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Introduction

We are pleased to release the inaugural issue of *Eruditi: The CGCS Journal of Language Research and Education*. *Eruditi* is conceived of as an annual peer-reviewed digital journal, established to promote the research and teaching activities within the Center for Global Communication Strategies (hereafter “CGCS”) in the College of Arts/Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, The University of Tokyo. CGCS is a research and educational organization under College of Arts and Sciences/Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, The University of Tokyo. The center is located on the Komaba Campus and includes faculty who teach in and manage several language programs, including ALESS (Active Learning of English for Science Students), ALESA (Active Learning of English for Students of the Arts), FLOW (Fluency-oriented Workshop), and TLP (Trilingual Program).

The journal serves to publicize both on- and off-campus research by current and former CGCS members in fields related to CGCS’s educational mission, and it also gives an opportunity for the lecturers to reflect on their work and share their pedagogical strategies and experiences with the teaching community. As such, *Eruditi* aims to further promote the development and enhancement of the CGCS programs in particular and foreign language education in Japan in general.

The inaugural issue of *Eruditi* consists of four in-house and one guest paper. