the interests (the goal or end in view of reflection: i.e., technical, personal, problematic, and critical) and the forms (the characteristics of the act of reflection: i.e., introspection, replay and rehearsal, enquiry, and spontaneity).

Louden argued that reflection allowed a growth in the understanding of teaching. However, he also stressed that "reflection allows people to explore the limits of invention" (p. 191); reflection could only bring growth and change to teachers' understanding of teaching within limits which were established over many years of learning, teaching, and the experiences of teachers. In the conclusion of the study, Louden (1991) highlighted a critical role collaborative enquiry, in conjunction with productive reflections, could play in producing lasting educational change.

Louden's (1991) study illuminates the new approach to the understanding of teachers and teaching; researchers must acknowledge that teachers' understanding of their teaching, in other words, teachers' knowledge, are deeply embedded in their
biographical and professional history which have to be accessed in order to bring any change and growth to their practices.

Thus far, it has become clear that the complexity involved in the relationship between teachers' biographies, beliefs about their teaching, and their actual classroom teaching, as well as in the process of change in their beliefs about teaching and possibly in teaching practice, has been revealed in mainstream educational research. On the contrary, the field of TESL's lag in research on the relationship among teachers' biographical, belief, and behavioral systems has come to the surface. K. E. Johnson (1994) underscored this point, emphasizing the need to look to the research in mainstream education and to "establish the instructional considerations that are unique to second language teachers and second language teaching" (p. 440). She also recognized that teachers' beliefs are complex and difficult to research; the sources for inferring beliefs should involve not only what teachers say about their beliefs, but also their intentionality to behave in a certain way and what they actually do.

K. E. Johnson (1994) studied four preservice ESL teachers enrolled in a Master's program in TESL in order to examine preservice ESL teachers' beliefs about L2 learning and teaching, and to determine how such beliefs interact with their conceptualization of teaching practice during the practicum and their evolving self image as an L2 teacher. During their practicum, each teacher taught a university-level ESL course for
international students to prepare for academic requirements of American universities; none of the four teachers previously had any teaching experience. She used teachers' journals which consisted of open-ended reactions and observations about the practicum, three observations (a total of twelve sessions), post-observation interviews, and she video-taped a pre-designated lesson of each teacher.

The findings in the study indicated that the images from prior formal language classroom experiences influenced the teachers' construction of their images of self as teacher, teaching, and their perception of their own teaching practices. Furthermore, the changes in teachers' beliefs were difficult to achieve "because they had very few alternative images of teachers and teaching to act as a model for their instructional practices" (p. 449). Lack of procedural knowledge (how a classroom works and what students are like) and also lack of sufficient exposure to and an understanding of alternative instructional practices or alternative images of teachers led the teachers to teach the way they were taught in their formal L2 classrooms.

Some implications for ESL teacher education programs were suggested. The preservice teachers need to reflect on and confront their own beliefs about teachers and teaching. The realities of the classrooms have to be reflected in ESL teacher education in order to adequately prepare preservice ESL teachers. Since asking student teachers to test out alternative models of teaching means they have to take major risks, safer environments
for teachers to take risks must be provided in such teacher education programs and practicum. Such programs also should offer "opportunities to reflect on the broader social, cultural, and political ramifications of second language teaching and learning" (p. 451).

In sum, the conventional view of teaching as a set of standardized skills or behaviors all teachers must/can acquire, regardless of their backgrounds (beliefs, prior experiences, personality), has currently been the subject of controversy and attack. Teachers should now be considered as active persons with changing beliefs, making judgements constantly rather than as a "neutral delivery system." These new views have encouraged numerous researchers to study teachers' knowledge: what constitutes such knowledge as well as what influences the construction of such knowledge. Teachers' biographies (pre-existing beliefs about teaching and learning) seem to influence the construction of teachers' knowledge; the relationship between beliefs and actual classroom teaching practice has, therefore, interested many researchers. Student teachers' pre-existing beliefs influence their teaching practice, particularly by determining what they learn, how they interpret the content in their teacher education courses, and also how they eventually analyze their own and others' teaching.

Now that such pre-existing beliefs about teaching and learning have been found to influence teachers' instructional practice, research interests have been shifting to what factors
such as differences in teachers' backgrounds) have influenced teachers' construction of such beliefs and how such pre-existing beliefs should be used in teacher preparation courses. What is common in current studies of teachers' beliefs is that the focus seems to be on diversity and complexity rather than on commonalities among (pre/in-service) teachers.

Second-career teachers' beliefs were found to be based on their prior professional and personal experiences rather than on their schooling experiences which is the case with conventional student teachers (Powell, 1994). It seems extremely difficult and often risky to change (preservice/in-service) teachers' beliefs about teaching and learning; critical reflection does not necessarily bring about dramatic change in the teachers' beliefs; complexity is always involved (Johnston, 1994).

It is necessary to view educational reform in relation to changing teachers' beliefs and practices, in order to enhance productive reflection and introduce educational changes in teachers' lives successfully. Collaborative enquiry based on carefully developed partnerships between teachers, between researchers and teachers, or between administrators and teachers should be encouraged. Educational change involves changes in teachers' lives since teaching is connected with teachers' personal and professional history (Louden, 1991). Further, ESL student teachers, despite their frequent misgivings regarding the traditional grammar/translation-oriented instruction based on their own formal L2 learning experiences, tend to reproduce
similar instructional behaviors because of a lack of alternative instruction models (K. E. Johnson, 1994).

All the findings suggest the use of preservice/in-service teachers' beliefs and images of themselves as teacher in teacher education courses and the need for bridging the gap frequently found, especially between preservice teachers' expectations and reality in the classroom in such courses (whether it is a mainstream school environment or ESL setting).

What is the most striking is (as mentioned above) that despite the current vigorous call in TESL for the shift of research focus to teachers from students, there has been only a very limited number of studies taking such a viewpoint. It has been acknowledged that the field of TESL/TEFL involves more complexity in terms of cultural diversity (not only of students but also of teachers, especially in case of EFL situation) and uniqueness found in the nature of language teaching. However, the arguments (especially those based on the viewpoint of curriculum-as-plan) concerning culture teaching in L2 classrooms seem to have ignored these valuable considerations.
3.1 Qualitative Research Methodology

The purpose of this study was to explore and better understand how EFL teachers in Japan perceive their educational roles in relation to the concept of culture. I attempted to capture the participating teachers' experiences of teaching English in Japan and their perception of culture as experienced and interpreted by them. To pursue this goal, a case study using qualitative research methodology (ethnographic approach) was conducted.

3.1.1 Choice of Qualitative Research Methods Over Quantitative Methods

A qualitative pursuit of the insider's view in a naturalistic environment characterizes this study. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) argue that the major difference between qualitative and quantitative research methodologies is that the "qualitative researchers think they can get closer to the actor's perspective through detailed interviewing and observation," but quantitative researchers cannot because of their dependence on "remote inferential empirical materials" (p. 5). Janesick's (1994) description of qualitative research methodology reflects my approach: "Qualitative researchers design a study with real individuals in mind, and with the interest of living in that social setting over time. They study a social setting to
understand the meaning of participants' lives in the participants' own terms" (p. 210). Hornberger (1994) discusses the value of ethnography, of grasping the insider's view and allowing a holistic interpretation by comparing and contrasting between what people say and what people do in a certain context and across contexts. The utilization of qualitative research methodology helped me to reach an in-depth understanding of four EFL teachers' personal perceptions of teaching and culture.

In this study, I also wanted to explore the culture of teachers in context. Heath (1983), with regard to her choice of ethnography as research methodology for the longitudinal study of children's learning of language in three communities, pointed out that quantitative research methodologies could not achieve such research goals. She said that quantitative approaches in education often ignore "the social and cultural context which created the input factors for individuals and groups" (p. 8). Since human beings generally tend to act differently in a laboratory setting (Wilson, 1977), a common component embedded in quantitative studies, the applicability of findings from such quantitative studies to everyday settings might be low. Quantitative research relying on such artificial testing environments has been criticized as failing to address the complex nature of social behavior (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994). Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) expanded on such criticism responding to the issue of positivism:

'positivism' ... [is] the view that social research should adopt [the] scientific method, that this method is
exemplified in the work of modern physicists, and that it consists of the rigorous testing of hypotheses by means of data that take the form of quantitative measurements. ... [Quantitative research] relies on the study of artificial settings ... and/or what people say rather than what they do ... it seeks to reduce meanings to what is 'observable'; ... it treats social phenomena as more clearly defined and static than they are, and as mechanical products of social and psychological factors. (p. 251)

Therefore, one of the strengths of qualitative research which quantitative research lacks is its close attention to contextual information (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) stated, "since [qualitative research] investigates social processes in everyday settings rather than in those set up for the purposes of research, the danger that the findings will apply only to the research situation is generally lessened" (p. 24). Stake (1994) further remarked that qualitative researchers' attention to contextual dynamics reflect their view of phenomena as complex rather than monolithic:

[M]uch qualitative research is based on a holistic view that social phenomena, human dilemmas, and the nature of cases are situational and influenced by happenings of many kinds. Qualitative researchers ... more often tend to perceive ... events [as] not simply and singly caused. (p. 239)

Since one of the goals in the current study was to describe the "complexity" involved in the teachers' perceptions of English teaching and culture, a qualitative research methodology seemed appropriate.

Some issues in the field of education have been identified as difficult to explore through quantitative research methodologies. Britzman (1989), to better understand one's life as a teacher (how one learns to teach), stressed the importance
of qualitative research, especially the methods that are sensitive to the "reflexivity" of the researcher and the researched:

How teachers are studied--their relationships with researchers, the ways in which teachers' lives become the stuff of texts, and the methodologies for studying lives in the process of becoming--is ... being transformed by qualitative styles of research. ... [The] methods of reflexivity and reinterpretation attempt to situate the dialogic play between theory and practice, the individual and the social, voice and experience, and the role and the person. (p. 147)

A large number of researchers in the field of mainstream teacher education have been vigorously studying teachers' beliefs about teaching (see previous chapter). Their special concern is to improve teacher education by understanding how preservice teachers learn to teach and how one grows as a teacher. In order to explore teachers' cognitive dimensions, after early rigorous quantitative research attempts which mostly ignored the long-term effects of training programs, the research studies have been predominantly utilizing qualitative methodology (to name a few, Britzman, 1989; Calderhead & Robson, 1991; K. E. Johnson, 1994; Johnston, 1994; Powell, 1994; Rothenberg, 1994). Since the beginning of the 1980's, major findings concerning the issue of teacher's growth (e.g., change over time in beliefs, images, knowledge, behavior, perceptions of teacher) have been based on qualitative research (Kagan, 1992).

Further, D. M. Johnson (1992) argues for the value of ethnographic research studies especially in the field of L2 learning and teaching because cultural issues play a vital part
in everyday practice in such field: "Ethnographic work, with its attention to contextual and cultural interpretation, has added to our knowledge of how students approach L2 learning, how culture interacts with language learning, and how teachers and institutions can be culturally sensitive" (p. 33). Ethnographic studies are called for because of their perceived ability to "provide a comprehensive and accurate picture for a cultural setting and to explain the implicit cultural knowledge of the participants" (D. M. Johnson, 1992, p. 142) in everyday settings.

Freeman and Richards (1993) claimed that in the field of TESL, the researchers need to shift their "focus of discussions of teaching from behavior and activity to thinking and reasoning which organizes and motivates these external practices" (p. 193); and "broadening [their] discussions to take in these embedded conceptions of teaching is crucial to the maturation of the field" (p. 194). In agreeing with this claim, Edge (1994) recognizes the urgent "need of analyses which will illuminate the nature of teaching beyond the listing of classroom activities" (Edge, 1994, p. 398). Regarding the issue of the research need for learning about teacher's knowledge, Richards (1994) stressed that instead of traditional quantitatively-oriented approaches, more intimate research should be encouraged, which "will bring researchers close to their subjects [teachers] as they make their day-to-day professional decisions" (p. 403). Similarly, despite some challenges faced when doing interpretive, qualitative research, Golombek (1994) critiqued the traditional research
approach to teachers’ thinking with a heavy focus on teacher knowledge as external to the teacher, saying that, for example, the findings from such an approach are decontextualized by denying the experience of the individual. She pointed out that "the field of L2 teacher education lags behind mainstream educational research in its attempt to understand the cognitive dimensions of L2 teaching and teachers’ knowledge" (p. 405). In conclusion, she stressed that researchers need to understand teachers from the teachers’ personal perspectives. Accordingly, teachers should be acknowledged as active agents in their classrooms and such research should be conducted in a natural setting to facilitate this.

The issues the current study explored, teachers’ perceptions of teaching English and culture, as it turned out, are closely related to the issue of teachers’ knowledge and beliefs which has been qualitatively researched, as mentioned above.

3.1.2 Verification of Findings

Unlike quantitative research that emphasizes the generalizability of findings, qualitative research seeks out particularity and uniqueness as well as commonality in the case they study (Stake, 1994). The work of ethnography is to build a systematic understanding of all human cultures from the perspective of those who have learned them (Spradley, 1979, p. 9) by providing "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) which requires "an interpretive-explanatory account of what people do in a setting, ... the outcome of their interactions, and the way they
understand what they are doing" (Watson-Gegeo, 1988, p. 576).

Qualitative research methodology has been establishing a stronger foundation in L2 research (D. M. Johnson, 1992); in fact, a growing number of researchers in the field of TESL have conducted valuable longitudinal qualitative studies (e.g., Canagarajah, 1993; Heath, 1993; K. E. Johnson, 1994). Despite the strengths mentioned, the differences in the nature of inquiry between quantitative and qualitative research methodologies might lead some to critique the use of qualitative methodology.

In their defense of qualitative methodology, many have approached the notions of validity and reliability, which are quintessential considerations in quantitative research design. Given the vast difference in the nature of inquiry, all seem to acknowledge that validity must be approached differently in qualitative research. Janesick (1994), agreeing with Wolcott (1990), stated:

> Validity in the quantitative arena has a set of technical microdefinitions of which the reader is most likely well aware. Validity in qualitative research has to do with description and explanation, and whether or not a given explanation fits a given description. (p. 216)

Johnson and Saville-Troike (1992) made a similar argument:

> In qualitative research, judgements of validity focus primarily on the interpretation of findings: on the extent to which such interpretations adequately account for observations in relation to relevant contextual factors, minimize potential researcher bias, and provide explanatory coherence within a larger theoretical frame. (p. 603)

Davis (1992) stressed that in qualitative studies the focus should be on transferability rather than external validity.

External validity for quantitative researchers ensures
generalizability to all contexts within the same population, by choosing "representatives" of the population as subjects for the research. On the other hand, transferability in qualitative studies refers to "the degree to which working hypothesis [drawn from a specific qualitative study] can transfer to other times and contexts ..., depending on the degree of similarity between contexts" (p. 606): such transferability can be achieved by providing a "thick description" of the study, a basis for comparison.

The attempt to apply the notion of generalizability to qualitative methodology, a lack of which has been believed to be the major weakness and criticism of qualitative research, is considered inadequate by some qualitative researchers. However, Janesick (1994) stressed that the value of qualitative case study lies in its uniqueness:

The traditional view of generalizability limits the ability of the researcher to reconceptualize the role of social science in education and human services. In addition, the whole history of case study research in anthropology, education, sociology, and history stands solidly on its merits. In fact the value of the case study is its uniqueness. (p. 217)

Although the advantages of qualitative research methodology seem to outweigh its disadvantages, there are also tactics to verify the findings in qualitative research.

Triangulation has been considered one of the most powerful ways to verify the findings in qualitative research. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) identified the use of multiple data sources in ethnography as a way of ensuring credibility of the research.
findings; it reduces the risk of one's findings being method-dependent, of reactivity, and other threats to validity. Stake (1994) agrees, saying "[to] reduce the likelihood of misinterpretation, we employ various procedures, including redundancy of data gathering and procedural challenges to explanations (Denzin, 1989; Goetz & LeCompte, 1984)" (p. 241).

To ensure the credibility of this study, therefore, multiple methods in data collection (questionnaire, journal, classroom observation, and interview) were employed as a part of triangulation. Each method has its own strength and weakness which should be complemented by one another. The most well-known advantage of observation method is its "noninterventionist" characteristic (Adler & Adler, 1994) which supports qualitative research methodology's beliefs in naturalism: "[o]bservers neither manipulate nor stimulate their subjects. ... Behavior and interaction continue as they would without the presence of a researcher, uninterrupted by intrusion" (p. 378).

The chief criticism against this naturalistic method of observation is that exclusive dependence on researchers' own perceptions raises the danger of bias from their subjective interpretations of situations (Denzin, 1989; Schatzman & Strauss, 1973; Webb et al., 1966, cited in Adler & Adler, 1994). Thus, the interview method helps to reduce the risk of biased subjective interpretations. The interview helps researchers to collect data described in subjects' own words which will help develop insights into how subjects interpret the social phenomena of study (Bogdan
& Biklen, 1982). Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) discussed considerable use of informants, in addition to observations in ethnography, "to get information about activities that for one reason or another cannot be directly observed, and to check inferences made from observations" (p. 106). However, the interview method also has some flaws. Yin (1989) cautions against the overreliance on interviews as a data source because of the interpersonal influence that the interviewee might have over the researcher and vice versa and recommends the use of other data sources to verify the research findings.

In this study, to get to the participant's insider view (their own explanation), journal entries were also used as data. Clandinin and Connelly (1994) recognize journal writing as "a powerful way for individuals to give accounts of their experience" (p. 421). Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) also discussed the use of journals as a means by which "one can gather information that complements other data sources in the field" (p. 134). They introduced some researchers' successful use of journal entries as data sources which helped to interpret some phenomena which are difficult to observe directly.

Furthermore, qualitative research methodologists have recently been attempting to set up guidelines for verification of findings unique to qualitative research. For example, Huberman and Miles (1994) displayed a minimum set of information that should appear in the qualitative research method section to verify the findings:
1) sampling decisions made, both within and across cases, 2) instrumentation and data collection operations, 3) database summary: size, how produced, overview of analytic strategies followed, 4) software used if any, 5) overview of analytic strategies followed, and 6) inclusion of key data displays supporting main conclusions. (p. 439)

In accordance with these guidelines, the details of the methods I employed to conduct this study are described in the next section.

Another tactic to ensure credibility of qualitative research is "auditing" (Denzin, 1994; Huberman & Miles, 1994; Janesick, 1994). Instead of a formal "audit trial", in this study a number of consultations took place with my thesis supervisor and with participants in the study in the process of writing and conceptualizing the findings from the project.

3.2 Procedures

In qualitative research, especially ethnography, "[a]nalysis, fieldwork [data collection], and writing are intertwined as the study progresses and becomes more focused" (D. M. Johnson, 1992, p. 148). According to Hammersley and Atkinson (1983),

In ethnography the analysis of data is not a distinct stage of the research. It begins in the pre-fieldwork phase, in the formulation and clarification of research problems, and continues into the process of writing up. (p. 174)

However, in order to clarify the methods utilized in this research, I will describe my data collection procedures, analysis, and writing separately in the following section.

3.2.1 Data Collection

This research involved a case study of two NS EFL teachers (Danny and Carol) and two Japanese EFL teachers (Miki and Kimiko)
at a language school in Japan, using an ethnographic approach. Four types of data collection procedures were employed: (a) questionnaire, (b) weekly retrospective journals, (c) classroom observations, and (d) interviews. The length of field residence was approximately five months from October 19th, 1993, until March 17th, 1994, coinciding with the fall semester in Japan.

(a) Questionnaire

During the course of this study, three types of questionnaires were filled out: two types for teachers and one type for students. While NS teachers wrote in English, both Japanese teachers and students wrote in Japanese.

The initial questionnaire was administered to obtain each teacher's background information. It included information on the following items: (a) demographic information, (b) educational background, (c) teaching experience, (d) past cross-cultural experience, (e) present cross-cultural activities in Japan, and (f) pre-departure preparation before coming to Japan (for foreign teachers) and pre-departure preparation for Japanese teachers before going overseas. Most of the items in this questionnaire took an open format while a few, such as checklist items, took a closed form.

After the fall semester was over, follow-up questionnaires were distributed to both the participating teachers and their students in the classes. The questionnaire for teachers included open-ended questions to explore their reflections on the classes they had taught during the course of this study and their own
view of culture. While foreign teachers wrote in English, Japanese teachers wrote in Japanese. I translated responses of Japanese teachers into English to quote in the following chapters.

The follow-up questionnaire for the students involved another set of questions written in Japanese and was given in class to those who continued the following semester, and mailed to those who quit after the fall semester. The questions were focused on the student’s views of the class in general and the cultural elements that they identified as being taught in class. They were mostly open-ended. Eight students from Danny’s class (which was also taught by Kimiko), three students from Carol’s, and one student from Miki’s responded to the questionnaire all in Japanese. As soon as the responses were turned in, I translated them into English.

Copies of each type of questionnaires are found in Appendix A.

(b) Weekly Retrospective Journals

Journals were kept weekly and written retrospectively within a week after each class. The journals consisted of two parts. In the first part, the participants wrote about the class they taught (what they taught, how it went, problems and good things if any, reflections on why such problems or good things occurred). In the second part, the teachers described the most vivid cultural experience of the week: the description of the incident, as well as how they felt about it and why it was
important. Such cultural experiences were not restricted to the classroom but included any direct or indirect cross-cultural experience. A total of 11 to 16 journal entries (depending on the individual) were collected from each participating teacher. Although I encouraged Japanese teachers to write in Japanese, one teacher (Kimiko) wrote in English throughout the course of this study since she felt more comfortable writing in English than in Japanese.

(c) Classroom Observations

In the first fall semester class, each participating teacher introduced me to the students very briefly, saying that I was one of the KCCI teachers and would be sitting in their classes. However, no details were given in any class for the reason I was there (see Section 3.3.1. and 3.3.2. for details about informed consent and debriefing). Danny's class (also taught by Kimiko) and Carol's classes warmly accepted me from the very beginning. Miki's class was not as friendly, perhaps because the students were young, shy, and the teacher emphasized that I should be left alone while observing.

In the first four weeks of this study, I observed the first or second half of the class (alternately) every week so that the class could become used to my presence. As van Lier (1988) remarks, it was true that "learners, for whom the L2 classroom after all is a public stage, by and large take such visits in their stride after a while" (p. 39). This was also confirmed by the participating teachers: the three female teachers revealed
how quickly they and their students had become relaxed with my visit to the classes; throughout the study, on various occasions, the male teacher (Danny) emphasized the fact that my presence in his class did not effect his teaching at all. I was also well known as a teacher at school. After the fourth week, observations took place only every other week.

A class usually lasted two hours with a ten minute break in the middle. During the classroom observation, I took field notes in English, focusing on the role of culture in the classroom; my main interests were verbal and non-verbal interaction between teachers and students, the types of activities, what and how L2 cultural facts were presented, and the way teachers treated the students' home culture (Japanese) in the class. In every class, I almost always sat in the back of the room by the windows facing the teacher and behind the students where students could not see what I was doing. For the purpose of videotaping, I once sat at the front corner by the windows which resulted in attracting some students' attention (especially when I wrote down something or we exchange glances by chance) and it seemed to distract or embarrass them to a great degree. Therefore, sitting in the back behind the students seemed more appropriate.

In the sixth observation when the teachers and students seemed fully accustomed to my visits to their classes, I started video-taping classes with the teacher's permission. A total of three lessons (the sixth, eighth, and tenth observations) of each teacher were video-taped. Although it might have inhibited
naturalistic behavior in the class, D. M. Johnson (1992) mentioned that "if adults understand the purpose of the recordings, and recordings are made regularly over an extended period of time, the inhibiting and other effects of the intruding machines are likely to lessen" (p. 86). As mentioned above, by spending more time in and out of classes with the students as well as the teachers at the initial stage, I succeeded in reducing such inhibition. Further, taking advantage of the time I spent to set up the video-camera before class, I talked to the students. As the time went on, many students enthusiastically started talking to me about their classes, KCCI teachers, and their study of English. On such occasions, I took notes of what they mentioned afterwards.

A total of ten observations were conducted in each teacher’s class.

(d) Interviews

Within a few days after the observation, I conducted an interview. Interviews for NS teachers were conducted in English and for Japanese teachers, in Japanese. In the first interview, questions concerning the initial questionnaire responses were also asked to obtain in-depth information about each participant’s biography. The interview normally consisted of open-ended questions based on the findings from observations and journal entries. Questions based on observations were mainly those which had the teachers explain certain aspects of their own behaviors in the class—for example, why they chose specific
activities. Furthermore, I asked how they interpreted incidents in the classroom, such as students' silence, incomprehension of teacher's instruction, and the use of Japanese by students or the teacher.

An interview guide approach was taken because it seemed more appropriate than a more structured approach with an interview schedule. Fontana and Frey (1994) pointed out that structured interviewing often "overlooks or inadequately assesses the emotional dimension" (p. 363). Because questions were personal and required trust between us, by taking a less-structured interview guide approach, I could be more sensitive to the interviewee's emotional dispositions. This approach seemed to help interviewees to be more relaxed and open. Interviews were often conducted in one of the classrooms at KCCI. However, sometimes, Kimiko's and Carol's busy schedule made it necessary to interview them in a restaurant or coffee shop over lunch or a quick dinner. The interview normally lasted 30 to 60 minutes. Usually, NS teachers spent more time speaking in the interviews (45 to 60 minutes on average), whereas Japanese teachers spent 30 minutes on average. All interviews were audio-recorded because as soon as the interviewees saw me taking notes in the earlier interviews, their eyes followed my note-taking and it seemed too distracting. Afterwards, I listened to the tapes and transcribed; all interviews with Japanese teachers were translated into English when transcribing. A total of ten interviews for each teacher were conducted.
3.2.2 Analysis

As mentioned above, in qualitative research, data collection and analysis processes run parallel to one another (Huberman & Miles, 1994; D. M. Johnson, 1992; Tesch, 1990). Therefore, in this study, analysis was conducted inductively throughout the course of data collection and the process of writing. Bogdan and Biklen (1982) said that analysis is concurrent with data collection but in the formal analysis after the completion of data collection, when writing up the findings, one attempts to link the findings to formal theoretical issues. They also stated that the data analysis falls into two phases, analysis in the field and analysis after data collection and that "[i]n most forms of case studies, the emerging themes guide data collection, but formal analysis and theory development does not occur until after data collection is near completion" (p. 67). In this study, the more formal analysis was reserved until the final writing stage. Therefore, I would like to discuss my analysis procedure in terms of two phases: (a) analysis in the field (early informal analysis) and (b) analysis after data collection (formal analysis).

(a) Analysis in the Field

Analysis in the field took place inductively. Inductive analysis starts with empirical data collection and creates theoretical categories: units of analysis are not established prior to the actual data collection but they are teased out from the data based on their meaning (Goetz & LeCompte, 1981, cited in
Tesch, 1990).

In this study, at the stage of analysis in the field, the researcher journal played a critical role. The emerging themes and recurring topics (e.g. "fun class means good class"/"English classes at KCCI has to meet students' non-linguistic, emotional needs, too") were recorded, after observation, first in the form of observer comments in the fieldnotes (to stimulate critical thinking, Bogdan & Biklen, 1982) and then in the form of researcher journals, synthesizing findings from the other data sources (previous interviews and teachers' journal entries). Tesch (1990), citing Miles and Huberman (1984), talked about research memos (equivalent to researcher journals in this research) as a guide for qualitative research: "From [the researcher journal], the researcher begins to identify an emergent theme, pattern, or explanation and generates ideas for further data collection, as well as category modification" (p. 87). Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) believe that such journals provide researchers with an opportunity for reflexive analysis which transforms private response into potential public knowledge and that way, researchers can further develop research design, trace the emergent analytic themes, and systematically continue data collection. In this study, the researcher journals particularly helped the organization of the interviews.

Furthermore, the interviews themselves provided opportunities for me to explore emergent concepts by trying out some ideas and themes I had come up with from the observation and
journal entry data, which is one of the key functions of analysis in the field (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). The findings from interviews were used as feedback for the next researcher journal, which was further explored in the next interview. This process was repeated until the end of the data collection.

(b) Analysis After Data Collection

After the data collection was finished in March, 1994, but before getting into the more comprehensive data interpretation phase for the purpose of data organizing, I coded questionnaire responses, fieldnotes, interview transcripts, and journal entries according to rather general activity codes and perspective codes (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). This is what Tesch (1990) calls "de-contextualizing." When coding was finished, I sorted all the data into broad, tentative categories based on general concepts which had already emerged; for example, teachers' personal views of their role as EFL teacher were analyzed in terms of NS-NNS teacher roles, classroom arrangement, teaching approach, the way teachers were dressed, perception of good/bad classes, opinions about the textbook, T-S relationship, views about teaching culture, etc. Then, using case-oriented analysis strategies (Huberman & Miles, 1994), I wrote an individual case description for each participating teacher ("re-contextualizing," Tesch, 1990) so that I could capture the overall picture of complexity before starting extensive cross-case analysis. As Yin (1989) writes, a "descriptive framework ... organizes the case study analysis. ... [T]he descriptive approach [is] used to identify
(a) a type of event that could be quantified and (b) an overall pattern of complexity that ultimately [is] used in a causal sense to 'explain'" (p. 107-108).

In the process of writing and rewriting case descriptions, cross-case analysis was simultaneously conducted. As a result, the framework for the analysis emerged and a series of themes common among cases were identified. They will be discussed in Chapter 8. An iterative procedure of making contrasts and comparisons and displaying data in graphics (Huberman & Miles, 1994) was used to examine, refine, and modify the concepts and themes during the course of writing.

3.2.3 Writing a Narrative

I wrote the interpretation of each case study separately from Chapter 4 through 7 and discussed the themes (commonalities and differences) in Chapter 8. The interpretation of each case study consists of a combination of each participating teacher's narratives and my own.

In order to accomplish this most effectively, I divided the teachers' chapters into two sections: Teacher's Biography and Teacher in the KCCI Class. The second section is further subdivided into the following subsections; (a) Class Description: Negotiation of Classroom Culture; (b) Teacher's Negotiation with the Textbook: Curriculum-as-Plan; (c) Lesson in Action; (d) Implicit Messages in the "Lived Curriculum" for EFL and Culture Teaching; and (e) Explicit Messages Conveyed in the Teaching of Culture. At the end of each chapter, a summary of the main points
The issues of representation (whose voice), authority, and researcher's self (personal biography of the gendered researcher who speaks from--and for--a particular class, racial, cultural, and ethnic community perspective) are acknowledged as crucial in the current field of qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Denzin, 1994). Although I agree that there exists the danger of a description being a subjective interpretation (a fiction) created solely by me as the single author (Denzin, 1994), I chose to take a rather traditional approach by writing a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973). In the final chapter (Chapter 9), reflecting my postmodernism perspectives, I will talk about the affective, emotional components of this study and the reflexivity found between me as the researcher and the four participating teachers and relate such reflexivity to suggestions for further research.

3.3 Context

Out of ethical considerations (Punch, 1994; Stake, 1994), in this study, pseudonyms are used for the school, the city, and all participants' (both teachers' and students') names.

3.3.1 Site

This research was conducted at a language school called Kansai Cross-Cultural Institute (KCCI) Language Center in Minato City in Japan. Minato City is a large port city located in the west of Japan. Its ethnic diversity is well-known throughout the country and the city is often called an international city.
Because it is a port city, foreign ships are stationed regularly and their passengers and crew (mainly Russians and Germans) are scattered around town for sightseeing and shopping. Furthermore, many foreign diplomats and executives of international corporations live in the city and constitute relatively large communities (Chinese, Koreans, Americans, and Indians, to name a few). There are three international schools located in the city and for many of the students at such schools English is their first language. The city is also one of the largest in the country and many internationally renowned companies are located in the downtown area. Minato City is very proud of its cosmopolitan facet and is actively involved in cross-cultural activities, such as sister-city contacts world-wide. The city’s wealth is based on many foreign-related industries (e.g., import-export businesses) which have contributed to the vigorous city development: many parts of the city look very "Western" because of their advanced architecture and technology. English, as well as other foreign languages, are often heard on Minato City’s streets. These exotic characteristics seem to distinguish Minato from any other city in Japan.

KCCI Language Center was founded in 1886 in association with a world-famous Christian organization which originated in the United Kingdom. Thus, KCCI is one of the oldest language schools in the country. Now, branches are scattered all over Japan and KCCI in Minato City functions as the prefecture’s headquarters. In Japan, religious activities have not been a primary function
of the organization and English teachers and the students are mostly non-Christians. However, management has normally been assumed by Japanese Christians and a small chapel is located inside the school building.

KCCI offers a variety of English courses: communicative English, cross-cultural communication, business English, and study-abroad preparatory courses are a few examples. In addition to English courses, they offer several other language courses including Japanese, French, Spanish, Thai, Korean, and Chinese. KCCI in Japan also organizes many cross-cultural activities. The school's policy is to promote international understanding through the learning of foreign languages and cultures and to emphasize its humanistic approach to the learning. Therefore, its program includes events which stimulate students' curiosity about foreign countries such as study abroad programs and foreign speaker seminars.

Adult English courses are normally held in the mornings (10:30-12:20) and evenings (6:30-8:20). At KCCI, 70 percent of the adult students are female. Morning students are predominantly female; they are either wealthy housewives or single women in their late twenties or early thirties. On the other hand, evening students tend to be more diverse in terms of gender, age, occupation, and sometimes ethnicity (there have been a few Asian students whose first language is not Japanese). Since the KCCI Language Center is located within a 15-minute walk from the main business district in downtown Minato City, many evening students
work full-time in the city. The evening classes are also popular among college students. According to the coordinator (Miki), evening students tend to be more serious about learning English because of their immediate needs for the language at work (business trips/possibility of being transferred overseas/job requirement of speaking English due to the city's ethnic diversity) or for study abroad.

KCCI's active involvement with humanitarian volunteer activities and the exotic image induced by Christianity attract students who believe in goodwill and humanitarian approaches. One teacher (Kimiko) often heard that students assumed all KCCI teachers were Christians. As one of the students (Kaori) mentioned in the follow-up questionnaire, KCCI might be seen as a safe (protective and more accepting) environment for all kinds of people. This student had the image of KCCI warmly welcoming everybody, even those with interpersonal problems in their real everyday life. The executive director emphasizes the humanitarian (people-oriented) attitude of the school at the orientation every semester. In fact, some aspects of KCCI English courses reflect such an attitude. For example, in the second month of the semester, teachers have a ten-minute conference, "counselling interview", with each student in their classes, before or after class. The purpose of the conferences is to develop a good rapport with students and to check if students are satisfied with the classes. Another example of KCCI's humanitarian approach is reflected in the ritual in which each class is expected to plan
to go out for lunch/dinner with both their foreign and Japanese teachers before a long break and at the end of each semester; this activity is conducted to foster class bonds among students and teachers.

Further, some teachers informally revealed that the communicative English classes in Japan, like those at KCCI, tend to serve as meeting places for lonely people, and learning English, itself, might be a secondary purpose for those students-learning English is a "hobby" for many Japanese people. Taking such factors into consideration, throughout the semester, KCCI Language Center organizes several social gatherings: an opening party, a bazaar, a Christmas party, and a closing party. (See Figure 3 below.)

EFL teachers at KCCI all have at least two years of EFL/ESL teaching experience and some have ESL certificates. Others were taking certificate courses at the time of this study. The school regularly invites major publishers and authors of EFL/ESL textbooks to sponsor free workshops for EFL teachers in the area. For communicative English courses, a Japanese teacher and a NS teacher are paired up to be in charge of one class. They teach on alternate days but not simultaneously. Although normally the two coordinators (one NS and one Japanese) select commercial textbooks for all the communicative English courses, teachers are not required to use their assigned textbooks all the time. However, the assigned commercial textbooks are almost always used as syllabi for the courses. The reality is that the teachers are
too busy to make their own original syllabi. The majority of the teachers at KCCI work on a part-time basis dividing their time among other jobs. The full-time teachers have diverse obligations on top of actual teaching (e.g., organizing supplementary teaching materials for the other teachers and creating materials or attending staff meetings).

My association with the KCCI Language Center started in the fall of 1991 when I first got a job as a part-time English instructor. After teaching two semesters, I left to go to Canada for my graduate studies. Meanwhile, I kept in touch with the coordinators and directors at the KCCI in correspondence. When I contacted them in early September, 1993, with regard to my research, they welcomed the idea of the project. After I sent a formal letter dated on September 10, 1993, requesting permission for my research, KCCI issued their official permission in the form of letter on October 1, 1993 (see Appendix B). While I was conducting this research project, I was also teaching various English courses (12-15 hours a week) on a part-time basis at KCCI.

To illustrate the major events at KCCI in the fall semester, 1993, I will end this section with a figure containing the school calendar, below:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week</th>
<th>Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Week 1</td>
<td>*Classes start *Opening Party *Opening Ceremony at Chapel (before 1st class) *Mini-orientation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/19-25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week 2, 3</td>
<td>*Classes *Class rep. and assistant chosen in the classes *Students can change the level of the class *10/31: KCCI Bazaar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10/26-11/8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week 4-6</td>
<td>*Classes *Counselling interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/9-29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week 7, 8</td>
<td>*Classes *Many classes organize &quot;night-out&quot; (after class: year-end party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11/30-12/13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12/14-1/9</td>
<td>*12/16: KCCI Christmas Party *Christmas/New Year break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week 9</td>
<td>*Classes resume: students slowly come back to the class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/10-16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week 10-14</td>
<td>*Classes *1/17: Potluck Party with Australian visitors (morning classes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1/17-2/20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week 15-16</td>
<td>*Classes *Teachers write evaluations for each student *Teacher's recommendation for the Best Student Award</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2/21-3/6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week 17</td>
<td>*Classes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/7-13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Week 18</td>
<td>*Final week of the semester *Closing party at KCCI (potluck/Ts handing evaluation/ announcement of the Best Student Award) *Many classes going out (dinner) to conclude the semester after the final class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/14-20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Boldface type refers to social events KCCI organized for students.

**Figure 3. KCCI fall semester calendar.**

### 3.3.2 Participants

By using the reputational-case selection strategy (McMillan & Schumacher, 1989), I selected two NS and two Japanese EFL
teachers at KCCI. **Reputational case** in this study means teachers who were recommended as being good teachers by the program coordinators. If culture plays an important role in foreign language classrooms (cf., Kramsch, 1993a; Robinson, 1985; Webber, 1987) and language teachers as well as students bring their culture to the classroom resulting in a lot of negotiation in the foreign language class (McGroarty & Galvan, 1985), good teachers might have special skills to deal with culture in the classroom that poor teachers lack. Good teachers also tend to have effective communication skills in the class as has been recognized in the field of mainstream education for many years (e.g., Calderhead & Robson, 1991; Kagan, 1992; Shulman, 1987). In the case of EFL classrooms, such communication is usually intercultural because teachers and students come from different cultural backgrounds: even when teachers come from the same culture as students (e.g., Japanese teachers), due to the difference in the backgrounds (e.g., educational, past cross-cultural experiences) and the use of a foreign language in the class, communication must involve unique feature similar to intercultural communication.

When I contacted the KCCI Language Center to ask for official permission to conduct this research, I also sent a "Recruitment Notice" (Appendix B) to the coordinators which briefly introduced purpose, procedures, and estimated time involved. I initially asked the coordinators to recommend four good teachers: one male and one female NS teacher and one male
and one female Japanese teacher. However, the availability of male Japanese teachers was low (there was only one male Japanese who was a new part-time teacher at the time of this study). Therefore, a female Japanese coordinator (Miki), a good and experienced teacher at KCCI, volunteered to participate. Consequently, one male American, one female American, and two female Japanese teachers were selected to participate. Regarding case selection, Stake (1994) mentioned that the potential for learning, balance and variety of cases can be superior to "representativeness" as criteria, since existing available cases, logistics, the potential reception, and resources all have to be considered in the selection process. Despite the gender imbalance, teachers were similar in terms of age (either in their late twenties or early thirties) and all had taught at KCCI for at least one and a half years full-time (Danny and Miki), part-time with the intention of becoming a full-time teacher (Carol), or part-time teaching as many classes as full-time teachers (Kimiko). As soon as I contacted the potential participating teachers individually to inform them of the general purpose and procedures of this research for the first time, they all agreed to participate and signed a Teacher Consent Form (Appendix B). I will describe each participating teacher in details in the following four chapters.

3.3.3 Textbooks

In the curriculum argument in Chapter 2, textbooks were classified as curriculum-as-plan. Since the focus of this study
is the EFL teachers' negotiation between curriculum-as-plan and lived curriculum and the teachers' stories in the following four chapters will evolve around the issues regarding as such, it is critical to examine the cultural messages and implications contained in the textbooks. Risager (1991) argued in his analysis of cultural references in European foreign language textbooks that the textbooks themselves have been taking an increasingly important cultural role since the 1950s:

[L]inguistic examples have been dramatised to a larger extent, interlocutors have become flesh and blood by the way of drawings and photos, and the everyday life, the social context, and the natural environment of the foreign countries concerned have been gradually introduced. ...

[F]oreign language teaching textbooks no longer just develop concurrently with the development of foreign language pedagogy in a narrow sense, but ... they increasingly participate in the general cultural transmission within the educational system and in the rest of society. (p. 181)

Therefore, textbooks, themselves, are rich repositories of explicit, implicit cultural as well as linguistic messages, which are in fact directly related to the issues studied in this research.

As is often the case with any communicative English courses at KCCI, the two textbooks used in the classes I observed were both commercial textbooks published by the major publishers in the United States and the United Kingdom. New Wave 3 (Maple & Ong, 1992) was used in the three teachers' classes (Danny, Miki, and Kimiko) and The New Cambridge English Course 2 (Swan & Walter, 1990) was used in Carol's class. Although the cross-cultural comparisons of English textbooks were beyond the scope of this study, there seemed to be obvious differences between the
English textbooks used at Japanese public schools and these commercial EFL textbooks imported from overseas. Therefore, I will first introduce the general characteristics of English textbooks and lesson structures at junior and senior high schools in Japan. Then, the two commercial textbooks used in this study will be described separately.

(a) English Textbooks and Lesson Structure at Japanese High School

Despite the persistent emphasis on the communicative English instruction at junior and senior high schools as well as at post-secondary levels after the final report on Educational Reform was submitted in 1987 in Japan, "no major public policy was implemented directly as a result of the reports" (Ellington, 1992, p. 210). As mentioned in Chapter 1, the educational reform council did recommend improvement of English education in public schools with a greater emphasis on communicative teaching methods. As a result, more foreign English teachers have been employed through the JET Program. However, even after the reform plan was adopted, English courses at public schools have still been driven by the high school/university entrance examination race. An example of English classes at a highly-ranked Japanese high school was introduced in Ellington’s (1992) study on Japanese life-cycle of education:

Teachers devote little time at ... any other academic high school in Japan, to imparting conversational skills to students. Although virtually all Handa [High School] students will pass an English examination to enter a top-ranked university, presently only one prestigious public university has an English conversation test. (p. 84)
Thus, the grammar-translation method in the textbooks approved by Ministry of Education (emphasizing grammatical points) seems to shape many English classes at Japanese public schools.

Meanwhile, textbooks have changed to a certain degree in use of colors and pictures and introduction of lifestyle in English-speaking countries. However, such changes are relatively insignificant and under criticism; e.g., one of the junior high school English textbooks (Sunshine English Course 1-2-3) the Ministry of Education approved was severely criticized in the newspaper because the dialogues in the textbook are, "unnatural in the extreme," and didn't teach Widdowson's "communicative values" (Jones, 1992, cited in Garant, 1993). Typically, each unit in such a textbook is organized according to one key grammatical point and the sentences are all very simple; grammatical items are introduced in a rigid order which suggests the "grammar-translation" method (Garant, 1993). The need for supplementary materials using a more communicative approach appeared obvious (Daily Yomiuri, 1994, October 17).

Thus, the English lessons at junior and senior high schools still seem to be centered around specific grammar points in the textbooks and reading and comprehension through translation are the main activities; there are no interactive activities involving the use of English.

(b) New Wave 3

New Wave 3 (Maple & Ong, 1992) was the textbook assigned to
the classes taught by Danny, Kimiko, and Miki. According to the authors, it embraces both Communicative and Natural Approaches for learners' development of American English in EFL situations. However, it emphasizes oral fluency and accuracy based on the belief that learners in EFL settings need formal instruction in grammar because of limited access to English in their daily life. It is designed specifically for older teenagers and young adult learners in EFL environments at an upper-elementary or lower-intermediate level.

There are eight units in the book and each unit follows the same pattern of activities. Each unit starts with warm-up exercises in which students are introduced to and have a brief and controlled discussion on the theme of the unit. It is followed by an easy, short listening exercise designed to build students' confidence. In this exercise, students listen to the first part of a dialogue. After that, the rest of the dialogue with the written script in the textbook is introduced. There are comprehension questions students have to answer. Then there are a few grammar exercises introducing target structures inductively, step by step. There are also some activities for freer practice such as role play, interviewing in pairs, information-gap, and "find someone who" activities.

In the middle of the unit is a reading exercise. Many of the topics of the readings are health-oriented: (a) World Health and Fitness Summer Institute course registration, (b) lifestyles and health, (c) Guinness Book of Records, (d) working moms, (e)
fitness activities, (f) smokers and smoking, (g) medical frontiers, and (h) superstitions. The author (Ong, 1992) states that such readings "also provide information on U.S. culture and often allow for cross-cultural comparisons" (p. xi). In the teacher's manual, to prepare for a reading exercise, there is a section called "Culture Capsules" for pre-reading cross-cultural discussions on each topic. It is said that "these notes are intended to give the EFL teacher some insight into the cultural importance the topics of the reading texts have in the U.S." (Ong, 1992, p. 13). The author suggests this exercise might be suitable homework. While Kimiko always had students read quickly in the class and did modified activities, Danny picked the topic from the articles only twice ("smoking" and "fortune telling") and then either gave a lecture on the topic or had the students play a relevant interactive game. Miki always assigned this activity as homework hoping that her foreign partner teacher would cover it in the following lesson.

After the reading exercise, there are two comic strips (Garfield, Peanuts, Blondie, or Hi & Lois) which are used for "self-discovery grammar presentation." Each unit always ends with a task-based, more naturalistic listening exercise (such as "fill in the blanks" or "make a list of interview questions and see how many of your questions appear in the real interview tape"); it is a simulated radio program.

A dialogue at the beginning of each unit takes place among young adults taking summer health and fitness courses at
university in Canada. There are seven characters: a Caucasian American single mother (owner and manager of "Women at Large") and her teenage daughter, a male Japanese medical doctor, a male Caucasian American university student, a male Caucasian Canadian lawyer, a female Caucasian English physical therapist, and a female Brazilian university student. The textbook thus presents a multicultural world in which health concerns function as a foundation.

(c) The New Cambridge English Course 2

The textbook assigned to Carol's class was The New Cambridge English Course 2 (Swan & Walter, 1990). This textbook is designed for elementary and lower intermediate learners of English for general practical and cultural purposes, especially for those with a European educational background. The authors mention that with some adaptation, teachers can use this book for learners with different types of educational backgrounds.

Based on the authors' belief that not everyone learns the same way, this textbook puts an emphasis on a variety of activities balanced with some regularity; "fiction as well as fact," "role play as well as real communication activities," "personal as well as impersonal discussion topics," and "learner-centered as well as teacher-centered activities" are included.

The tone of the textbook, according to the authors, "should not be childish or patronizing" (Swan & Walter, 1990, p. VIII). Therefore, the topics include controversial and emotionally engaging materials rather than just safe topics. Examples of the
topics covered in this book are as follows: economic and political development (prices of food/changes in a country); personal traits, physical appearance (babies of couples from different racial groups); people's past lives; future plans (U.S.A. holidays); ability (job interviews); feelings and emotions, personal and professional relationships (friends, colleagues, and boss).

The authors state, "[p]eople learn languages best when their experiences, knowledge of the world, interests and feelings are involved and a course must allow students to be themselves ..." (p. VIII). Another characteristic of this textbook is that the use of the students' mother tongue, especially through the use of bilingual dictionaries, is encouraged instead of restricted.

There are six blocks of nine lessons. The first six lessons of each block are topic- or function-based: the last three lessons are review and test. Each lesson starts with grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, and is wrapped up with communicative exchanges, dramatisations, or writing exercises. It is supposed to take one and a half hours on average to finish each lesson. Furthermore, as the authors admit, they deliberately include some materials which are "too difficult," believing that "learners also need to encounter a certain amount of 'untidy' natural language ... Without some unstructured input, people's unconscious mechanisms for acquiring languages may not operate effectively" (p. IX). This often seems to be the case with listening exercises in the book.
CHAPTER 4

DANNY

I guess I kind of almost learned [to teach] to be like David Letterman does his talk show stuff ... Like he teases his guests a lot. ... So I'm Letterman, the student I'm teasing is the guest, the audience is the rest of the class. It's one of those things, everyone gets into it. (Interview: 11/10/93)

4.1 Teacher's Biography: Danny's Story

Danny is a 28-year-old American male who teaches full-time at KCCI. At the beginning of this project, he had been teaching at KCCI for two and a half years. During the course of this study, Danny was teaching different levels including children's classes, a video seminar, and a debate seminar for a total of 19 hours a week at KCCI. Because of his busy schedule, he often had to prepare for classes at home.

Danny is blond and of medium height and medium build. He was usually dressed in dark slacks, a cotton shirt, often with a dressy sweater, and black dress shoes.

Danny has a powerful voice and speaks very fast (especially when he becomes excited, talking about his life-time hobby, comics and TV shows). He likes to make jokes and imitate David Letterman's personality. This is an unfamiliar mode of interaction and instruction for Japanese people who have never seen the David Letterman show and in whose culture, direct sarcasm seems non-existent. Danny believes that people should be more frank about problems at work; making complaints and solving problems should be dealt with directly and immediately rather
than "beating around the bush." Because of this, he may inadvertently give the impression of being an abrasive person to people at work. Co-workers consider him a challenging person to deal with and many try to avoid a confrontation with him.

However, among students Danny is reputed to be the most popular and effective teacher. This makes a lot of teachers at KCCI wonder what his secret is. For example, Miki, one of Danny's colleagues, once wrote in her journal:

A male American teacher [Danny] is very popular among Japanese students regardless of their age. He sometimes has conflicts with Japanese colleagues but those adult Japanese people have been making an effort to accept him. On the other hand, he is not popular at all among foreign teachers: some even plainly dislike him. They often have direct confrontations and exchange very unpleasant conversations. I wonder why there is such a big difference in people's attitude toward him. Is that because of the hierarchical relationship between teachers and students? (Journal: 1/25/94)

4.1.1 Past

Danny was born and brought up in a large multicultural city I will call Pacific City in the American Pacific Northwest. He went to a well-known university in the area and graduated with three separate undergraduate degrees: political science, speech communication, and Asian American studies.

Since Danny spent all his childhood and adult life there, Pacific City seems to hold a special meaning for him. It is the whole world he knew before Japan. He emphasized the city of his origin at every opportunity. He once made a whole lesson plan based on the topic of his being from that city, stressing in his journal the cultural content of such a topic:
No textbook today. Just photographs from [Pacific City]. Most pictures were from last year, so some of them had already seen those. Also, showed other items from America---magazines, newspapers (movie listings, comics, personal ads, etc.) and a few personal memories. The point is that anyone can ask any questions about the things--who, what, where, etc.--and sometimes other students know the answer. In the lesson, there is probably more emphasis on "cultural information" than in other classes. (Journal: 2/17/94)

In the initial questionnaire he indicated that as soon as he graduated from university in June, 1990, he came to Japan and travelled for three months. At that time, he only knew a few Japanese words. He wanted to visit Japan because he majored in Asian American studies and had been interested in Japanese animation for many years. After returning to America very briefly, he subsequently came back to Japan through an exchange program at an American community college with a branch campus in Minato City. There, he studied basic Japanese and tutored English to Japanese students part-time as a teaching assistant for six months; however, he wrote in the initial questionnaire that it was "not really teaching." Meanwhile, he was a part-time English teacher at KCCI, too. He never had formal teacher training. For the first six months, after he became a full-time teacher, he took Japanese lessons at KCCI.

4.1.2 Present

Danny considers himself to be environmentally-conscious, a feminist, a vegetarian, a non-smoker, and a "foreigner" in the Japanese context. His beliefs in relation to those issues are very firm and he sometimes takes rather strong actions to broach these issues directly:
The point is I'm really angry about it. ... If you do something bad to me, you're in deep trouble ... It's clear-cut, black and white. ... Sometimes I see people littering on the street. ... Before ... I'd gone up to them and yelled at them ... There was a guy in a car who was throwing an empty cigarette pack out of the window. They stopped at the light. I picked it up and tossed it back in. He was like "Ooo ..." All surprised. (Interview: 12/15/93)

Danny, himself, seemed to realize that these attitudes might cause conflicts at work. But Danny had no intention of changing to be more easily accepted. A few direct confrontations between him and his colleagues were thus inevitable. In Japan, it is well known that seniority plays a major role in an organizational hierarchy and this determines who gets to say how much in meetings, for example. Consequently, subordinates, especially, female ones, are not expected to express their opinions too directly. Because of his egalitarian and purportedly feminist ideologies, as well as his desire for open channels of communication and pragmatism, Danny becomes frustrated and even infuriated about such matters. During the course of this project, he revealed to me a few incidents in which he literally exploded and had serious confrontations with some of the Japanese staff members. One of the examples is as follows:

Like the other day, there was a mess in the room and I go down and show the office staff and S-san comes and goes, "Suimasen. Gomennasai (I'm sorry)." And he'll clean it up. ... To me it's so stupid and irresponsible. And it's such a little thing. It shouldn't be a problem. ... The same problem goes on and on. Can't people get a clue? ... Initiative is the key word here. (Interview, 3/2/94)

The fundamental problem in this matter seemed to be that Danny never admitted that some kind of misunderstanding might have been caused by cultural differences--although this was at
least part of the source—and if it was a cultural difference, he wanted it to change to a way which he believed was a more valid and reasonable course of action. Thus, Danny was generally very critical of traditional customs and conventions in the life of Japanese people and believed that they should be changed to accommodate him:

I got what I believe is a small thank you present from one of the office staff woman (now working at another branch school) for a wedding present I gave her. The thing that bothers me is that she and I were good friends in the office, yet I received no invitation to the wedding. Carol suggested it could be cultural because of wedding costs, many guests being business friends of her father, etc. (Journal: 11/25/93)

That’s [Japanese weddings often being so formal and parents’ party rather than brides and grooms’] the thing that makes me angry because it’s kind of like C’mon. Whose wedding is it? What’s it for? Is it for showing off in front of business associates? Because that’s wrong because that’s not what it’s supposed to be about. (Interview: 12/15/93)

Danny has a very keen interest in comics, which actually ended up bringing him to Japan. Despite his general criticism of Japanese people’s lack of creativity, Danny thinks highly of the animation industry in Japan. In the interview, he said:

[Japanese people or culture lacks] "Frontier Creativity." ... But ... things like a comic book industry in Japan, you’ve got just these tremendous artists who’ve done these incredible comic books and draw these kinds of pictures. (Interview: 10/27/93)

Such an interest obviously has also influenced his teaching. He liked using comic strips to help the class practice intonation and learn examples of American culture and jokes. He also showed videos of The Simpsons and talked a lot about American cartoons in the class, quoting the lines, as examples or just for fun.
Thus his interests in comics played a critical role in both his professional and personal life in Japan.

In addition to his interests in comics, Danny's life in Japan was highlighted by his limited ability in Japanese. Although he sometimes tried to speak to Japanese staff members, mainly females, in Japanese, he tended to use formulaic expressions and Japanese staff members spoke to him extremely slowly, using only simple and common words. His effort to make some signs in Japanese for KCCI (e.g., "No Smoking") was impressive. As he recognized himself, over all, his Japanese was relatively limited. Such a language barrier, however, at the same time afforded certain privileges, which he described as his favorite aspect of living in Japan. For one thing, he had the privacy in Japan which he could never find in America.

Similarly, both intentionally (his value in privacy) and inevitably (due to the language barrier), his life outside KCCI was limited and the only contact with Japanese people came in stores or at restaurants. In the initial questionnaire, Danny mentioned that all his Japanese friends were from work, either co-workers or students, and he did not find it necessary to go out and meet other people because of time constraints and his satisfaction with his present friendships at work. This seems to suggest that Danny is a very independent person. In fact, Danny, himself, told me that he likes to be withdrawn in his own world, isolated from the one outside to which KCCI was his primary channel of access:
The language barrier, there's certain things I don't hear, certain signs I don't read, so it kind of helps to keep my thoughts to myself, which I like. And I do have an outlet when I do want to express those thoughts. Perhaps, it becomes more distinct into two separate parts when I'm in Japan. There's a part where I'm very very quiet and there's a part where I'm very very noisy letting out my desire to communicate probably here in the office [KCCI], ... quoting lines from Simpsons and other things like that, various movies. Then, I don't really have another place to do that, too. So I feel I got a balance. ... So [because of the language barrier] I can keep myself withdrawn ... as I like to ... (Interview, 10/27/93)

As mentioned above (e.g., frustration with his colleagues), according to Danny, "cultural differences" did not qualify as excusable if some behaviors by Japanese people did not agree with his particular political interests and beliefs in "good and responsible behavior" as well as "quick and direct problem-solving." Thus, on the one hand, he rejected the existence of culture. However, paradoxically, he labelled Japanese people according to stereotypes. Some incidents in Japan contributed to his perceptions and feelings towards "Japan" and "Japanese people." His relationship with his ex-girlfriend (Japanese) seemed to have negatively influenced his view of Japanese society; according to Danny, the relationship was forced to an end by family pressure. Because of the unbearable family pressure on daughters in Japan, Danny came to the conclusion that Japanese women were generally unhappy and average (everyone has the same type of life). As a result, creativity and individuality are compromised in the interest of stability. An essential and highly valued ethos in Danny's view was possession of "Frontier Creativity" and a spirit of adventure, perhaps one which he was
especially conscious and appreciative of from his upbringing in the American Pacific Northwest. This point surfaced in numerous places in interactions with him by me and others.

In cases I've spoken to women who I quote as the "Housewives" or now "Domestic engineers", ... a lot of them in my classes have expressed that they aren't too happy with their situations. ... That's the idea of stability and security. There's a lot more that gets ignored. ... Instead of "Oh, my god, my daughter's dating a foreigner. It's the end of the world," it should be more like "Wow, my daughter's dating a foreigner. She's not gonna be an average woman ... like marrying a salary man, stay home, raise kids, and have a boring life." You know, she has a potential for an interesting life. (Interview: 10/27/93)

Here, then, the implicit belief is that he, being a foreigner in Japan, is special, a relatively limited commodity, who offers a life of adventure and nonconformity to Japanese women, attributes which are deeply valued by him--but may be at odds with conformist tendencies in Japanese society.

Danny is not interested in reading books about Japan because for him, what people experience in Japan is all personal and cannot be lived vicariously to the same degree of satisfaction, nor can others' lived experiences be generalized to others. Rather, this suggests that cultural knowledge is something that is best gleaned and encountered firsthand through social interaction.

[I've only read books on Japan,] bits and pieces. One was something like a "Getting jobs in Japan," ... It was outdated and boring. Another one was a kind of an interesting book, ... something like "Picking up girls in Japan" ... It's kind of like straightforward, thinking about experiences in dating women in Japan and the stories the guy had heard. ... That's the kind of thing I think about all these books about Japan. It's all based on different experiences. Once again, I'm not gonna say to people, "Oh, this and this and that about Japan." At the same time,
somebody else's gonna say something completely different.
(Interview: 10/27/93)

4.2 Teacher in the KCCI Class

4.2.1. Class Description: Negotiation of Classroom Culture

Danny taught the intermediate level called "D" in the fall semester from October, 1993 to March, 1994. This was the class he had taught in the spring semester and continued to be in charge of in fall. The class met on Monday and Thursday mornings from 10:30 to 12:20. Danny taught on Thursdays while Kimiko, another teacher who participated in this study, taught the same group on Mondays.

The class was held in a large room on the main floor in the back. Often Danny's jokes made his students laugh hysterically and their laughter reached the office, so this specific class was talked about by staff members and known to be the most energetic.

The room was always sunny and well heated. There were two white boards in the front of the room. In front of the white boards, two medium-size school-style wooden and steel desks and chairs were placed for teachers. The students were seated in Western-style cushioned seats with little tables attached, which were all put in the back of the room about two meters away from the teachers' desks. In his class, the students' chairs were arranged in one line. During lessons, Danny was standing and walking from one side of the room to the other in the front or sitting on the teacher's desk. It made the class look as if the front of the room where Danny was always positioned were a stage and the students, as audience, were sitting in a row watching
Danny's show. Furthermore, throughout the lesson, chairs were never moved and the students rarely moved around to work on pair work or group activities. They normally sat in the same seat for two hours although changed seats from lesson to lesson.

This class originally consisted of eight female students, six of whom continued from the previous semester. There were two new students, one housewife (Makiko) and one rather quiet young woman (Yuri) in her early twenties. Six students in this class were housewives. They all lived in the wealthy suburbs of Minato City and dressed fashionably to come to class. Students' ages ranged from around twenty to over sixty, the average age being about forty. After the Christmas break, two more students joined: one housewife (Tomoko) who was in this class in the previous semester and another (Isako) who was in her early twenties, was very shy, and would go to Britain to study in six months. One of the students, Yuri, who joined the class in October, dropped out without notice. All of the students in this class had travelled to foreign countries, North America, Europe, and some Asian countries, more than once.

Danny mentioned in the interview that one of the characteristics of classes full of housewives was that they tend to enjoy having one or two young students in their class and some of them even "adopt" such young people and take very good care of them until they get used to the class. For example, when Yoko joined this class the previous semester, Hanako, Yayoi, and Yoshimi "adopted" her for a while. The current semester, after
Isako joined the class after Christmas break, they started inviting her to lunch and Isako wrote in the follow-up questionnaire:

Because this class was held in the morning, most of the students were housewives but they all had interesting ideas and opinions and I was very impressed to see such dynamic people. Additionally, it was very good that they gave me various advice from different perspectives.

Additionally, another special thing about this class was that the oldest student (Hanako) happened to be the most dynamic person and acted as an "informal" class leader and intermediary between the students and teachers. Sometimes, with her help, problems were solved before developing into major ones. Yayoi told me once that thanks to Hanako, the class could establish tight bonds so that they all could feel more comfortable speaking with each other in both English and Japanese. Hanako was very talkative and made many jokes which brought exuberant laughter to the class and relaxed her classmates.

Thus, over time, the class fostered a feeling of one very close-knit community, a culture in which they helped each other not only with English but also with personal problems in and out of class. In the students’ follow-up questionnaires, almost all the students referred to the class bond as the good aspect of their class:

I think the best thing about this class is that the whole class has become so lively and active. ... We learned that by having such strong bond with classmates we could cooperate in our English learning ... Thanks to the classmates with such positive mind, I have become cheerful and can now think more clearly and speak actively. (Yoko)

They always had lunch together after class and attended KCCI
events together. Such a support system seemed to have a very strong and positive influence on the students’ life even outside the classroom and was often cited as a benefit for students taking the course. Hanako wrote in her questionnaire what this class meant to her "life":

Over lunch after every class, we could discuss even further why we think this way or that way and our past experiences and current problems in our life and could understand one another better. ... the English class has a very special meaning in my life. In the Japanese society, my background, that is, my husband’s job, my son’s jobs, and my house, defines my status and people trust me because of such a background. Because KCCI has nothing to do with such background, it provides me with self-confidence.

Danny also enjoyed the closeness in this class which helped him to be himself in terms of his English and his attitude more than in any other class. For example, Danny once mentioned:

In this class, a lot of times, [my English is] similar to what I might use outside. ... In terms of the attitude that I put into the English, I probably put more of my own personal attitude in that class than I would in the beginning class ... I’m a little bit more free about how much I put in with this class because I know them, they know me, they know what to expect. If I’m making a lot of jokes about something, that’s no surprise to them. (Interview: 12/15/93)

However, such strong class bonds under Hanako’s leadership also posed negative side-effects (see also Chapter 7). Despite the positive effects of social cohesion mentioned by all four teachers and the majority of the students in this study, it produced feelings of exclusion toward newcomers. Class bonding often seems to be good only for the students and teachers involved in the process of establishing these bonds. In the follow-up questionnaire, Isako mentioned:
Because I joined this class in the middle of the semester, I was intimidated by the fact that the students in this class seemed too aggressive and spoke out so much although now I’m used to that and feel comfortable.

Perhaps because of this exclusion, the shy young girl who started taking the class in October, Yuri, dropped out.

Danny mentioned that although he appreciated Hanako’s leadership in the class, she sometimes brought up subjects he considered inappropriate. For example, Danny wrote about one incident in his journal. Since the previous semester, Juri had had to bring her three-year-old son to the class for the last forty minutes of the class because he was going to the preschool at KCCI and his class ended in the middle of Danny’s class. The class unanimously agreed, in prior discussion, that it was perfectly all right with them. However, Danny became concerned about Juri’s loss of concentration and slower progress after her son came in the class. He finally told Juri in a private conference that maybe it was not really a good idea to bring her son and she should find alternative childcare. Danny did not want to mention the real reason (which was Juri’s language learning being behind the others, worsened by the presence of her son in class) to Juri because he was afraid that it might hurt her feelings. Danny thought that revealing it in front of the class would be extremely embarrassing for Juri. However, Juri consulted with Hanako during break and Hanako asked everyone quickly and said to Danny after break in front of everyone that Juri’s son coming to the class was all right with them. In the interview, Danny said:
Really it wasn't an appropriate question in the class ... So I quickly changed the subject. I have nothing against Hanako. She should speak, she's got an opinion. But ... actually, tomorrow I might take Hanako aside at the beginning of the class and just mention to make sure that it doesn't come up again in the class. (Interview: 11/24/93)

Another characteristic of this class is that the students in this class were infatuated with Danny; they admired him and tried to find out about his personal life as much as possible. The middle-aged ladies even tried to find a nice girlfriend for him. Danny said in the interview:

There are times that they've kind of teased about Yoko and I getting together and stuff. She's nice and all that but at the same time, she's a student, I shouldn't do anything. Also religion is very important to her and it's not so important to me so it wouldn't be a good match. (Interview 11/10/93)

On the whole, the class bond and the typical characteristics of energetic housewife students helped the class to stay lively and responsive to Danny and to speak out without hesitation. The students tried very hard to get Danny back as soon as he teased them. Their English level was higher than the average Level D classes. After the semester was over, Danny thought that the class went very well because everyone came to "feel as a part of the class" and had a "fun time" while actively participating in the class and learning what interested them.

In effect then, this class helped define, negotiate, and fulfil participants' social, psychological, and cultural identities and also provided opportunities for learning.

4.2.2 Teacher's Negotiation With the Textbook: Curriculum-as-Plan

With regard to the textbook, Danny said (in the interview)
that it was his second time to use New Wave 3 (see Chapter 3) and he liked it. However, he went on to add that he only picked out the "fun exercises" and cut out the "boring grammar exercises."

I like New Wave 3 ... especially for the dialogue things because it just seems natural conversation's gonna be intonations and things like that. It seems like much more realistic conversations. ... The cross word puzzle sections are good. ... And New Wave 3 has got grammar points here and there ... Then I pick out the stuff I like and all the boring grammar stuff, I leave to Kimiko. (Interview: 3/2/94)

Thus, Danny appreciated the balance between what he did and his Japanese partner teacher, Kimiko, did with the textbook because he did not want to teach grammar but Kimiko seemed to take care of it.

Danny generally considered the textbook activities as "boring and not creative, therefore, no good." This view was revealed in his initial questionnaire. Danny needed time to prepare "creative, interesting, and fun games and activities" because he did not use the textbooks much:

[The current problems I have in my EFL teaching] is more time for preparation and teaching, finding and developing more activities [games, etc.] that relate to specific textbook themes and/or grammar. ... But sometimes I'm just trying to get more interesting materials into the class, ideally things that kind of relate to something that we're doing in the book. ... A lot of these are other things just for the fun of it. (Interview: 10/27/93)

His misgivings about the use of the textbook in general are exemplified by a two-hour class during which Danny mostly lectured on the anti-smoking movement without using the textbook at all. He justified this as follows:

I think that's what makes it more interesting, getting into the stuff they don't know. O.K. In the textbook, everyone knows how to use "ing" on the verb. Great. O.K. Let's do
something we don’t know. Education is fun when you learn ... People don’t think education is fun. Think about it. It can be ... depends on what you’re learning. If it’s something interesting and it’s fun, that’s what makes it exciting ... So you know, you’re already getting out of the textbook, you’re getting into the magazines, then you’re going into, with me, into the circus of magazines. It’s like what’s really going on. (Interview: 2/16/94)

Thus, his goal was to explore the topic in greater depth, to do more than use this important issue (in his mind) for structured drills.

One of the reasons why Danny felt that the use of the textbooks should be kept minimum and he had to do more "fun" and "interesting" things away from the books was reflected in his view of KCCI English classes as a place where students learn "real" English and textbooks as mostly being unreal; the conversation had to be "real" in Danny’s class. This will be further discussed in Section 4.2.4 below.

4.2.3 Lesson in Action

Danny usually went into the classroom a little after 10:30 a.m., greeting his students with, "Good morning" very quickly and rather indifferently. Students always responded very cheerfully and enthusiastically, "Good morning, Danny!"; especially the class leader, Hanako, and Yoshimi almost always arrived early and looked very excited. They could not wait for the class, "Danny’s talk show," to start.

Since most of the students in this class had been studying together for over six months in Danny’s class and knew his mischievous personality well, they often planned a small trick to play on Danny at the beginning of the class or after break. This
violated certain cultural assumptions about the role of teachers and students in Japanese institutions and revealed facets of the distinctive classroom culture which had been engendered in Danny’s class. Towards the end of the semester, the students’ mischievous behavior escalated to the point where students hid Danny’s teaching materials (see Appendix C.1). Regarding this, Danny explained:

I started [locking a student out during the break] about two years ago. It’s all my fault ... The students in this class are really responding in terms of locking the door on me than a lot of other adult students. ... I think that they do that because it shows that they’re not afraid of teachers in terms of expressing themselves. The person who does that is not the pure authority. (Interview: 2/16/94)

This might not seem unusual in a class of elementary or junior high school students, but for upscale middle-aged Japanese housewives it was evidence of a classroom culture in which established social conventions and expectations--to which the students adhered meticulously outside of class--were somehow suspended for two hours every week. That they enjoyed and perpetuated it and their participation in Danny’s class further signifies the importance of these obfuscated boundaries and roles in their otherwise very predictable social lives.

Danny often started the class with the question-and-answer session which was completely spontaneous and open to anyone who had a question: it happened three times during my ten observations. Since he could not predict the students’ possible questions, this supposedly brief question-and-answer session sometimes ended up taking up a little more than the first half of
Danny's sample lesson plans are shown in Figure 4 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample Lesson 1 (12/9)</th>
<th>Sample Lesson 2 (1/27)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Time</strong></td>
<td><strong>Activities</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30-10:37</td>
<td>*Class started late:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:37-11:22</td>
<td>*Q &amp; A Session: Ss'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:22</td>
<td>mischief (asking Qs all at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>once)--&gt; Q1, how to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>congratulate on specific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>occasions; Q2, difference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>between &quot;come&quot; &amp; &quot;go&quot; ;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Q3, NY subway random</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shooting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:22-11:25</td>
<td>*S (Yoshimi) giving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:25-11:35</td>
<td>Christmas present to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:35-11:50</td>
<td>*Reviewing homework:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>use of &quot;be going to&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(two quiet Ss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>telling the class their</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plans for the week)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:50-12:40</td>
<td>*Watching a video of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;The Simpsons&quot;: Marge's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>with being a housewife</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Boldface type refers to textbook activities.

**Figure 4.** Danny's sample lessons.
In the question-and-answer session, students' questions varied from a mere vocabulary question to the usage of similar words, such as see, watch, and look. Danny explained his view of this small exercise, question-and-answer session, as a chance for the instruction to become "personalized":

[When I ask students, "Any questions?"] anything's O.K. like what did you do yesterday? ... It can be any questions about some aspects of English ... or can be this any other things from which the subjects can be used for discussion in the class ... it's a chance for them to become personalized. (Interview: 11/24/93)

Since Danny did not teach grammar in his class, the students in this class asked grammar-related questions in this question-and-answer session. Danny did not mind these questions as long as they were not too detailed; otherwise, the class could become slowed down to a great degree. He admitted that grammar was not his strong point and he definitely did not want his class to become grammar-oriented because he believed students could study it at home on their own. Instead of teaching grammar rules, he wanted his student to "pick it up" naturally by speaking English in his class:

They can get [grammar] on their own. So I'm just trying to explain it as best as I can. ... It's just that I never emphasize the grammar part too much. I'm trying to learn it like if you have this, you must have this in grammar, in terms of explaining by rules and names. I'd like to let them try more by doing it and picking it out that way. (Interview: 11/10/93)

Sometimes, instead of the question-answer session, Danny simply gave his spontaneous free-floating mini-lectures which often ended up with his dominating the talk for an hour or so. For example, on January 27th, quoting lines from various American
cartoons such as The Simpsons and Spider Man as well as referring to his personal episodes, he talked about some miscellaneous things (starting from laugh track in American comedies and ending with some Japanese character in an American cartoon). Danny said that such talk was completely spontaneous and believed that it would make connections with students' personal experiences and should encourage students to talk about themselves. (See Section 4.2.4 below.)

In both question-and-answer sessions and Danny's mini lectures, the students looked very excited as if they were watching a big entertainment show hosted and performed by Danny. Either way, opening activities lasted about 40-50 minutes, on average.

After such opening activities, he usually did two or three textbook exercises. As mentioned above (in Section 4.2.2), because of his personal view of the textbook as unnatural, uncreative, and boring, Danny often did only his favorite types of exercises such as dialogues and comic strips to have students practice reading with exaggerated intonation, especially, of colloquial expressions.

When he finished textbook activities, the class took a break for about ten minutes. During the break, normally all the students went out to the lobby and had coffee, chatting cheerfully in Japanese. Danny often joined them for a few minutes, showing his latest toys (e.g., Alien figurine) or video tapes (e.g., Aladdin) to the students.
In the second half of the class, he sometimes tried to do communicative games he invented based on topics in the textbook. For example, he modified the activity in the textbook for practicing the usage of prepositions that showed locations. The activity was supposed to be information-gap pair work with two pictures of the same person in the room with different things:

[I] did an exercise wherein students looked at a picture in the book for five seconds. They then close the books, one student goes to the white board as the artist, and proceeds to draw the picture in the book as described by the other class members. They had fun and had to work as a team. (Journal: 11/4/93)

Based on the topic of a reading exercise in the textbook, "smoking," as mentioned above, Danny talked about the anti-smoking movement in America for the whole lesson on February 10, using American cigarette ads in magazines, Japanese cigarette commercials, acting out some scenes from American T.V. shows, etc. That lesson was the introduction to the students' final project, about which Danny wrote:

Centered class on cigarette smoking. Read through a book article then discussed about our experiences smoking (trying it) or not smoking. I did a little more lecture at the end, but we all seemed to enjoy it, and it will set things up nicely for the last class. I gave a homework assignment which we won't cover until the last class [about smoking in no-smoking areas and making a smoking advertisement]. (Journal: 2/10/94)

Danny also tried to do activities which were unrelated to the content of the textbook but which he invented based on American popular culture. This was what was very unique to his class. Since his life-time interests include popular media (comics, movies, TV), Danny showed videos in the class. In the
past, he used *Twilight Zone*, *Star Trek*, *Star Wars*, *Beauty and the Beast*, and *The Simpsons* many times. During the course of this study, among those videos, Danny showed *The Simpsons* twice ("Halloween Special" and "Marge's Problem Being a Housewife" episodes) because he thought "housewives would enjoy seeing Marge in a housewife role." All of these media and lessons convey images and narratives from American popular culture with powerful implicit as well as explicit cultural message, values and meanings--many of them in potential contrast with their counterparts in Japanese popular media.

When American holidays such as Halloween, Christmas, and Valentine’s Day drew near, Danny tried to do activities related to those occasions. Danny seemed to want to put extra emphasis on such holiday-related activities because they are fun and not the "textbook activities."

Because he had some rigid images of American holidays based on his experiences in America, he sometimes also objected to the way in which these same cultural events had been appropriated by Japanese society.

Once again, it’s one of those expected, kind of stupid, ... ritual things ... Back in America, Halloween, that’s different. That’s fun. That’s for the kids, designed to have fun. Valentine’s is intended to be romantic ... [In Japan], giri (obligation) chocolate [that is given to male workers and bosses by female workers] doesn’t seem to serve any purpose. ... I can’t find any kind of meaning or social value at all. (Interview: 3/2/94)

Throughout each lesson, not only just the beginning of the lesson, whenever Danny needed to show some examples to students, he often acted out quite a few scenes from American cartoon and
TV show episodes in front of the students: *The Simpsons, Star Trek, Spider Man, Miami Vice, The Green Hornet, Star Wars, Superman, Indiana Jones*, etc. Such acting by Danny with his emphasis on constant jokes made the whole lesson look like a TV show offering great entertainment, which seemed to fulfil the primary goal of having fun (see Section 4.2.4 below).

Although Danny strongly believed that the class was supposed to be student-centered, he considered himself a David Letterman figure in the class (see beginning of chapter and Section 4.2.4) and often ended up doing the most of the talk in the class:

> Ideally, teachers and students [should both speak in the class]. But sometimes teachers are gonna have to do it. If you're explaining something or if you're answering questions no one knows, ... I was reading in an article written by Michael Rost who came to lecture here, ... it says, "Teachers should be doing most of the talking." I was like people are now figuring this out. ... [Sometimes] you have to do the speaking that you need to, use the necessary amount, that you think is necessary in order to prepare things [for the students in activities]. ... A lot of times, it's a necessary evil. (Interview: 12/15/93)

Therefore, he believed that it justified his talking in the class. On the other hand, one of his students found this to be a possible problem in native-speakers' lessons compared with Japanese teachers'. She wrote in the follow-up questionnaire, "A lot of times, Danny talked most of the time so we did not have enough time to speak although we could practice listening to NS English while he talked."

Thus, his dominance in classroom talk frequently conflicted with his desire for fuller class participation; when the students started taking initiative in the conversation too actively, he
was not completely happy. Towards the end of the semester, he showed discomfort with students' taking initiative in his class. On one occasion, he even became slightly angry when students took over the class completely. He wrote in his journal:

Class got side tracked again at the beginning. Isako wanted to and then all the rest took turns singing bits and pieces from "Karaoke" songs. They also wanted me to sing which I eventually did later. But I was in a different frame of mind. They were having a great time, but I still felt like I wanted to get on with the lesson. (Journal: 3/3/94)

4.2.4 Implicit Messages in the "Lived Curriculum" for EFL and Culture Teaching

Danny always worked hard to create his own lesson plan modifying the content of the textbook with activities he developed on his own. However, at the same time, his lesson plan always seemed to contain room for spontaneity. This seemed to be because of his personal belief in KCCI as a place where students learn "living language." According to Danny, language in the textbook is often not "real" and he despised the kind of English found in such books:

It's supposed to be English conversation. Well, you don't do conversation with a textbook. You don't talk with a textbook. ... The idea of communication is the, you know, "living language." So you use it in a living situation! You need to make it real to students, make it fun, and make it like real life. ... [A] lot of times textbooks offer ... dialogues that are exactly the same, they're like a set group of things ... So you've got to break away from that because real life is not a textbook of set out rules of how people are going to speak and what people are going to say. (Interview: 10/27/93)

Therefore, in Danny's lesson plan, four main concepts were implicitly reflected: (1) "natural" English, (2) "fun", (3) "creativity", and (4) "spontaneity." All of these concepts are
interrelated.

(1) Natural English

Danny did intonation activities most often among the four teachers I observed in this study. Instead of using the tape and having students answer comprehension questions, Danny always used the dialogue for the students to take turns reading aloud and practicing English intonation. In many interviews, Danny referred to his view on intonation exercise in relation to his emphasis on natural English. For example, Danny said:

[I chose some expressions for intonation practice] because personally, I would use them and I would expect to be hearing it with that intonation. And maybe gives it more of a feeling, ... It gets back to the idea of the "living language." So, [if it’s said in a monotone voice,] it just doesn’t sound natural. Once again, to get them to make it sound natural, I think, includes over all the way they speak, the way they participate, the way they develop their own language. (Interview: 11/10/93)

Danny’s frequent use of realia such as magazines, videos, and other items also reflected his effort to make the class more "real" and "natural":

It’s like what’s really going on. ... In Japan, the cigarette ads you never see it in America ... I’ve been exposed to so much information at college and high school on how advertising works to manipulate. So I figure it’ll be interesting to share. (Interview: 2/16/94)

(2) Fun

Danny strongly believed that teachers should make education fun and if it is "fun," students will be engaged and will learn. He valued "fun" elements highly in his planning for the lesson. Danny said that in a good class, everyone has to have fun above all:
To me, [in a good class], they kind of get to really do something they wouldn't get to do otherwise ... They got to have fun. They enjoy it. They are laughing and playing jokes on each other. They're saying bad things about teachers and enjoying it. Everyone knows it's a joke. "Hey, it's great!" It's funny for me, too. (Interview: 12/1/93)

To make the class fun, in addition to "fun" activities (i.e., games he invented using props), his lesson had to be full of jokes and teasing by Danny of his students:

[T]hey are on the same rhythm, it works great. Usually, I'm trying to be pretty much sensitive to when everyone is not in the same mode of thinking. (Interview: 11/10/93)

Therefore, everything in his lesson seemed to involve jokes. For example, one of the classroom rules Danny came up with at the beginning of this study was the "Japanese jar" (see Figure 4) in which students put 10 yen every time they said a Japanese word in the class:

[Japanese jar is] a fun thing to the class. ... That’s a chance for people to have fun. The other student goes, "No Japanese," "Yeah, yeah, yeah, ...", "Chigau, chigau, chigau (No! No! No!) ... Uh ... Oh, no ..." Something like that. (Interview: 2/10/94)

(3) Creativity

As Danny announced to the class in the first lesson, he had four classroom rules: (a) Don’t say sorry, (b) It’s okay to make mistakes, (c) Ask questions, and (d) Be creative. Danny strongly believed that creativity is a requirement for successful language learning:

Definitely creativity is needed. You can’t just think a stock set of answers are certain words to use. Once again, something I try to encourage in the class is "Be creative": how many different ways can you say something? ... There are different things you could use. A lot of times, I point that out to the students, I’m trying to, instead of correction,
"You could also say this ..." You've got a variety of choices. (Interview: 10/27/93)

Danny considered the KCCI English classes as a place where students should display their creativity. Being different and doing different things is the sign of such creativity:

The teachers [the students at KCCI] had before didn't do the same stuff as I do. So that's the indication that this is different, this is crazy, it's got crazy teachers, it's different. So after a while, they'll approach it differently, they know. Like I got one student in my junior high class, she hands back the homework. Just to write down in cursive handwriting, their names and under their names, two students in their class. Instead, she writes down my name, Danny is loud, Danny is dirty, Danny is ugly, Danny is crazy. ... I know she's joking. ... I've kind of encouraged that for them to have a personal confidence in whether it's language or personal ability, language in this case is a personal ability ... If they got better confidence, they'll be better people, I think. So I guess it's humanistic in its approach. (Interview: 12/1/93)

(4) Spontaneity

Danny's strong beliefs in teaching natural English, fun lessons, and creativity seemed to bring another essence to his lesson plan. The spontaneous nature was in many aspects of his lesson. For example, he often tried to incorporate what he found might be of students' interests in the class. This spontaneity was vividly expressed in the opening of the lesson, question-and-answer sessions and mini-lectures (see Section 4.2.3 above). Sometimes, Danny found what might be interesting to his students in the first half of the lesson, and he tried to incorporate it into the second half of the lesson, looking for suitable material during break:

Sometimes, something comes up in the class and I figure, "God, I can do this now." I can add something into the
lesson. So [during break] I go to get it, I go copy it off. (Interview: 11/10/93)

Spontaneity was also found in the fact that Danny’s lesson was full of his own personal episodes from childhood, college days, and also cartoon and TV show episodes as examples to explain students’ questions.

It’s not like I planned it out in advance, usually. It’s sort of like I kind of like, all of a sudden, start talking without knowing what I’m talking about. ... But it fits the situation once again if I talk about my own personal experience, maybe they’ve got a similar experience ... I said something about experience that I had and they said they had exactly same thing happened to them. ... There’s no excuse that they shouldn’t feel free to talk about themselves. (Interview: 3/2/94)

Danny believed that such spontaneity was a technique to bring about the connection between the class and the students’ life outside the class, too.

4.2.5 Explicit Messages Conveyed in the Teaching of Culture

In many of the previous sections, we have seen how cultural messages about (a) the role of teachers and students in a class, (b) legitimate educational materials, (c) essential characteristics of classroom interaction, and (d) course content, were often conveyed and created implicitly in Danny’s classes. But how were messages about American or Japanese society conveyed or taught explicitly or intentionally?

In the follow-up questionnaire, Danny identified certain examples of teaching culture:

Certain things that may be said which don’t have any sense in their grammar or their individual words ... things that need the "living" aspect of the language explained ... certain kinds of humor (i.e., TV, jokes, comic strips) ... Occasionally, how something is said (softening a request).
In other words, teaching culture seemed to be what he actually emphasized in his class. The goal for his students (to be able to speak the way native speakers of English do in the "real" situation) was also reflected in Danny's ideas of teaching culture. The "real situation" was defined by Danny as what he would personally encounter in America, humor and satire such as that found in his favorite TV shows (The Simpsons, David Letterman Show, etc.).

Danny put much emphasis on teaching culture because he seemed to have another (implicit) personal goal in his teaching. That is, he wanted to raise his Japanese students' socio-political awareness, especially in terms of women's rights and the rights of non-smokers. His own political awareness of these issues was also apparent in the way he raised consciousness in his class in connection with these.

A lot of times, I do that [trying to tell my students that mothers or wives should not do household chores alone] because there are a lot of them that do have a tough time with it. Kids are there playing family computer games and not doing anything. And I had to sit down there and go, "when I was young, my Mom ..." Kids' responsibilities and husband's, too. ... I'd like to encourage the idea that they shouldn't think they have to be the only ones to do and the other ones shouldn't do it. ... Family values ... in Japan, it's been this traditional role the housewife does. ... I think it really needs to be reevaluated. So I guess I [tell my students about this] so that they can reevaluate [it] personally. If they don't like it, they can think about it. (Interview: 1/19/94)

I probably think [anti-smoking movement is] something that doesn't get the media's attention in Japan, given the nature of the issue, smoking, and it's something that I know about, not saying that they're stupid or anything, they probably don't know because I've probably got different information on it than they would have access to. ... So I've given [the information on anti-smoking movement in the States] to them.
and they'll become new messengers of Doom and Gloom for cigarette smoking. (Interview: 2/16/94)

However, he showed his confusion about the concept of "culture" itself and even revealed that he sometimes felt that culture might not exist at all and that most people in the world were the same. At the same time, he felt that there might be some "Real Culture" but he was strongly against labelling people on the basis of their cultural background (cultural "stereotyping").

Despite Danny's confusion, his students confidently perceived him as a source of culture learning. Among the eight students who responded to the follow-up questionnaire, five said Danny had taught them culture. Three of them mentioned the cultural lessons they learned were that Americans were assertive and opinionated with respect to various social issues. They named social issues as examples of the content of culture they learned: vegetarianism, environmental issues (rain forest, recycling, etc.), cancer in America, Halloween, anti-smoking movement, women's rights and family situations, etc.

4.3 Summary of the Chapter

Danny was a teacher deeply committed to his personal beliefs on sociopolitical, cultural, and educational values. His past experiences at school and in learning foreign languages profoundly moved him to develop a class modeled on "fun" activities; his educational philosophy completely rejected ostensibly boring elements of language learning, like "grammar." Consequently, culture for him was not a spectrum of acceptable alternatives, but rather, a dichotomy of right or wrong moral
choices. He sought to enlighten his students on making the correct choices by suggesting proper models of behavior. Thus, he adopted the talk show format as an entertaining, yet highly persuasive and fundamentally American teaching tool, which could effectively deliver his ideas to the class.
CHAPTER 5

CAROL

I think [teaching culture is] a BS issue. When people are teaching culture or things like body language, who cares? ... [It] comes down to a very personal interpretation. That's what I don't like about it. ... It's basically teaching what's inside you. And I don't want that much power. (Interview: 11/4/93)

5.1 Teacher's Biography: Carol's Story

Carol is a 28-year-old American female who teaches part-time at KCCI. At the beginning of this project, she had been teaching at KCCI for a year and a half. Because of her other teaching jobs, she taught only one class at KCCI during the fall semester, October, 1993 to March, 1994. In addition to this, Carol was teaching at two private girls' high schools, a private women's college, a Police Academy, a University Hospital, an auto company, and a restaurant chain. Because of her inability to handle the large class sizes at the high schools, Carol had begun to feel incompetent as a teacher and turned down a full-time position at high school. Instead, she accepted the offer of a full-time position at KCCI which would start in April, 1994.

Carol is short by western standards (160cm; average height for Japanese women). She has bobbed brown hair and wears brown-rimmed glasses. Although Caucasian, she was often taken as a Japanese by strangers in public places and addressed in Japanese, because of her height and dark hair. She did her best to respond to them in Japanese, which she knew would sound obviously non-native. When those people found out that she was not Japanese,
most give her a look of shock. She became acutely embarrassed on such occasions.

[Like last night, I was at the gym. And this woman had her braids stuck. So she’s like, you know, “Come over here. Take them out.” So I took them out. I was kind of mumbling to myself, “Come on, ouch ... Wait ...” And I said, “Chotto matte (Wait a minute).” But she didn’t pick [my accent] up. ... But then finally, she looked back when I got it out. And she said, “Oh, arigatou (thank you very much). Gomennasai ne (I’m sorry).” And then she looked at [me] ... Her eyes were like this big (with her fingers showing big circles around her eyes). (Interview: 11/18/93)]

Carol was seen as a very friendly and seemingly outgoing teacher, but in her private life, she described herself as shy and self-conscious. These traits actually made a pleasant impression on many Japanese people she met outside work: “Carol is very Japanese,” they said with admiring affection.

5.1.1 Past

Carol was born in New York but has lived in numerous settings: Berkeley (California), Jakarta (Indonesia), Pacific City (in North West), and New York. At the time of this project, her parents were still living in Pacific City, and Carol considered it to be her hometown despite her previous places of residence.

Because of her early mobility and her parents’ professions, her upbringing was unusually culturally-rich. Her father is a professor of political science, her mother is an artist, and she and her brother were both trained as musicians throughout their childhood. Above all, the fact that her father was a professor had the greatest impact on her childhood. Many of his international students at university, such as Indonesians,
Europeans, and Middle Easterners, were guests at their family home on weekends and holidays. These students served as big brother and sister figures for Carol while she was growing up. Because of her father's work, the family also ended up living in Indonesia for a year when she was in the first grade. At that time, Carol attended a local elementary school and had to attempt schoolwork in Indonesian. Due to constant multicultural socialization throughout her upbringing, the idea of travelling, living, and working overseas seemed to have always been part of Carol's life; it came very naturally.

After graduating from a public high school in Pacific City, she received a scholarship to study history at an Ivy League school in the Eastern United States. During her early university days, she had a very vivid cultural experience; in New York, for the first time in her life, Carol identified herself as Jewish. Carol said that it was a very shocking and eye-opening experience for her. In her last journal, she talked about her identity as a Jew and stereotypes people have of Jewish people. She also made remarks about this fact in several interviews. For example:

I know that when I went to New York, I kind of filled out my ethnic identity a bit more. Like in [Pacific City], you can never really be Jewish. People get really weird. They tend to think you're Woody Allen. (laughter) But in New York, I learned how to be Jewish and become more relaxed about it. (Interview: 11/18/93)

After three years of living in New York, she decided to quit school and transferred to an alternative college in the Northwest. She graduated from that school with a degree in liberal arts concentrating on political science and
sociolinguistics in 1989.

Right after graduation, Carol took a one-month intensive teacher training course at another local school to receive an ESL certificate. Subsequently, she taught at renowned ESL schools in New York for about two years where she could extend her knowledge about teaching English. She revealed to me in the interview that she owed a lot of her in-depth knowledge of ESL textbooks, resource books, and techniques to her old boss and colleagues at one of the ESL schools in New York.

Until she came to Japan in 1992, she had never taken any serious, formal foreign language classes except some French classes at junior high school and a year of French at high school. However, she regarded the classes as being an insignificant attempt at foreign language study.

5.1.2 Present

Carol is an avid reader. Because of her keen interests in Japan and feminist theory, she had been reading heavily in those areas recently. Moreover, she had been reading many books on teaching ESL/EFL and knew almost all textbooks and resource books published by the major publishers. She often went to the book store and bought new resource books from her own personal expenses. Her broad knowledge on teaching materials had been highly recognized at KCCI to the point where our program coordinators (Jane and Miki) consulted with her for advice on new textbook choices. She was thus considered a precious asset at KCCI because of her expertise.
Like Danny, Carol had strong beliefs in certain things and never relented on those issues. For example, coming from a culture where individuality in dress is valued, she had very distinctive tastes in clothes: she knew what to wear in order to feel good about herself. For this reason, she preferred not to follow other people's standards, such as an institutional "dress-code" at work. She said in the interview:

I feel very uncomfortable with the whole question [about "dress code" at work]. You know how I feel about it but I'm not gonna walk into a classroom and assume my male students are reaping lechers. And I assume that when I feel good about the way I look and then it'll affect my mood and then my mood will always affect them. That's the one thing I do accept. (Interview: 3/10/94)

In fact, this attitude caused a conflict with a foreign coordinator at KCCI during the course of this study. Carol once wore a moderately short skirt and her boss, Jane, gave her a lecture about it, which upset Carol for a long time. Carol was also a very strong feminist. The whole issue about clothes seemed against her viewpoint as a feminist, too. In her journal, she wrote:

My [American] boss [Jane] told me not to wear a miniskirt because I was asking for it from Japanese guys. I think it is inexcusable for a woman in 1994 to say [that]. ... At any rate, I felt betrayed by a friend and a woman and haven't really felt like speaking to her since. Finally, I just think it's inexcusable for a company to tell a person what to wear. Especially when the guys wear jeans all the time and get away with it. Double standard. (Journal: 2/10/94)

Furthermore, her feminist eyes seemed to detect many signs of sexism in her life in Japan. One of her foreign male friends said, "I like to watch young girls, especially Japanese girls because I love the way they move." Further, many books about
Japan have been written by male English-speakers, describing Japanese women as "the most erotic, sensual, etc., etc., women in the world," which upset Carol to a great degree. With regard to this issue, she revealed another incident in her Police Academy English class in which her male American colleague tried to teach his male and female Japanese adult students how to pick up men or women at a foreign bar in English. Carol resented this, commenting:

What kind of stupid man trains people to pick men and women up in bar? You wouldn't do that at home! And if girls do that at home, they will be labelled as a slut and they'll get into big trouble! (Interview: 11/18/93)

The sexism, together with her social isolation and marital problems, made her life in the male-dominant society of Japan uncomfortable at times.

Despite the initial dissatisfaction with her life in Japan, Carol's enthusiasm in learning about Japan and its culture did not wane. She took tea ceremony lessons for six months (she was the only foreigner among students), read a tremendous number of books about Japan, actively made friends with Japanese (although only a very few became close friends, she said), and wanted to go to a graduate school to study Japanese anthropology.

In addition to her knowledge about Japan from reading, what she experienced at KCCI and other schools seemed to help Carol to learn about Japan. She tried to analyze deeply and interpret students' behavior in the classroom if she did not understand her students. Sometimes, she had to learn the hard way. In an interview, Carol talked about one rather shocking incident at
high school as an example. One day, when she found two students listening to music on a Walkman during her lesson, she lost her temper in front of the class. Unfortunately, Carol's lack of ability to speak Japanese made the situation even worse. By mistake, she embarrassed the same two students in the following class by scolding them for chatting (in Japanese) although they were in fact working on the activity. Further, Carol explained:

I had another girl translate this [scolding]. That was the biggest mistake because actually this girl understands English very well. She was infuriated and insulted because I had someone translate ... There are 48 students and peer pressure where nobody could volunteer ... I had no idea that this student could speak good English. (Interview: 11/8/93)

After class the same two students confronted her in person, saying how boring Carol's class was and criticized her for calling on the other girls but never them. Carol was shocked, but respected their courage for such confrontation and told them, "I know that my class is bad. But you guys have to help me, too. You have to sometimes volunteer ... Hazukashii (shyness) cannot always apply. This is an English class." She promised to make an effort but asked them to help her by volunteering in the class. After this incident, Carol came to realize:

What I've realized from this story is that Japanese students do not volunteer, not the way Americans do. Not the way Americans do but they do. ... I finally noticed ... they do signal. And the way they signal is they'll look at you. ... [T]hey'll give you signals with their eyes, ... when they are ready to answer. ... If they didn't look at me and they didn't know and didn't have an answer, they would go like this (looking down). (Interview: 11/8/93)

As my project progressed, especially after Christmas, Carol actually grew to enjoy living in Japan more. She also resumed
taking private Japanese lessons at KCCI. The biggest benefit of that, she revealed, was that she could understand how students felt when they studied English in her class. She started inventing her own materials for learning Japanese and analyzing what kind of learner she was. One interesting finding was that as a student, she preferred a serious and strict grammar-based instruction while as a teacher, she thought she always did her best to make her class fun with various kinds of activities.

With regard to the depth of her understanding of Japan, at the very end of the study, Carol came to the conclusion that she was not an "expert" on culture after all. She wrote:

> I realize that I thought I was an "expert" on culture just because I'm an ex-pat and just because I sit in classrooms all day long listening to Japanese folks (and before, other kinds) talk about themselves. I realize that every other ex-pat in Japan thinks the same thing. (Follow-up Questionnaire)

5.2 Teacher in the KCCI Class

5.2.1 Class Description: Negotiation of Classroom Culture

Carol taught the lower intermediate level, "C", in the fall semester from October, 1993 to March, 1994. The class met Monday and Thursday evenings from 6:30 to 8:20. Carol taught on Thursdays while I, her Japanese partner teacher, taught on Mondays.

Unlike the other EFL classes I observed in this study, this class was held on the fifth floor which seemed very isolated. Additionally, the classroom setting on this floor was different from that on the main floor. The room itself looked smaller than the others. There were medium-size wooden and steel school desks
and chairs with a blackboard at the front of the room. Students were allowed to sit anywhere they liked and tended to sit in different places at different times. Since the desks and the chairs were placed in a U shape spread out by the walls and a little far from the teacher's desk and the blackboard, it could distance the students from the teacher unless some arrangements were made. Due to the kinds of furniture and the original arrangement of desks and chairs, the room had a rather Japanese-school-like rigid air, no doubt giving students an impression of formality at the beginning of the semester. Carol always had students move chairs and desks to make a much smaller circle at the beginning of each lesson, which helped the class establish "intimacy". Such concept of intimacy in the classroom was referred to frequently by Carol in the interviews to evaluate her class as if it accounted to a large extent for the ideal classroom culture she attempted to create.

The class originally consisted of eight students. However, two students dropped out and one stopped coming regularly in the second half of the semester. One young female student, the quietest one (Rie) who tended to get bored very easily from the beginning, dropped after Christmas break. Another female student (Eri), who on the contrary was very active and enjoyed the class a lot, had to quit at the end of January because of a skiing injury. One male student (Shiro) became involved in a new project at work and could not come to the class regularly any more: he had been taking English classes at KCCI for a year and a half and
two of the students in this class were his good friends from the previous semester.

This was a mixed group in terms of students' genders, ages, and occupations. There were two college students and the rest held full-time jobs in different fields. The students' ages ranged from 19 to 40. The average age was about 27. Four of them were continuing from the previous semester with different teachers. The class level was supposed to be lower intermediate, but half of the students actually had not reached that level when the semester started.

After the counselling interviews (see Chapter 3) and throughout the course of the project, both Carol and I came to realize that two students (Shiro and Kaori) in this class might have difficulty with interpersonal relationships in their real life. What was interesting was that despite such problems, they were the most active and creative students with a very good sense of humor. In the counselling interview, Kaori revealed to me:

Kaori: I come to KCCI English class for communication training. I have a really hard time at work to talk with my colleagues so I need to learn how to communicate with people.

Yuko: Why? You are one of the most active students in the class. I don't see any problems with your communication skills. You always make our class fun!

Kaori: That's because I'm pushing myself very hard in class. Also, because there are people with different jobs and backgrounds, I feel excited in the class.

Concerning this issue, Carol told me in the interviews:

[The students] are expressing parts of their personalities that they don’t elsewhere. With Kaori, there’s a danger. She is a woman who is very lonely, I think, and she’s gonna want
to say a whole bunch of stuff. And she's gonna want to be more involved as she gets more fluent. (Interview: 12/2/93)

I know [Shiro] is a very self-conscious person and ashamed of himself. ... I figure that he's like that [responding only non-verbally, e.g., staring at you] in Japanese. So I figure that's his own set of reactions. Certainly, I'm not gonna push him to give English or American reactions especially when he's obviously in such distress. (Interview: 3/10/94)

Among the challenges posed by this class, the biggest one was that from the very beginning of the semester, students were always late. Although Carol did not like that, she was aware that some students were not punctual because of their jobs. Therefore, she tried to plan her lesson so that the late students could at least join with little interruption to the class. (See Section 4.2.3 below.)

Furthermore, the textbook (New Cambridge English Course 2) was too difficult for the students. The students' lack of punctuality kept Carol wondering throughout the semester whether it was because of the textbook or her way of teaching (e.g., not enough interactive tasks), a matter to be discussed in the next section.

The class slowly developed a nice warm atmosphere but the loss of three students after Christmas break ruined the intimacy. It took about a month to reconstruct the bond although it never reached the high degree of intimacy found in Danny's class.

Just like the other English classes at KCCI, Carol's class went out for dinner twice in the semester: first before Christmas break and second at the semester's end. It was customary at KCCI for the class to go out for dinners to enhance the class bond
(see Chapter 3). Although Carol recognized the positive effect of this, she showed her fear, too:

I like [going out with students for dinner or drinks]. It’s something I used to do in New York. But I think it’s me. I know it’s a part of Japanese culture, going out with your colleagues. But I don’t have the time, energy, and intimacy level ... I’m a little bit suspicious of friendships with students because they tend to disappear and I feel a bit used. (Interview: 2/1/94)

However, some students showed their attachment to her. On February 10th, Kaori brought a type of cake to the class which the class had talked about the previous week. Kaori also wrote in the follow-up questionnaire:

I’ve had many snobby Japanese teachers who made fun of me in the past. It was like they were telling me, "Your English is far from good" and felt insulted ... Even with some native-speaker teachers, I’ve had a very hard time and felt terrible because some of them were really critical about Japanese people. In the past, I often wondered why I had to pay money to feel miserable like that. But Yuko and Carol were really good. I had a very good time and the six months in that class was a very precious experience.

After the last class, the class went to a neighborhood Japanese restaurant for dinner and drinks and talked about various things in English for hours.

Despite the initial sign of many students’ misplacement into a lower intermediate level class, the individual students’ achievement was remarkable. Carol wrote in the questionnaire at the end of the semester:

On the whole, I was pleased with the progress of the learners with listening and fluency. ... I’m now [spring semester, 1994] teaching a higher level class whose grasp of the language is lower than ours (the level C we taught during fall semester). So I’m feeling pretty smug.
5.2.2 Teacher’s Negotiation with the Textbook: Curriculum-as-Plan

As many of the teachers at KCCI do, Carol saw the textbook *(The New Cambridge English Course 2)* as a syllabus:

According to my God, Jeremy Harmer [(1983)], ... first you do the course outline. Then you go back. But because of the kind of the institution where I work, I don't have that kind of time. So if I'm working here full-time, I'll do a full course plan. So what I do is I depend on the course book syllabus as my year plan. ... I think the most important planning for this kind of class is that two hour block. You have to have a good two hours. And if you can have something that ties into a new class, that's great. (Interview: 12/2/93)

Before the fall semester started, Carol strongly recommended this textbook to the coordinators although she had never used it before. Carol was tired of "free conversation and having fun in English" approach because of the pressure in her private life and the limitation she felt with the Natural Approach. She wanted to try something designed for language learning with an emphasis on grammar and vocabulary.

I think that's the game a lot of American teachers in Japan play. You walk into the classroom and pretend that you are a friend, you're a buddy. And then you have a chit-chat, free conversation for a long time. And you make students feel really good because they think you're being their good friend. I used to be good at that and I still like it. But just because of my personal life, it's hard to share. ... I don't have that energy, emotional resources, any more. (Interview: 11/18/93)

Therefore, at the beginning of the semester, she was very excited about this new textbook although some teachers complained about how difficult it was to use this. She especially liked the inductive grammar approach she rarely found in other books. In such an approach, the students would be actively engaged in finding and acquiring grammatical rules, instead of teachers...
telling them what to do. She believed that the inductive method would bring about frustration at first, which would eventually help them remember the meaning longer. Moreover, with her thorough studying of the introduction of the book and structure of each unit, she became more confident that this book would prepare the students for the next level after one semester. She thought that she had a general idea for the required English ability for each level, after almost two years of teaching at KCCI. She also recognized the energy built into a variety of activities in the book, which gave her extra confidence. She thought highly of exercises fostering learner autonomy, such as letting students choose what activity to do, although she could not use such an approach much in this specific class.

Carol came to realize that KCCI generally attracted students who tended to be heavily dependent on teachers because it was a "neighborhood, hobby kind of place". On the other hand, from the beginning of the semester, she was aware of the possible gap between the students' and her own goals. She referred to such views as a current problem with her teaching in the initial questionnaire: "[Students and schools] want fun, exciting, entertaining classes. I'm interested in really delving into the learning of a language. These two goals don't always coincide." In the interview, she talked about her former students' resistance when she tried a grammar activity, a "dictagraph" which required thinking about grammar, in her police academy class. Her former students then openly refused to "study grammar
in her class." Carol said that they thought grammar was not important and was only studied at public school. Therefore, they felt they were finished with it a long time before.

Knowing students' prejudice toward grammar learning, Carol thought that the inductive grammar approach would be ideal. She thought that in that way students did not have to know what they were learning was actually grammar. However, during the course of this study, Carol showed her concern about her students' possible rejection of learning grammar even inductively:

[T]hrough that counselling interview I've had so far, I found out that the students are really shaking under that. So I'm gonna have to let it [teaching "a new language"] go ... After all, it is slightly against this institution, the educational goal. And I, the teacher, have to be aware of that. (Interview: 11/18/93)

Thus, as the semester progressed, Carol's confidence in using this textbook in this specific class fluctuated further; the same conflict she had with her police academy class appeared in her mind. Carol wrote in her journal on January 27th, "I've moved away from the textbook because I sense ... they want 'free conversation'." She also referred to this textbook issue in the interview:

[I chose that specific warmer--warm-up activity--"telling a story about a picture exercise"] because I felt that the textbook is too grammar-oriented ... It's very heavy on the drills and heavy on the controlled exercises. And what they wanted is free speech. And as we've talked about it, we've got to move a bit away from that book. Make them feel like they are getting what they want. (Interview: 2/1/94)

Her belief in teaching more rigid and organized lessons was shaken to an even greater degree when one of the students (Midori) said that her former foreign teachers just played a lot
of games in the class.

[When Midori said that both her former teachers just played a lot of games] I felt, "Oh, shoot." In this class, you know, I've been trying to do other things than just playing games. And I wonder if the kind of things I've been trying to do are just too far away from what the students want to do. So ... I enjoy the class and I actually think a lot of stuff we're doing is valuable. I wonder if what I'm doing was demotivating them. I don't know. (Interview: 2/24/94)

Even at the very end, Carol could not seem to keep her mind away from the thought about this textbook. Therefore, she wrote in the follow-up questionnaire:

I wasn't as pleased with the dynamics of the class. It never ... cohered. I don't know if this was my fault. I think it would be charitable to guess that part of it was the students' impossible schedules and part of it was the book which, all said and done, was probably too difficult.

5.2.3 Lesson in Action

Throughout the semester, due to the students' tardiness, Carol could not introduce the main content of the lesson plan for the first 30 to 40 minutes. At first, it confused her and disrupted her lesson structure:

[Students' coming late] throws me off. And because of that, I failed in the last class. First of all, the class was supposed to start at 6:30 and I held up, I waited for five maybe ten minutes ... I did put off the class, hoping more people would show up. Then I stretched out the introductory activity which was meant to be a warmer and an anticipation activity wrapped up together. But I stretched it out for way too long. (Interview: 11/4/93)

As the semester moved on, Carol tried hard to take this factor into consideration and adjusted her lesson plan. She said:

I have to do a hold-off activity ... I don't mind free conversation activity. I think free conversation activities are good and they are generally into creative stuff. But it is very difficult to get a class going when you are expecting three or more to trickle in ... These days, I just try to schedule the first fifteen or twenty minutes as free
conversation where anybody can come in. I’m not gonna start a major grammar point. I’m not gonna start the major lesson because it’s so irritating when people keep interrupting. (Interview: 3/10/94)

Additionally, another solution she attempted was that every time a late student came in, she had one student who had already been there explain how to do the activity they were working on at the moment. It seemed to intimidate her students first but since Carol used this strategy repeatedly, they gradually became used to it and some quicker students helped slower ones with this. (See Appendix D.1.)

Carol’s class normally started as follows. At the very beginning of each lesson, when there were only two or three students, she had everyone move their desks and chairs to make a small but complete circle. Then, sitting in a circle with the students, she had a very casual chat with students about their weekends. Normally, the students shyly and slowly started responding with one or two short sentences and Carol tried to elicit more information by expressing her interest in the students’ story and asking questions. (See Appendix D.2.) Carol’s sample lesson plans are shown in Figure 5 below.

Carol also often had the students tell her what they had learned in her Japanese partner-teacher’s class. At first, students obviously seemed to have difficulty with remembering and explaining what they did in the previous lesson in English (see Appendix D.3). But as the semester progressed, they became quicker to respond to this question. (See Appendix D.4.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6:30-6:45</td>
<td>*Checking roll</td>
<td>6:30-6:42</td>
<td>*Checking roll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Moving desks and chairs</td>
<td></td>
<td>*Moving desks and chairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Review of Ss' names and the previous lesson</td>
<td></td>
<td>*Ss coming in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*Chatting: What's new?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:45-6:55</td>
<td>*Warmer: &quot;Do-as-I-say game&quot; (TPR)</td>
<td>6:42-7:05</td>
<td>*Warmer: Story telling on a picture (1. Pairwork/2. Reporting to the class)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Ss still coming in</td>
<td></td>
<td>*Ss still coming in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:55-7:05</td>
<td>**Miming Game: Guess what s/he is doing</td>
<td>7:05-7:40</td>
<td>*Brainstorming with a student in the front:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Ss still coming in</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Good/bad things you have never experienced&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:05-7:25</td>
<td><strong>Listening exercise (textbook)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>To review &quot;present perfect tense&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:25-7:45</td>
<td><strong>Frequency word exercise: pair work (textbook)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:45-7:50</td>
<td>*Break</td>
<td>7:40-7:45</td>
<td>*Break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:55-8:15</td>
<td>*Interview using frequency words (textbook)</td>
<td>7:45-8:10</td>
<td>*Group discussion: ranking good and bad things you have never experienced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*Reporting to the class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:15-8:25</td>
<td>*Introduce discussion: &quot;What do Americans always do and Japanese never do?&quot;</td>
<td>8:10-8:25</td>
<td>*Class discussion about &quot;consensus&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and vice versa.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Boldface type refers to textbook activities.

**Figure 5.** Carol's sample lessons.

Then Carol moved to a time-extending "warmer" (which she called her first activity in the lesson). Examples included: a "Do-as-I-say" game, a miming game (guess what s/he is doing), a "Close your eyes and what am I doing?" game, vocabulary review
(in a group, the students reviewed the vocabulary in their own word book), a Japanese culture game, and story-telling about a strange picture.

After the "warmer" (warm-up activity), she introduced target grammar points by having students work on various grammar games, mostly taken from Frank and Rinvolucrì (1987). This way, she wanted her students to learn such grammar points inductively.

After games, she moved on to the textbook from which she normally chose a few activities. Although the textbook was often too difficult for the students, Carol enjoyed its optional activities, such as role play in pairs or groups of three or four. Before she started, Carol always had students move their desks and chairs to form pairs or groups. While students were engaged in these activities, Carol constantly moved between pairs and groups.

To wrap up the class, at the beginning of the semester, she often tried to have a small discussion on the topic that came up that day. On November 4th, for example, after going over various activities to practice present continuous, Carol paired up the students and had them discuss, "What's happening in the world?". While students were discussing in pairs, Carol moved around listening to them. At that stage, the eight students in the class were still relatively active and enthusiastic. On November 25th, she had two groups of four students discuss freely the topics she chose for two minutes, designating one person in each group as a chairperson who had to break the silence: topics were (a) your
last holiday, (b) pets and animals, (c) family, and (d) free topics. The discussions were slow but lively.

On January 13th, after doing the "I am you" activity in which students had to guess things about their partners, she attempted a class discussion one last time, which turned out to be tense and slow. (See Appendix D.5.)

By the end of January, as mentioned above, she began to question the heavy use of the textbook although she still thought highly of some units and its inductive approach to grammar. She reluctantly decided to reduce the use of the textbook and add more "free conversation" activities despite her misgivings. She said that was "the compromise method when learners' and teachers' goals are different." Additionally, instead of trying to finish one unit every week, she started using resource books even more than usual (i.e., Frank & Rinvolucri, 1987; Hadfield, 1992; Klippel, 1984; Ladousse, 1987; Morgan & Rinvolucri, 1983). Moreover, she bought new resource books on her own (e.g., Dornyei & Thurrell, 1992; Maley & Duff, 1989; Wright, 1989). From those supplementary materials, she chose an even wider variety of learner-centered activities: story-telling, brain-storming, lie-detector game, role-play and videotaping, describing and guessing. She even used a video-camera for a role play activity she found in the textbook. This change in her lesson plans is displayed in Figure 5 above.

What was very distinct in Carol's lesson throughout the semester was that, from the very beginning, it contained many
Japanese elements. For example, in the first lesson, Carol referred to a lot of Japanese items when she introduced herself: origami (paper-folding) as her hobby, udon, okonomiyaki, and takoyaki (Japanese food) as her favorite foods, and shimauta (Okinawan music which was very popular among young Japanese at the time) as her favorite music. (See Appendix D.6.) On many occasions, she used some Japanese activities in the classroom activities, too. For example, for the miming games, she had the students mime singing karaoke, going to the "onsen" (hot spring), eating "udon" (with a slurping sound), going to "sento" (public bath house), and "riding a train" during morning rush hours.

Throughout the semester, Carol constantly used Japanese formulaic expressions or gambits in the class: wakaranai (I don't know), douzo (please), nani (What?), nantoka (such and such), kowai (Scared!), pinpon (Ding Dong!) especially when students were stuck, quiet, and embarrassed and she seemed to prompt them this way. (See Appendix D.7 and D.8.)

5.2.4 Implicit Messages in the "Lived Curriculum" for EFL and Culture Teaching

Carol had a very strong belief in the preparation of organized lesson plans. Among the four teachers I observed, she was the only one who constantly talked about the organization of a lesson:

I'm not that good of a teacher. So it doesn't do all the things I'm supposed to do. Anticipation, elicit, presentation, drill, very quick drill, pair work, and different way to do drill, and then practices moving from teacher-controlled to student-centered. So the basic idea is first warmer, then drills, ... and the lesson should
culminate where they are having the discussion but there’s no culmination in our class ... I don’t have a sense that anything I do is original ... you got to focus, you got to bring the energy level up. (Interview: 3/10/94)

Thus, Carol had a strong sense of her role as a professional and her lesson plans reflected the following distinctive concepts: (1) EFL teacher as a professional, (2) sense of equity, (3) control and power of teachers in the classroom, and (4) connections between teacher’s and students’ lives. The four concepts are interrelated and some even contradicted each other; as a result, these concepts illuminated Carol’s struggle and negotiation of her role as EFL teacher.

(1) EFL Teacher as a Professional

Carol’s thorough knowledge about the teaching methods, textbooks, and resource books and continuing studying of the field of teaching English (EFL or ESL), seemed to provide her with confidence in her choices of approaches and activities for her lesson plan. Carol admitted that what she did in her class was never really original because she always consulted reference books for ideas. She considered that kind of preparation (studying with various resource books) as homework (duty) for teachers. Therefore, Carol became annoyed with teachers who did not prepare for the lesson the way she did, studying by reading books and using resource books.

The goal of this institution is to have fun; this is a neighborhood, fun, hobby-like place. And the most important goals are friendly, fostering international blah, blah, blah ... So it’s important to bring those things. And also truly whatever you’re trying to teach, if you have this great feeling in your class, they’re gonna pick up more. They’re gonna become more fluent, which makes me so mad ... because
that's where teachers who don't prepare, teachers who are not teachers, can still be great teachers. (Interview: 12/2/93)

The fact that every semester, Carol did an experiment in her teaching further suggests her solid confidence in professionalism; setting clear goals for each semester and for an individual course to Carol was an important task for a professional EFL teacher. That semester, Carol experimented with "working on students' vocabulary." She had the students make their own "word book" and write new words they learned in the class. She also allowed them to use their dictionaries as much as they wanted.

I try to do some new things each term ... Students are really into idioms, I think. ... Japanese students, because they don't speak a Romance language, don't have the vocabulary that everyone else has. They need vocabulary. They also need to have some way to develop their own skills. They can't depend on me. I taught one new word in that class (first class), "self-confidence". ... But if they want words, they're gonna have to go get them [using dictionaries]. (Interview: 10/25/93)

Carol was always aware (as mentioned in section 5.2.3) that KCCI's institutional goal did not necessarily match her own professional interests. As a result, Carol had to struggle with her beliefs and the reality to a great degree during the course of this semester. Her lesson plan seemed to show such complexity she was facing.

(2) Sense of Equity

Carol's sense of equity was apparent in many aspects of her lessons. The way the classroom was arranged is one example. The desks and the chairs were always moved to make a small circle at
the beginning of each lesson and Carol sat in such a circle with students. One student (Yumiko) considered this as her culture learning and wrote in the follow-up questionnaire, "Sitting in a circle in the class was one of the cultural experiences and is very different from what we (Japanese students) experience at Japanese school." Carol did not want the class to be teacher-centered so this was one of the techniques to avoid it. She also admitted the influence from her own seminar-style learning experience, sitting in a circle at alternative school:

As for the circle, I feel much more comfortable in a circle because ... I'm actually a very shy person. I don't like to be in that front teacher-position. And I also read in my teacher training book that the circle is more conducive to communication ... [It] is sometimes more useful ... But I also went to an alternative school where we did mostly seminar stuff and I really believe in it, seminar-method as a teaching tool. (Interview: 3/10/94)

Additionally, the students were instructed to move their desks and chairs in each activity. Carol hardly ever stood in the front except when she needed to spell out new vocabulary or use the blackboard for other purposes. She sometimes sat in a student's seat when she appointed someone to take a teacher's role (e.g., in the brainstorming activity, videotaping the role play, and lie-detector game). In the interview, she said she did a variety of group or pair activities so that students could talk to different partners at different levels, not just their best friends, although it might be uncomfortable for students at first. She also said that she wanted the students to talk to one another rather than her talking to the students all the time.
I just think [regrouping students] keeps it more interesting. ... Also, if people don’t change all the time, ... they don’t have a sense each activity is different. And I want them to have a feeling that we’re changing activities. ... I wonder if sometimes students feel uncomfortable with it. ... I remember when I was in my training course we had to do so much moving. Especially, at the beginning, I hated it. I wanted to sit in my one place in the room and I wanted to sit next to the same people. And I felt really really shy about moving to sit next to new people. But after a while, it was good because I did work with different people and I got to know them very well. It broke me of my hazukashii [shyness] level, the affective monitor in the natural approach? (Interview: 3/10/94)

Yumiko, who was rather quiet in this class, perceived the sense of equity in the class and revealed as such in the follow-up questionnaire:

Unlike Japanese school where teachers look over students from the top, in this class, teachers joined the students and everyone learned together at the same level. I found that such learning is actually possible.

Carol showed the class she was not perfect, by "her not being a teacher 'with a capital T'" which might have been seen as a sign of equity between teacher, herself, and her students. For example, in the first lesson, in front of all the students, Carol admitted that she was nervous (see Appendix D.9). In the following interview, she explained that her intention was to show her students that she was not the teacher with a capital T; she believed that this way, the students would not turn themselves off.

I don't think it's bad to admit I'm nervous because I know none of them admitted they were feeling nervous but some of them were. Like Kouichi was shaking when he answered his hands were shaking. ... I want them to know right away that I'm not the teacher "with a capital T." I found when. ... I hold on to being a teacher with a capital T. That's when I get really high-handed and I turn them off. I turn me off ... And then the atmosphere is lost. (Interview: 10/25/93)
This self-humbling attitude towards students was also found in Carol’s approach to teaching from a feminist point of view. That is, despite her keen interest in feminism and her strong belief in women’s rights, she did not explore this topic in her English classes. She did not impose her views on students:

Well, I’m not teaching business class and I don’t wanna get into ... the first class, the difference between men and women ... I’m not gonna indoctrinate them with my feminist stuff. "Women should always shake hands, always!!", etc. I mean, I want to, so I [must] not. (Interview: 10/25/93)

The same principle informed her view of the quality of English she believed teachers should use in their classrooms; teachers should never speak to the students like they are obviously speaking to foreigners, which would be condescending and patronizing.

[In the theory book you’ll find] what we do is we speak in caretaker English. In caretaker English, nobody speaks to a child as if it was a foreigner. So I don’t think we should speak to the language students as if they were foreigners. It’s most patronizing and most condescending and ugly-sounding language. I found that when I do speak to students more naturally, as if they understood, I found my estimation of them personally goes up. If I speak to them in very teacher-English, they become children. (Interview: 12/16/93)

(3) Control and Power of Teacher in the Classroom

Carol’s emphasis on equity was, however, accompanied by a seemingly conflicting concept: "control and power of teacher in the classroom." This concept clearly contradicted her effort to demonstrate her sense of equity in the classroom. However, from the very beginning of the semester, Carol often referred to such control or power of the teacher:

[O]nce you get into a classroom, you’re creating a new culture. It’s a culture of teaching. It’s like a culture
that combines Japanese and American and "teaching" culture. That culture demands new rules. You must be able to answer any questions a student comes up with ... it's a different power relationship. And you being the teacher evens that out. You have a lot of power in there. (Interview: 10/25/93)

Being aware of this invisible power on the part of the teacher in the classroom, Carol wanted to believe that she could choose what was best for her students' learning of English. Therefore, she became very upset when her former students at the police academy told her that they did not want to study grammar:

I felt I do know better than students as a teacher something they should be learning because I can hear exactly where it's deficient ... they think that conversation appears out of nowhere magically. (Interview: 11/18/93)

At the same time, Carol particularly needed the power, the sense of control in the classroom in order to keep some distance between her as a teacher and them as students. It was shown in her fear of intimacy (see Section 5.2.1) in the class. She wanted such distance out of protection for her because of her problems in her personal life. Carol said that in the class, except for easy examples, she never wanted to tell the truth about her private life:

I almost always lie [about my private life] ... Some of it is protecting myself and some of it. ... If it's too personal, a lot of times, I lie. (Interview: 11/18/93)

Based on her two-year experiences of teaching at various schools in Japan, Carol realized that communicative English classes in Japan seemed to provide an outlet for students' emotional tension. Carol said, "students have very specific emotional needs they bring to me, the English class in Japan" (Interview: 11/18/93). However, she, herself, did not want to
fully serve this purpose, again because of her personal problem
and the embarrassment in revealing this:

They are expressing parts of their personalities that they
don't elsewhere. ... as their language skills develop, that
will happen more and more. ... housewives routinely do it.
My own personal life really does get in a way. ... I don't
have that space (in my mind) ... [M]y danger is with
intimacy with teenage girls who need an older woman model
and I just can't provide it. ... It's an enormous
responsibility. I think I will be more prepared to deal with
it as a university teacher because when I was in university,
I felt very lost and very let down by my university
teachers. (Interview: 12/2/93)

(4) Connections between Teacher's and Students' Lives

As mentioned above (Section 5.2.3), Carol's lessons
contained references to many Japanese things. Carol said that it
was a special feature she had been covering since the previous
semester.

Carol explained she started referring to Japanese things in
her class because of the interesting experience with one very
quiet female student in the survival English class in the
previous semester. The student had been shy and quiet until near
the end of the semester. However, once Carol brought up Japanese
cultural activities as topics in her conversation, the student
opened up to a great degree:

She is really quiet the whole semester. And ... I spent a
lot of lessons not doing teaching her or anything, but just
trying to talk. And what we could talk about were things in
Japanese culture that we love. And then she really opened
up. And it was the best lesson we'd ever had and she was
really there. And she really loved talking about it. ... We
shared funny stories about going to the sento (public bath
house) and things that she ate as a child ... So I realized
that it makes students more comfortable to know that you're
into Japanese culture. (Interview: 10/25/93)

Carol was intentionally using this strategy to make her lesson
more relevant to students' lives and her own interests which might intersect with theirs.

When I used to do this game (miming game) at home, I did it only with the things I knew about. So now that I put some things that they know about and I know about, all that means is that I'm not being so selfish and that I know a bit more. It should be quite natural for me to put those things in because my life is similar to their lives now ... It's more comfortable for students. (Interview: 11/4/93)

Carol was aware that this relevance to students, or her attempt to make connections between her and her students' lives, seemed to have positive effects on her class. Students would become more comfortable and as a result would start speaking.

Similarly, Carol talked about her frequent use of some Japanese words and expressions in her class:

That's part of the entertaining bit of the class ... "wakarimasen" gag is something I made up for high school students to encourage them to ask questions because ... Japanese students are not encouraged to ask questions and admit they don't know anything. And I want to encourage them to admit they don't know and ask me anything they want to. Then they can get to be the masters of their own learning process, not to wait for me to spoon-feed them like little chickens in the nest. (Interview: 10/25/93)

Despite her fear of intimacy with her students, Carol could not help feeling empathy toward students' delicate moods because she saw connections between her own experiences at school and their experiences in her class.

At that point, [Shiro] was so humiliated ... What I was thinking was happening was letting Kaori baby-sit him because I wasn't doing a good job at it ... Especially for someone sensitive ... There are students who can do it and really don't give a damn ... But me, too. If I miss a lot of classes and I do frequently, I'm so humiliated. I'll never go again. That's why I left school first time. That was a part of the reason ... So I have a particularly sensitive feeling towards people like that. (Interview: 3/10/94)
5.2.5 Explicit Messages Conveyed in the Teaching of Culture

Carol showed her strong objections to teaching "culture" from the initial stage in this study. Until just before this study started, teaching culture was never her concern because Carol considered her job, "teaching the English language," as different from teaching culture. However, she became interested in the issue because her colleagues had been emphasizing cultural issues in their teaching and she thought about incorporating cross-cultural issues into her lesson although she was not sure how. Additionally, her participation in this study made her more conscious of cultural encounters and she constantly attempted to analyze these encounters to arrive at a better interpretation throughout the course of this study. On the other hand, her personal feeling about the issue of culture--that is, culture is one's personal interpretation, what's inside one--persistently conflicted with the idea of teaching culture in English class. She also considered that by teaching culture, teachers would be given extra "power", more personal and emotional "responsibility" for the students, which she did not seek, as was reflected in the excerpt at the beginning of this chapter.

She thought teaching culture in the United States might be more comfortable for her because she could have students bring their own "cultural discovery" to the class and culture in that case would be more relevant to students' life there. This attitude seemed to be reflected in her strong belief in thorough preparation (studying) for lessons based on resource books and
textbooks. By choosing established interactive activities in books written by experts, she could feel free from assuming the responsibility for choosing the "right culture" to teach.

This view was further stated in her last journal entry, which follows. What bothered Carol to a great degree with regard to the idea of teaching culture was, after all, the issue of who decides what is right to teach, "To whom does the power belong?".

As I’ve been thinking about this style of teaching (culture) and reviewing books (Speak up and Cultural awareness), I get surges of memory from public school. ... I’m mad because this style of teaching which seems mired in the multi-cultural debate without reference to canon selection (that is, right, let’s teach, culture, but what part of culture is appropriate; how could I, a mere inhabitant of and participant in, be equipped to choose?) is pulling me away from what I love about language teaching, which is language. I accept the old undergrad debate question: language is culture ... This doesn’t mean that I reject the value or importance of teaching culture ... but I didn’t want to do it. (Journal: 3/3/94)

For Carol, the goal for her students in her class was to learn "language". In her mind, grammar was the foundation for learners of English to be able to speak the language.

Concerning the role differences between Japanese and foreign teachers, Carol said each teacher has a different style of teaching which must be free from the factor of whether the teacher is a native or non-native speaker of English. This, again, indicates Carol’s strong belief in professional knowledge as EFL teachers as the most important quality as teachers; in her view, only those who study TESL/TEFL by taking courses or reading books in the field to acquire such knowledge should teach. She also believed that Japanese teachers can be role models
especially for young students, which she found at the high school she taught. For example, her students looked very impressed when they heard their Japanese female teacher speaking with Carol in English.

I think in Japan that there is a nasty assumption that all native speakers [of English] can teach ... However, there is a lot of room for developing the goals, different roles Japanese teachers and foreign teachers take ... because the Japanese teachers had the experience of learning the language, Japanese teachers can provide a very role ... At high school, there's another woman teacher who speaks very good English, ... I've seen when she and I are having a conversation, students come up and listen ... They are really fascinated with her speaking English. ... This was their first time they've ever listened to her speak English and they just love it, all go, "Wow!! Sensei, sugoi! (Teacher is cool!)." (Interview: 12/16/93)

5.3 Summary of the Chapter

Carol's background was based on a variety of multicultural/multiethnic experiences. She appreciated the complexity of culture, but ultimately rejected the appropriateness of explicitly teaching it in the TESL/TEFL classroom because of the dangers of dogmatism. She saw culture in Japanese classrooms as usually representing mainstream American values; this contradicted her sense of equity, shared power, and also the legitimacy of marginalized viewpoints. In order to better educate her students, she sought the most effective teaching method; she consulted textbooks, materials, and even theories in her quest for the right "Method". This struggle to find the ideal teaching method resulted in continuous frustration and fluctuation on her part. Ultimately, she accepted the teaching of culture (albeit Japanese culture) in order to better bridge the gap between her
and her students. This seemed to be met with positive acceptance by her students, and she was pleased with this middle-ground which allowed effective education without imposing her Western values.
I don’t mean to teach according to the [Japanese] school curriculum but it’s one piece of important information for teaching English at KCCI ... English education at schools and the problems the junior and senior high school English teachers have at such schools will reflect on the kids we teach at KCCI. ... I don’t think native speakers can talk about the details and bridge the gap with Japanese teachers and students unless they speak good Japanese. Bilingual Japanese teachers can’t teach like native-speaker teachers because they are Japanese after all. So they (schools) need people who can take the best out of native-speaker teachers. That’s possible only with bilingual Japanese teachers ... they bridge the gap between Japanese and foreign teachers and students and team-teach with foreign teachers. (Interview: 2/24/94)

6.1 Teacher’s Biography: Miki’s Story

Miki is a 32-year-old Japanese female who teaches full-time at KCCI. She is one of two EFL coordinators at KCCI. At the beginning of the project, she had taught at the Language Center for two and a half years, but before this, she was a full-time English instructor at a specialized school affiliated with KCCI for 18 to 20 year-olds in the west of Minato City for three years.

During the course of this study, she was intensively teaching children’s English classes but had few adult classes. As coordinator, she also needed to spend more time on administration than teaching. As a result, she taught only six classes on average per week, which was about half as many classes as other full-time teachers.

Miki is a typical native of Minato City, which means
(stereotypically—but in her case quite accurately) that she loves eating good food, has a sophisticated taste in fashion, and only wears authentic things (e.g., pearls, designer-label clothes, fine jewellery, etc.). She is of average height and is very thin. Her hair is short and bobbed, which gives her a very professional look. She is always dressed conservatively but definitely is considered the best dresser at work.

Furthermore, her educational background at a prestigious private school is revealed in her good manners. However, when she speaks English, she seems to lose one of the stereotypical characteristics of ojou-san (a woman from a good and respectable family), that is, being "cute"; many foreign teachers at KCCI describe Japanese women as cute, which seems to contribute to both frustration and unpleasant cultural experiences for women at work. It might be her position as a coordinator that protects her but she seems to be free from the flirtation initiated by male foreign teachers observed among many young Japanese women at work.

I personally haven’t experienced that (foreign male teachers’ flirtation and chauvinistic behaviors). But I often see the male foreigners becoming stuck-up in Japan ... Maybe they think I’m too strong [so they are afraid to flirt with me]. (Interview: 11/1/93)

When male foreign teachers did try to tease her, she just laughed it off and quickly got back at them. On such occasions, young Japanese female office staff members and many of the Japanese female teachers normally giggled, looking at a loss. They were not always pleased with such flirtation and sometimes were even
offended; they looked very helpless. Such helplessness was never articulated in Miki's case.

6.1.1 Past

Miki was born, brought up, and has worked and lived her whole life in Minato City. Except for short-term business and pleasure trips, she has never been out of the city.

Miki went to the most prestigious private girls' school in Minato City from grade 7 through her four-year college education. The girls' school enjoys a good reputation nationally and attracts students from all over Japan. Due to the very difficult entrance examination and the good reputation, it is considered the hardest private girls' school to get into in the whole western part of Japan. The school's high rate of sending girls to highly competitive national and private universities is well-known. The students are from very well-off families with high status. The students at this school are highly intelligent but are also trained to be ojou-san, meaning upper middle to upper class girls with good manners, who know how to be humble (and "cute," as was previously mentioned).

Additionally, the school is famous for its unique English education, which is one of the major reasons it attracts young girls and women these days. The majority of the English teachers are foreign and they use the special curriculum the school has developed, without influence from the Ministry of Education.

Half of the English teachers are native speakers of English. The class size was big, just like any other school in Japan ... [But] at that school, no English textbooks were used. For three years at junior high school, no textbooks were
used. The school has its own handouts used for many years. We started with pronunciation. Only from high school, we started using those textbooks Education Ministry selects together with native-speaker teachers' own materials ... [So] at junior high school, the natural approach was used. Japanese was not used in English classes at all. Even by Japanese teachers, English was used. (Interview: 10/29/93)

Due to her unique English education, Miki could communicate in English with native-speaker teachers without major problems by the time she entered college. At college, she majored in English linguistics and all the lectures were given in English. However, concerning her study of English, she mentioned that she also "learned more communicative and practical English through conversations with native English speakers mostly at work."

When she was in her third year at college, she participated in the International Camp Counsellors' Program, organized by KCCI's headquarters in the United States. Participants of that program were young camp counsellors from all over the world and worked for American children at camps throughout the United States one summer. Miki described her experience as a camp leader in America as unpleasant in the initial questionnaire:

In 1981, summer, I was a camp counsellor at KCCI day camp in Milwaukee for two months. Because of my lack of English ability and lack of self-confidence, I couldn't communicate well with American people and I wasn't a good camp counsellor. (I didn't enjoy my experience as a camp leader in America,) because I think I should have tried more. I was too embarrassed even to ask for some help. On the other hand, I think that I did a good job for a 21-year-old student being alone at the unorganized camp.

However, because of her experiences as a camp leader, even though she did not have a formal teacher training or teaching experience before she got the job as a teacher, she was already used to
managing a group of young students.

After she graduated from college, she worked for a computer company for a few years and then quit the job. When she applied for a teaching position at the (above-mentioned) school affiliated with KCCI, she had had neither formal teacher training nor teaching experience and had been away from anything to do with English for at least five years. She got it partially because of the status and reputation of her college and her role as a camp leader for KCCI during her school days. Now she is one of the most experienced teachers at KCCI and is well-known for her knowledge on teaching children.

Although Miki has never lived overseas for an extended period of time, she has made several short-term (five to ten days) trips to foreign countries, such as Hong Kong, Indonesia, and the U.S.A. (Hawaii and California).

6.1.2 Present

As mentioned above, because of the ojou-san education at private school, Miki has good manners and gives Japanese people a good impression; yet, in many ways, she is different from a stereotypical ojou-san. Her idea of marriage is one example. The ojou-san these days marry before the age of 27. The word, ojou-san, itself, has the connotation of a young girl. However, in her thirties, Miki was enjoying her single life. Although she had been involved in a long-term relationship with a boyfriend, she had no intention of marriage: "Why bother?", she asked rhetorically. Considering her workplace, which was not completely
Japanese, and the supervisory position she took as a coordinator at work, it seemed natural; she was financially independent and had a stable career.

However, one more interesting fact about her background is that many of her unconventional behaviors and attitudes for an ojou-san seemed to have come after she got a job at KCCI. Most of her culture journals were about what happened at work. For example:

The reaction of the foreign teachers to the news that our boss, the executive director, will be transferred to a different section was interesting. I heard many direct and positive comments to the boss which would probably never be heard in a normal Japanese meeting. I thought they were very good at giving compliments which must have made our boss feel good about himself. The majority of the members in the meeting was native speakers of English. I assume that there would be completely different comments in a more Japanese setting. (Journal: 1/11/94)

Largely because of the influences of her foreign colleagues at work, she learned to become critical of young Japanese. In her journal, she wrote that the young Japanese are too dependent on their parents compared with young Western people. With regard to this issue, in the interview, she mentioned that she had never even thought about independence from parents very seriously or been as critical of Japanese when she was a student:

When I was twenty, ... I was still a little dependent on my parents. In that sense, I wasn’t any different from today’s young Japanese students ... I didn’t have foreign friends at college. I was just an ordinary Japanese student. (Interview: 2/2/94)

She also added that she had developed this kind of view about Japanese people since she started working with foreign people at KCCI--because she often heard her foreign colleagues criticize
Japanese people or culture at work, she could not help thinking more critically about Japan.

Miki also became critical of foreign people.

[T]his kind of thing happens every time we (Japanese and foreign teachers) go out for a little party in which everybody goes Dutch. For example, the foreign teacher who came a little later only paid a little while those [foreign teachers] who ate obviously more than the rest of us never offer to pay more. Although they always complain about high prices in Japan, they have been making more money than average Japanese salary men and given special benefits. In their private life, they seem to spend a lot of money (on videos, dinners, etc.). I wonder if it comes from "cultural frustration". I feel a little offended about this situation. (Journal: 11/16/93)

Miki seemed to have constructed her own interpretations about cross-cultural communications throughout her work experiences. That is, it takes more effort and compromise from all the parties from the different cultures involved in such communications than is required in mono-cultural settings:

[T]here was a confrontation between one male foreign teacher and one female Japanese teacher and it ended up involving other people at work, too. The cause for such confrontation seemed so trivial (almost ridiculous) to me but because of the differences in cultures, languages, and personal values of those two people, it became an ugly fight...

Communication involving two parties with different cultures and languages demands high level of cooperation from both sides. Experience and some kind of skill is also necessary. ... You cannot just push your opinions to the others in a cross-cultural setting. Keeping your mouth shut and waiting does not solve any problems, either. (Journal: 11/30/93)

Miki also revealed that the longer she worked in the cross-cultural environment at KCCI, the stronger she felt that, after all, what plays a major role in interpersonal relationship even in a cross-cultural setting is an individual's personality and values rather than culture:
As I interview many (Japanese and foreign) applicants for part-time/full-time teaching positions, I get to see some cultural, educational, and professional background of each individual. ... What strikes me is the individual's "personality" existing behind various backgrounds ... For example, I thought that what makes us judge the person as nice, strange, or funny seems to be the personality rather than the cultural group he/she belongs to. (Journal: 3/1/94)

Referring to this issue, Miki admitted that her views about interpersonal relationships in cross-cultural settings developed after she became a coordinator at KCCI.

6.2 Teacher in the KCCI Class

6.2.1 Class Description: Negotiation of Classroom Culture

During the fall semester, Miki taught Level D which is higher than Level C but lower than higher intermediate. According to Miki, this specific class was lower than the average intermediate level. Their level of communicative English was a lot lower than another Level D class, Danny's, which I also observed. The class met on Tuesday and Friday evenings from 6:30 to 8:20. Miki taught on Tuesdays while her foreign partner teacher (a male American teacher with a Hispanic background) taught on Fridays.

The class was held on the main floor (4th floor) across from the Language Center office. In the classroom, there was a very heavy sliding door which made a noise every time it closed or opened. So Miki often left it open for the first fifteen minutes or so until everyone came to the class. Because of that and also the location of the room, the very beginning of this class was disrupted with noises from the office, late students, or people in the hallway. There were cushioned chairs with little tables
attached and one white board in the front. In front of the white board, about two meters away from students’ chairs, there were two desks and chairs for the teacher. Miki always went in the room ten minutes before the class in order to set the exact number of chairs in a kind of half circle and her teaching materials, roll book, and the tape recorder on the teacher’s desk.

The students were allowed to sit anywhere they liked but students always sat in a fixed seating pattern until the second half of February. At the beginning of the lesson, the girls always sat on the window side of the room while the boys sat on the opposite side, by the door. To have them move, Miki attempted to do many small group and pair activities; she paired them up with different partners in different ways (e.g., having them ask each other’s birthday, height, or simply assigning partners) and also often did "Find someone who..." activities in which students stood and kept changing partners every two minutes or so. Miki said:

I had them stand up in line according to their height, instead of age because some students might mind ... So I had them ask, "How tall are you?" to each other. Unless I tell them, students normally tend to sit in the same places, I found in other classes I’ve taught. I realized that I had better do something about it before the class started, such as instructing them to sit in different places. (Interview: 10/29/93)

The class started with nine students; a very mixed group: two (male and female) high school students, five college students (two females and three males), and the two others who had full-time jobs. Except for one middle-aged lady, the students in this
class were between the age of 17 and 22. Miki kept describing this class as a very "young" class. There were five male students and four females. After Christmas break, a kindergarten teacher in her early thirties joined the class, but that was when college students started missing classes because of final exams at their universities.

From the beginning, Miki knew that because of the two high school students, there was an obvious gap in the students' level of English and age. The college students had trouble speaking English, too, but their ability to read and write English was actually much higher than the others.

It was a very quiet class, partially because of the students' age: young students tend to be very shy about speaking up, especially in front of their classmates of similar ages. At the beginning of the semester, everyone was very nervous, including Miki. However, the class became a little more lively by Christmas break. To Miki's surprise, the students organized a night out with the teachers.

After Christmas until the very end of the semester when the college final exams were over, the class lost much of its energy again.

Recently there are so many students who look sleepy in my class. So I wonder if it's my fault ... It could be exams in case of college students ... Is that because of the cold season? (Interview: 2/9/94)

Meanwhile, the students who attended regularly developed a warmer rapport, and the quietest male high school student, Masao, who had worried Miki the most, started opening up to the class
little by little and everyone came to adore him.

At the beginning of the semester, I wanted to make [Masao] speak somehow, but these days, it has become a class joke, I realized ... yesterday, when it was his turn to speak, his answers were super short, such as only "Yes", "No", or "I don't know" and everyone started laughing but after that he had a smile on his face, looking a little embarrassed but obviously he didn’t seem to mind that. (Interview: 2/9/94)

In addition to the initial silences in the class, what struck me at the beginning was that the middle-aged female student (Yuka) decided to join this young class in the second week; normally older students want to be in a class where there is at least one more student around their age so that they would feel more comfortable. Despite this anxiety at the beginning, she turned out to be the most active and friendliest member of the class and got along with her classmates very well.

Furthermore, what seemed to be a problem at the beginning was that students constantly came to the class late. Miki wrote in her journal and also talked about it in interviews:

I didn’t say anything about it (so many students coming to the class late). It’s very difficult for me to decide what to do. As a program coordinator, I wonder if we should change the starting time from 6:30 to later, like 6:45. (Interview: 11/1/93)

However, based on the knowledge from her long teaching experience at KCCI and considering the fact that students were never too late (unlike Carol’s class, even the latest student usually came 20 minutes after the class started), Miki did not see it as a major problem:

I don’t think I respond (to the late students’ knocking on the door and coming in) at all. It doesn’t really interrupt my class. I would probably quickly greet the late students
but I don't normally pay much attention to [them].
(Interview: 11/16/93)

After the semester was over, Miki felt that the class went well. Miki said, "The attendance was quite good. Except for one student who was writing a thesis, no one else dropped in the middle of the semester," although almost all the college students missed classes in January and February. Despite the initial unfriendly air in the class, the class developed a moderate degree of intimacy toward the end. In mid-February, students started bringing snacks to class and shared these during the break with Miki and other classmates. Miki wrote:

The quietest student, Masao, brought snack to the class as a souvenir from his school trip and we all shared, chatting during the break. It was nice. (Journal: 2/15/94)

In terms of language progress, those who attended regularly improved the most as I expected. At the beginning, the class didn’t seem to cohere (in the sense that none of the students were friends), but at the end, they all became friends ... I’m generally happy with the way it turned out. (Follow-up Questionnaire)

Only one student in Miki’s class responded to the follow-up questionnaire and all her responses, which were very short, were concerned only with her linguistic progress. The only difference she found between Miki and the foreign teacher was that Miki spoke more slowly, which was nice.

6.2.2 Teacher’s Negotiation With the Textbook: Curriculum-as-Plan

The textbook assigned to this class was the same as the one for Danny’s class, New Wave_3 (see Chapter 3). But since the class met in the evening, the classroom dynamics were completely different from Danny’s. While morning classes like Danny’s are
normally full of energetic and highly motivated housewives and other female students (see also Chapter 3), this class was full of young people of both genders, students (high school and college), and three older workers. Additionally, the level of students' communicative English ability was lower than the other Level D classes.

According to the authors, the textbook was designed especially for young adult learners, like the students in this class, in EFL situations with an emphasis on both oral fluency and accuracy. Unlike Carol, Miki did not talk about the teaching approach or specific method promoted in the textbook. Although she and another coordinator normally chose textbooks for all the courses, she did not choose this particular course book for this specific class. Level C and D classes were using either The New Cambridge English Course 2 (e.g., Carol's class) or this New Wave 3. Miki seemed to be most faithful in using the textbook among the teachers who participated in this study; she usually used the exercises directly from the textbook without much modification.

As will be shown in the following section, Miki used the textbook mostly during the first half in each lesson:

I never use the textbook for two hours. I usually spend the second half on something other than the textbook.
(Interview: 2/24/94)

Miki considered the topics in the textbook (e.g., taking summer intensive courses, renting an apartment, finding a roommate for an apartment, non-smoking, jogging, camping and canoeing, health, etc.) North American and unfamiliar to many
Japanese students. Therefore, those topics seemed interesting to students at first. Miki took this factor positively and said:

When I first looked at the unit, I felt it [the topic of the unit, looking for a non-smoker roommate] might not be appropriate. But on the other hand, especially because we don’t have that kind of concept in Japan, we should go over it. I also felt, though, that I shouldn’t go too far into it. I generally think students took it positively. By chance two college students are living in apartments so I could get those students involved and ask questions about their situations. (Interview: 11/1/93)

However, as time went on, I heard some students complain during the break after Miki left the classroom (January 25th) about the amount of textbook activities used and the repetition of similarly structured activities in the book. In her journal, Miki also showed her dissatisfaction with the book:

Although it is not a major problem, now that I got used to this textbook, it doesn’t seem as exciting as before. Of course, it is a teacher’s job to make the best use of any book. I think further efforts on my side are necessary. (Journal: 1/25/94)

In the interview, she further explained this issue:

It could be me who got tired of the textbook. The textbook is not really that bad but each unit repeats the same pattern throughout the whole book. It starts with the dialogue, then true/false questions, pattern practice exercises. And the comic strips are so-so. ... Students don’t express their complaints about the textbook clearly anyway. (Interview: 2/24/94)

At about the same time, the college students started missing classes and she shared her concern about the energy level of the class with me (see above, Section 6.2.1). Subsequently, she reduced the use of the textbook to a degree. In one journal, Miki wrote:

Everyone seemed very tired. College students were busy with exams at school and others (because they were teachers) with
marking exams. I was going to do some textbook exercises but changed my plan and did light-hearted one ("Guess who" board game) instead. (Journal: 2/15/94)

6.2.3 Lesson in Action

Although Miki's students did not show up on time, the situation was nothing like Carol's class: even the latest student in Miki's class usually arrived no more than fifteen minutes late. No matter how many students there were in the class, Miki started the class at 6:30 sharp. She always stood in the front of the room and began the class by asking about students' weekends, one by one. (See Appendix E.1.)

For her, this one-to-one chat on the weekend activity was a warm-up exercise before starting the real content of the lesson:

I tend to start a class without any fixed way, but I don't move right into the textbook because there are always late students. So I tend to have chats with students at the beginning. Because the class meets on Tuesday, I tend to ask them about their weekends ... I know some students actually prepare at home what they would say. I tend to do this a lot especially in classes held at the beginning of the week. I often hear from students that they could learn a lot this way, enjoyed this little chat, were glad to get to know what their classmates personally did outside the class. So I figure that it's good for the students as long as I see that it wouldn't run too long. (Interview: 12/20/93)

This activity normally lasted twenty minutes maximum. Miki's sample lessons are shown in Figure 6 below.
### Sample Lesson 1 (10/26)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6:20</td>
<td>*Set the Ss’ chairs in a half circle&lt;br&gt;*Set up a tape recorder and teaching materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:30-6:32</td>
<td>*T coming in: greeting to the class, “Hello, how are you?”&lt;br&gt;*Checking roll by calling Ss’ names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:32-7:10</td>
<td>**“What did you do on the weekend?”: T asking Ss individually&lt;br&gt;*Ss still coming in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:10-7:15</td>
<td>*Introduction to the textbook: the word &quot;rent&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:15-7:20</td>
<td>*Comprehension questions on the dialogue (textbook)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:20-7:25</td>
<td>*Exercise: find similar expressions (textbook)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:25-7:32</td>
<td>*Make sentences using &quot;quit&quot;, &quot;May I...&quot;, and &quot;get along&quot; (spontaneous)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:32-7:33</td>
<td>7:32-7:33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:33-7:35</td>
<td>*Break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:45-7:55</td>
<td>*Pronunciation exercise: intonation of questions (textbook)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:55-8:10</td>
<td>*Interview activity (pair work) (textbook)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:10-8:25</td>
<td>*Game: trivia quiz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Sample Lesson 2 (2/1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6:20</td>
<td>*Set the Ss’ chairs in a half circle&lt;br&gt;*Set up a tape recorder and teaching materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:30-6:34</td>
<td>*Greeting and chatting (only one S was there)&lt;br&gt;*Ss coming in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:34-7:05</td>
<td>*Danny’s Dice Game: How was your weekend?: Making sentences according to the # rolled&lt;br&gt;*Ss still coming in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:05-7:30</td>
<td>*Reading questions (present perfect tense) and Ss repeating&lt;br&gt;**&quot;Find someone who&quot; (pair work: textbook)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:30-7:33</td>
<td>*Checking how Ss did in the activity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:33-7:35</td>
<td>7:33-7:35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:00-8:05</td>
<td>*Listening exercise &amp; comprehension questions (textbook)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:05-8:25</td>
<td>*Guess what product this advertizes: magazine ads used</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Boldface type means textbook activities.

**Figure 6. Miki's sample lessons.**
Then, Miki moved on to the textbook. She preferred pair work, information-gap activities, "Find someone who...", or interviews with classmates. As will be discussed below (Section 6.2.4), she felt reluctant to do reading and discussion, grammar rules, and listening exercises. She assigned reading and discussion exercises as homework but she did other activities whenever they appeared in the book. Sometimes short and easy role playing was done but pair work activities always highlighted the main part of the lesson. Talking about the students' process of socialization into KCCI, Miki, herself, remarked that her English class was new for a lot of beginning students in the sense that it was defined by unfamiliar activities, such as those described above:

After students start getting used to the class [at KCCI], if they are asked to do an activity, they'll be ready to start without extensive instructions. So I don't have to talk much. For example, they would know what to do in pair work, or info-gap activities, etc. without my explanation ... So for the students who take English conversation lessons at an institution like KCCI, class cannot help being a little more informative at the beginning than it's supposed to be. (Interview 10/29/93)

Her frequent reference to such activities in her journals and interviews also reflected her view of those activities as fundamental to her language teaching:

I did some pair work activities in a row (tic-tac-toe and information-gap activities) and the lesson depended on students a lot. But after all, the students were always engaged in conversations and it was a very good atmosphere. (Journal: 12/14/93)

One example of such pair work activities is shown in Appendix E.2.
After she finished most of the textbook exercises for the day, she took a ten-minute break, much later than other teachers. Miki often stayed in the classroom for a while, talking to the students in Japanese, either informing students of upcoming KCCI events or explaining some English questions, this time in Japanese:

[During break] if I find a student who seems to have trouble with something or someone might want to talk to me, I try to talk to her or him. Students are not used to the system at KCCI yet. I use the time for the break for giving them information on KCCI events, counselling interviews, and so on. I speak to them in Japanese. (Interview: 11/1/93)

After the break, 45 minutes or so remained. For most of that time, she had students play various communication games: one game per lesson. Several times, she used the communication game book (Hadfield, 1984) or other textbooks to review the structure of the day: e.g., "Where is it?", "Guess what she/he has been doing", etc. She sometimes used games which were completely irrelevant to what she had covered in the first half of the lesson in order to have the students enjoy themselves.

The activity (or more like a game) at the end of the class (Trivia quiz) was not really targeted at the same thing that we were working on from the book. However, I think it got them interested and they had fun so it was good. (Journal: 10/26/93)

The ideas for such games were often recommended by her colleagues. The games Miki tried during the semester were Trivia quiz, Personality Test, charades, a Christmas vocabulary quiz and bingo, a vocabulary game, magazine ads, a commercial board game "Guess who!", a superlative competition game, and so on.

That game [Guess who?] is good for beginners. So actually
for Level D or E, the language involved such as "Is the
person a man?" and "Does he have long hair?" might be too
easy. The structure of the language involved is easy but it
is good because the students have to do something using
English, not just for the sake of learning English.
(Interview: 2/24/94)

Miki's awareness of institutional goals seemed to be
reflected in her "one game per lesson" policy. However, she could
not completely dismiss the linguistic element of the class: she
believed that the students should both master "language," the
structure of English grammar, and have fun. Therefore, she was
rather relieved when she attended a workshop given by a NS author
(Prof. Michael Rost) of one of the latest EFL textbooks and could
confirm that her idea of teaching English in a more structured
way was not wrong:

[H]e said, "Beginners can't handle very open activities so
we should start with more structured activities." For
example, by reading and speaking, students can get used to
it first and then they can be ready to fill in blanks. After
that, without looking at the text, looking only at the
picture, students can be ready for info-gap activities.
Little by little, the kinds of activities should shift
toward more open ones like more personalized ones. It
doesn't have to be a carnival all the way through. I always
thought I have to have students enjoy the lesson and the
lesson shouldn't be boring. (Interview: 10/29/93)

This attitude of Miki's was also reflected in her unconscious
habit of having all the students repeat the complete
grammatically accurate sentence every time an answer was given by
one of the students in so-called "fun" games. (See Appendix E.3.)

However, as the semester moved along, Miki's lesson plan
fluctuated between two opposites, more fun-oriented and more
structured, as she tried to find a middle-ground; eventually she
chose the more fun-oriented plan, with less use of the textbook
and more time spent on games.

6.2.4 Implicit Messages in the "Lived Curriculum" for EFL and Culture Teaching

Miki's lesson plan had a pattern; it had the same beginning (asking students about their weekends one by one as a warmer) and the same ending (communication game) in every lesson. However, the main content of a lesson seemed to lack a consistent theme; whatever exercises in the textbook assigned for the day determined the content of the lesson. The time allotted to each activity seemed more dominant in the planning than the consistency of the two-hour lesson. She chose activities but mostly followed the order of the textbook. She usually started where her foreign partner-teacher finished in the previous lesson and moved forward in order, skipping some activities on the way. Therefore, sometimes the lesson turned out to be fragmented, which posed some problems to Miki:

The lesson ended up being unstructured and fragmented without one theme of the day. It might be because two teachers in charge of the same class use the same textbook alternately, taking apart a unit into many pieces in the book. (Journal: 11/16/93)

In Miki's lesson structure, the following concepts were implicitly conveyed throughout the semester: (1) institutional pressure for fun, (2) conflicting types of activities, and (3) Japanese EFL teacher as counsellor/advisor.

(1) Institutional Pressure for "Fun"

Despite her awareness of the occasional lack of a "single" consistent theme in her lesson plan and her goal of teaching
target grammar points, the institutional goal of "having a good
time in English" often seemed to preoccupy her in planning for
the lesson. She became worried if the class was not focused
around light-hearted fun things.

There must be bad classes which are not boring. But boring
classes are one type of bad class. At KCCI, boring classes
are not good, I think. Students come to the class only once
or twice a week so ... They should enjoy the class. Classes
should give them a chance to have fun. (Interview: 11/25/93)

As mentioned above (Section 6.2.3), her "one-game-per-lesson"
policy precisely reflects her concerns with the institutional
goals and to her was a reasonable compromise between grammar and
"fun" activities.

Miki also considered another element, pictures and props, in
her choice of activities which could be related to the fun class
factor:

[Concerning the choice of picture cards,] I tried to choose
different things, not similar things ... I took a variety
into consideration, such as a man wearing a suit, a woman in
a dress, etc. ... I tend to use any pictures I can find in
my own magazines, paying more attention to the size of
pictures. ... It's possible [to consider issues of racism
and sexism and balancing of visual images used] only when we
have a choice. In reality, in magazines, even in Japanese
magazines, most of the models are Caucasian ... Of course,
it would be better if we had all different kinds of people
included in our picture card collection. Especially, when we
do description of people's appearance. (Interview: 11/16/93)

(2) Conflicting Types of Activities

Consequently, the same conflict seemed to be reflected in
Miki's choice of types of activities for the class; her
preference for games and pair work (information-gap and find-
someone-who) activities stood out (see Section 5.2.3 above). Miki
felt reluctant to do activities such as reading and discussions,
grammar exercises, and listening activities, because students
could not talk as much. But at the same time, her misgivings
about such activities seemed to exemplify her fear of potential
seriousness in the class. Although she did try those potentially
serious types of activities in her class, she showed her
concerns. For example, she wrote in her journals and also talked
about this issue in interviews:

1. **Reading activities**
   A few years ago, someone said it was fun when she did
   something like this (magazine ad activity in which students
   look at magazine ads and guess what the products are) ... It
   wasn't difficult for the students in my class. I just wanted
   them to talk to each other just by looking at pictures. But
   they thought they could find the information in the written
   parts so they were seriously reading rather than speaking.
   [So the class turned out to be quiet.] (Interview: 2/24/94)

2. **Grammar exercises**
   Everyone learns the usage of "Would you mind ...ing?" at
   school but not so many people can use it in English
   conversation. I thought it would be nice if they could use
   it. So I wanted to have them practice more. But I ended up
   doing the same thing over and over again. So I was wondering
   if it was boring and it became like a drill ... They must
   have been bored because they keep going over the same thing
   ... Once they started getting bored, ... they stopped
   talking about extra things relevant to the topic in the game
   in English. (Interview: 2/24/94)

3. **Listening activities**
   The listening activity using the tape made the class very
   quiet and passive as is always the case. It was not
   satisfactory. I added easy questions so that students could
   speak but it did not seem to be working, either. (Journal:
   2/8/94)

I don't do listening activities much. I know listening
activities are important and some students specifically make
a request for that in students' questionnaire. ... Maybe the
way I do is wrong. ... I want my students to spend as much
time as possible on speaking, communication, and interaction
in my two-hour class. So when the students don't speak at
all, or they don't interact with one another, I feel very
uneasy. (Interview: 2/24/94)
Miki attempted to solve the problems with these types of activities in different ways. For example, Miki mentioned in the interview that she always assigned the reading as homework and in the following lessons, her foreign partner teacher did the discussion activities. With regard to the listening exercise, Miki attempted to take a different approach once after the above interview; that is, by using a script with some words blackened students were actively engaged in filling out such blanks while listening and practicing reading dialogues with an emphasis on intonation (see Appendix E.4).

(3) Japanese EFL Teacher as an Empathetic Counsellor/Advisor: Students' Emotional and Linguistic Needs

Because Miki is one of the most experienced teachers at KCCI, she had a solid grasp of students' emotional state at each stage of the semester. She tried to take this element into account when she evaluated her lesson:

At this stage [second week], I want them to talk about anything as much as possible because they tend to be quiet for a long time ... I don't use that kind of strategy much. ... Because it's the beginning of a semester, I'd rather have the students speak much with mistakes than little but accurately ... I noticed some mistakes in [their] English but I have been holding correction at the moment. (Interview: 11/1/93)

As a result, Miki assumed a counsellor-type role. For Miki, this role, in particular, distinguishes Japanese teachers from foreign teachers. Believing Japanese teachers, not foreign teachers, are role models for students, Miki thought that one of the best benefits Japanese teachers can offer is giving advice. Such advice is normally on how to study English based on
their own English learning experiences. However, Miki admitted
that sometimes some students turned to her for more than just
study-related advice; sometimes, it is more personal. During the
course of this study, Miki called some students who had been
absent for a few weeks, something no other teachers did:

Two students had been absent for a very long time. That’s
why I called them. I was wondering how they were doing. ... 
I usually try to call the ones who have been absent for a
long time and whom I don’t know what’s happening to. That’s
not KCCI regulation but I do so anyway. I think it’s easier
for a student to talk to me about his or her situation than
to an office staff member a student doesn’t know much.
(Interview: 3/10/94)

Her long teaching experience and position as a coordinator
also provided Miki with access to students’ feedback about all
the KCCI English courses. That helped Miki establish her role as
empathetic counsellor and advisor by being responsive to their
feedback in designing her lesson plan. One example is that she
tried to answer their questions later if she did not know the
answer on the spot:

When I don’t know the answer for the student’s question in
the class, I honestly tell my students so. If I’m not sure
of the answer, I’ll let them know that and tell them that
I’ll check the answer later. Sometimes during the break, I
check. If a student has a dictionary, I might have them
check the answer on the spot. When I first started teaching
at senmon gakko (KCCI affiliated school), I wasn’t sure
whether students might lose confidence in me if I show my
ignorance by saying that I don’t know but now I feel that
students’ attitude toward me won’t change because of that.
They seem to appreciate my honesty. I don’t think I’ve ever
let students lose confidence in me. (Interview: 10/29/93)

Another example is that Miki tried to correct students’ mistakes
as much as possible:

I learned that anyone in any level wants teachers to correct
his/her mistakes. Frequently I hear the students’ complaint
that native-speaker teachers don't correct mistakes much. As long as they get the meanings, they don't correct mistakes. Nine out of ten students seem to request more correction. NS teachers tend to put more emphasis on the meanings and content of the students' speeches. ... [I found that in counselling interviews and meetings of class representatives. I also remember my own experience as a language learner.] (Interview: 12/20/93)

Miki also considered the differences between morning and evening classes. She knew that students in the evening classes were more serious about their English learning. Also, because evening students come to KCCI after work/school, they tended to lack energy. In order to bring up their energy level, she stood rather than sitting like she did in the relaxed morning classes.

In morning classes, I tend to talk about my own weekend but in evening classes, I rarely do. I feel that in evening classes I shouldn't spend too much time on that kind of free talk. In case of morning classes, even if I end up spending a lot of time on that kind of free talk exercise, everyone gets involved, has fun, and feels satisfied especially because their interests seem to be similar. In evening classes, they are all in different situations. A lot of the students are very serious about moving up to the upper level classes. So I feel reluctant to do that kind of free floating activity. (Interview: 11/16/93)

6.2.5 Explicit Messages Conveyed in the Teaching of Culture

In the follow-up questionnaire, Miki revealed her view of language as being inseparable from culture. She also stated that "culture" is what one learns through "language", i.e., after language is mastered. Regarding this specific class, Miki denied that she had taught culture although the textbook and games she used were derived from Western sources and the topics were often American issues. Miki mentioned:

Because I am Japanese, the same as my students, my job was mostly focused on teaching "language" rather than "culture". I did not teach culture much because the students had not
reached the level of English where they could handle cultural issues. (Follow-up Questionnaire)

Her personal view about culture reflects her dismissal of dealing with the issue of culture in her teaching. As mentioned above (Section 6.1.2), Miki came to believe that culture plays a less important role in a long-term interpersonal relationship in cross-cultural settings. All that matters is one’s personality and values after all:

There must be a general tendency found in each cultural group. For example, Japanese are less assertive. But in a long-term relationship, the personalities rooted deep inside individuals are more important [than their cultural backgrounds]. (Interview: 3/10/94)

She even referred to a manifestation of this attitude in her teaching. For her, the goal of students’ learning English is for them to be able to say what they want to say:

I came to realize that you don’t have to change yourself depending on who is with you. For example, ... I believe and tell my students that they don’t have to be able to speak [English] that fast like a native speaker. I probably more strongly than ever believe that you don’t have to adjust yourself to the other person’s way. (Interview: 3/10/94)

The strongpoint of NS teachers she believed is the "real English" they speak with students.

The strongpoint about native-speaker teachers is that their mother tongue is English. Students can be exposed to "real English" in native-speaker teachers' classes. Their class give students very precious opportunities to speak with native-speakers. (Interview: 11/25/93)

Furthermore, Miki was aware of her limited English ability which, to her, distinguished Japanese teachers from foreign teachers:

I think I teach English as a Japanese teacher. In terms of English, definitely I am. I give instructions in English but probably native-speaker teachers use fillers and jokes in between very well. I can manage the minimum English to teach
the class but I think native-speaker teachers can handle more than the minimum requirement. (Interview: 3/10/94)

6.3 Summary of the Chapter

Miki felt at odds with the institutional goals of KCCI: to promote internationalization through the exchange of culture. Part of the source of conflict resided in Miki’s teaching priority. She viewed herself as a teacher of language, not culture. This was due to her view of language learning as an end in itself, not as a tool for the transmission of culture, values, and philosophy. If culture was transmitted, it was better left to NSs of English or to international programs, rather than to Japanese language teachers. This may have been based on her background. In education, she experienced the traditional Japanese school system: with its emphasis on learning language for study’s sake. Eventually, Miki tried to incorporate fun elements, like games or pair work, into her class. But such elements seemed inconsistent and even artificial in her classroom. She never achieved a true blend of being able to mix these with her reliance on the textbook.
CHAPTER 7

KIMIKO

I want to respect some Japanese ways in the class because some things in Japan are very good. If I adapt some good western things because I thought they were really good, it is often taken as "westernized" by Japanese people, right?. ... It’s your choice. ... I don’t want to insist that my way is the only right way to live. (Interview: 11/15/93)

7.1 Teacher’s Biography: Kimiko’s Story

Kimiko is a 35-year-old Japanese female who teaches part-time at KCCI. However, the number of classes she taught per semester was almost as high as full-time teachers; during the fall semester, 1993, she taught eight classes a week. She had taught at KCCI for three and a half years when I started this research. She was described as the most professional and experienced teacher at KCCI by the coordinators and was considered a good teacher by students (evaluations are always very high). She was also teaching at another major English conversation school where each lesson was strictly structured by its institution and the teaching approach (very similar to audio-lingual method) was different from KCCI. Kimiko revealed to me in the interview that she actually enjoyed the freedom of choice in terms of the teaching approach and materials at KCCI:

I work at another school (BCC). I’ve been trying to follow the teachers’ manuals as much as possible because the school monitors the teachers regularly. Because of my efforts, I’ve been getting very good evaluations from the school but recently I noticed that maybe students were not enjoying my classes much. So I changed the way and became more flexible. I try to play communication games away from the textbook, reduce the pattern practice activities, and instead do more interactive exercises like I do at KCCI. (Interview: 12/6/93)
Kimiko is a little taller than the average Japanese women, about 163 cm. Her hair is long and slightly wavy, usually pulled back. She is dressed simply, normally in a knee-length tight skirt and blouse with a cardigan or a sweater. She has very fair and smooth skin so some people at work say she looks like a traditional Japanese doll. She always smiles and sounds very cheerful. However, she is not a stereotypical "cute Japanese woman" at all. She says what she can and cannot do very frankly.

Her daily schedule seemed hectic: she taught at KCCI in the morning, tutored Japanese or attended a seminar for counselling in the afternoon, and then taught at another English school in the evening (from 5:00 to 9:00 p.m.).

7.1.1 Past

Kimiko was born and grew up west of Minato City. She went to a local public co-ed high school just like other Japanese students. However, even during her high school days, she had a completely different plan from her friends who could not see any other choice but going to a Japanese college after graduating from high school. She decided, rather, to go to a community college in the U.S.A. It was over 15 years ago when, unlike now, very few Japanese studied abroad or even travelled overseas. She recalled those days as follows:

I was very young so I wanted to try on my own. I bought a lot of Japanese magazines and how-to books on "study abroad". I could get a lot of information that way. ... Of course, compared to now, there was less variety of that kind of book and magazine. (Interview: 10/28/93)

At that time, she studied English very hard. She watched
many movies and read her favorite novels (Agatha Christie) in English. She took some English classes at KCCI, too. For her, the preparation was not really "studying" because it was enjoyable. She could not reach the required TOEFL score in Japan, so she took ESL courses for three months in Pacific City before community college started.

After studying at a community college in Pacific City for two years, she returned to Japan. She was only 20 years old and the reverse culture shock was severe. She realized how much she had changed compared to her friends. Therefore, she had to be careful in speaking with them. It was painful and caused her to realize that being different in Japan posed difficulties. She talked about her experience of reverse culture shock in the interview:

I had very bad reverse culture shock. The worst one was after spending two years in the U.S. for the first time ... Because I was so young, everything was very simulating and I was flexible enough to absorb new things. ... Although I did not hear any really negative criticisms from people around me then, I did not feel so comfortable with my old friends any more. My Japanese friends then were all from high school and some were even already married. I did not think I had changed that much but I could not talk with them freely any more. Then I realized that my friends had not changed but I had changed. (Interview: 10/28/93)

At the present time, Kimiko felt more comfortable because she was in a special environment in Japan, a cross-cultural cocoon, surrounded by foreigners and Japanese people with similar backgrounds (with overseas experience).

Japan is comfortable but that's because of the special environment I'm in. For example, working at KCCI and BCC, having lots of foreign friends in Japan, and even my Japanese friends are those who have lived overseas ... So my
life here is not completely Japanese. I think I'm in a special environment. (Interview: 2/24/94)

As soon as she got back from studying in the United States, she got her first teaching job at a language school. Later, she went to Australia. In Australia, she had many different kinds of jobs: as a waitress at a Japanese restaurant, translating mechanical catalogues for a camera company, and working at an opal company as a sales clerk. Taking maximum advantage of the opportunity, she backpacked all over Australia. Meanwhile, she encountered a few unpleasant cultural experiences; it was her first time to experience "racism." She met some Australians who hated Japanese people as a whole, calling them a derogatory name, which she had never experienced in America. She reasoned that was perhaps because she was not a student in Australia.

Although I met many Australian people who were interested in Japan, I met many Australians who disliked Japanese, too. In the States, I was just a student and I think students in general are nice to people. In Australia, ... when I was working, probably due to the high unemployment rate, I was seen as one of those Asian immigrants who took away their jobs. They didn't understand why Japanese people have to come all the way to Australia to work. I didn't hear a negative comment directly but I saw the graffiti, "Asians, go out!", on the wall on the street. (Interview: 10/28/93)

After her adventures in Australia, Kimiko worked in Japan for another two years and then went to a four-year university in the American Pacific North West. In 1989, she received her bachelor's degree in psychology after two years of studying. At this school, she was also a member of Toastmasters--an organization devoted to expertise in public speaking. She said that she learned a lot about communication in the club, which
helped her to improve in English a lot. Since 1990, she was teaching English at KCCI and another language school, BCC.

When she first got a job at BCC, she took a teacher training course for two weeks. The content was focused on how to use the institution's own teacher's manual. All the classes were supposed to be taught using this teacher's manual and every month teachers were observed and evaluated based on how closely they followed the manual.

7.1.2 Present

Kimiko said that she was not as adventurous as before but still did not lose her zeal. Even after coming back to Japan and starting to teach, she made many interesting trips. She also travelled regularly to the United States and Canada to meet old friends from college and her sister, who was married to a Canadian in Canada. She has been to Europe and Thailand. The biggest trip she made recently was when she backpacked in Indonesia for three weeks in 1992. In the second week during that trip, she went to an island where there was no electricity or running water; she wanted to go somewhere ordinary tourists do not visit.

Before the trip, I read the guide book [and studied about Indonesia]. ... I believe in "When in Rome, do as the Romans do." ... the local person I met there ... taught me what to do. ... I didn’t go to any famous places in Bali. I went to the island where there was no electricity, malaria was prevalent so I had to get a preventive injection before the trip. I think I was experiencing a life very similar to local people's. (Interview: 11/18/93)

Her extremely colorful history and personality does not match the impression she gives to most people. Her students,
office staff members, and other teachers at KCCI all describe her as elegant, good-mannered, polite, and modest. The foreign coordinator, Jane, told me that, considering Kimiko's five years of overseas experiences, it is very unexpected to find her more "Japanese" than Miki who has never lived abroad.

Another factor in Kimiko's attitude might have encouraged people at work to have such an impression about her; that is, she does not want to force "Western values" on anyone. Kimiko tried to maintain good parts of both Japanese and American cultures. Therefore, she was not happy when people identified her as a "feminist," Westernized woman, because of her relatively long residency in the United States and Australia:

Recently, the feminist movement has been getting more and more active in Japan. Although I am not a feminist, just because I have lived overseas, I was asked to make a speech on situations overseas at the feminist meeting by someone I know. I turned it down because I'm not a feminist. ... I believe that the family ties is very important and it is a good thing if women become full-time housewives and take care of husbands and their children. It is just that I am not that type. I, of course, think that the single women who are successful in their career are attractive, too. It's your own choice. I chose to work ... by chance ... But I don't want to insist that my way is the only right way to live. (Interview: 11/15/93)

In other aspects, the influence of being exposed to many different environments was evident in her life style. For example, at the time of this study, although she had been seeing her American boyfriend for five years and was in her mid-thirties, she did not think about marriage: she said that she wanted to enjoy a life free from social pressure. She did what she wanted to do when she felt like it. She also had an ambition
I teach English because I need to make money for living and I like teaching English. I feel more like I am doing what I want to do ... I teach because I enjoy teaching by chance. I am independent of my parents, of course ... But I think that the ideas of independent women in general are very different from someone like me. I don’t believe that I live to work and will continue to work till I die. I want to go back to school some day. I might change my job or continue. I do not have concrete plans for the future. I enjoy the present. That’s my life style. I don’t consider myself as a "career woman". Some students have asked me if I will ever marry. ... So I said, "When I feel like it, I will" I am that way. (Interview: 11/15/93)

Talking with her students and Japanese friends, Kimiko came to realize that she leads a life different from the Japanese mainstream. She found that there were certain things which Japanese normally knew but she did not. During the course of this study, this discovery sometimes occurred in the students’ discussions in the class:

I normally start my lesson talking about pop news but that morning ... I still wasn’t recovered from the shock. My friend’s husband was still angry [because his newly married wife missed the last train and stayed with me overnight], so I brought that up in the class. ... I realized that my way of thinking may not be so Japanese after hearing students talking about the situation. Some students really strongly stated that they would never stay over at someone’s place no matter what ... I didn’t see why the husband had to be that much angry over such a trivial thing. I would be angry if my husband got angry like that. Maybe, my value system is off base in Japan? (Interview: 12/15/93)

Talking with her male Japanese friend, the fact that she was not serious enough about "work" according to the Japanese standard was mentioned. For example, her rejection of teaching children because she does not enjoy it and her choice of the part-time status at each school with no intention to pursue a
full-time position were criticized as lacking "seriousness." For Kimiko, work takes up one-third of your life time, so why bother to try to do things you do not enjoy very much?

7.2 Teacher in the KCCI Class

7.2.1 Class Description: Negotiation of Classroom Culture

Kimiko taught the Level D class with Danny (see Chapter 4). Kimiko taught on Monday mornings and Danny taught on Thursday mornings. However, while Danny had been teaching the same group of students since April, 1993 (some, for over a year), Kimiko was asked to take over in the middle of the spring semester (September) when the former Japanese teacher left. Therefore, when Kimiko started teaching this class, the class had already developed a very strong class bond and had clear and fixed expectations about their classes.

Kimiko's class was held in the same room as Danny's. However, since Kimiko never used a video in her lesson, there was never a TV set or VCR in the room. Another difference in terms of furniture was that Kimiko only used one white board while Danny always used two. In Danny's class, he often drew pictures to explain things and scribbled words or expressions which students had not understood. On the contrary, Kimiko used the board to write down questions for discussion or interview activities. After the discussion, she always summarized each group's opinions and wrote them down on the board, too.

The chairs were arranged in the same way as Danny's class at the beginning of every lesson; they were in a line in the back of
the room, about two meters away from teacher's desks. However, Kimiko often had students move their chairs to make a small circle for group activities or put two chairs together for pair activities. Kimiko also moved students around to have them paired up with different partners. Kimiko herself moved, too. She started the lesson, sitting in the front. As soon as she finished instructions for each activity, she moved between students. When she did interview activities, she always had students make speeches individually in the front after interviews; she sat at the student's seat on such occasions. This indicates the role switch between teacher and student; Kimiko became a listener while the students became active speakers.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the class bond in this class was exceptionally solid. Kimiko believed that it brought positive effects. However, one incident Kimiko described in the interview suggested that the stronger the class bond is, the more difficult it might be for the class to accept newcomers. When Kimiko started teaching, the class had already established strong bonds with Danny and the former Japanese teacher; therefore, some students openly rejected Kimiko, the newcomer. Three of the most active students (Hanako, Yayoi, and Yoshimi), the main members of "Danny's Fan Club," confronted Kimiko about her teaching style. They told her that they were not happy with the way Kimiko did the class because it was based on the textbook; they did not want to do textbook exercises but wanted to play games just like Danny. She was criticized for being too strict. This shocked
Kimiko because she had never before received such a direct and negative comment from students. After negotiation, Kimiko suggested continuing with her present teaching style but playing only one game for the last thirty minutes in each lesson. In two weeks or so, the same three students came back and apologized. They said that they realized that they actually liked the way Kimiko used the textbook in class because Danny never really used the book and it would be good for them to have a different kind of teacher. At the end of the spring semester, the students even requested Kimiko as their teacher for the fall semester, too. Despite the happy ending, Kimiko was still confused and suspicious about the students’ true feelings about her lessons.

To tell you the truth, I had a very bad impression of those students when I first had to teach that class. ... I felt very bad and uncomfortable. I never got this kind of negative comment from students. ... Although they gave me a positive comment at the end, I still suspect that they might not really like my way of teaching. Their attitude changed too quickly from one extreme to the other. (Interview: 11/15/93)

The way students reacted in this incident perhaps reflected Danny’s orientation to problem-solving to some extent. Having been thus socialized into his EFL course and classroom culture, they were attempting to resocialize a Japanese teacher to conduct lessons likewise. As touched upon in Chapter 4, Danny is the type of person who believes in immediate problem-solving by direct action. Therefore, Danny did not mind confronting some co-workers who could not observe his rule. The recurring students’ questionnaire responses about the culture they appropriated in the class seemed to indicate their infatuation with Danny and
acquisition of his beliefs regarding direct confrontation. Many students said that they understood American culture to be one in which people have their own opinions and assert themselves to solve problems if there is something which does not agree with you. Perhaps, due to their high regard for Danny, even at the end of the semester, many of them still labelled Japanese teachers as "grammar-oriented", serious, too organized, and humorless, compared with foreign teachers (follow-up questionnaire).

After the initial protest, the class bond benefitted Kimiko, too. When Yoshimi went on a trip to Singapore, she brought a souvenir, chocolate, to the class and shared her adventure with them. When Juri went to Malaysia, she did the same thing. At Christmas time, Yoshimi gave handmade presents to everyone in the class including teachers. The class attended the KCCI Christmas party together and sang Christmas carols in front of everyone. Kimiko helped them choose songs and practice after class.

Unlike Danny, because Kimiko also worked at different schools, she kept missing all the KCCI events when her students were present: the opening ceremony, the potluck party, the Christmas party, and the closing potluck party at the end of the semester. When Danny had students over at his apartment for vegetarian pizzas, she could not go, either. However, the students became as curious about Kimiko's private life as they were about Danny's, which could be taken as a sign of their acceptance of Kimiko. They even approved of her as a candidate girlfriend for Danny. When the students found out the fact, some
of them still hoped that Kimiko's boyfriend--who was an unknown American person to them--was actually Danny and started making a lot of jokes about Kimiko's boyfriend in the class.

I don't think they believe that [Danny being my boyfriend] any more but they like that talk ... When I said that as a joke, some students in another class [I share with Danny] actually believed. But in this class, nobody believes that. But I think Danny told the students that I went to [Pacific City] to meet my boyfriend so ... they think my boyfriend is living in [Pacific City]. They are very curious. (Interview 2/24/94)

One student wrote in her questionnaire about the positive change she found in the teachers during the semester:

In terms of the influence to the teachers, I could tell the teachers have become relaxed in the class. I think that as everyone in the class gets to know each other better, the kind of relationship between us has changed from teacher-student one to friendship. (Yoko)

Reflecting on the semester, Kimiko said that overall, the class turned out to be very easy to teach because the students were very active. She also thought the class bond contributed to the success of the semester. She believed that the students did not have to be afraid of making mistakes because they knew their classmates were friends who would forgive such mistakes.

If the students know each other very well, they might not feel so scared of making mistakes in the class. Because everyone knows you, you might feel relaxed and try to say your opinion which might sound stupid but because everyone knows you, you might think that they don't make fun of you ... In this class, especially in discussion activities, I find great differences. [Students are much more active in discussions than any other classes.] (Interview: 2/24/94)

Kimiko often wrote in her journals how impressed she was with these housewife students when they did various discussion activities. Kimiko also mentioned she appreciated the students'
initiative which led to spontaneous discussions in the middle of her lesson.

She said that they were very eager to learn about foreign cultures and all had interesting opinions about issues. Kimiko thinks that she learned many things from her students.

Especially, in discussions, the students freely shared many different and fascinating viewpoints with each other, from which I, the teacher in the class, could actually learn many things. (Follow-up Questionnaire)

7.2.2 Teacher's Negotiation with the Textbook: Curriculum-as-Plan

The textbook used in this class was New Wave 3, the same one that Miki and Danny used (see Chapter 3). Kimiko, like other teachers at KCCI, used the textbook as a syllabus for all the courses she taught. In the initial questionnaire, she indicated that her use of the textbook was normally 50-80% of the class time. Therefore, Kimiko's lesson plan normally included more (in terms of "amount" as well as "variety") of the content of the textbook than Danny's. Compared with Miki, Kimiko used the textbook differently modifying the way the exercises were gone over. She pointed out that the grammar points were too easy for her students (see Section 7.2.3 for more details on this issue) although she believed her students still needed some kind of grammar instruction.

Furthermore, the students' initial protest over her excessive use of the textbook made Kimiko more aware of the immediate necessity of such modification for this class. At about the same time, in another class, the students complained to her about a foreign teacher who rarely used the textbook. These two
incidents confused her to a great degree. Although she still had not reached a conclusion, she became aware of the characteristics of each class and the issue of individual students' needs (see Section 7.2.4 below):

I wondered if it's better to follow students' request or I insist on my own belief in teaching. ... even in one class, there are different opinions about teaching styles. These incidents which happened for the first time after so many years of teaching gave me a very good opportunity to think about my own teaching. (Interview: 11/15/93)

Kimiko was a little upset about Danny's unpredictable way of doing the class. Danny picked only the dialogues and intonation activities and relegated the rest to her:

If I'm the only teacher for the class, I can tell them where to start in the next lesson. So I usually say, "Maybe Danny won't use the textbook, but if he does, he'll probably start from here ..." because some students want to study at home. But if teachers skip the exercises, the eager students will be very disappointed. ... Students told me Danny likes exercises with pictures and cartoons so much. ... In the next unit, there was an exercise with a picture so I figured he wouldn't skip it. (Interview: 2/24/94)

She pointed out that Danny did not use the tape at all so she felt responsible for using it, although she also conceded that it was good for listening exercises.

Kimiko thought highly of the discussion questions in some units provided in the textbook. Therefore, in her lesson, she emphasized discussion activities, something never covered in Danny's class.

She also thought the health-oriented topics in the textbook were suitable for her students:

Especially, that class is full of housewives and housewives tend to be careful of their health [so the health-related topics are appropriate]. People who work outside houses,
including myself, tend to pay less attention to their own health. So I thought for housewives that was a very interesting topic ... Housewives are the ones in charge of their family members' health, too. (Interview: 11/15/93)

However, she realized that some topics in the textbook might not be appropriate for the type of students she was teaching.

Therefore, she modified them accordingly:

At first, I thought that the topic, "Working Mom" in the textbook would not be an interesting subject to the students, as most of them are housewives or single. So I explained before the exercise that the articles described American mothers and that studying them would be good to understand an American culture. (Journal: 12/6/93)

However, over all, Kimiko was not very happy with this textbook. She especially expressed her dissatisfaction in terms of the lack of variety in types of exercises and quality of grammar exercises.

I don't like [the textbook] very much. The dialogues are interesting but the grammar points are very boring. I feel that except for dialogues, there is nothing so good in that textbook. Some discussion points are good. I don't know how students are feeling about the textbook but ... I don't like that book as a teacher. (Interview: 3/10/94)

7.2.3 Lesson in Action

Kimiko always went into the room at 10:30 sharp, greeted everyone, and closed the door. Then she sat down and checked roll quickly. She sometimes asked questions about absent students; students in this class normally notified others of upcoming absences, or gave Kimiko advance notice in person. Not all the students showed up on time in this class but the main members were always there promptly. One student, Yoko, was always late but she and a couple of occasionally late students usually arrived by the time the class finished the opening pop news
discussion. Her sample lessons are shown below (Figure 7).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample Lesson 1 (11/1)</th>
<th>Sample Lesson 2 (1/24)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Time</strong></td>
<td><strong>Time</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:30-10:31</td>
<td>10:30-10:40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*T coming in &amp; greeting, &quot;Good morning&quot;: Ss respond *Checking roll quickly</td>
<td>*T coming in &amp; greeting, &quot;Good morning&quot;: Ss respond *Checking roll *New S's self-intro &amp; Ss asking Qs to her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:31-10:35</td>
<td>*Did you do anything for Halloween? (Ss volunteer to talk and ask questions) *Kimiko's quick talk about Pop News (World Cup Soccer tournament)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:35-10:55</td>
<td>*Modified Pre-reading activities: mini-lecture on education system in Japan and America &amp; alternative educations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:55-11:20</td>
<td>*Reading the course schedule (textbook)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:20-11:30</td>
<td>*Make your own course schedule (modified textbook activity)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30-11:40</td>
<td>*Break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:40-11:55</td>
<td>*Ss comparing their own course schedule with classmates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:55-12:25</td>
<td>*Listening exercise (textbook): the simulated radio interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00-12:35</td>
<td>*Cross-cultural Discussion: advice you would give to foreigners who would come to Japan in different settings (studying Japanese/homestaying/marrying to a Japanese man); group discussion--&gt;reporting to the class &amp; T writing summary--&gt;Ss' feedback and class discussion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Boldface type means textbook activities.

**Figure 7.** Kimiko's sample lessons.
After greeting and taking the roll, she normally talked about news, almost always chosen from a light-hearted popular news show in the morning. For example, topics included the empress being sick, the World Cup (soccer) qualifying game, and parents who named their baby "Devil." Kimiko considered development of interests in current world affairs an important factor in learning English and believed the discussion activities on news items would help students become interested:

Today I talked about some interesting news again. I try to ask students' opinions when there is a strange news item. I use it as a warm-up. I think it prepares students before we start anything serious. At that level, students can handle a very good discussion. I also believe that studying English includes their interests in what's happening in the world. I want them to be interested in news. In that sense, if I do that kind of thing, students might try to keep up with world news and might even prepare for the discussion at home. (Interview: 1/27/94)

The example of classroom description when she chose a rather difficult topic is shown in Appendix F.1.

Occasionally, the topic was chosen from Kimiko's personal experiences. She was very curious to find out what these housewife students would think about them. Once, she asked them what they would think of the following situation: the husband of her newly married friend became angry when the friend missed the last train (after visiting Kimiko) and ended up staying overnight at Kimiko's. Following her introduction of the topic, she asked for students' opinions. (See Appendix F.2.)

Only when she was out of such interesting (popular or personal) topics, she asked students what was new in their lives. This actually invited more students to speak up easily. She
usually spent about 20 minutes on the warm-up discussion.

After the opening discussion, she moved on to the textbook from which she chose a variety of exercises. She did all listening, speaking (role playing, interviewing, as well as discussion activities), writing, and reading exercises in her class. But instead of using the exercises directly from the textbook, she modified them. For all the exercises, first, she always gave some background information on the topics (e.g., educational system in the U.S., sports and activities, men and women, working mom, health, jobs, etc.). Group discussion on the topic happened prior to or after the exercise. In each unit in the teacher’s manual, there was a section called Culture Capsule which introduces various information on America, related to the topic in the reading exercise (see Chapter 3); ideas were often taken from that section.

The reading exercises, in particular, were expanded to a great degree and she never skipped them. For example, as a first step, she introduced a question on the topic of an article, such as, "why jogging has been gaining popularity in the U.S.," had the students discuss it in groups, and then a representative from each group reported to the class. Kimiko summarized such reports and wrote them down on the board. Following the discussion, students read the article silently and then asked questions about vocabulary. Then, sometimes, they were divided into groups again and each group was assigned one paragraph on which they were supposed to make questions to ask other students.
In a group exercise of making questions from the assigned paragraph in the article, the students worked very hard trying to make good and difficult questions. A student from a group went to the front of the class and asked the questions while the other students tried to answer them. I think they enjoyed this exercise and it was fun to watch them work by themselves. (Journal: 1/31/94)

Kimiko said that students in general seemed to be so used to answering the teacher's questions on the article, a rather passive activity, but when it came to posing their own questions on what they had read, a more productive activity in her view, they had a very hard time. Therefore, Kimiko believed that this exercise would really help the students to get used to more productive tasks.

Kimiko normally took a ten-minute break after most of the textbook exercises for the day were finished. During the break, she sometimes stayed in the room; sometimes students brought an edible souvenir from their trips to share with the class. Kimiko usually tried to go back to the teacher's room to prepare for the second half of the class.

After the break, she often had students discuss cultural differences between Japan and America; for example, after reading "Smokers need not apply" article, she had the students discuss cultural differences in job interviews.

The cross-cultural discussions seemed to constitute the main part of her lesson and were saved till the end; the discussion activities were almost always held after the ten-minute break. The students became the most lively in these discussion activities, which were not necessarily from the textbook. She
tried many cultural difference discussions she or her colleagues (not Danny) made up or she found in another textbook: for example, working four days a week instead of five days in Australia; what advice would you give to an American who is coming to Japan; and things that might bother foreigners who are living in Japan. She tried to take a neutral position to maximize the opportunities for the students to freely express their opinions:

Even when a strange opinion comes up, since it's a discussion activity, I try to write everything on the board without criticizing. ... [Although] I'm very opinionated in this kind of issues [cross-cultural issues], because this is a discussion for the students, I try not to speak. (Interview: 1/27/94)

Instead of discussion activities, Kimiko sometimes did a specialty activity she developed herself in which students were paired up, interviewed each other for two minutes or so, and after that, made a one or two-minute speech on findings from the interview. While a student stood in the front of the room to make a speech, Kimiko always sat down with students in the back of the room. She mostly did this at the end of the lesson, to wrap up the class. The topics varied; one’s interests (at the beginning of the semester as an ice-breaker), Christmas and New Year holidays, sharing travel experiences in foreign countries, etc. Kimiko believed that making speeches would help students gain confidence and assertiveness which consequently would help them improve their communication skills in English (see Section 7.2.4 below).
I used to be a member of Toastmasters. Making a speech not only helps students learn English but also ... in English communication, you have to be assertive. In that sense, making a speech in front of everyone helps them to be more brave. I believe that being brave and assertive, besides English ability, itself, is very important in learning English. So I do the speech activity a lot in my class. (Interview: 12/15/93)

She used this public speaking exercise to conclude the whole course in the final lesson and was very happy with the students' improvement:

Today was the last lesson, so I did not use the textbook ... Two-minute speech; each student picked two cards (each card had one speech title) and chose one of these titles to talk about. The students made two-minute speeches on their titles. ... In the speech exercise, the students were given a short time to prepare for their speeches. I thought they would be nervous making a speech in front of the class, but most of them looked very relaxed speaking in front of the class. They talked freely for two minutes. I think they weren't so afraid of making mistakes because they know each other very well. (Journal: 3/14/94)

7.2.4 Implicit Messages in the "Lived Curriculum" for EFL and Culture Teaching

Kimiko's lesson plan was similar to Miki's in the sense that the middle part of her lesson plan was determined by the time each textbook exercise took and she followed the order in which the exercises appeared in the book. As mentioned above, because of the students' request for games and resistance to the use of the textbook, she tried to incorporate this factor into her lesson plan. However, she was not as familiar with games. It was also difficult for her to find games in which middle-aged learners with a good grasp of English would not feel childish. Furthermore, as discussed above, the student's conflicting requests in her other class regarding the use of games confused
Kimiko to a great degree. When the semester was halfway through, Kimiko gained her confidence back and revealed her view in the interview:

Good classes for students might be different from good classes for institutions, though ... In good classes, I think that both students and teachers have fun together. It probably depends on the students' needs and types of students, too. So teachers have to be sensitive to such factors as characteristic of the class. But at the same time, after all, teachers are teachers, so we have to draw a line to make our position clear. We make the final decision on what to do in the class for the best of the students' language improvement. Students should have fun but should learn, too. I guess compromise from both sides is necessary. (Interview: 12/6/93)

Therefore, Kimiko did try to do one game at the end of the lesson at the very beginning of the semester but stopped doing so afterwards.

In general, Kimiko's lesson plan seemed to reflect the following concepts: (1) flexibility within limits: types of students, (2) lesson as a collection of independent activities, and (3) team-teaching as complementary.

(1) **Flexibility Within Limits: Types of Students**

Kimiko frequently modified the textbook activities to suit students' linguistic needs more appropriately, instead of skipping exercises or dismissing the use of the textbook. A typical modification was found in the reading activities:

In class, I usually ask the students to answer questions. So this time, I asked the students to make questions from the reading. The student with the questions stood in front of the class and played the teacher's role. It was interesting to watch them doing the lesson by themselves. They seemed to enjoy this exercise. (Journal: 12/6/93)

Kimiko showed her attitude toward grammar in the interview:
I don’t like grammar much. But I think grammar is very important in learning a foreign language. I try to explain when I have to. (Interview: 10/28/93)

Thus, unlike Danny, Kimiko knew that she could not dismiss grammar teaching in the class as a whole.

In addition to the students’ linguistic needs, Kimiko tried to grasp the personal characteristics of the students in the class and planned some activities accordingly. For example, because the majority of the students in this class were housewives, Kimiko tried not to touch on issues concerning women’s rights:

I won’t push [women’s independence, etc.] much in housewife classes. Many housewives usually don’t have jobs. Sometimes I become strong. But of course, it’s nothing like a feminist. I just introduce the situation of women overseas. I do not believe that women have to have career. If they are happy being full-time housewives, it is O.K., too. (Interview: 10/28/93)

Kimiko also knew that for housewife students, the purpose of attending a KCCI English class was not solely "linguistic" (to study English language) but was more social, too:

For housewives, KCCI is the place where they can release all their stress. So I try to reduce their stress in my classes, by making them have fun and being extra energetic. (Interview: 12/6/93)

Kimiko also quickly learned that everyone in this class had travelled abroad at least once and their cultural awareness seemed to be very high. In the interview, Kimiko mentioned this as one of the reasons why she incorporated a series of cross-cultural discussion activities in the second half of the semester:
If only a very few students in the class have been abroad, it's not fair to talk about foreign countries too much. But in this class, everyone has been abroad and their cultural awareness seems very high. When we talked about Europe, there were many active discussions coming up. Also, every time someone travels, they tend to have discussions on that. So I figure that their cultural awareness level is very high. (Interview: 2/24/94)

Probably because the class had been studying together since the previous semester except for two students, Kimiko never seemed to pay attention to the stages of the semester like Miki or Carol did. However, when Isako first joined the class, she showed her concern:

Especially, in case of that class where everyone is already very close friends, it might be difficult for newcomers to get used to the class. The new student [Isako] seemed shy so I was wondering if she could ever make it. (Interview: 1/27/94)

(2) Lesson as a Collection of Independent Activities

Kimiko seemed to pay more attention to the individual activity she did in the class rather than looking at the lesson as a whole: in journals, she always made comments on each activity and evaluated it. This seemed to symbolize her view of the lesson plan; she saw her lesson as a group of separate activities. A daily theme was not evident in her lesson plan. For example, one lesson included the following:

1. Role Play: using the role play exercise in the text, one played a role of a daughter who came home late at night from a party and the other played a role of a mother who is worried and angry.
2. Reading: reading the articles on "The Guinness Book of Records" in the text, and answering questions about each article.
4. Discussion: discussed the current trend in Australia,
working 5 days a week (8 hrs/day) instead of 4 days a week (10 hrs/day), which is better for workers and their families, and why? (Journal: 11/22/93)

Kimiko's view of her lesson as comprising a group of separate activities was reflected in her emphasis on a time limit for each activity. The emphasis she put on a time limit seemed much stronger than the other three teachers I observed.

In the individual exercise of making their own course plans from the "summer adult education program", some students finished much faster than the other students; that happened because I didn't set a time (for example, 10 minutes) to do the exercise, so the students didn't have an idea how quickly they were supposed to do the exercise. (Journal: 11/1/93)

(3) Team-teaching: Japanese Teacher as Complementary to Foreign Teachers

As students said after they protested to Kimiko, her teaching was really complementary with Danny's. This view was actually reflected in Kimiko's view of the role division between NS and Japanese teachers:

I think Japanese teachers are all former students of English. Students might see Japanese teachers as role models. Actually one time, one of my students said to me that she wanted to be an English teacher because I always looked very happy when teaching English in her class. I believe that even non-native-speakers can master English and comparative cultures. On the other hand, I think native speaker teachers have knowledge which Japanese teachers lack, for example, socio-cultural knowledge as people who lived and grew up in the target culture. Since Japanese teaches did not grow up in such culture, I don't think they can have that kind of knowledge. So teaching by Japanese and foreign teachers should be complementary. (Interview: 12/6/93)

Since Danny's teaching style was completely different from hers, there was a conflict at the beginning (students' protest). However, on the other hand, Kimiko realized that she could focus
more on her own style of teaching because such differences were complementary.

7.2.5 Explicit Messages Conveyed in the Teaching of Culture

Kimiko strongly believed that "language" is a part of "culture" so in the first lesson for the beginning students, she often tried to explain what it really means to communicate in a foreign language. She tried to tell them that it was not just language:

In the first lesson, I often ... in case of lower level students or for the students who take communicative English class for the first time, I draw the chart that shows culture circle which includes language circle. Inside the language circle, communication is different from language. Communication is in culture and in communication there is language. So even if you can speak the language, it doesn't necessarily mean you can communicate. So communication is a part of culture. So if you speak a foreign language, you might not be able to communicate well with a foreigner ... Outside the language circle, body language, nonverbal, for example, smile like Japanese way of smiling and personal distance comes. I talk about this kind of things in lower level classes. (Interview: 2/10/94)

Kimiko was aware of a lack of some knowledge which native-speaker teachers had but she lacked, that is, socio-cultural knowledge as people who lived and grew up in a culture. Therefore, she believed that the role of foreign teachers complemented that of Japanese teachers; there was a clear role division in her mind.

In the follow-up questionnaire, Kimiko pointed out that she became more conscious of cultural contents in her class due to this study; before, she only picked up cultural topics spontaneously. There was a series of cross-cultural discussions based on textbook topics almost every week in the second half of
the semester. Furthermore, the more she covered such cross-cultural topics in her class, the higher her own cultural awareness became because of the students' interesting and different viewpoints. Many of the students also acknowledged that these discussions enabled them to learn various kinds of cross-cultural content and recognized each topic as cultural. However, ironically they considered Danny as the only source of such culture learning.

Kimiko also wanted to define culture more narrowly such as the "environment" each individual grows up in rather than the "country". She believed that individuals are under the influences of various small cultures and even the culture in a broad sense (culture of the country) varies over time and in different places in one country. According to Kimiko, this study did not affect this view of culture at all.

For Kimiko, the goal of students was to be able to communicate in English but not necessarily to be able to speak like native-speakers:

I really believe that students don't have to speak like native speakers in terms of speed and colloquial expressions but it is necessary for them to understand what people say in English. I strongly feel that way, based on my experiences in the States, too. (Interview: 12/5/93)

7.3 Summary of the Chapter

Kimiko's adventurous personality made her feel marginalized, even though she was Japanese, because she did not share the same values and traditions as mainstream Japanese society. Her reverse culture shock upon her return to Japan from other countries led
her to accept differences in a more sympathetic, caring tone. She believed that cultural learning was an inherent part of the EFL classroom, but believed that the teacher was, more or less, equipped to expound on culture. Hence, foreign teachers were more experienced and better able to express culture about their own countries. However, she was able to serve as a role-model for the students and encourage them to learn a foreign language. Ultimately, Kimiko could be classified as a relativist because of her tolerance of different opinions, ideas, and cultures. Cross-cultural exchange was an element of her classroom which she adopted when the students rejected the textbook; she came to realize that teachers and students both learn from and teach to each other. Once she accepted this, she and her students developed a symbiotic relationship which fostered a positive relationship for the class as a whole.
CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION

In the previous four chapters, I have described the individual teachers' struggle to understand and negotiate their roles as teachers of EFL and culture in the middle of the curriculum-as-plan and the lived curriculum. At the same time, I attempted to capture a sense of the experiential and biographical basis for the four teachers' teaching of EFL and culture in Japan. In each teacher's class, many layers of cultural transmission, negotiation, and creation were revealed and these interacted with the teachers' development of their roles implicitly and explicitly. It has become evident that the EFL teacher's role as a cultural negotiator can no longer be simply defined by whether he/she (intentionally or explicitly) teaches cultural facts or not, or whether the teacher is a NS of English or Japanese, or a citizen of America or Japan. Rather, cultures EFL teachers negotiate with and eventually teach, convey, and construct in the classroom represent a multiplicity of cultures created by teachers and other participants (e.g., students) and elements in each class (e.g., institutional goal and textbook). Further, I started this study with an assumption that these teachers would have their own established perceptions of their roles as teachers of EFL and culture and such perceptions would be rigid and well laid out in the teachers' minds. However, the development of teacher's perceptions of their role has turned out
to be a complex process, subject to constant negotiation and redefinition.

Louden (1991), in his longitudinal case study of one experienced middle school teacher's continuity and change, described teaching as follows:

"The temporal quality of understanding teaching is clear. [The teacher's] past, present and the future run together. In order for us to understand the present of these stories fully it is necessary to look both behind and beyond the surface patterns: look behind the stories for the history which shaped them, and beyond the stories to the predispositions to future action they represent. (p. 63)"

Similarly, the EFL teachers' perceptions of their roles seemed to be constantly negotiated and re-constructed, based on what the teachers personally believed and experienced in and out of the classroom.

In this chapter, I would like to take a more analytical approach and discuss the findings from this study. The purpose of this study was not to evaluate the four teachers but to explore how their perceptions of their roles in relation to the teaching of culture, in other words, "lived cultures of EFL teachers," might be characterized. I would like to approach this by addressing the research questions introduced in Chapter 1. The first question is about the teachers' beliefs about their roles as EFL teachers, which uncover their hopes and dreams for teaching EFL in relation to the issue of culture. The second question is about their past, "biographical/professional basis" in which such beliefs of their roles are embedded. Then, in regard to the third question, I would like to argue how the
external factors (the "present") they encounter in the classroom, what I call the "contextual basis," interact with the teachers' beliefs and ongoing development of their roles. For the fourth question, I would like to discuss the common concepts which critically affect the negotiation of the role as teacher of EFL and culture. In what follows, I will refer to the figure in Figure 8.1 below.

**Figure 8.1. Lived cultures of EFL teachers: Role development.**

Lived cultures of EFL teachers appear to be developed along at least two dimensions: a biographical/professional basis and a contextual basis. Teachers' lived cultures are created in a complexity of interactions involving at least six factors as discussed below. Although I attempted to be as inclusive as
possible, it should be noted that the six factors are not exhaustive. The way in which such factors interact with each other and create teachers' perceptions may be suggested by the three-by-three matrix in Figure 8.1. This emerged from the experience of this study and functioned as a framework for analysis.

8.1 EFL Teachers' Perceptions of Their Roles as Teachers of EFL and Culture

In the field of mainstream education, findings in many of the studies on preservice/beginning teachers' professional development have suggested that the image of self as teacher (role identity) interacts with actual teaching and guides teachers' growth (e.g., as cited in Kagan, 1992; Bullough, 1991; Bullough & Knowles, 1991; Strahan, 1990; Powell, 1994). Teachers confirm, validate, and sometimes even modify and change such images in their growth. Therefore, without well-developed images of self as teacher, teachers cannot negotiate the role of teacher (Powell, 1994).

Although the concept of image has suffered from ambiguity, it has been recognized as a powerful way to understand teachers' experiential basis of knowledge about teaching. According to Calderhead and Robson (1991):

[The images] represent knowledge about teaching but might also act as models for action, and in addition they frequently contain an affective component, being associated with particular feelings and attitude. ... Images, ... provide us with an indicator of teachers' knowledge growth attributable to different [teaching] experiences and the relationship between knowledge and observed practice. (p. 3)
Based on this argument, K. E. Johnson (1994) used the concept of image to investigate preservice ESL teachers' beliefs about ESL teachers and teaching. Thus, the concept of image was used to analyze the teachers' perception of EFL and culture teaching in Japan, the lived cultures of EFL teachers.

In the present study, Danny preferred complete privacy in his personal life in Japan. KCCI functioned as his primary channel of access to the outside world. Therefore, his classroom was the place for him to speak out (about his "American" socio-political messages and personal interests, for example) since he chose not to have other alternative outlets of expression. He felt he had a mission to make his students socio-politically aware. This desire became especially pressing in relation to his female students; he wanted to provide them with a choice to be something other than just a housewife. For him, such socio-political awareness raising is not culture teaching. He believed that culture played a minimum role in communication and all that mattered was politically correct behavior and attitudes. Lack of creativity and individuality was blamed on Japanese tradition and conventions. In fact, he perceived the differences in Eastern and Western thought to be a matter of "political incorrectness," not "cultural differences." The same belief led him to believe that each teacher has his or her individual teaching style regardless of whether the person is a NS of English or not, although he felt that Japanese teachers tend to teach more grammar. Thus, the emphasis in his English lesson was on the "living aspect" of
English, not grammar. At the same time, he wanted his students to have fun. For Danny, the kind of figure he likened himself to, and who he believed pursued similar goals, was an American talk show host.

Carol wanted to view her role as a language teaching specialist. She had a broad knowledge of ESL teaching methods, techniques, and resource books in the field, and likened language teaching specialists to facilitators for students' autonomous learning. Based on this view, she did not divide roles between Japanese and NS English teachers; however, she knew Japanese teachers can assume the "role model" figure. She rejected the possibility of her job involving the teaching of culture in an EFL class because she felt one obvious danger of such power was that teachers would decide what culture or what aspect of culture are right to teach. On the one hand, she was aware and happily accepted the control and power the culture of teaching naturally gives to the teacher in the classroom. Carol thought such control made teachers appear to be authority figures with a perfect existence, not human beings with emotions and problems. Carol felt a unique role English learners in Japan expect from their teachers--but one she did not want to assume--was the counsellor role. Without taking a counsellor role, she pursued the common ground necessary for her and her students to bridge the gap by incorporating Japanese elements into her lessons and using the inductive grammar approach, with which she believed she could assume her language teaching specialist role while promoting
Miki, seeing a clear role division between NS and Japanese English teachers, was conscious of herself being a more "linguistically-oriented Japanese teacher" due to what she perceived to be her limited language ability in English; she believed that NS English teachers were better suited to covering things beyond linguistics, such as fillers and jokes to color bland classroom procedures. Although instinctively she thought that language and culture were inseparable, at the same time she mentioned that she did not teach culture (i.e., explicitly) in her class because she was not a NS of English. Furthermore, she personally believed that culture does not play a major role in any interpersonal relationship; what counts more is the individual's personality and values even in intercultural relationships. She viewed her job as a communicative EFL teacher as defined by the types of activities used in the classroom, i.e., fun interactive pair work activities, the apparent mainstay of communicative EFL classes in this context. Miki also strongly believed that there was a special role only Japanese teachers could assume: that of the "empathetic counsellor." Being a former learner and now a fluent English speaker, she felt that she was more qualified to give advice on how to study. She also recognized that female students, especially young ones, tend to see Japanese female teachers as their role models.

Kimiko considered being interested in current world affairs, expressing opinions, and learning and accepting "differences" to
be a major part of English learning, indeed an integral component in the culture of English language teaching at KCCI. For her, her English classroom was a place for communication. Over time, it became a place of learning for both the students and the teacher. Kimiko’s adventurous personality and free lifestyle was confined in a comfortable cross-cultural cocoon in Japan, but this KCCI class connected her with mainstream Japanese culture: her students were teachers for her in a sense. Thus, she assumed a "listener" role and chose the topics which would most likely interest the type of students she had (housewives and single women in their twenties with cross-cultural experiences). Each student’s opinion was valued and listened to by her. Raising the learners’ cross-cultural awareness became Kimiko’s educational goal based on the belief that language and culture are inseparable. Kimiko never considered grammar teaching bad or boring like Danny did. Rather, what was important to her was whether the students learned how to express their opinions. She respected the students’ becoming assertive and requesting certain activities in the class but still considered herself to be the final decision-maker. Kimiko saw the role division between Japanese and NS English teachers as positive. Like Miki, the notion that Japanese teachers should be a role models was clear to her. On the other hand, she believed that NS English teachers can offer the students socio-cultural knowledge Japanese teachers lack.

None of the teachers in this study perceived their roles as
EFL teachers as necessarily involving "teaching culture" explicitly. However, in their role perceptions, the implicit teaching of culture is very evident: Danny's emphasis on socio-political and popular cultural messages; Carol's hope for fostering learner autonomy with her in-depth knowledge of communicative English teaching which she learned in America; Miki's definition of KCCI English classes according to interactive activities and her awareness of bridging the gap between Japanese schools and the KCCI English classroom; and Kimiko's hope for her students to learn different ideas whether cross-cultural or not. Furthermore, all seemed to have appropriated the notion that it was their role to create an entertaining, mind-broadening, nurturing, exciting classroom environment. This socio-cultural phenomenon was, moreover, somehow ingrained in EFL materials, with their emphasis on discussion, social issues, and games, which also attracted KCCI students to EFL classes. It was perhaps a Western-based epiphenomenon in Japan.

8.2 Biographical/Professional Basis: Teachers' Past

I called the internal (personal) factors which shaped EFL teachers' perceptions of teaching English and culture in Japan the biographical and professional basis for the development of each teacher's role. The biographical and professional basis is indeed bundled up with teachers' past and is divided into three categories: (a) past learning experiences, (b) past teaching experiences, and (c) cross-cultural experiences.
8.2.1 Past Learning Experiences

In the past studies on the relationship between preservice teachers' beliefs about teaching and their actual student teaching experiences, it has been found that such beliefs were often based on student teachers' own learning experiences (e.g., Calderhead & Robson, 1991; Kagan, 1992; Powell, 1994). Students who start teacher education programs normally bring to the programs "an internalized role identity through which they make sense of the environment" (Bullough, 1989; Kagan, 1992, cited in Powell, 1994, p. 362). Thus, the four teachers in this study also turned to their own learning experiences consciously or unconsciously to develop beliefs about their roles as teachers of EFL and culture. However, compared with cases of student teachers in mainstream education, the EFL teachers not only relied on their general learning experiences at school but also on their foreign language experiences. This was pointed out by K. E. Johnson (1994) in her study of preservice ESL teachers, too. Indeed, in the case of the two Japanese teachers in this study, their learning experiences which contributed to their perceptions of roles were limited to their own English language learning experiences. Therefore, the past learning experiences should be further divided into general schooling experiences and foreign language learning experiences.

(a) Schooling Experiences

Danny's constant reference to his college experiences (papers, speeches, and classroom arrangement) in his spontaneous
mini-lectures and other activities was used to justify why he chose a specific activity and also sought to demonstrate how and why some socio-political issues were relevant. Danny also explicitly talked about his personal experiences in a university course to explain why his KCCI English lessons should avoid a reliance on the textbook.

Carol explained her preference to have students sit in a circle by saying that it was probably due to her experiences at an alternative school where she enjoyed a seminar style of teaching. Furthermore, she strongly believed in moving students around during her lesson to sit next to different people because it was a productive experience for her in the ESL teacher training courses. Carol’s initial fear and avoidance of intimacy with students (her dismissal of the role as a counsellor) was reduced many times throughout the semester because of her own learning experiences. In her earlier life, at public schools, many times she experienced the feeling of the marginalized because of her ethnic background. It was a powerful influence on her rejection of the concept of teaching culture:

As I’ve been thinking about this style of teaching [mainstream "Western" culture explicitly] and reviewing books, I get surges of memory from public school. ... I have lots of memories of teachers talking about common experiences that I didn’t share. Endless good cheer Christmas stuff or, worse, being asked to explain myself, "And what do Hebrews do for Christmas? I guess--Ha--Ha--no Pork Roast with pineapple." (Journal: 3/10/94)

In the case of Miki and Kimiko, general schooling experiences were never talked about in relation to their understanding of their role as EFL teachers. Instead, they both
reflected on their own experiences of learning English as a foreign language to define their roles as English teachers and tended to compare such experiences with what their students were going through in their classes.

(b) Foreign Language Learning Experiences

Danny reported having had very bad experiences learning foreign languages in his past: a high school French class and a KCCI Japanese class. He vividly remembered how strange some examples written in his high school French textbook were; the sentences were grammatically correct but lacked context and seemed unnatural. That experience made him determined to make the English in his class real and natural. The Japanese language classes he had were also often discussed by him as negative examples of language teaching; they were not natural (e.g., the monotone intonation in the taped conversation he and his classmates had to repeat) and boring (not many jokes). He said it convinced him of the importance of the fun and natural elements in his English class.

Compared with Danny, Carol did not have as much formal foreign language learning experience, so she did not refer to such experiences to explain her teaching philosophy. However, once she started taking private Japanese lessons, she became conscious of what she enjoyed as a learner of Japanese and compared it with what she had enjoyed doing as a teacher. She realized that as a teacher she was always worried about making her class fun while as a student, she wanted to study "grammar."
Miki was always conscious of her role as a former learner of English and therefore, a role model for her students. Until she started working at KCCI, studying English was an end in itself. In the past, she was in her students' shoes (studying English as an "end"), which made her feel secure about her role as an English teacher. She thought she could give more appropriate advice on how to study because she knew what they needed; looking back on what she actually went through in learning, she was confident that she could precisely identify which stage they were at. She knew students wanted more correction and advice from teachers because she felt the same way when she was studying English. Therefore, she attempted to incorporate such roles into her teaching.

Kimiko's rich and colorful English learning experiences in various naturalistic learning contexts gave her a solid foundation as a teacher of EFL and culture. She had a fun time preparing for studying in America; that experience made her believe learning English was never really "studying" but it was purely recreational. Learning English was never an end but always a means for her; first to survive at an American college, then to work in Australia, and later to make a successful speech at Toastmasters. She learned English to express her ideas. Unless one has an idea first, one can never be assertive, and assertiveness, for Kimiko, is the ultimate goal in learning English; therefore, being interested in current world affairs (not usually a highly valued goal for Japanese women) plays a
critical role in the process of learning, she said.

8.2.2 Past Teaching Experiences

The experienced teacher, whose change and continuity in the understanding of teaching Louden (1991) studied, establishes her repertoire of teaching (a set of standard patterns of teaching, familiar content and effective resolutions to common pedagogical problems) based on her biography and experience as a teacher; this repertoire of teaching formulates her "horizon of understanding" of teaching which is a predisposition to teach in the future. In my study, I consider the four teachers' perceptions of their roles as teachers of EFL and culture similar to the concept of horizon of understanding. Compared with the teacher in Louden’s study (1991) who had taught for at least twenty years at the time of study, the four teachers in my study were not nearly as experienced. However, in terms of teachers' professional development, they were no longer novice teachers like the preservice/student teachers in the numerous studies introduced in Chapter 2 (i.e., Calderhead & Robson, 1991; K. E. Johnson, 1994; Kagan, 1992; Powell, 1994; Rothenberg, 1994). Indeed, in Berliner's (1988) model of teacher development (cited in Kagan, 1992), the four teachers in this study were at least either advanced beginners or at the competent stage where teachers have developed knowledge of teaching based on their prior teaching experience. In this study, the teachers' prior teaching experiences were found to have contributed to perceptions about their roles.
Danny found that the students seemed to lack creativity in his past teaching experiences; to him, what they said and how they said things in English seemed unnatural (e.g., monotone in terms of intonation) and uniform (e.g., formulaic responses to his questions). That convinced him to take on a role of engendering creativity among students in his class. He also heard many of his high school students using sentence examples for grammar and vocabulary practices from their textbooks which were stilted and unreal; that made him aware of the need for English teachers at KCCI like himself to create a place where the students could learn real English. In his past teaching, he also heard his female students complain about cooking, serving food, cleaning, and doing other household chores while their husbands and children watched TV or played games. As a man who believed in women’s rights, this disturbed him very much and he became determined to liberate the women in his English class by teaching them about other choices which, of course, were of a cultural nature.

Carol had many vivid memories of her past teaching experiences, which had a strong impact on her perception of her role as an EFL teacher. Her teaching experience at a New York ESL school where she could learn about textbooks, resource books, and techniques, shaped her self-defined role as a language teaching specialist. That experience helped her quickly socialize into the world of TESL but also caused a dilemma because of the differences she found in her current teaching situation in Japan.
Her knowledge of TESL theories did not seem to be valued. She saw the limitation of the Natural Approach so she decided to work on students' grammar, but this approach was not appreciated by her students or institutions. In New York, her role as a facilitator for learner autonomy was more easily defined; she could even teach some American culture which the students discovered on their own and brought to class. However, if she taught American culture in Japan, she felt she could no longer assume her role as a facilitator. Thus, Carol started bringing the Japanese culture she found in her life to the classroom where the students could teach her about culture. She further discovered that learners of English in Japan tended to express feelings in class which they would never have elsewhere which forced her to take on the role of counsellor. However, she resisted that role because it was emotionally too difficult in some cases (due to her personal problems). As a consequence, this further encouraged her to concentrate on being singly a language specialist role.

Miki's long-term experience as a former camp leader equipped her with the good management skill of recognizing the balance between control and fun. Her experience teaching at KCCI helped her to establish certain routines, such as her opening activity, "chatting on the previous weekend." She also learned that students appreciated it when teachers corrected their mistakes in English. She even learned to change her role in the morning classes and evening classes. She thought that students in the evening class tended to be more serious and their needs for
English seemed more immediate, so she needed to take a stricter language teacher role. In her past teaching, Miki learned that telling learners the truth when she did not know the answer did not mean losing face. Students appreciated when she was honest and she knew she could give the students a correct answer later, after she checked it out. Over time, she learned her role was not necessarily that of an expert. She was always aware of her limited English ability in her teaching, which also defined her role as different from NS teachers. Her limited English ability convinced her that her role did not include teaching culture; she was a language teacher. Teaching culture, which required a much higher level of English, was viewed as the NS teachers' role.

Kimiko who, among the four teachers, had had the longest experience of teaching communicative English at several English schools in Japan, could compare the differences between those schools. She found KCCI the most comfortable because teachers have the freedom to choose interactive exercises, while at the other schools, such activities are not allowed. The students' direct confrontation with her on her textbook-based teaching style shocked her since that was the first negative comment directly given by her students about her teaching. She gave in and tried to reduce the textbook use; but she could not dismiss the textbook completely because it was part of her established teaching style. At the same time, in another class, she heard the opposite complaint from students about a foreign teacher who did not use the textbook very much. In her past teaching, she knew
that some students prepared for class at home using the textbook. She was confused but came up with a compromise; she modified the textbook activities instead of taking such activities directly from the book. She accommodated some different types of interactive, communicative exercises such as cross-cultural group discussions, interviews and public speaking at the end of every lesson. Among the positive teaching experiences she still remembered vividly was that one young female student told Kimiko that she wanted to be an English teacher because of Kimiko's influence. That made her realize that the students did indeed see her as a role model.

### 8.2.3 Cross-cultural Experiences

Except for Danny, the other teachers had worked outside the field of TESL/TEFL before. Powell (1994) argued that second-career student teachers have pre-existing beliefs about teaching and learning based on their professional and personal experiences rather than on prior schooling experiences. Such beliefs are found to influence how beginning teachers prepare and teach lessons in classrooms (Powell, 1994). If teachers make sense of their teaching, i.e., establish their role identity, based on their personal as well as professional history (e.g., Louden, 1991), there have to be other types of prior experience in a teacher's life which should shape the teachers' perception of their roles as teacher of EFL and culture.

Furthermore, because these four teachers are EFL teachers, not secondary student teachers like those Powell (1994) studied,
a unique kind of personal life experience also plays a role: cross-cultural experiences. In the field of TESL, the pressing need for professionalism and professionalization has been stressed. In such claims, it is said that despite the lack of research on the effectiveness of the pre/in-service teacher education program, there is widespread agreement on the basic requirements for teaching adult ESL literacy; one of the requirements is "cross-cultural awareness" (Crandall, 1993). Each of the four teachers in this study had unique cross-cultural experiences which were often referred to in relation to their role as EFL teachers.

While growing up until he graduated from university at the age of 24, Danny never lived outside of Pacific City, a large city on the West Coast. The American customs and traditions like holidays as well as his strong socio-political awareness he experienced throughout his childhood and early adulthood never occurred to him to be cultural in nature but were simply the way things are supposed to be. They still structured his personal and professional life in Japan. Because he never wanted to determine anything as cultural, he tended to become frustrated with some traits (such as lack of creativity and individuality) he found in Japanese people; for him, these are not correct. His personal experiences with his Japanese girlfriend made him even more determined to help his students become more creative and individualistic. His beliefs in certain political/social issues (environmental issues/non-smoking policy/women's independence)
made him seek to improve politically incorrect behavior in his personal life and classes. Because he rejected cross-cultural experiences, he interpreted everything as wrong or right, not as a relative cultural value.

Because of her parents, Carol's upbringing in the international academic and artistic world exposed her to a permissive and multicultural atmosphere (in terms of ethnic backgrounds and sexual preference), different from mainstream American culture. While growing up, she never felt that she was part of American mainstream culture and was never sure of her cultural identity. However, the strong Jewish cultural identity she appropriated while living in New York left her feeling like part of minority. This view conflicted with the new trend of teaching culture in English classes, which she considered "semi-semi-intellectualism" without any critical thought given and which would lead to generalization, stereotypes, and as a result, racism and marginalization of the type she had deplored in her own life. Therefore, she was infuriated that her role might possibly include teaching mainstream American culture (whatever that might be).

Miki's personal, academic, and professional life has revolved around Minato City (although the city itself is relatively multicultural) except for several short-term visits to foreign countries. Therefore, her cross-cultural experiences have been almost exclusively job-related at KCCI. Because she lacked experience in living abroad, she limited her role (she believed)
to teaching language. She is Japanese just like her students so she thought culture teaching was not her job. Because of her position as a program coordinator, she met many foreigners with diverse backgrounds, which shaped her perceptions about culture; culture plays only a minor role in interpersonal relationships and personalities and values are more important. Therefore, learning English did not have to involve learning culture.

Kimiko had rich cross-cultural experiences from living in foreign countries as a student and as a worker. In the severe reverse culture shock she had after returning to Japan the first time, she learned that being different in Japan was very difficult; so she became more tolerant of differences. Learning to accept differences was one of the goals in learning English she emphasized in her teaching. As a result, she saw her job not as helping learners to speak like NSs but helping them communicate their ideas. Taking the same standpoint, she disagreed with some strong western feminist views which some people try to impose on Japanese women. Her rich cross-cultural experiences from living overseas and her confinement in a cross-cultural cocoon at English language schools resulted in a lack of knowledge of mainstream Japanese culture. This constructed her role as a learner and her students' new role as teachers for her. Thus, her classroom became a place for teacher, as well as student, learning.

8.3 Contextual Basis: Teachers’ Present Role in the Classroom

In this section, I will discuss how the actual teaching in
the particular classes I observed at the time of this study affected the four teachers' perceptions. I called the factors which are involved in the actual teaching the contextual basis for the development of teachers' role. The contextual basis consists of three factors: (a) classroom culture, (b) institutional culture, and (c) textbook.

8.3.1 Classroom Culture

The observed gap between teachers' images of classroom (expectations for students) and the realities is nothing new in the field of teaching and learning. Many in general education and TESL have been stressing the importance of studying classrooms in context because realities in classrooms reflect the complex dimension of teachers' actual work:

> [T]he classroom is a site of diverse discourses and cultures represented by the varying backgrounds of teachers and students such that the effects of domination cannot be blindly predicted. Such classroom cultures mediate the concepts defined and prescribed by the Western academy as they reach the periphery. It is possible that various modes of opposition are sparked during this encounter. (Canagarajah, 1993, p. 602)

Some studies on preservice/beginning teachers revealed these gaps and how they influence the process of teachers' learning to teach and eventually lead to the modification of their prior image of self as teacher, which was their role identity. Some novice teachers in the previous literature became disillusioned and changed their role identities rather dramatically; for example, one teacher changed her role from a "nurturer" to a "traditional" role, the other teacher from an "inquiry-oriented" teacher to the role of "policeman" (as cited in Kagan, 1992,
Bullough & Knowles, 1991). K. E. Johnson (1994) found that the critical lack of knowledge of classroom life in preservice ESL teachers turned them into authoritarian figures against their initial images of a "student-centered" classroom.

Since the four teachers who participated in my study were not beginning teachers, but all had more realistic knowledge on the realities of classroom life, the perceptions of their roles did not go through drastic changes. However, each classroom has its unique set of characteristics; "classroom culture" can be a surprise even to an experienced teacher. The Grade 8 class full of restless students affected the experienced teacher in Louden's study (1991) and led her to constantly reflect on her teaching and adapt new repertoires of teaching. Calderhead and Robson (1991) also argued that the past research on expert-novice differences among teachers suggests that the knowledge of experienced teachers is more "related to specific classroom contexts" than novice teachers (p. 2).

This reality of classroom life is the very lived curriculum Aoki (1993) acknowledged; not the curriculum as laid out in a plan, but a more or less enacted curriculum that individual students and teachers' interaction in the classroom create. Each class I observed in this study created its own lived curriculum which I call classroom culture. This impacted on teachers' development of their roles although the intensity of the impact depended on the teacher and classroom studied.

Among the four teachers who participated in this study,
Danny was the only one who, by chance, could continue to teach the same class for two semesters in a row. In the semester before this study, he had already established a strong, unique classroom culture. The classroom culture was tailored under Danny's supervision and created an American talk show with Danny acting as host, the students being the audience, and one student he selected as the guest. Danny put a lot of his personal attitude in this class: the class was the place for jokes, teasing, and fun. Following this style, some classroom routines were established. The lesson always started with something spontaneous, Danny's miscellaneous lecture, a question and answer session, or students' mischief—which this classroom culture uniquely encouraged. Danny's host role, combined with his keen social insights, provided Japanese female students an escape from their normal roles as housewives. Over time, his students became infatuated with Danny and more responsive to his jokes and teasing; in the class they started behaving like Danny. This shared classroom culture made the bond (friendship) among the students very solid and the KCCI English class created a new life for the students and the teacher, which also impacted upon students' (and Danny's) expectations of other teachers and classes there.

Carol initially had a fear of becoming intimate with her students because of her personal insecurities and tried to rely on the "power relationship" she believed naturally exists in any classroom, in which teachers have power and control over
students. Thus, she was sure that students should never view teachers as human beings with problems. However, after finding that a few students were social misfits embarrassed about their real life, she could not help being more empathetic towards the whole class. Later, she became aware of the serious lack of class energy and students' punctuality which made her wonder if her style of teaching (more grammar-oriented activities and less free conversation) were discouraging the students. She compromised and started assuming the "free conversation teacher" role combined with her other repertoire: reduction of textbook use and addition of interactive activities from resource books. She still could not completely give in and assume the "friendly American" role, a mainstream American cultural commodity. The fact that the class could not develop cohesion disturbed her until the end of the semester when she realized the students had made remarkable progress.

Miki's students were mostly young, quiet, and shy. They were usually seated in the same or similar places; girls sat on one side while the boys sat on the other. Miki quickly recognized the shyness among her students and tried to delegate leadership to a middle-aged female student who could encourage the whole class. But at the same time, Miki used her repertoire to energize and move students around by having students ask a simple question in pairs. She knew the evening class lacked energy so she deliberately stood in the front instead of sitting at the table and established a routine opening activity asking students about
their weekends, less threatening to shy students because it was a routine and an easy topic. She thought the class bond was good but did not emphasize it; it was a little surprising to Miki to see the students develop a bond over time, but it was never very strong. Because the students in this class were shy, Miki emphasized her role as a counsellor even more by trying to talk to students during the break in Japanese and standing by the door at the end of each lesson.

Kimiko was always aware of the importance of the class bond. However, the students’ protest against her textbook-based style upset her. Not only was she not used to Danny’s strong character (sarcasm and direct, sometimes confrontational problem-solving), but also the students were deeply socialized into Danny’s style, viewing a teacher as a friend and a textbook as boring and bad. They held a strong stereotype of Japanese teachers as being too grammar-oriented and lacking a sense of humor. She had never had a group of students like them in the past. However, she could not dismiss the use of textbooks completely so she compromised by including one game at the end of each lesson. Although the students apologized later and appreciated Kimiko’s style and textbook use, Kimiko was careful not to make her lesson too serious or strict. Over time, she relaxed and found the group of students unique and interesting. The students knew more about mainstream Japanese culture and traditions than her so they started assuming a teacher role and Kimiko assumed a learner role. Their cross-cultural experiences from travelling and having
foreign friends helped to raise cross-cultural consciousness in the class; Kimiko accepted this role of "cross-cultural consciousness raiser." However, because of her policy of never imposing values to anyone and because most of her students were housewives, she tried to avoid feminist issues.

8.3.2 Institutional Culture

In the case of student teachers or beginning teachers, school context has been identified as one of the factors which seem to affect the teacher's image of self as teacher (Kagan, 1992). The teaching assignment (the nature of the content and pupils to be taught), colleagues (their willingness to provide support and assistance), and parental relationships appeared to be determinants of growth and success of beginning teachers (Wildman, Niles, Magliaro, & McLaughlin, 1989, cited in Kagan, 1992). The degree of autonomy and leadership given to teachers within a school also seems to be a significant contextual factor which affects beginning teachers' growth in terms of reflectivity on their teaching practice (Kilgore, Ross, Zbikowski, 1990, cited in Kagan, 1992).

Louden (1991) pointed out the power of school tradition outside the individual teacher's classroom which the experienced teacher in his study could not control. This impact, stemming from the permissive attitude toward punctuality, discipline, and order fostered within the alternative school, was often minimized by her personal strategies. However, the power of living tradition outside her classroom, such as the school's
unstructured use of space and time, was overwhelming; she constantly struggled with it. Reflection, which might lead to growth and change in teachers' understanding of teaching, occurs when there is a gap between the tradition of the school and one's present understanding (Louden, 1991).

In this study, the school tradition which I called "institutional culture" affected the teachers' perceptions of their role. In this section, the relationship between KCCI's institutional culture and the four teachers' interpretations of it will be discussed.

Danny enjoyed the freedom at KCCI because other language schools simply imposed textbooks and all teachers reproduce the same lesson in a uniform manner. At KCCI, teachers were allowed to be as creative as possible. This matched his educational goal perfectly, to help learners be creative and learn natural English. He interpreted such freedom as individualism and strongly believed it would help students build up their personal confidence making them better people. He considered that a component of the humanistic approach KCCI stood for. In that sense, KCCI is a place where students can prepare themselves for real life and teachers function as guides to the real world.

Danny did not limit the real world to the English-speaking world (e.g., America) but extended that to the socio-politically correct life (but ironically such socio-politically correct life was what seemed to be constructed based on American values). However, frequent conflicts with his colleagues, especially
Japanese office staff, over his decisions to make KCCI even closer to "real (American) life" (e.g., by introducing American holiday decorations, designating the whole school as non-smoking, and enforcing direct and confrontational problem-solving), appeared to suggest that there was a gap between his goals and KCCI's culture. But Danny seemed to interpret the institutional culture the way he wanted. He attempted to transform the existing institutional culture into his ideal culture and therefore, felt it was unnecessary to negotiate cultures, to reach compromises; he simply had to teach as he wanted to.

The gap between Carol's educational goals and KCCI's institutional culture became obvious over the time of this study and led Carol to reflect deeply on her teaching. For Carol, students' autonomous learning was the highest goal but KCCI's atmosphere induced more students' dependence on teachers--and particularly on the role of teachers as entertainers. Despite her effort to enhance students' autonomy by using a new textbook and the inductive grammar approach, her students never seemed to be interested in autonomy. Instead of blaming her students, Carol thought that the problem was institutional culture. Furthermore, KCCI's institutional culture emphasized international understanding which, to Carol, lacked a critical view of culture and could lead to racism. Carol was extremely offended by this and felt threatened because she thought the school was imposing mainstream American culture onto her and students. KCCI's culture also seemed to encourage a fun atmosphere with no structure; as a
result, the students came to expect that they would have fun but never study (i.e., grammar). Thus, Carol’s personal role identity as a language specialist/professional with an in-depth knowledge of methods, books, and linguistics did not seem to be appreciated. Throughout the semester, she struggled. First, she stuck to her beliefs and tried to find a middle ground; her "compromise method" was a reduction of textbook use and introduction of a variety of interactive activities from resource books.

Miki was subconsciously aware of KCCI’s institutional culture; KCCI English courses are supposed to be different from English classes at Japanese high schools. For her, the differences she found in KCCI English courses constructed the institutional culture. For example, the types of activities (specific pair/group work) defined the culture and her role was to assist students through socialization by means of interviews, find-someone-who tasks, and information-gap activities. Because of the team-teaching method at KCCI, she could divide teachers’ roles between her and her foreign partner. She could concentrate on the counsellor role (i.e., she thought she could provide emotional and mentor-type help, making sure all the students would be "socialized" into the KCCI system). At the same time, she could put more emphasis on "language" teaching while her foreign partner teacher could be in charge of something beyond language, something to do with culture. But at KCCI she had always felt an invisible pressure for fun English lessons. When
she focused on the students' language learning, she became uncomfortable because she saw a dramatic drop of the energy level of the class, eventually forcing her to turn to fun games as a way to enhance the classroom atmosphere.

Kimiko appreciated the precious freedom of choices over teaching approaches and materials, which did not exist at another school she was working at. The freedom at KCCI, she realized, could eliminate the danger of the gap between institutional goals and students' goals. Kimiko was sensitive to Japanese mainstream culture (although not necessarily being interested in being completely socialized into such culture) and acknowledged the "social function" of an institution like KCCI in Japan especially for housewives; she took it as a matter of course without resisting like Carol did. She felt KCCI English classes need to provide a place to release stress from every day life through fun and laughter, but she realized fun should never override the students' language learning; the students should learn language while having a good time. Therefore, she did not abandon the textbook when her students confronted her. Her role as a teacher was still the "decision maker" in organizing and delivering lesson plans. However, after hearing a complaint from her students in another class about a foreign teacher's game-oriented teaching style, Kimiko became confused about her role identity as EFL teacher. This experience suggests that the very freedom of choice she initially appreciated (the lack of structure in KCCI's institutional culture) caused confusion on the part of teachers.
8.3.3 Textbooks

The textbooks in the context of KCCI's communicative English courses were curriculum-as-plan; the coordinators on behalf of the institution selected commercial textbooks for each class although the teachers were given the right to decide how much and how they would use it. Aoki (1993) explained the curriculum-as-plan as follows:

[T]he curriculum-as-plan, usually has its origin outside the classroom ... [W]hatever the source, it is penetratingly and insistently present in [the teacher's] classroom. This curriculum-as-plan is the curriculum which [the teacher] is asked to teach [the students] who are entrusted to [the teacher's] care. ... As a work of people, inevitably, it is imbued with the [curriculum] planners' orientation to the world, which inevitably included their own interests and assumptions about ways of knowing and about how teachers and students are to be understood. (pp. 257-258)

He went on to say that teachers, acknowledging their lived curriculum (classroom culture & institutional culture), create a multiplicity of curricula. In my study, I interpret the teachers' negotiation of roles, decision making on the use of the textbook, as part of such a process of creating a multiplicity of curricula.

The critical role teachers play in the implementation of a certain curriculum orientation (curriculum-as-plan) has been also acknowledged in the field of TESL. Wrigley (1993) in her discussion on educational perspectives in various ESL literacy programs in the United States, pointed out teacher preference as an important factor when the ESL program selects a particular or combination of approaches:
Teachers often have strong opinions concerning what it takes to become fluent in a second language and these views help determine how they teach. As a result, we often find a mismatch between the overall orientation evident in a program and the approach used by a particular teacher. (p. 461)

Again, in this argument, the negotiation between teachers and curriculum-as-plan is pointed out. At the same time, since teachers are supposed to play such a critical role in the negotiation with the curriculum-as-plan, the assignment of prepackaged materials (as was the case in this study) with teachers’ manual, audiotapes for listening activities, could be even seen as a denial of teachers’ competence:

[Such prepackaged material] represents "a direct assault on the traditional role of the teacher as an intellectual whose function is to conceptualize, design and implement learning experiences suited to the specificity and needs of a particular classroom experience" (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1985, p. 149, cited in Canagarajah, 1993, pp. 607-608)

The four teachers in this study struggled with the assigned textbooks; the individual teachers demonstrated their unique way of negotiation based on their role identity as well as new role created through compromise.

Danny believed that KCCI’s institutional culture dismissed the use of a textbook, which matched his personal beliefs about teaching EFL (natural English/living language, and creativity which he believed could never come from the textbook, anyway). In Danny’s view, he always developed his own curriculum-as-plan and the textbook was a convenient supplement to his personal curriculum. His curriculum-as-plan was more or less curriculum-as-spontaneity with a heavy dependence on lived curriculum. He
did not have to struggle like the other teachers. The textbook assigned to his class never caused role negotiation; his role remained the talk show host who uses real English.

In contrast to Danny, Carol strongly believed in the use of "good" textbooks which matched her educational goals and teacher role identity (language specialist encouraging learner autonomy) so that she could use it as a substitute for her personal course outline. Although from the beginning she was aware of a possible gap between her and the students' goals, she hoped that the energy and variety of the book would bridge the gap. Despite her hope, the mismatch between the level of English the textbook required and the students' initial level made Carol question the students' benefits from this textbook. Then, she interpreted the general lack of energy and cohesion in the class as a possible sign of students' resistance to the inductive grammar approach and independent learning the textbook encouraged. She compromised; she could not stick to a language specialist role exclusively any more. She had to assume the friendly American role against her will, in which her main job was to chat with students as a good friend.

Miki's teaching was textbook-based except for one game in the second half of each lesson. She believed that good teachers could make any textbook work with modification. Miki normally valued variety in activities and topics in textbook selection because variety kept learners excited. Thus, she appreciated unfamiliar topics in the textbook which she thought would keep
the students curious and motivated. Her role as an EFL teacher was defined by interactive pair work activities (information-gap and find-someone-who activities) which the textbook satisfied. Thus, she did not have to negotiate her role in that sense. However, repetition of similar activities threatened her other role as someone who could help the students have fun (entertainer). Thus, the emphasis in the role had to be shifted to the fun-person-role. Her lesson became fragmented: a collection of different pair-work activities and one game without a theme. At the end, she judged that it was probably the textbook which lacked one theme in each lesson and that it affected her lesson organization and threatened her role identity to a certain degree. (Her other roles, language teacher and empathetic counsellor, stayed the same without the influence of the textbook.)

Kimiko saw her job at KCCI as teaching based on the textbook but choosing and modifying activities in the book and adding outside activities if necessary. Appreciating this freedom, she still viewed the textbook as a course outline and the core of her lesson plan was always the textbook activities. Her students' initial protest against the use of the textbook made her uncomfortable at the beginning and forced her to add one game in each lesson. However, she did not dismiss the textbook because it was the foundation in her teaching. To satisfy the students' request for something outside the textbook, she quickly analyzed the characteristics of the students; most of them were housewives.
who had all travelled overseas and were curious about foreign cultures. Her use of the textbook might have made her seem authoritarian; students thought she was "strict." By accommodating more discussion and public speaking activities on cross-cultural issues or popular news items from other sources than the textbook, she could emphasize her role as a listener; she could become a learner and the students became teachers in a sense.

8.4 The Process of Role Negotiation: Creation of Lived Cultures of EFL Teachers

In the previous three sections, I have attempted to discuss the relationship between each factor and the teacher's role perception focused on their view of teaching language and culture. Danny did not demonstrate as much role negotiation as the other three teachers since he had already established his role with the majority of the students in his class in the previous semester and his interpretation of KCCI institutional culture matched his personal educational goals. In this section, taken as a whole, the common concepts in such negotiation of role will be discussed.

As Aoki (1993) suggested in his view of the new curriculum landscape, the four teachers in my study confirmed their existence between curriculum-as-plan and lived curriculum. In this existence, many layers of role negotiations were revealed. Their perceptions of teacher roles seem to be built upon their own culturally embedded experiences. The culture in this context
means the world view and values each individual has been establishing throughout his/her life as a learner, a teacher, and a cultural being. (See Figure 8.2.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Curriculum-as-Plan</th>
<th>Teacher</th>
<th>Lived Curriculum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Textbook--- &gt;</td>
<td>Biography (Beliefs)</td>
<td>&lt;---Class &amp; Institution</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Figure 8.2. Process of role negotiation.](image)

This might imply that the teachers' perceptions of their roles are all completely personal and chaotic and might give student teachers, who enter the life of teachers in their practice training, the impression of teachers living in "rugged individualism," which Britzman (1986) believed is a "cultural myth" in the making of a teacher. Louden (1991) argued that the teacher's "horizon of understanding has much in common with the horizons of teachers" (p. 186) in many different teaching contexts; "such similarities between teachers have been described in a variety of theoretical terms" (p. 186) such as ideology,
culture, cultures, and tradition. Thus, the common concepts which create EFL teachers’ lived cultures will be discussed in this section: (a) complexity, (b) connection, and (c) education-control dilemma.

8.4.1 Complexity

The idea of complexity is inherent in any study exploring the relationship between culture and teaching. In this study on four EFL teachers’ perceptions of teacher role and culture, the complexity involved in the development and negotiation of such perceptions became evident. Any change does not happen in a predictable (uniform) fashion. Johnston (1994) came to a similar conclusion in her study of teachers’ change in their reflective thinking and teaching. The teachers I studied did not respond in a stimulus-response manner to the events that impacted upon their lives. Further, in each teacher’s class, there were some contradictions between what they believed and what they actually did in the class. None of the teachers was willing to admit that they taught culture explicitly. However, as discussed above, despite the differences in the degree, they all implicitly taught the culture created through their life as learners, teachers, and multicultural beings.

In this study, I attempted to connect some of the larger influences on the EFL teachers’ incorporation of teacher role and culture. As discussed in the three sections above, my study dealt with perceptions and the way in which teachers synthesized these feelings into their notion of teacher self. It has become evident
that the teachers' perceptions of their role seem to be established on the negotiation of at least six factors (biographical/profession and contextual bases) discussed above.

As Louden (1991) noted, teachers' knowledge itself is a complexity, consisting of at least three different categories: (a) tacit--embedded in teacher's practices of teaching, e.g., patterns of doing certain activities or how to start or end a lesson; (b) explicit, such as content knowledge and teacher's educational goal; and (c) what is not even knowledge at all--a series of unanswered pedagogical questions which occur in the actual teaching experiences. This view precisely parallels my view of teachers' perceptions; the perceptions have an established basis (biographical/professional) but at the same time, are subject to change motivated by unexpected questions/problems in each classroom, or the lived curriculum, (contextual basis).

Kramsch (1993a) described foreign language teachers' job of teaching both language and culture as complex in the following:

[Foreign language] teachers have to deal with the dilemma of both representing an institution that imposes its own educational values and initiating learners to the values of a foreign culture, while at the same time helping them not to be bound by either one. At every step of this complex process, the educational challenge requires both action and reflection. (pp. 256-257)

The nature of teaching a foreign language is particularly complex because culture is an integral--albeit often overlooked--part of foreign language instruction and of the lives of FL teachers:

In fact, language teachers are so much teachers of culture that culture has often become invisible to them. On the
other hand, it would be wrong to view speakers only as mouthpieces of a monolithic social environment. The dominant culture of the classroom is constantly contested, avoided, put in question, confronted with linguistically deviant "minority" cultures. (Kramsch, 1993a, p. 48)

8.4.2 Connection

In this study, all four teachers seemed to perceive their roles as teacher of EFL and culture in their efforts to create a "connection" at many different levels: at a micro-level, (a) between the teacher's life and the students' life, (b) between the classroom and the real world (English-speaking) situation, (c) between the institutional goal and teacher's personal hopes and dreams for teaching, (d) between teacher's hopes and dreams and the actual teaching, (e) between teacher's past and the present which leads to the future. The EFL teachers' effort for creation of connection is similar to the student teacher's experience of the struggle for voice studied by Britzman (1986):

[H]er attempt to mediate the disparate experiences of curriculum practice: those between the set texts of the explicit curriculum and the subtext of relationships with students; between the chronology of both the canon and institutional time, and the personal time required for sorting things through; and between the ways in which we are "taught in educational systems how to cover our narrative tracks and even be ashamed of them" (Rosen, 1988, p. 82) and the exigencies of the autobiographical impulse. (p. 159)

At the macro-level, the teacher's role perception seemed to have been negotiated for the creation of the connection between the curriculum-as-plan and lived curriculum. The negotiation occurred probably because teachers are situated "in the middle--in the midst of a multiplicity of curricula, between and among curriculum-as-plan and the lived curricula" (Aoki, 1993, p. 260).
Danny’s extensive interests in making his English class real, the classroom of living language using various strategies (emphasis on spontaneity such as question and answer sessions, examples from American television shows and personal episodes from childhood and college days, holiday activities, American socio-political awareness raising) represent his creation of connection which he found vital for students’ English learning. Carol’s use of Japanese cultural items and language use and view of herself as teacher with a small t, with empathy towards students in trouble, are also expressions of her pursuit of connection. Miki’s sense of responsibility as a bridge between the Japanese school classroom and KCCI’s communicative English classroom (by taking a counsellor role, talking to students in Japanese to further explain some questions during break/after class, and doing the routine weekend chat as the opening activity) shows her awareness of the importance of connection. And finally, Kimiko’s view of her students as people with interesting ideas (as teachers of the mainstream Japanese culture) and interests in news as a prerequisite for English learning, (as evinced in her opening routine discussion) represent a different sense of connection.

8.4.3 Education-Control Dilemma

Kramsch (1993a), as mentioned in Chapter 2, viewed culture teaching as part of foreign language teaching and introduced three new ways of approaching foreign language teaching. Such new approaches seek the third place "that grows in the interstices
between the cultures the learner grew up with and the new cultures he/she is being introduced to" (p. 236), which has to be discovered by learners. One of the new approaches is critical language pedagogy. One main feature of that is "autonomy and control":

The struggle between the desire of students to appropriate the foreign language for their own purposes, and the responsibility of the teacher for socializing them into a linguistically and socio-culturally appropriate behavior lie at the core of the educational enterprise. Both are necessary for pleasurable and effective language learning. The good teacher fosters both compliance and rebellion. (p. 246)

The teachers in the field of EFL and ESL seem to be all aware of the fact that the communicative foreign language teaching emphasizes the student-centered classroom. The very concept of student-centered also seems to demand active role negotiation on teachers' side. In the case of preservice ESL teachers (K. E. Johnson, 1994), it confused their role identity to a great degree. Without teaching experiences in the past, preservice teachers are not equipped with a repertoire, an established set of practical responses to problems, and tend to end up turning to the completely opposite role identity, the "authority figure" based on their own learning experiences:

Despite wanting to create more student-centered second language instruction, decisions to be more teacher-centered were justified based on the need to maintain the flow of instruction and to remain authority in the classroom. (K. E. Johnson, 1994, p. 449)

In the case of experienced teachers, using repertoire, the active negotiations take place and such a radical role shift does not seem to occur. Louden's (1991) experienced teacher achieved
order and group cohesion without giving up her educational goal of independent learning; she had extensive repertoires of teaching which "are not arbitrary, but are historically based on [her] biography and experiences as a teacher" (p. 185).

The four teachers in my study all attempted to create student-centered English classrooms in their unique ways. But at the same time, they all had to struggle with "control" without taking a completely "authoritarian" role. Danny felt pleased with his students' initiative in the class but also frustrated because he did not have the sense of control in some situations; his frequent dominance was justified in his view because teachers should have control; and yet he saw himself as students' friend. Carol initially thought she found the perfect middle ground where she could keep the class student-centered but retain total control; that was by teaching language (grammar) inductively. As mentioned above, she believed that teachers were given the power for control by the culture of teaching. When she discovered that this was not working the way she anticipated, she switched her inductive grammar approach, against her will, to a more relaxed approach involving free conversation. Miki's routine opening activity was the source of her control in the class: something stable that had always been there. However, her one-game-per-lesson policy made her lesson plan fragmented and as a result, made her feel insecure; she did not seem to have enough control as a language teacher, the role she believed that she was supposed to be taking. As a consequence, she frequently ended up
having students repeat grammatically accurate sentences used in the games. Kimiko suffered confusion initially because of the conflicting complaints advanced by her students. However, she resolved this dilemma by adopting a more open, responsive mode of control. She believed that in the end, the teacher acted as the primary decision maker in the classroom in order to facilitate the students' English learning. During the course of the study, Kimiko seemed to shift from a strict teacher (as perceived by students) to a more flexible, approachable, non-authoritative figure. She still retained the right to control the choice of classroom activities, but she was able to delegate some of the responsibility for assignments and still maintain the structure of the lesson.

Thus, all four teachers attempted to resolve the dilemma of student-teacher control, albeit unsuccessfully in some cases. It is likely that most teachers will continue to experiment with achieving a perfect synthesis.
9.1 Implications for ESL/EFL Teacher Education

The findings in this study suggest several critical implications for ESL/EFL teacher education programs. First, it is important to recognize that teachers should be acknowledged as cultural beings with personal beliefs, history, and education. Thus, teachers need to be viewed as active participants in the educational process. As I have already discussed in Chapter 2 (e.g., Freeman & Richards, 1993; Golombek, 1994; Richards, 1994), a shortfall of past ESL studies is that teachers were viewed as merely instruments to facilitate learning through a certain method or lesson plan (curriculum-as-plan). Instead, they should be recognized as participants with students in the making of the lived culture of teaching English, by negotiating their past and present.

As the past learning-to-teach studies in mainstream teacher education revealed, the student/beginning teachers' self-image as teacher, being heavily based on their own experiences as learners, played a critical role in their early teaching practice (Kagan, 1992). In mainstream education, the lack of such well-developed self-images and perceptions about teaching was found to increase the danger of failure in practice teaching (Powell, 1994). Even with a strong image based on their prior formal foreign language learning experiences, ESL student teachers often
fail to create a student-centered classroom because they lack alternative images as teaching models; they end up turning to authoritarian roles which they actually disagreed with, but were familiar with, from their own learning experiences (K. E. Johnson, 1994). This study confirms the important role of EFL teachers' self-image (beliefs about teaching EFL and culture, and their role identity) in their actual teaching. However, this study also points out the complexity of the development of image-as-teacher in EFL teachers with teaching experiences. Their perceptions of their role as teacher were founded not only on their learning and teaching experiences but also cross-cultural experiences (their cultural identity and perceptions). Furthermore, such perceptions were negotiated by the influences of contextual factors throughout the study. This draws our attention to the need for combining biographical and contextual reflection in ESL/EFL teacher education programs to enhance the development of role identities and to improve teachers' skills at negotiating their roles (flexibility) if necessary.

In mainstream teacher education, the pressing need for paying attention to the power of pre/in-service teachers' biographies has rapidly become acknowledged (e.g., Britzman, 1986; Calderhead & Robson, 1991; Powell, 1994; Rothenberg, 1994). Already, there seems to have been a movement to incorporate pre/in-service teachers' reflective thinking into the programs to link their biographies (past) and their teaching (present/future); by doing so (encouraging critical reflective
thinking), the program attempts to empower teachers (e.g., the graduate program in Johnston's study, 1994). By contrast, the field of ESL/EFL teacher education has just begun to be aware of the issue (K. E. Johnson, 1994). Therefore, before sending preservice ESL teachers into the real world of teaching, ESL teacher education programs should provide opportunities for teachers to reflect upon their past and their hopes and dreams in order to establish clear role identities and learn how to negotiate these roles. K. E. Johnson (1994) believed that such opportunities would help student teachers move beyond the reproduction of the conflicting teacher role they saw in their own learning experiences and to learn models of alternative instructional practices. The framework introduced in the previous chapter (Figure 8.1) might be one way for them to reflect on their biography as well as actual teaching practice in teacher training. Together with this combined reflective thinking, teacher education programs perhaps should encourage student teachers to read other teachers' biographies (journals) and perceptions of their instructional role(s) and observe different types of teachers in order to gain exposure to alternative role models.

Another possible way of helping preservice/beginning teachers become smoothly socialized into the real world of teaching or helping teachers who have already been teaching better understand their teaching and thus grow professionally, whether it results in change or not) would be collaborative
reflection with the teacher educator, the researcher, or the mentor teacher. Britzman (1989) found such a need to listen to student teachers' voice critical to help them cope with struggles in their first teaching experience:

Indeed, the very act of reflection did change how [the student teacher] understood her teaching struggles and helped me to understand the necessity of providing reflective space throughout teacher education. (p. 148)

9.2 Incorporating a New Curriculum Landscape into ESL/EFL Curriculum Development

The findings in this study seem to agree with the view of teachers situated in the midst of multiple curricula between curriculum-as-plan (textbook) and lived curriculum (classroom culture and institutional culture), what Aoki (1993) called "Curriculum & Curriculum (C & C)" landscape. This study also reveals the individual teacher's dilemma and negotiation with their own self (based on learning, teaching, and cross-cultural experiences) and multiplicity of curricula. Such negotiation was a complex and ongoing process. The teacher's role perception was constructed by a mixture of biographical/professional basis and contextual basis, but not by a single element such as curriculum-as-plan. This also confirms Louden's (1991) analysis of one experienced teacher's changes in her understanding of teaching:

[T]he tacit, context-specific and biographically embedded nature of [the teacher's] personal understanding of teaching and the power of tradition shape and limit her capacity to change her teaching. (p. 194)

Taking such a view into consideration, in terms of EFL curriculum development, this study seems to suggest that the
general efforts to implement foreign language curriculum with an emphasis on culture teaching is inappropriate because such an approach seems to assume that teachers will deliver a new curriculum-as-plan in a singular way. This very attitude ignores the possibility of the negotiation of teachers' roles and the teachers' own making of culture in their teaching in a certain class. That attitude is the traditional "Curriculum and Implementation (C & I)" landscape or prescriptive approach Aoki (1993) criticized.

Taking the other view of curriculum (C & C landscape) into account, the complexity found in the process of negotiation of teachers' role perceptions indicates the need to understand teachers' knowledge, or how they make sense of their teaching before enforcing a new curriculum-as-plan in the hope of educational change. The use of a different approach seems necessary: collaborative research based on carefully established partnerships with strong trust between the researcher and the teacher. Louden (1991) believes that collaborative enquiry eventually leads to successful educational change:

[C]ollaborative enquiry has an important role to play in educational change. Whereas externally mandated curriculum reform has failed to produce lasting changes in classrooms, collaborative enquiry between teachers and between teachers and researchers, holds the possibility for gradual and lasting educational change. (p. 196)

The need for active collaboration between teachers, learners, and administrators for the purpose of professional development of ESL teachers has already been stressed by Crandall
in her arguments on the professionalism and professionalization of adult ESL teachers.

9.3 Collaboration for Change and Continuity

The purpose of this study was to explore the teachers' existing perceptions about teaching EFL and culture and their own negotiations of this in their dealings with instructions, students, textbooks, and their own experiences. Because this study was not intended to change teachers' perceptions of their role as teacher and culture, I did not involve myself in an intensive collaboration like Louden (1991) did with his participating teacher. However, some changes occurred to the four teachers in the study due to the fact that I was conducting this research project; there were some changes in teachers' cultural awareness and their negotiations of teacher roles became more active in some cases. For example, Danny, although he showed the least negotiation and change in his view of teaching English and culture, at the end of this research, finally started to give in and said that there might actually be some "real culture" although he could not articulate clearly what it was. Carol's naturally introspective traits, combined with her complete trust in me, enabled her to explore the deepest levels of her cultural awareness. Despite her ambivalent feeling about teaching culture in the classroom, she voluntarily experimented in talking about culture in other classes because she became more conscious of her lack of knowledge about culture in EFL classrooms. She also pointed out that she could reflect on her cultural discovery and
classroom instruction in a more organized way than usual. Miki mentioned that she could reflect on the content and her students' reaction in the class more than usual, which as a result helped her to organize her lesson plans better. Kimiko at the end of the third interview begged me to answer the same questions I asked her because she thought the questions were very interesting and my responses would be helpful for her to learn about teaching English. From then on, every time she made such a request, I talked about my views after the interviews to be fair to her. She wrote in her follow-up questionnaire:

I normally try to forget what happened in the class to prepare for the next class (even when the class did not go well). But by writing weekly journals for this research, I could reflect on the good and bad points of my class to a great degree. In addition, I used to just pick up cultural topics spontaneously in the class but during the course of this research, I have been consciously thinking about cultural issues. To tell you the truth, I did not think I could find new cultural experiences in my life after living overseas so long. But once I started consciously looking for cross-cultural issues in my life, I noticed there were more issues than I expected and it was a refreshing experience that I could reflect on my past cross-cultural experiences, too.

As a researcher, a KCCI teacher, and the four teachers' colleague (the least experienced in terms of teaching experiences at KCCI), I myself also learned a great deal about teaching English at KCCI through the interaction with these teachers, the observations, interviews, and their journals. (I was even motivated to keep my own culture journal, too.) After observing the first classes of these teachers, I became aware of the fact that I might not share something Japanese (like popular topics) with my students like these teachers did; for one thing, I
realized that I had been away from Japan and teaching for over a year. Danny’s students being so much tuned into his jokes and teasing, Carol’s extensive use of the Japanese cultural activities as examples for inductive grammar activities, Miki’s reference to professional sports in Japan, and Kimiko’s use of Japanese popular news items for opening discussion activity fascinated me. However, I stumbled in my own teaching; after a one and a half year absence from teaching, I felt incompetent. Speaking too fast in English, setting my expectations too high, and having to teach too many different types of classes confused me. Then, I became self-conscious of my own use of "fun" activities; I started avoiding game-type activities. Especially because I shared the class with Carol, I did not want to be inconsistent with her style of teaching and her use of the inductive grammar approach. I started developing very structured lesson plans; I tried to organize the lesson with one theme every week. Concerned with the issue of connection, I attempted to use everyday life examples and often included the students’ and teachers’ names to play with in the interactive communicative activities that I hoped would be able to foster a sense of big family in the class; that made the class lively. I participated in all the KCCI events, class night-out, and teachers’ parties, and volunteered to substitute for the sick teachers as much as I could. By doing so, I could become closer to some students but I could never think of the possibility of developing a tight friendship with them (although I was close to their teachers).
That was partially because my age was closer to the younger students. Also, I was still a Japanese woman for the students and based on my own past teaching experience, I feared that the students might expect me to assume a Japanese woman’s role outside the class. Furthermore, because I heard the stories of fear of intimacy with students in my intensive interviews with Carol, I sympathized with Carol and felt the same way. I became extremely cautious about introducing cultural issues; I started feeling I would rather incorporate issues or topics that my students and I might share an interest in, that we might have in common, something they did in Japan but could talk about in English.

As for my cross-cultural awareness, over time, I became more conscious of societal expectations regarding life as a Japanese woman in Japan. I was influenced to a great degree by Carol’s feminist, critical views, as well as Kimiko’s relativist attitude, Miki’s skillful role-switching depending on who she was with (whether Japanese or English-speaking), and Danny’s never-ending cultural misunderstandings (as perceived by some of his colleagues, including me) about Japanese women’s happiness. Although I was not sure culturally where I was supposed to be situated, I paid attention to any sign that suggested some cultural expectations based on my gender and appearance (Japanese). On the one hand, I was desperately eager to be accepted as a cute middle-class Japanese woman in mainstream Japanese society. However, on the other hand, I did not want to
pursue such an identity in my English-speaking life, even in Japan. I was offended by male foreigners who showed some sign of seeing me as Japanese and expected me to giggle and be mindlessly impressed by English jokes and teasing. The issue of Japanese women's happiness was not the focus of my research at all. However, the recurrent incidents at work (including the sexism and harassment which foreign male teachers often practiced) and this research, itself, made me extremely sensitive. At the same time, I discovered that what it means for a Japanese woman to study English (e.g., emotional and social support, empowerment) is different from a man's case (e.g., instrumental goal such as business). The question has remained unanswered but my cross-cultural awareness has been centered around women's issues in Japan and foreign men's views of Japanese women.

This research was also a long personal journey for me as a teacher, cultural observer, and now an immigrant in the United States to search for my identity as a professional, cultural, and human being through studying the four teachers. With more active collaborations, we all might have achieved even higher consciousness and reflection, which might have moved us beyond the same range of alternative roles each of us has had access to and appropriated as EFL teachers throughout our professional life.

9.4 Suggestions for Further Research

The findings from this study suggest some important implications for ESL/EFL teacher education programs to help
pre/in-service teachers to grow and to make curriculum development and educational changes more acceptable and realistic to teachers. With active, mutually reciprocal collaboration, the whole process of researching this study contributed to personal/professional growth in all of us involved in it and led to a better understanding of EFL teachers and the role of culture in EFL classrooms in Japan. However, despite the very intimate and intensive interaction I had with the four teachers during the course of the study, the interpretation of the data might betray remnants of an authoritative tone, from one who is an outsider looking inside with critical, analytical eyes. This, of course, was not the intent, nor was I a complete outsider. It may simply be the inevitable result of doing research of this sort and writing it up in a formal thesis.

Another issue which should be borne in mind is that the comparative analysis among the four cases was done primarily by me. Although there were four cases, the research itself was done in dyads (one researcher and one teacher). It might have enhanced productive reflection among the four teachers if there had been occasions on which all four teachers could share their understanding of teaching EFL and culture with each other. This, then, might be a useful strategy in future research, and the procedure of stimulated recall might also contribute to discussions. Nonetheless, I was sensitive to the possible power inequity between me as a researcher and the four teachers throughout the research. By the same token, the fact that I had
been, and was still, a teacher at KCCI who happened to be working on a Master's degree (and not a master teacher, curriculum consultant, or district superintendent) made it clear that I was not in a superior hierarchical position. And yet, I was still not completely equal to the teachers since they generally did not see me teach (although they could have done so, and I was co-teaching with Carol). Whatever the consequences of these role relations or perceptions of them might have been in this research, I believe that classroom researchers must reflect upon ethical issues of this sort when conducting and writing up their research.

The four teachers who participated in this study were all exceedingly cooperative throughout the research. However, the level of intimacy I could achieve with each teacher naturally varied. To conduct a fully collaborative research study, as Wallace and Louden (1994) stressed and as I also observed, a well-developed partnership based on mutual trust and respect for knowledge is required. Although all of the four teachers in this study demonstrated their trust and sincerity with me, it was impossible to keep the level of partnership with each teacher at the same level all the time, for a number of reasons (e.g., time, gender, personality, duties). Additionally, the type of relationship we had changed over time. Kimiko and Carol fostered a very intimate relationship with me in which they could reveal their deep introspection. Danny and I started as friends but over time, he saw me as a counsellor figure (who listened to his
frustrating situations at work). Although Miki was always friendly and inviting and we did have a good rapport and talked about our personal life, she and I could never become friends. This was probably because of her superior position as a coordinator at work and her heavy workload in such a responsible position. As Louden (1991) admitted, the personal traits of individual teachers (and researchers), whether open, forthcoming, intuitive, or rationalist, leads studies in completely different directions:

Because Johanna [the teacher] is such an open and forthcoming person, the introspective reflection tends to be personal. Because she is intuitive rather than rationalist, there was never any prospect that the study would document in detail the technical interest.... In other studies, teachers and researchers working in different conditions and carrying forward different horizons of understanding about their lives and work might well engage in patterns of reflection which favour other [types of reflection]. (p. 182)

Yet it is these very differences between and among individuals--teachers, students, researchers, or others--that make a study such as this and the phenomena studied so richly textured, dynamic, unpredictable, and open to interpretation. Attempting to characterize, deconstruct, and write about teachers' practices, beliefs, and lives is a worthwhile pursuit. It is not a simple task, however, and qualitative research is not always as straightforward and streamlined as one might hope. But in an age of global education, the issues and implications addressed here extend well beyond the lives of four teachers and one institutional context to fundamental theoretical and pedagogical concerns. For this reason, studying teachers' negotiation of
culture in this and other cross-linguistic contexts is a fertile domain for further exploration.
References


Appendix A

Initial Questionnaire

Questionnaire  Name

Title: Culture in EFL classrooms in Japan

This questionnaire is part of a project by Dr. Patricia A. Duff (Asst. Prof. in TESL at UBC, tel: (604)822-9693/5788) and her co-investigator, Yuko Uchida (MA candidate in TESL at UBC, tel: (0795)62-6648). The purpose of this research is to understand the interaction between teachers and students in EFL classrooms in Japan where various cultural orientations exist due to differences in the backgrounds of teachers and students, as well as the nature of foreign language education (materials, methods, etc.), itself. By fielding this questionnaire, the researchers would like to help teachers to better understand teachers' and their students' intercultural experiences and perceptions of culture, both in and out of class. This will shed light on the role of culture in foreign language teaching and learning. After the questionnaires are collected, twice-monthly interviews, weekly retrospective journal entries, and twice-monthly classroom observations will be commenced. At any time in the process of this research, participants have the right to refuse or withdraw without penalty and the identity of all teachers will be kept strictly confidential (only the co-investigator will review the results of this questionnaire). The questionnaire consists of 49 questions for foreign teachers and 45 questions for Japanese teachers. It will take approximately 45-60 minutes to complete. Although completion of the questionnaire will be understood as consent for this instrument, after completion of the questionnaire, teachers will be given the opportunity to withdraw. A schedule for the remaining parts of the research will be worked out individually with each participant within one week of questionnaire completion.

1. How old are you?
   [ ] years old

2. Are you married?
   [ ] Yes
   [ ] No

3. Where were you born?
   country [ ] / city [ ]

4. Where did you live while attending school until high school graduation?
5. If you are not Japanese, how long have you lived in Japan?

6. Do you have an undergraduate degree?
   [ ] Yes (Please answer items 7-10)
   [ ] No (Please skip to item 15)

7. What was your undergraduate major?

8. What university/college did you do your undergraduate degree at?

9. When did you finish your undergraduate degree?

10. Do you have a graduate degree?
    [ ] Yes (Please answer items 11-14)
    [ ] No (Please skip to item 15)

11. What kind of graduate degree?
    [ ] Master’s
    [ ] PhD.
    [ ] Other

12. What is your graduate degree in?
13. What university/college did you do your graduate degree at?

14. When did you finish your graduate degree?

15. Have you had any teacher training?
   [ ] Yes (Please answer items 16-19)
   [ ] No (Please skip to item 20)

16. What was the content? Please be specific. (Was there a supervised practicum?)

17. What institute did you have such teacher training at?

18. When was it?

19. How long was it?

20. Had you taught before you started teaching at the KCCI (not limited to ESL)?
   [ ] Yes (Please fill out the following table)
   [ ] No (Please skip to item 21)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What institute did you teach at?</th>
<th>What specifically did you teach? e.g. survival English for immigrants</th>
<th>How long? (year/month)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21. How long have you been teaching at KCCI?  
[ ] year(s) and [ ] month(s)

22. How many classes per week do you teach at KCCI?  
[ ] classes

23. What levels do you teach at KCCI?

24. For what percentage of each class (on average) do you use the assigned textbook in your class?

25. What are the sources of your teaching materials?  
[ ] textbook  [ ] reference book  
[ ] newspaper  [ ] magazine  
[ ] T.V.  [ ] novels  
[ ] movies  [ ] others
26. How much time do you usually spend preparing for one class? 
   [ ] hour(s) and [ ] minute(s)

27. What educational aspect do you put the most emphasis in your class? Please choose five of the following items and rank order them (1=most emphasis, 2=second most emphasis, etc.).
   [ ] grammar    [ ] reading
   [ ] writing    [ ] listening
   [ ] public speaking    [ ] communication skills
   [ ] cross-cultural understanding
   [ ] personality development    [ ] career development
   [ ] others

28. What, if any, are the current problems you have in your EFL teaching?

29. Have you ever gone to school or worked abroad? (before coming to Japan, if you are not Japanese.)
   [ ] Yes (Please fill out the following table)
   [ ] No (Please skip to item 30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>What did you do?</th>
<th>Length of residency</th>
<th>When?</th>
<th>Pre-departure preparation (e.g. learning a language, background reading)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30. Have you travelled abroad as a tourist?
   [ ] Yes (Please fill out the table below)
   [ ] No (Please skip to item 31)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>What did you do? (e.g. visiting friends)</th>
<th>Length of stay</th>
<th>When?</th>
<th>Pre-departure preparation (e.g. learning a language)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31. Have you studied any foreign languages?
   [ ] Yes (Please fill out the table below)
   [ ] No (Please skip to item 32)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Length of study</th>
<th>When?</th>
<th>What institute? If not at an institution, put &quot;natural&quot;.</th>
<th>Self-rating of your oral proficiency level between 1 and 10 (10 as a native speaker)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
32. Have you had close friends from different countries?
[ ] Yes (Please fill out the table below)
[ ] No (Please skip to item 33)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From which countries?</th>
<th>Do you still keep in touch with them? Y-Yes/N-No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

33. Have you had close friends from different ethnic groups in your home country?
[ ] Yes (Please fill out the table below)
[ ] No (Please skip to item 34)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>From which ethnic groups?</th>
<th>Do you still keep in touch with them? Y-Yes/N-No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

34. What was the most **frustrating** cross-cultural experience you have ever had?

35. What was the **happiest** cross-cultural experience you have ever had?

36. Are you currently involved in any organized international activities? e.g. belonging to an international association of the city/volunteer organization
[ ] Yes (Please mention what kind of activities and the amount of time you spend per week below)

[ ] No

Items 37-49 are only applicable to English-native-speaker teachers.
If you are a Japanese teacher, please skip to item 50.

37. What was (were) the reason(s) which made you decide to come to Japan?

38. How much do you like living in Japan? Please circle the number below.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
not at all very much

39. What is your favourite aspect of living in Japan?

40. What do you find the most difficult about living in Japan?

41. Have you ever had very embarrassing cultural experiences in Japan?

[ ] Yes (Please answer items 42-43)
[ ] No (Please skip to item 44)

42. Please describe your embarrassing cultural experiences in
Japan. (If they are too personal, you may skip to item 44.)

43. Why were such incidents embarrassing for you?

44. Have you ever had very upsetting cultural experiences in Japan?
   [ ] Yes (Please answer items 45-46)
   [ ] No (Please skip to item 47)

45. Please describe your upsetting cultural experiences in Japan.

46. Why were such incidents upsetting for you?

47. Are you currently taking any Japanese language lessons?
   [ ] Yes
   [ ] No

48. What percentage of your friends in Japan are Japanese?
   [ ] 
   Please indicate where the majority of your friends are from if they are not Japanese.

49. Do you currently participate in Japanese cultural activities?
e.g. learning martial arts, tea ceremony, calligraphy

[ ] Yes (Please describe such activities below.)

[ ] No

This is the end of the questionnaire for foreign teachers. Thank you very much for your cooperation!!

50. Have you been to foreign countries?
[ ] Yes (Please answer items 51-54)
[ ] No (Please skip to item 55)

51. What were the things you liked about your life overseas? (Please mention the name of the country and the year for each thing.)

52. Why did you like them?

53. What were the things you did not like about your life overseas?

54. Why did you not like them?

55. Do you have contact with foreign people outside of work?
[ ] Yes (Please answer items 56-57)
[ ] No (Please skip to item 58)
56. Where are they from?

57. How did you get to know them?

58. How did you learn English? Please be as specific as possible.

This is the end of the questionnaire.
Thank you very much for your cooperation!!
Follow-up Questionnaire for Teachers

Follow-up Questionnaire

Title: Culture in EFL classrooms in Japan

This questionnaire is part of a project by Dr. Patricia A. Duff (Asst. Prof. in TESL at UBC, tel:(604)822-9693) and her co-investigator, Yuko Uchida (MA candidate in TESL at UBC, tel: (0795)59-0233). The purpose of this project is to understand the interaction between teachers and students in EFL classrooms in Japan where various cultural orientations exist due to the differences in the backgrounds of teachers and students, as well as the nature of foreign language education (materials, methods, etc.), itself. By fielding this follow-up questionnaire, the researchers would like to better understand how the participants now perceive "culture" in and out of class and how this project, itself, might have influenced such participants' perception of culture. The questionnaire consists of six questions and it will take approximately 60 minutes to complete. Although completion of the questionnaire will be understood as consent for this instrument, after completion of questionnaire, teachers will be given the opportunity to withdraw. The researchers very much appreciate the active participation, great patience, and the precious time each of the participants has dedicated in this project for the last six months. Thank you very much.

* Please describe your responses in detail (as much as possible).

1. How do you think the course I observed last semester went?

2. Why do you think so? (If you noticed any specific problems in your class last semester, please describe them in details.)

3. How do you think my project might have influenced you?
4. What kind of things does teaching culture imply to you? (Please write as many examples as possible.)

5. What does "culture" mean to you?

6. Has your view of "culture" changed since the beginning of this project?
   [ ] Yes (Please answer the following question.)
   [ ] No (This is the end of the questionnaire.)

   1) Why do you think your view has changed?
   2) How has it changed?
Appendix A
(Continued)

Follow-up Questionnaire for Students
(Translated from Japanese into English)

This questionnaire is part of a project Dr. Patricia A. Duff (Asst. Prof. in TESL at UBC, tel:(604)822-9693) and her co-investigator, Yuko Uchida (MA candidate in TESL at UBC/KCCI English instructor, KCCI Language Center: (078)241-7204). The purpose of this questionnaire is not to evaluate instructors and KCCI is not in charge of this; this is a personal project done by one of the KCCI instructors to complete a Master's thesis.

During the fall semester, 1993, (from October, 1993 to March, 1994), I observed classes and interviewed the instructors at KCCI to collect data. However, until now, I never had a chance to hear the students' opinions. I hope this questionnaire will help us to understand the students' viewpoints on KCCI English courses. The theme of the research is the teachers' perceptions of the role of culture in communicative English courses in Japan. This questionnaire consists of eight questions and will take approximately minutes to fill in. It is not mandatory to respond to this questionnaire.

The researchers are looking forward to as many responses as possible for the completion of a Master's thesis. Your information in the questionnaire responses will be kept confidential. We would very much appreciate your cooperation.

*All of the following questions are concerned with the KCCI communicative English courses during the fall semester (October 1993-March 1994). Please describe in details. When you finish, please submit it to the secretaries at KCCI office. The deadline for this questionnaire is April 22, 1994.

1. Which one of the courses below did you take during the fall semester?
   [ ] Monday & Thursday, twice-a-week, morning class
   [ ] Monday & Thursday, twice-a-week, evening class
   [ ] Tuesday & Friday, twice-a-week, evening class

2. Sex
   [ ] Male
   [ ] Female

3. Were there any problems in your class during the fall semester?
   [ ] Yes (Please answer the question below.)
   [ ] No

* Please describe your problems in details.
4. Were there any good things that happened in your class during the fall semester?

[ ] Yes (Please answer the question below.)
[ ] No

* Please describe the good things in details.

5. What did you learn in your KCCI English class especially during the fall semester?

4. Do you think you learned "culture" in your KCCI English class during the fall semester?

[ ] Yes (Please answer the questions below.)
[ ] No

* How did you learn "culture"? (Please describe some examples in details.)

* What kind of "culture" did you learn?

* What taught you such "culture"? (e.g., Japanese or foreign teacher)
7. In what aspects do you find differences between Japanese teachers and foreign teachers? (Please mark 0 for good differences, X for bad differences, and * for differences that are neither good nor bad.)

8. Do you find any change in yourself by taking KCCI communicative English courses (especially, when you compare yourself at the beginning of the fall semester and yourself now)? Please write about changes.
Appendix B

Letter of Official Permission for the Research

KCCI Letterhead

The University of British Columbia
Behavioural Sciences Screening Committee
For Research and Other Studies Involving Human Subjects
Vancouver, British Columbia
Canada

To Whom It May Concern:

This letter guarantees that we, [KCCI] Language Center, will fully support Ms. Yuko Uchida for her research at our school. In fact, we are sure that her investigation will bring about good academic and practical stimulus in the school. Therefore, we are very pleased to welcome her as a researcher as well as a teacher.

We have already received a copy of her letter dated September 10, 1993, and supplementary pages summarizing the objectives of upcoming study at our school (from mid-Oct. to the end of Mar.), recruitment notice, first interview schedule, and consent forms. They are all found acceptable. We agreed to officially permit her to interview our teachers, students (if necessary), to ask them to keep a journal, and to observe (and video-record, if necessary) their classes in the proposed method.

Since she left our school to pursue her graduate studies about one and a half years ago, we have been corresponding with each other and her efforts to keep up with current issues and findings in ESL always impress us. Moreover, due to the rapid increase of English native-speaker teachers in our institution, which brought a great change in classroom organization, her thesis topic, culture in EFL classrooms, is very applicable to our immediate needs. Thus, Ms. Yuko Uchida has an open invitation to conduct her research at our school.

Sincerely,

(signature)

(name)
(title)
Appendix B  
(Continued)

**Recruitment Notice**

**RECRUITMENT NOTICE: TEACHER VOLUNTEERS**

**PROJECT:**
Culture in EFL classrooms in Japan

**INVESTIGATORS:**
Dr. Patricia A. Duff  
Department of Language Education  
University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada  
Tel. (604)822-5788; Fax (604)822-3154

Co-Investigator  
Yuko Uchida  
M.A. Candidate in TESL  
University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada  
c/o Frank Sze  
9448 Romaniuk Pl.  
Richmond, BC, V7E 5G8, Canada  
Tel. (604)271-8318; Fax (604)822-3154

Two foreign and two Japanese teacher volunteers (if possible, 1 male for each group) are sought to participate in our project, which involves a questionnaire, journal-keeping, interviews, and classroom observations. This project is intended to fulfill a partial requirement for a Master’s degree in TESL (thesis), starting in November, 1993 and will last until the end of March, 1994. The executive director at KCCI has already approved this research proposal.

**PURPOSE:**
The purpose of this research is to understand the interaction between teachers and students in EFL classrooms in Japan where various cultural orientations exist due to the differences in backgrounds of teachers and students, as well as the nature of foreign language education (materials, methods, etc.), itself.

**PROCEDURES:**
The initial questionnaire will be analyzed only by the co-investigator. Journals will be read by three people including the two mentioned above and another research assistant. Interviews will be tape-recorded and observation will be video-recorded. However, in both cases, teachers have a right to refuse to be recorded and the identity of all teachers will be kept strictly confidential.

**TIME:**
A questionnaire will take 45-60 minutes. Interviews will take approximately 15-30 minutes (except for the first interview, 40-60 minutes) and will be conducted ten times. Journal entries are weekly.

**REFUSALS:**
You have the right to refuse to participate at any time; it is O.K. if you do not wish to be interviewed or observed.

**INQUIRIES:**
Please feel free to ask any questions on this project at any time during/after this study.

PLEASE CONTACT THE PROGRAM COORDINATORS (Ms. Jane D. or Ms. Miki H.) OF KCCI LANGUAGE CENTER FOR MORE INFORMATION.
Appendix B
(Continued)

Teacher Consent Form

TEACHER CONSENT FORM

PROJECT: Culture in EFL classrooms in Japan

INVESTIGATORS: Dr. Patricia A. Duff
Department of Language Education
University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada
Tel. (604)822-5788; Fax (604)822-3154

Co-Investigator
Yuko Uchida
M.A. candidate in TESL
University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada
c/o Frank Sze
9448 Romaniuk Pl.
Richmond, BC, V7E 5G8, Canada
Tel. (604)271-8318; Fax (604)822-3154

PURPOSE: The purpose of the initial questionnaire, journal studies, interviews, and observations is to better understand the interaction between teachers and students in EFL classrooms in Japan. Various cultural orientations are believed to exist there, due to the differences in the background between teachers and students, as well as the nature of foreign language education itself.

PROCEDURES: The initial questionnaire will be analyzed only by the co-investigator. Journals will be read by three people including the two mentioned above (principally, the co-investigator) and another research assistant. Interviews will be tape-recorded and observation will be video-recorded. However, in both cases, teachers have the right to refuse to be recorded and the identity of all teachers will be kept strictly confidential.

TIME: The initial questionnaire will take 45-60 minutes. Interviews will take approximately 15-30 minutes (except for the first interview which will be longer, approximately 40-60 minutes) and will be conducted ten times at the convenience of teachers. Journal entries are weekly.

REFUSALS: You have the right to refuse to participate at any time; you may choose not to be interviewed or observed.

INQUIRIES: Please feel free to ask any questions about this project at any time during/after this study.

I have read the recruitment notice and understand that my participation in this research is on a voluntary basis and I am free to withdraw at any time. I know that my identity will be kept confidential. I also understand the purpose of this research and know that KCCI has officially decided to support this project fully. Additionally, I know that I am entitled to ask for more information about the project at any time.

I have received a copy of the consent form.

_________________________  ________________
Teacher's Signature        Date
Appendix C

Excerpts of Fieldnotes From Danny’s Class

C.l Students’ Mischief: February 24, 1994

Hanako and Yoshimi arrived in the class about ten minutes before the class started sitting next to each other: they are already in a very cheerful mood.

At 10:30, Danny comes into the room, greeting very quickly, "Good morning!", but not paying attention to anybody in the class. He looks a little preoccupied. There are five students in the room, Hanako and Yoshimi by the door and Tomoko, Satomi, and Isako on the opposite side of the room by the window. Hanako and Yoshimi cheerfully greet back to Danny, "Good morning, Danny!!" and start laughing very hard. Danny swiftly moves to the front of the room and grabs his roll book. Hanako says, "We could help you. We could help you." Yoshimi already bursts into laughter but Danny does not respond yet. Hanako adds, "Everything. I..." with a hysterical laugh. Danny looks at them finally, asking, "Oh, you could... you helped everything?" Hanako gives him a look, "Huh?". Danny repeats, "You helped me? You did?" Hanako and Yoshimi excitedly respond together, "Yes!", while the other students start laughing. Danny says, "Please, don’t have Hanako in this room".

As soon as Danny opens the roll book, Hanako tells him, "Page 60!", pointing to him. Danny becomes confused. Students all start laughing hysterically. Danny asks, "But the book and the paper were there" pointing to the white board behind him. Hanako and Yoshimi again respond together, "Yes!". Danny look at them again closely. Hanako holds up a small piece of paper, "And a sheet!". Danny quickly goes over to her and tries to take it back from her but she pulls it back once. Finally, she gives in and Danny starts collecting pieces of paper from students. Hanako distributed those to her classmate before Danny came in. Danny keeps saying, "Thank you" to each student who returns paper to him. When he comes to Satomi, the paper fall off her little table and Danny scolds her, "Bad student! Bad student!". Satomi unfortunately does not seem to be in such a playful mood so she gives him a face. Quickly Danny adds, "Joking! Joking!". Satomi quickly smiles and Danny finishes collecting paper. Then he continues, "And... a paper clip!" All the students look up at Danny and say, "Huh? No!". Danny makes himself sound impatient on purpose as a joke, "Yes. There was a paper clip... holding these together!!", showing his small pieces of paper students hid earlier. Hanako and Yoshimi both say, "No!". Danny asks the class, "Who took my paper clip? (he looks around) Uh huh!" Yoshimi picks it up from the floor and gives it back to Danny. Danny continues, "You know how expensive these are!!" lifting up a paper clip in the air and students look up at it. He says, "Very very expensive. Made of real silver." Students are now very quiet but Hanako does not buy this so she sneers at Danny,
"Huh?" and looks at Yoshimi. Danny sits down on the desk in the front of the room and continues, "Thank you for your help. O.K. if you really like to help me, please come to my apartment and..." Hanako quickly finishes this for Danny, "Oh yeah, clean up your..." Other students burst into laughter. Danny continues, "The problem is now when I'm trying to clean up, I need a place to put things. I'm running out of space now."

Hanako interrupts Danny, "And... today... (looking at other students)... we, we, talk free (with a big gesture showing 'free'). No 10 yen. And yes,... (looking around her classmates)" Yoko knocks on the door and comes in late. Danny responds to Hanako, "Uh huh! What did you do?", standing up from his desk, to look for the 'Japanese jar'. Now Danny is moving to the extra chair next to Yoshimi and Hanako says, "No, no". Hanako looks like a little mischievous child, very excited, and starts humming the theme song for the movie, "Jaws". Danny moves to the windows and moving all over the room. Students are talking to each other. Tomoko asks Hanako something quick and Hanako in a big voice says, "No, no, no, no, I help him!" pointing to Danny. Danny has no idea where they hid the Japanese jar so he stands behind Hanako and keeps looking up in the air thinking. Hanako tries to say something, "And..." and then students starts laughing very hard. Yukie finally sits down. Danny moves back to the front of the room. Danny tries to look behind the curtain by the window. Hanako and Yoshimi look at each other, laughing and saying, "Uh... Uh...". Danny asks, "Am I warm?" Hanako quickly, "Huh?". Danny asks again, "Am I close?" Hanako, with an exaggerated facial expression, pretends that she does not know.

Danny tells the class, "In America, there's this game. Children, children play". As soon as students hear the word, children, they burst into a hysterical laughter and says, "Yes?". Danny continues explaining, "If you get close to the place, people say, 'You're hot!' Students repeat, "Hot" on their own. Danny continues, "Well, maybe, warm. Or, far away, cold, cold. O.K. Am I cold, warm, or hot?" Students look at each other and Hanako is now intensively looking at Yoshimi for her advice. Yoshimi says, "So so warm." Danny moves toward Yoko who is now sitting in the middle and Yoshimi says, "Cold!" Danny moves to the window in the front and asks, "Am I hot?" and Yoshimi and Hanako look at each other. Yoshimi says, "Warm" but Hanako strongly says, "Cold!! Coldest! Coldest!" which makes everyone laughs very hard. Other students are now talking to each other about the rule of this game in Japanese. Danny moves to the other side of the room near the white board. Hanako speaks out in a big voice, "Warmer, warmer, warmer, warmer!" Then with Tomoko and Yoshimi and Isako, Hanako starts saying, "Hot! Hot! Hot! Hot!" with a heavy Japanese accent. Danny picks it up and makes fun of them, "Hotto?" and Hanako keeps laughing very hard, looking at other students. Danny finally finds the jar from behind the drapes behind the white board in the front of the room and
Danny is standing in the front of the classroom, asking the class, "Any questions?". All the students smile and raise their hands at once. Hanako says, "Yeah, I'd like to..." and at the same time, Yoshimi is saying, "Yes" and the rest of the class is just laughing hysterically. Danny smiles and comes closer to the students. Hanako is saying something but it is incomprehensible. Danny points to her, but Hanako just keeps saying, "No, no, no, no... Start!" to the class. All the students burst into laughter and make a noise. Danny looks at a loss, looking around the room for a clue and starts pointing at each student with his pointer finger, asking, "Same thing?". Danny sits down on his desk in the front of the room with his legs swinging like a little boy. Hanako tells him, "No, no, no, no...". She starts mumbling with Yoshimi, Yoko, and Juri at the same time. Everyone laughs hysterically. Danny keeps asking, "What, what?" Hanako says, "Why?" and looks at Yoko and Yoshimi. Danny is still at a loss. Yoko look at Makiko and talks to her. Then, Hanako announces to Danny, "I, I, I, had a very good plan today. But..." All the students again burst into laughter. Danny asks, "What?" Students keep laughing. Satomi is now stared at by Danny and shaking her head, starts talking, "No, we have a lot of questions, today!" Danny says, "You have a lot of questions today?" Satomi responds, "Yes!".

Danny tries, "O.K. who's first?" looking around the room for a volunteer. But Hanako says strongly, "No!!". Danny gets confused, "Huh???" Hanako says, "Same time." Danny finally gets it and says, "O.K. One, two, three!" with a big gesture by his hands and smiling. Students all start saying, "I have..." but they again burst into laughter. Danny tells the class, "O.K. the smartest..." but Hanako interrupts him, "We, we..." Danny ignores her and continues, "Smartest, youngest, and the most beautiful woman has to speak first" by which students start laughing even harder and Danny adds, "You'll be quiet!" pointing to Hanako with a big smile on his face. Hanako laughs hysterically with all the other students. Danny points to Makiko, saying, "O.K. Makiko!" Makiko in a small voice starts asking a question, "When... when we congratulate someone,... wedding or examinations, I think it is different..." Danny looks at her and nods, "Uh huh!" Makiko continues, "So would you... teach me?" glancing over at Yoko quickly. Hanako says, "Teach?" and starts laughing. Danny responds, "Ummm... What, what do you think?" Makiko giggles and looks at Yoko. But Danny continues, "At a wedding. Let's take an example..." Yuri knocks on the door so Danny changes his tone of voice, sounding very sweet, "Oh, Yuri. C'mon in." As soon as she comes in, Hanako and Yoshimi greet to her,
"Good morning!!" Danny talks to Yuri, "Good morning. Put your bad down. Come on. Hurry, hurry, hurry..." with his gesture trying to invite her over to the front of the room. Danny continues, "Come on, come on, come on. Faster, faster, faster,... FASTER!!": now he's shouting so students start laughing very hard. Yuri runs to Danny and stands next to him. Danny quickly says, "Oh god!... if you're running for the train, you should be late! Are you O.K.?" he asks Yuri. Yuri in a small voice shyly responds, "Yes". Danny invites Yoshimi over with the exaggerated gesture, "C'mon, c'mon, c'mon,..." Yoshimi points to herself looking at a loss so Danny responds, "Yes! Yes!" clapping his hands. Yoshimi goes to the front. Danny continues, "O.K. For example, (looking at Makiko) let's say, (with a big mischievous smile on his face)...they're getting married now... O.K. O.K. (looking around)" Hanako quickly picks it up and makes comments, "Good, wow, lesbians!" Other students burst into laughter. Danny smiles and continues, "O.K. Makiko, please congratulate them." looking at Makiko and swings his arm from her to the two students next to him. He tells Makiko, "C'mon, c'mon. Makiko, c'mon, Makiko. C'mon, how do you...?" rushing her up. Makiko responds, "I think... I don't,..." touching her face with hands and now is very confused. Danny tells her, "No, no. Do it! How would you do it?" Hanako joins him, "Yes!" Makiko looks at a loss, saying, "Eh... wakaranai... (I don't know)..." Danny pushes her more, "Do it! Don't think!" with his gesture. Makiko tries, "Eh... be happy?" sounding uncertain and looking at Yoshimi in the front for a help. Danny looks up with his palms together in front of his chest and says, "Be happy!". He swings his arm to invite Makiko to the front, "C'mon over. C'mon, c'mon, c'mon...!

Makiko hesitates but finally stands up and goes to join Yuri and Yoshimi in the front. At the same time, Yoshimi takes Yuri's hand and puts it under her arm to pretend like they are a couple. Looking at that, other students start laughing and Hanako starts humming the wedding march. Danny comments, "Good!" but looking at Hanako, "Oh, god...." with head down. After a hysterical laughter, students become quiet to listen to the three students act out. But Makiko hesitates, "I can't say congratulations?" Danny responds, "Yes, you can." Makiko explains her reasoning, "Because congratulation means... (thinking for a moment)... get it!" Danny asks, "Get what?" with his facial expression for incomprehension and looks around the room for help from other students. Makiko repeats, "Get it?" with her arms up, gesture of banzai. Danny says, "Huh?? (Makiko giggles out of embarrassment) All right?" with his thumb up and continues, "No, no, no". Makiko asks, "No?" and Danny tells her, "You can say that. Go ahead." Makiko asks one more time, "Can I just say, 'Congratulations'?" Danny answers, "Yes, of course!". Makiko says, "Congratulations!" and quickly tries to go back to her seat. Hanako asks, "Congratulation...s?" to herself in the back of the room. Danny quickly catches Makiko and says, "That's all? That's all?" Makiko looks around and back at Danny. Danny probes, "That's all?" Students start laughing. Danny tells
Makiko, "C'mon, anything. Go say good bye. Anything. C'mon." Makiko returns to the front. Students laugh. Yoshimi says, "Our future!" and laughs hard with Yuri. Makiko looks up in the air thinking and says, "Where are you going....? Honeymoon?" Students mumbles, "Going to honeymoon?" so Danny corrects, "Go on your honeymoon". Students repeat, "Go on your honeymoon" writing down in their notebook on their own. Hanako asks, "Where do you go on your honeymoon?" Danny corrects, "Where are you going on your honeymoon?" finally he stands up an goes to the white board to write the sentence down. Students repeat the sentence on their own to memorize. Hanako practices the pronunciation, "Honeymoon". Students look up at Danny and he starts, "On your honeymoon. Honeymoon and trip,... really is the same thing."...
Appendix D

Excerpts of Fieldnotes From Carol's Class

D.1 Strategy for Late Students: December 13, 1993

At 6:41, Kouichi knocks on the door and comes in. The class is in the middle of playing "Japanese culture game" where one student picks a card with a Japanese thing written and describes it without using the word on the card and the rest tries to guess what it is. Carol and Yumiko briefly look at the door to see who is coming in but do not pay much attention to Kouichi. Kaori is trying to describe "kendama" (old-style toy). Carol smiles at Kaori and waits patiently, (encouraging her non-verbally). Kaori tilts her head on one side, scratching her head nervously, and sucks her teeth (making a noise: thinking very hard) and finally speaks, "Similar... 'oden' (Japanese food)". Carol laughs and asks, "Oden?", expressing incomprehension on her face. Kaori adds, with hand gestures shaping a triangle, "Play... play..." looking down, "from circle and triangle...", looking up words in a dictionary at the same time. Kaori adds, "Very difficult" (to play with 'kendama'). Carol and Yumiko watch her very intensely. Meanwhile, Kouichi takes a seat quietly and is now ready for the lesson. He looks at Kaori, too. Carol asks, "Is it sometimes painted with colors?". Kaori looks down and checks her dictionary for the whole time, ignoring Carol’s question. Carol adds, "Is there a string between the ball and the... handle" with her hand gesture showing what string looks like. Kaori looks up away from the dictionary all of a sudden and says, "Pin and... ball..." with her right index finger sticking up. (This goes on for three minutes.)

At 6:44, Carol tells Yumiko, "Do you know what it is? Yumiko, explain the game to Kouichi in English." Yumiko mumbles, "Uhhh... umm... Ehhh??", looking embarrassed and looks desperately at Kaori for help. Carol with a big smile, repeats, "Explain the game,... how to play the game to Kouichi". Kaori looks at Yumiko, pointing at her own card, whispering to Yumiko, "Explain!" and then looks at Kouichi (trying hard to help Yumiko out). Carol intervenes and tells Yumiko again, patiently, "Explain how to play this game (looking at Kouichi) to Kouichi." Kaori laughs quietly, feeling desperate in the situation. Yumiko starts, shaking her head and touching her cheeks with her fingers, "Only English...." Carol holds up her cards to show them to Kouichi. Yumiko continues, "Some cards are... for example, 'onsen' (hot spring), we explain 'onsen' only in English..." Carol helps her, "And... and somebody guesses (looking at Kouichi) what's on the card..." showing cards to Kouichi again. Carol asks Kouichi, "O.K.?" Kouichi nods. Carol continues, "So... now... Kaori..." Kaori intervenes, "I explain (showing her card to Kouichi)". Carol tells Kaori, "Kaori, explain one more time to Kouichi." Kaori starts, "Small... (with her hand gestures showing circle and triangles) two cups and one... ball..."
D.2 Chatting in a Circle to Start the Lesson: January 27, 1994

At 6:34, Carol calls out; "Come closer" with a Japanese hand gesture of 'c'mon'. The students (Shiro, Kaori, and Kouichi) respond quickly by standing up and moving their desks and chairs to make a small circle as usual. They leave some space out on the door side so that the late students could easily join the circle: the students seem to be completely prepared for what would happen in the next few minutes. When everyone's getting settled down in the new places in the circle, Carol says; "Why don't you come a bit closer?" Students again stand up and move their desks and chairs to make an even smaller circle. Meanwhile, Carol stands up and asks, "Are you hot or cold?", moving towards the heater to adjust the room temperature. Students look up at Carol but don't respond verbally. Carol quickly comes back to her seat and sits down.

At 6:36, Carol looks at Shiro who's now sitting next to her and asks, "How have you been, Shiro? (laughing) Where have you been? (laughing)". Shiro grins in an embarrassed manner, touching his glasses nervously. He has not come to the class for a few weeks. Carol catches Shiro's nervous behavior and corrects her question, "No, I mean, how are you?" Shiro slowly says, "I'm fine... today...", with a very heavy Japanese accent. Carol asks, "Today?" Shiro answers with a nod, "Yes!" and Carol asks, "How about yesterday?" Shiro very quietly (looking down a little bit) replies, "I was very busy..." and looks completely down. Carol helps, "At work?" and Shiro looks up, responding, "Yes". Carol continues, "What were you doing?" Shiro looks straight at Carol but his face has a blank expression: he probably does not know how to respond in English. Kaori and Shiro start speaking in Japanese quietly as if they knew each other's life very well. Carol catches the word and asks, "A special project?" Shiro looks down. Kaori and Shiro keep talking in Japanese and Kaori does some hand gesture of an airplane to Carol with nods, saying,"Huuun... Un, un..." to Shiro. So Carol intervenes, "What? What?" Kaori responds, "Kobe airport. Yuumei na tokoro... (famous place)." with the same hand gesture showing an airplane. Carol leans forward so that she could hear better what these two students are speaking. Kaori and Shiro keep talking in Japanese. Carol catches a word, "tunnel" so she asks, "Tunnel?" Shiro responds, "Yes" with a nod. Carol asks, "Where?" Shiro responds, "Etto (Well,...) From Port Island to Shinkobe" with his arms moving showing the distance... Carol asks, "Is it finished?" Shiro quickly responds, "No!" Then Kaori joins but speaks to him only in Japanese, "Sonooto suguni... (And then, soon after that...)". Carol interrupts, "Is it started?" Shiro answers, "No". So Carol asks, "When are you going to start?" Shiro responds, "Last year." Carol confirms, "Oh, last year! You already started." Shiro just nods. Carol asks another question, "How many years will it take to finish?" Shiro quickly replies, "For five years". Carol nods and moves her desk and chair closer to Shiro and Kaori. Kaori nods and adds, "Trouble... is... finished" looking happy and proud. Carol repeats, "Trouble is finished?" Shiro nods deeply to Kaori.
Carol starts clapping and says, "Good". Now she asks, "What did you do last week, Kouichi?"

D.3 Let's review first!: October 28, 1993

At 6:30, Carol is very surprised to find that there are only three students, Rie, Ichiro, and Midori. So she waits for the other students to arrive. Carol chats with me in English while students talk with one another in Japanese. But at 6:34, she decides to start a class; "Let's make a small circle", she calls out to the three students with her Japanese-style hand gesture to tell them to come closer. She smiles to everyone. The students move their desks and chairs following the instruction. Carol says, "Smaller circle. Probably some people come late. Are you guys tired from work?". Only Ichiro responds with smile and nods while the two girls look too embarrassed to look at Carol. (Maybe they have never been physically that close to a teacher in a classroom before.)

Then Carol starts, "Let's review names of people here, Rie!". Rie looks a little nervous but slowly starts. She says, "Midori (looking at her face), Ichiro (looking at his face)" but stops, looking at Carol's face. Carol moans, "Uhhh" with a gesture of crying. Ichiro helps, "Carol!". Carol says, "Yes!" looking cheered up... Carol asks, "Tell me what you remember? On Mon. what did you learn? (silence) Last Thursday... in my class?" Rie finally speaks, "Introduction". Carol asks, "Can you remember something? (Long silence) I remember Ichiro works for a pearl company." Everyone starts laughing...

At 6:42, Carol asks, "How about in Yuko's class?" There is a long silence. Ichiro looks at me, grinning. The others also start laughing. They are embarrassed because I (their other teacher) am present in this class. Shiro comes in late and moves his desk and chair to join very quickly. Carol looks down at her role book which contains the note of my lesson plan from previous week. Carol probes, "What does Yuko look like?" Descriptions of appearance was taught in the previous lesson. Ichiro quickly gets it, "She has... shoulder length hair..." Carol probes more, "Good, tell us about this beautiful woman". The students and I laugh. Then Shiro says, "She looks charming". Everyone bursts into a big laughter. It's rare for Japanese people, especially, the young ones like Shiro, to make comments about appearance of the opposite sex in front of the person. So it comes out sounding really funny to everyone. Carol responds quickly, "Yeah, she looks charming!".

D.4 Let's review! Part II: November 11, 1993

At 6:42, Carol says, "O.K. Let's review. What did you learn on Monday?". There is a silence. Midori and Kaori look down start checking their notes nervously. Midori quietly starts speaking, "We
talked about changing." Carol asks, "Tell me... You told Yuko what’s changing in Japan?" Midori looks down at her notebook, saying slowly, "Popular... sports... is changing from baseball to soccer...". Carol agrees, "That’s true." and she asks everyone (Ichiro, Kaori, and Midori), "Do you like soccer or baseball?" and Kaori quickly responds, "I don’t like sports." Carol laughs, "My husband doesn’t like sports, either." Then Ichiro starts looking at me and his notebook alternately, grinning embarrassed and asking for confirmation, "The exchange rate is... (stuck) higher..." Carol helps, "getting higher! What else?" Kaori immediately responds, "Japan is becoming a... ummm... info... society..." in a smaller voice than usual. She sounds like she is not confident. Carol helps, "Information-oriented society?" Kaori loses confidence even more by this help, so she tries to look up a word in a dictionary. Carol probes, "Say it again... (long silence) Spell?" Kaori spells it out, "I-N-F-O-R-M-A-T-I-O-N O-R-I-E-N-T-E-D". Carol says, "That’s true. I think so." (As it moves on, they speeded up.)

D.5 Failing Discussion Activity: January 13, 1994

Carol asks the whole class a question, "Do you think it’s easy to guess each other’s mind?" There is a silence for a few seconds and some students are looking in the air but the others are looking down. I can hear Kaori sucking her teeth (the typical Japanese people’s non-verbal que to show they are thinking or they are having trouble finding the answer.) So she paraphrases a question, "You know one another, right? But do you think it’s always easy to guess other people’s minds?". There is again a long silence. Carol asks, "Can you guess what others think? Is it difficult or easy?" Midori all of a sudden breaks a silence after moving restlessly on her chair, "Difficult... I want...." But she gets stuck. Then Ichiro rescues her, saying slowly but grammatically accurately, "You can guess another person’s mind without communicating... ummm talking,..." with his hands moving. Carol asks, "Can you?", Ichiro responds quickly, "Yes!". Carol asks, "Why?" and Ichiro answers, "Midori... just classmate." There is a very tense air in the room. Everyone looks nervous. Carol does not let him go yet and says, "So?" Ichiro responds, "If we are more friends,..." Carol helps him, "Closer". Ichiro continues, "We are closer, we know each other better." Carol asks, "You got seven right?" (from 11 guesses about his partner Midori in the ‘I am You’ activity). Ichiro laughs nervously and looks down, saying, "Yes". Then Carol moves to another student, "Mari?" and she responds very quickly but off-topic, "I am very happy". Carol nods, saying, "Uh huh" and asks the next student, "Eri?" and Eri responds, "Ummm... difficult... but someone’s feeling... easier... catch heart." Carol changes a question, saying, "How about on Hankyu train? Do you just look at a person and guess their lives? I do that all the time." Since there is no response, she repeats the same question twice. Students are nervous; some are moving their bodies restlessly in their seats while the others are rigid, looking down, avoiding any eye contact.
After waiting a few seconds, Carol calls on one student, "Yumiko? Do you look at people on Hankyu train and guess their lives?" After a few seconds of silence and Yumiko looks at Carol with a smile on her face (embarrassed), she says, "Interesting". Carol asks the same question again, looking at Kouichi. Kouichi with his hand scratching his head, responds, "Stranger...."; he moves his head, showing his struggle putting his thought into words in English. He gets stuck...

**D.6 Carol’s Showing her Interests in Japan: October 21, 1993**

(6:53) Carol says to the class, "O.K. Everyone, go around and introduce yourself to your classmates. For example, 1)Name (Carol stands up and writes on the blackboard as she says this), 2)Job (writes), 3)Hobby (writes), 4)One interesting thing about you (writes)." Students are nervously looking at the blackboard. Carol goes back to her seat and says, "My name is Carol. I’m an English teacher... (Looking back at the blackboard,) hobby... I like 'origami' (with a big smile)". As soon as she says this, everyone’s faces get brightened and says, "Uhhh...." or "Ehhh...." to express their pleasant surprise. Ignoring that, Carol continues quickly, "I can make 'dinosaurs' (looking around to check if the students understood the word and quickly adds) 'kyouryu'" Students again make the noise to express their pleasant surprise; "Uhhh... Ehhh..." Carol adds, "I can’t make 'tsuru' (crane)". Two students (Kaori and Shiro), especially, vigorously responds, saying, "Ehhh..." (her amazement) with a little laughter: they are really pleased. The class is still tense but Carol’s reference to Japanese thing (origami) broke the ice to a degree: students seem to be relieved to find that their new teacher knows and feels favorable about Japanese things.

(7:53) Carol now has the class ask her questions about herself, saying, "Come closer. Closer (with a Japanese style gesture for ‘C’mon!’) Now, please ask me questions." She waits for a few seconds. Some students move their bodies, shake their heads slowly or touching their hair (thinking whether they should speak up but too shy...). Then Ichiro (the most courageous one) asks a question, "Do you like living in Japan?" Carol with a big smile responds, "I like Japan very much."... (Then the following five questions are all about Carol’s connection with Japan: Why did you come to Japan? How long have you lived in Japan?... ) Kaori becomes active asking questions to Carol. First she asks, "What kind of food do you like?" Carol answers, "I like Japanese food very much. Especially, ‘udon’, ‘okonomiyaki’, and ‘takoyaki’...". Everyone responds with their amazement, "Hehhh..." or "Uh...". There is another silence for a few seconds. Then Ichiro asks, "What kind of music do you like?". Carol says, "I play cello so I like classical music. But recently I like ‘shimaute’ (Okinawan music made into a pop version which has become very popular recently) very very much..." Again, the students are pleased, responding, "Hehhh..." and "Wah..."
D.7 Carol's Use of Japanese as a Prompt, 1: November 11, 1993

(The class was reviewing the last class: each student tells Carol their sentences with present continuous on what is changing in the world.) Ichiro tries to say something difficult he just improvises; "The relationship between... U.S. and U.S.S.R. is get..." He loses confidence and stops. Carol encourages him, "Try it again!". He becomes quiet, thinking with embarrassed grin on his face and scratching his head: he occasionally says, "Eh??" to himself. Then Carol prompts, "Mouichido!! (Once more)". Then Ichiro tries, "The relationship between U.S. and U.S.S.R. is getting better." Carol agrees, "Right. I agree." with a big smile.

D.8 Carol's Use of Japanese as a Prompt, 2: February 10, 1994

(There are only two students, Midori and Kaori in the class. The unit in the textbook is review. So Carol and the two students go over questions listed in the unit: e.g. what does ... mean? What do you say when...? How do you say...? After going over each one,) Carol asks, "How many do you know?" Silence for a few seconds. Kaori sticks her index finger up, showing "One" non-verbally. So Carol asks Kaori, "One?" But there is no reaction from Kaori who has been looking down at the textbook intensively. Carol paraphrases the question, "How many of these do you use in the class?" Kaori slowly answers, "How do you say...? I use". Carol asks, "Midori?" Midori says very quietly, "Me, too" with a small nod. Carol asks, "Same one?"... Carol continues to give instructions, "Please use these expressions to ask your classmate. O.K. I'll give you an example... 'Hai! (raising her hand which makes the students laugh) How do you say, 'Oyasuminasai' in English?'", looking at Kaori. Kaori responds, "Good night."

D.9 Teacher With a Small "t": October 21, 1993

(7:10) After finishing a brief self-introduction activity, Carol asks the class, "How many people feel nervous?". Students look up at Carol's face with that blank expression; I thought a lot of them are very nervous but none of them responds. They look at one another. Then Carol tries again, "Who feels nervous?" with a smile on her face. She looks around at students. No verbal responses from the students. Carol speaks, "No one. (With an expression of surprise on her face and standing up,) I feel nervous." Then she laughs a little nervously, looking around again. She gives up to make students admit they are nervous and goes on...
Appendix E

Excerpts of Fieldnotes From Miki’s Class

E.1 Opening Activity Routine, Weekend Chat: December 14, 1993

At 6:30, Miki comes in and goes to the teacher’s table in the front of the room, smiling and looking at the students. She goes back to the door but leaves it open. There are five students sitting from the left side of the room in the room. Jiro is already seated nearest the door. The other two male students, Hiroshi and Shingo, are standing and chatting in Japanese while getting ready for the class. Yumi seems all ready for the class, sitting at the other end on the window side. Mei is taking off coats and getting her textbook and notebook out of her bag and sits down next to Yumi.

Miki overhears the two boys talking and joins, "What did you buy?" and continues a small talk in English for a few seconds. The two boys finally sit on the door side.

At 6:33, Miki is standing behind the desk in the front and says, "O.K. Hello!" to the class with a big smile on her face, the sign for the beginning of the lesson as usual. Hiroshi slowly responds, "Hello". Yumi follows him, mumbling, "Hello". Miki opens her roll book and asks the class, "How are you?". Yumi answers quickly, "Fine, thank you. And you?" Miki answers, "I’m fine, thank you." smiling. Miki waves her hand to invite the rest of the class to this greeting and looks around. Then, Hiroshi joins, "So so..." Miki responds, "So so?" Students laugh. Miki looks at Jiro and he slowly responds in a very small voice, "Fine". Miki repeats, "Fine?", looking down at the roll book quickly. Miki slowly tells the class, "Today is the last class before Christmas holiday" (with a small hand gesture to show the time line). She closes the roll book and puts it away. Miki asks the class, "O.K. So... are you coming to the party on Thursday?", looking around the room. Hiroshi first responds, "Yes". Miki says, "Yes". Then Shingo says, "Yes". Miki asks Jiro, "Are you coming (with her hand pointing to the back of the room) on Thursday, 15th?" Jiro asks, "15th?" and says quickly in a very small voice, "I don’t know". Miki laughs, "O.K. you don’t know? We can talk about it later (now turning to Yumi). Yumi, are you coming to the party?" Miki leans over in a direction of Yumi. Yumi responds quickly, "Yes." Miki says, "Yes" with a little laugh. Yumi continues, "But I don’t... (pause) I didn’t (giggle) bring money..." Miki asks, "Uh... Uh... Uh... Are you going to pay today? Or Thursday?" Yumi quickly answers, "Maybe today". Miki responds, "O.K. (looking down and pause) You can say ‘I haven’t paid...’ (now looking up at Yumi)" Yumi repeats after Miki, "I haven’t paid... money yet..." Miki says, "Good, good." (Miki is looking down on the textbook and moving them on her desk and looking up.)
At 6:35, Miki asks the class, "O.K. So... how was your weekend? (pause, looking around, waiting for students' response) Good weekend? (pause) Bad weekend? (pause) Busy weekend" with a smile on her face. Miki waits a little more and asks again, "Good?" this time looking at Shingo who looks like he wants to say something. He responds, "Bad!" Miki asks, "Bad?" which brought a big laugh from students. Miki laughs, herself and asks slowly, "All right. What did you do? What happened?" Shingo answers, "On Saturday... I... I... had a cold." Miki moves to the side of her desk: now she is a little closer to the students. Shingo continues, "I... I... had a stomachache.....", touching his stomach. Miki asks, "Stomachache? Very bad? Very bad?" Shingo starts laughing a little out of embarrassment, "Very bad" and looks down. Miki continues, "Umm... So did you stay home... on Saturday?" Shingo responds, touching his head, leaning his head a little on one the right side, "Yes, yes... (pause) All day long." Miki responds, "All day long? Umm... Do you feel better?" Shingo responds, touching the collar of his shirt, "Yes. (with a small nod) So I couldn't go to (now touching his lips with his fingers, thinking very hard) umm... (Looking down)... Horning race." Yumi whispers reacting to his statement, "Horning race?" Noises from outside and the dialogue tape from the next room become loud. Jiro looks either bored or nervous: he does not look at Miki or Shingo. Girls seem more curious about Shingo's weekend: they are looking at Shingo and laugh. Hiroshi, looking at Shingo, laughs with girls. Miki corrects, "Horse racing" Shingo quickly repeats after her, "Horse racing... I couldn't make... (pause) much money (with his hand moving vigorously"; this except for Jiro makes everyone laugh hard. Shingo also laughs. Miki adds, "Or you didn't have to lose your money." and laughs very hard with girls. Shingo responds, "Yeah. (with a nod) I think so" with a little laugh. He now crosses his arms around his chest. Jiro starts yawning.

Miki continues, "I see. Were you planning... Were you planning to go to the...?" Shingo responds, nodding, "Yes. I... I... (with his hands moving a lot) bought newspapers (showing the shape of newspapers)... I... I... (looking at side, thinking for a second) I decided... so marked... (with hand gesture of marking)..." The girls start laughing with Miki. Miki asks, "So you used a red pen on a Hankyu train?" Shingo laughs and nods, "Yes..." Miki continues, "So... You missed... You didn't go... ummm... Did you watch television at home?" Girls are laughing. Shingo quickly answers, "Yes." Miki responds, "All right, maybe it was a 'good' weekend. I don't know..." Shingo looks a little embarrassed touching the back of his head. Miki still continues, "Uhhh... I caught a cold on Sunday, too. But my stomach is O.K. (touching her own stomach and looking around the room) Please be careful (with her hand waving to everyone). I went to the doctor and... the doctor said that a very bad flu (looking around the students), influenza, (with her hand moving around), flu is going around. (She looks up and thinks for a moment.) And... it's... it's... umm... it makes your stomach very, very bad. Umm... So... (with her hands waving away) don't go close to Shingo" laughing with girls.
Miki speaks, "O.K. Thank you. (with her hand moving around, trying to get other students to talk) So how was your weekend?" (looking around for a volunteer). Hiroshi says in a small voice, "Good". Miki responds, "Good?" Hiroshi continues, "It was good... I went to...

E.2 Tic-Tac-Toe, Pair Work Activity: December 14, 1993

(After introducing 'superlatives', the grammar point of the day...)

At 7:00, Miki calls out the class, "O.K. Imagine... any people... foreign people,... your friend,... classmates (with her hand gesture to include everyone in the class and pointing to the textbook,) your family... umm... T.V. (looking up to think of a word) characters (lifting up her textbook to who the page to the students). Anybody is O.K. So we make pairs (with her hands show 'pairs', two hands waving together). O.K. (looking back at the textbook and pointing at the exercise and starts reading the instruction.) And think about people you know or know about... then play 'Tic-tac-toe'. Do you remember? (looking around the room to ask).

You have two cross... your cross... (showing the part of the exercise in the textbook to everyone) Uh... you have to decide... umm... with your partner... Umm... if you’re doing circle, (hand gesture of circle up in the air), or cross (gesture of X), ne!" Students are looking up at Miki: her hand gestures attracted their attention. Miki quickly looks down at the textbook, nodding and continues, "O.K. And if you’re circle, make a row, like this (moving her hand up an down to show the straight line), down or across (moving her hand sideways), or this way (with her hand showing a sloped line). You win... O.K. (her hand showing a winning sign). So (lifting up a book more and looking at it)... at a time, ask each other a question like (reading the example in the book)... uh... Who is the tallest person in your family? or Where’s the richest person in the world?" Students start reading the instruction in the textbook. Miki continues, "You get an X or a circle. O.K. so please decide (moving toward Yumi and Hiroshi to pair them up using her hands). Shall we? So you know, Yumi and Hiroshi... Please decide which one of you will be circle or cross (with a gesture of circle and cross). Miki moves to the next pair, Mei and Shingo and says, "Circle or cross" with the same gesture. Singo and Mei look up and down and then Miki moves to the next pair. She says very quickly to Tetsuro and Jiro, "Circle or cross, please decide!" Miki goes back to the front. Meanwhile all the students look down and quietly read the instruction in the book, instead of starting right away.

Miki comes back closer to students and says, "O.K.? All right, and then... Please do janken, scissors (with her hand showing 'scissors'), paper (hand gesture), stone (hand gesture)." She
repeats, "Scissors paper stone" with her hand up in the air doing, "janken". Then students look up at her. Miki continues, "O.K. Scissors, paper, stone" students follow mumbling, "scissors, paper, stone". They start doing janken with their partners. Miki repeats, "O.K. Who wins?" She raises her hand up to encourage students to do the same. Students who won raise their hands. Miki says, "O.K. so the loser... Please ask the questions (now standing by the first pair, Yumi and Hiroshi) O.K. if the winner can answer it, circle (with a hand gesture). (now Miki stooping over at Yumi and Hiroshi) Which are you going to take, circle or cross? (turning to Yumi)" Yumi answers, "Circle". Miki continues, "Circle. O.K. You ask questions (Miki looking at Hiroshi to address him)... No, no, no..." Miki backs up a little and puts her hand over her mouth. Miki looks at everyone and says, "Something's wrong. I'm sorry, I'm sorry. (with her arms crossed around her waist) Um... The winner, pick one word. (leaning over to Yumi’s desk to look at the textbook) Please point to one word (looking at other students then Hiroshi) and you make a question. Ask her (pointing Hiroshi then to Yumi). And then you can answer (with her hand showing the speaking gesture in front to her mouth), get the box (gesture of square)".

Miki quickly moves to the next pair and repeats the same instruction, pointing to their textbooks. Yumi and Hiroshi quietly read the textbook again, looking down while Mei sitting next to Hiroshi giggles and intensely keeps looking at Yumi and Hiroshi, as if she did not know what to do and was asking for help. Shingo looks down and tries to start with Mei. Yumi and Hiroshi start. Tetsuro and Jiro quickly start as soon as Miki finishes giving them instructions. Miki goes to Mei and Shingo, the only pair who could not start right away. Miki giggles, "Uh...", stooping over at Mei’s desk. Mei keeps giggling out of embarrassment but Shingo starts asking a question so they eventually get started. Miki listens to them and moves to another pair...

E.3 Repeating Accurate Sentences in the Game: January 26, 1994

(The class has been engaged in the game called, "Guess what s/he has been doing" taken from the Harrap’s communication game book (Hadfield, 1984). In this game, the class is divided into groups of four students and the teacher gives a picture card of a man or a woman doing something to one student in each group and the student with a card is supposed to describe the picture as much as s/he can without using the word for the action. The group members listen and guess what the person in the picture has been doing. The group which gets the right answer gets a point. Now following the same procedure, the second student in each group is describing...)

In group 2, Shingo is struggling to describe, saying, "He is in the kitchen... He is making dinner..." The others look at Shingo intensely. Yuka often says, "Eh??" The others think, "Ummm....". 
Shingo adds, "He is crying..." Yuka quickly interrupts, "Uhh... He has been cutting onions." Shingo says, "Yes!" The students in the group rush to report to Miki. Miki notices the group 2 and comes closer to them, "O.K. What was the answer?" The group reports, "He has been cutting onions." Miki repeats (as usual so students know what is expected, repeat after her), "He..." All the students catch up with Miki and then slowly, word by word, follow, "He... (pause) has... been... cutting... onions..."

Miki goes to group 2, saying, "This is a little difficult", and gives a picture card and an answer card with a sentence written to Yuka, the third student. She moves to Group 1 and gives another card with the same picture on and the answer card to Yumi. Miki says, "Ready? Go." Yumi starts describing but immediately her group member gets the answer. Miki is there, saying, "Yeah! Can you say the answer again?" clapping hands. The students in group 1 (Mei, Masao, Yumi, and Hiroshi) say, "She has been watching a sad movie." Group 2 watches group 1. Miki says, "O.K. Together. (pause) She... has... been... watching... a... sad... movie..." All the students say the sentence together with Miki, word by word: after each word, they pause a little bit just like Miki always does in activities involving grammar structure. The repetition seems so automatic: although students do not seem to be very enthusiastic about repeating such grammatically accurate sentences, they do repeat anyway.

E.4 Modified Listening Activity: March 1, 1994

At 6:56, (after a brief presentation on the context of the dialogue,) Miki calls out to the class, "Now close your textbook. Just listen to the tape." The dialogue on the tape starts: two English-speaking people are speaking about Japanese food at natural speed. Meanwhile, students are all quietly listening to the tape. Hiroshi tries to open the textbook despite Miki's instruction but he stops. Everyone looks serious and Yuka is holding herself with her arms. They look like they are in great pain with high concentration: their eyes are closed. Miki is in the front, folding handouts into half. The tape stops and students look up. The students briefly look up but soon look down in a disappointment after hearing Miki speaking.

At 6:58, Miki soon starts speaking, "Don't worry. (smile) Listen one more time. This time, I'll give you a script. But some words are blackened." Miki moves toward students, gives handouts to them, and says, "If you hear, write down the words... ne (O.K.?)"

Responding to that, Hiroshi nods. The other students (Yuka, Yumi, and Mei) are already looking down: they are reading the script ahead. Miki goes back to the front and starts the tape again. Students soon start writing. They are all seriously working on the task. Miki stands in the front, looking at her own handout and students alternately. As soon as the tape finishes, Yuka laughs out
of relief (Thank God! It’s over) and embarrassment probably because she could not do very well.

At 7:00, Miki tells the class, "O.K. I have, eh..., umm... six sentences. (students slowly look up at Miki.) I will say... The sentences have one error (with her right index finger sticking up.) One sentence has one error." The students look down again. "So please tell me... what’s wrong. O.K.?" After a few seconds, Miki says, "All right!" and reads the first one slowly, "#1 Kenji usually eats in his room at the dorm". After a few seconds of silence, she repeats one more time. All the students are looking down. Yuka mumbles something in a very small voice, "This is wrong!" Miki asks, "It’s wrong... What’s wrong?" Yuka tries but gets stuck, "No room but..." Miki waits, probing, "O.K. Not room. Where?" Yuka answers in a very small voice, "Cafeteria..." Miki continues, "O.K. He usually eats..." Yuka in a very small voice repeats after Miki, "He usually eats at the cafeteria". Miki responds, "O.K. #2, Marta has never been to a Japanese restaurant." She waits for a few seconds. All the students are looking down. Then she repeats. Students are still looking down but Hiroshi starts moving his legs in his chair and sits up, clearing his throat: he looks like he’s getting ready to answer. But Yumi mumbles, "It’s wrong." Miki responds to that, "This is wrong, ne!" Students are looking down. Miki tries more, "What’s wrong?" Yumi slowly speaks, (still looking down) "She has gone to a few of Japanese restaurants." Miki responds, "Good. She has gone to a few Japanese restaurants. Good. #3 Marta thinks it is hard to eat rice with chopsticks." All the students are looking down. Hiroshi touches his face while Yumi touches her hair in the back of her head. Yumi mumbles again, "Wrong". Miki responds, "Wrong. O.K." and she waits a few seconds and then reads the sentence again. Mei looks up when Yumi starts mumbling again (with her head down), "It is hard to eat yakisoba... (laugh)" and she looks up. Miki answers, "Uh huh. O.K. (pause) What’s hard to eat? Rice?" Yumi quickly answers, "No." Students are all looking down. Yumi says, "Yakisoba with her head down. Miki probes, "Uh huh? Yakisoba... she said noodles... Yakisoba is actually... (students look up)" Yumi laughs and says, "Noodles". Other students and Miki join laughing. "Yeah, noodles. Fried noodle! O.K. #4..."
Appendix F

Excerpts of Fieldnotes From Kimiko's Class

F.1 News Discussion as the Opening Activity: March 7, 1994

After checking the roll quickly, Kimiko starts speaking, "O.K. Last time, we did an article... about what? Do you remember?" Students look confused. Makiko, Satomi, and Hanako look for an answer in the textbook so they are busy checking the book. Kimiko continues, "We read articles about..." Yoshimi, Hanako, Yayoi, and Makiko say, "Discovery for..." in a small voice. Kimiko encourages them, "Yeah, discoveries for...?" Yoshimi quickly says, "Medicine!" Then Yayoi nods and claps her hands, "Uh huh!". Kimiko continues, "O.K. About medicine. Do you remember different discoveries?" The students are looking up and thinking. Makiko and Satomi are looking at the textbook. Kimiko probes, "There were four discoveries, right?... (Students nod) Do you remember which one?" Yayoi is now leaning forward a little bit, looking eager to answer and says with Makiko and Hanako at the same time, "Ex... X ray..." Hanako repeats in a bigger voice, "X ray. X ray." (raising her hand). Kimiko responds, "X ray and..." Makiko in a small voice but quickly says, "Digitalis". Yoshimi also says, "Digitalis" Kimiko responds, "O.K. and...?" Then Yoshimi, Yayoi, and Isako quickly respond, "Magi... Magi... " Makiko joins quickly, "Frog skin". Then a long pause comes. Kimiko tries to probe, "What's for?". Yayoi responds, "From frog skin". Kimiko tries to continue, "O.K.". Then Yayoi want to make sure of the word, saying, "Digi...? Digi...? Digi...?" looking at Yoshimi for help. This makes others laugh and Makiko starts patting Yayoi on her back to calm her down. Yayoi is laughing, too. Yoshimi tries to help, "Digitalis?"

Kimiko joins, "O.K. the name is digitalis. Let's see... So medical discovery is continuing, right? (Students nod) Now, we are waiting for AIDS cure." Makiko, Yayoi, and Yoshimi repeat, "AIDS cure..." Kimiko asks the class, "Do you think AIDS cure will be found soon?" Yayoi and Makiko start moving a little restlessly in their chairs (looking a little nervous). Satomi is looking down, thinking very hard. Yoshimi and Isako are whispering to each other. All the students make a noise, "Um...." Hanako breaks the silence, "I... I... guess so." The other students all look at Hanako quickly. Hanako continues, "From Africa." Kimiko responds, "Oh, cure will come from Africa?" Hanako says, "Maybe. I... If... if that's from Africa..." Kimiko asks, "Yeah, if that's from Africa..." Hanako continues, "So, I guess cures... medicine... in Africa..." Kimiko says, "Uh... first person will cure in Africa." Now all the students are looking at Hanako and Hanako responds, "I think so". Kimiko responds, "Uh huh. A lot of... the world is making a lot of money to research the cure. So... if a person finds out a cure, I think he'll be a millionaire." The students all nod, saying, "Huh... Ummm" Kimiko continues, "A lot of doctors have been researching..." Students continue to nod.
Kimiko keeps talking, "And also last week I was reading News Week and a News Week article... it says they are discovering some medicine. The medicine cure... (students nod)... your mental problems. You know that mental problem? Some crazy people (with a big gesture showing 'crazy' and students all say, 'Yes, uh huh!') go to the doctor or psychiatrist." Juri comes into the room quietly but Hanako quickly catches that and says, "Good morning!" and Juri quietly bows with a smile on her face. Kimiko continues, "But nowadays... take medicine... go to a psychiatrist or doctor and take medicine. But nowadays, they discovered the medicine that change their mood. Normal people can take it. If you’re sad, if your family member died, then you can take a medicine to feel happy." Students all look very curious and respond, "Uh huh." Kimiko continues, "Or if you have to make a big speech, in front of... before the speech, you can take the medicine to... you don’t feel shy. Just to change the mood." Students seem surprised, saying, "Huh?" But Juri looks at a loss. Kimiko continues talking, "And this kind of medicine you can..." Hanako quickly interrupts, "I already took it." Yoshi starts laughing and says, "No... I need it." Other students all burst into laughter. Hanako smiles and says, "No. Not shy!" laughing. Kimiko tries to continue, "Before, the medicine for psychiatric problem; they are a little crazy or unusual. But in the near future, normal people, if they have to make a speech, or if they want to feel happy or if they, you know, to any kind of reason... you can take... to change your mood. The medicine is coming soon." All the students look very serious now, nodding and saying, "Uh huh" occasionally.

Kimiko continues, "But it won’t be sold at store. But you can get it from the doctor. Anybody can... What do you think?" The students are quietly thinking; they all look very serious. They just nod. Kimiko tries to probe, "Medical discovery for psychological medicine..." Hanako finally speaks out, "I don’t like that... umm... such... medi... Drug?" Now her classmates are all looking at her. Kimiko says, "Drug is... medicine..." Hanako laughs a little bit and says, "Medicine, I prefer to training our... selve’s mind..." Kimiko responds, "Uh huh!". Hanako continues, "No, not medicine... Depend?... Depends? on...?" Kimiko tries to help her, "don’t want to depend on? don’t want to depend on..." Hanako repeats, "Depend on?" Kimiko one more time repeats, "Don’t want to be dependent on medicine." Hanako nods and says, "Dependent on medicine... Ummm...". Kimiko tries to invite other students to this discussion, "Any other?" But the students become very quiet. There is a long pause. Students look serious. Yayoi starts nervously touching the collar of her shirt. Makiko looks down. Hanako is now practicing pronunciation of the word, 'dependent', on her own. Kimiko intervenes the students’ silence, "If somebody like your family member dies, you’ll be sad. You become sad for a few days and maybe for a long time. If you take the medicine, you can cure that sad period. So you don’t feel sad. Then gradually when you get, feel better, you can stop taking medication. You don’t feel very sad." Meanwhile students nod and listen to Kimiko quietly.
Juri is looking up a word in a dictionary. But when Kimiko finishes talking, there is a long silence again. Then Yayoi finally speaks out, "I'm afraid of medicine's... (looking up to think for a moment) rebound? Rebound in?..." Students are looking at Yayoi. Kimiko tries to help her with the word, "Side-effects!" Yayoi quickly nods and continues, "Rebound in... Side-effects! Side-effects! Umm..." Hanako suddenly asks, "Extra efforts? Extra efforts?" looking at Kimiko. Kimiko picks it up and says, "Extra efforts? What do you mean by extra efforts?" Hanako tries to answer, "Extra effort means... umm... (looking up in the air to think) another bad results..." Kimiko responds, "Uh huh. Side-effects". Hanako continues with a big gesture, "From... from... medicine..." Kimiko once again repeats the word for the other students in the class, "Side-effects", standing to write down on the white board. Students are getting ready to write that down in their notes.

Tomoko knocks on the door and comes in. Kimiko responds to that, "Hello, Tomoko!" Hanako and Satomi look at Tomoko come in. Hanako as usual greets to her, "Good morning!" Tomoko quietly says, "Hi!" Kimiko tries to resume the discussion, "So... (all the students react to this and are now looking at Kimiko) if there are no side-effects, you think it's a good idea?". But there is no response from the students. It becomes quiet for a few seconds and then Kimiko asks the same question again, "If there are no side-effects, is it good?" Students are still writing down the word, 'side-effect' in their notes. Hanako is trying to read the word on the white board, leaning forward. Only Makiko nods. So Kimiko asks the question to her, "Do you think...? Makiko, is it O.K.?" Makiko moves restlessly in her chair, thinking really hard with her face all wrinkled. She scratches her head and slowly and quietly starts speaking, "I think it is... (giggling out of embarrassment) But if... when I use the... something, I think, my money works. So I'm not use the medicine. But... so... not long... (looking up to think for a moment) take it person if... (inaudible)" Other students nod responding to Makiko's statement. Kimiko responds, "Um... So it's O.K. for a certain people to take this kind of medicine? Satomi, do you think it's O.K.?" Satomi thinks for a few seconds quietly and speaks, "I don't think so... because if may people (um...) many people are unable to... um... get better natural..." Kimiko corrects, "Naturally" Satomi repeats, "Naturally... Uh huh... So if they need for a long time... (looking up to think) they can get to (giggling out of embarrassment)'. Kimiko tries to probe more, "Get to...?" Satomi tries to continue, "Get over... (thinking) big... mountain" and bursts into laughter with other students. Kimiko asks, "Gets over the BIG MOUNTAIN?" laughing with students. Satomi now laughs so hard and touches Hanako's back, laughing together. Makiko laughs with her hand gesture of mountain. Kimiko corrects, "Bit problem?" Hanako with Satomi, quickly repeats, "Big problem". Satomi looks down from laughing so hard... Then students become quiet for a few seconds. Kimiko starts asking again, "What do you think? Any other ideas?" but the class is now very quiet.
Nobody volunteers. There is a silence for a few seconds...

F.2 Opening Discussion on Kimiko’s Personal Experience: December 13, 1993

Kimiko is now sitting in the front of the classroom and starts talking about her episode, "Yesterday, I celebrated Christmas with a friend of mine. She got married about a month ago..." nodding and smiling. Students say, "Oh... Wow... Hoya hoya ne!!" (Newly married!) and start laughing with Kimiko. Kimiko asks as a joke, "Do you remember?" and students laugh even harder. Yoshimi quietly says, "Oh... I forgot!". Kimiko continues, "Anyway... so she got married about a month ago and then I met her... She lives near Nara. Isn't that far away? Two hours by train... So we met together and kind of celebrated together... That's our annual event... Even though she got married, we usually get together so we decided to get together because we've been doing that every year." (Kimiko looks around the room to make sure all the students are following her.) Students all say, "Uh huh" and Hanako asks, "And then her husband?" Kimiko answers, "No, no, no, no..." Hanako, looking surprised, says, "Only..." Kimiko replies quickly, "Only two of us..." Hanako says with the tone of disapproval in her voice, "Oh..." and students burst into laughter. Kimiko continues, "That's our annual event. And also, (students still laughing hard)... then we were talking and then realized the time (pointing to her own watch). It was... past 11:00 and she missed the last train. She got to get to Umeda but from Umeda, she doesn't have a train. It costs about 10,000 yen by taxi." Students all say, "Uh huh". Kimiko continues, "So... I said, 'Why don't you stay at my place?' So last night... she came to my place. But the problem is I have a winter futon." Hanako started laughing hysterically. Makiko asks, "Extra? Extra futon?". Kimiko responds, "No. The problem is only one futon. For summer, I have an extra futon but in winter time, we use a lot of futon. So I only have for one person. But I didn't feel comfortable sleeping with her because (laughing) she might mistake I'm her husband! (pointing to herself with her index finger) She just got married last month." Students all burst into laughter with Kimiko by this. Kimiko continues, "She might make a mistake... So... anyway, I called her husband last night after we came back because her husband must be worried... (looking a little serious) So I left a message that she is staying at my place so don't worry." Students respond, "Uh huh". And Kimiko continues, "So this morning she called (moving her textbook on the desk away from the roll book) him just to make sure he got the message. And then he was very angry." Hanako and Yoshimi both say, "Yes, yes, yes!" Kimiko continues, "And she was fighting with him on the telephone." and starts laughing a little bit. Hanako speaks, "He thought... he thought ill for you" pointing to Kimiko with her index finger. Kimiko, smiling, asks, "What??" and looks around the room for more explanation. Yoshimi asks, "He thought?" at the same time as Kimiko. Hanako repeats, "He thought ill, ill... I, L, L, ill..."
Kimiko responds, "He thought I was ill?". Hanako says, "Yes? Uramu!" Kimiko after a short pause responds, "Uh? Um... He was kind of... Umm... (thinking for a moment, looking up in the air) envious? No, not envious,... revenge... Umm..." The other students are also saying, "Um... Eh..." thinking. Hanako repeats, "Think ill for." ...

...Kimiko manages to get back on track, "So anyway, she was fighting with him over the phone. And I felt kind of bad..." Students all start laughing. Kimiko still continues, "And I talked to her what happened... Anyway, she hang up the phone. I said, 'Is it all right?' and she said he asked her not to come back for one week. And I said, 'Go home right now!' (with a gesture for 'get away')" Then students burst into laughter. Kimiko still talks, "So she went home this morning. But I hope it's all right." When she finishes talking, the class becomes quiet. There is a silence for a few seconds. Kimiko keeps looking around. Students all say, "Um..." Hanako speaks finally, "Serious!!" with a little laugh. Kimiko responds, "But I hope he's not that serious. But do you think it's bad... to stay at her friend's house? (looking around the room and waiting for students to respond) One month after marriage... It's very bad?" Hanako speaks, "Um... yeah, bad." Kimiko sounds worried, "It's bad?" Hanako, sounding so sure, says, "Yes, very very bad... Serious problem." Kimiko responds again, "But she's not staying at a man's place. She's just staying at a female friend's place. Bad?" looking around to invite students to respond. The students are all shaking heads. Kimiko asks the class, "Would your husband be very angry if you do that?" again looking around to invite students to reply. Hanako says, "I have never... I have never done... such a thing", half laughing but strongly. Kimiko nods to her and asks, "What do you think (pointing to Yoshimi with her hand) your husband would be very angry?" Yoshimi starts laughing like a little girl and speaks, "Maybe... my husband is O.K." Kimiko responds, "Uh huh!" nodding. Hanako looks at Yoshimi and asks in a very surprised voice, "O.K.? After... (inaudible)" (They talk to each other in small voice for a while) Kimiko keeps asking, "What do you think (looking at Makiko) your husband will be angry?" Makiko responds, "No, I don't think so." Kimiko confirms, "Your husband will be angry?" Makiko simply says, "No..." shaking her head. Kimiko asks again, "No, he doesn't mind?" Makiko quickly responds, "No, he doesn't mind..." Kimiko asks, "How about your husband?" looking at Juri this time...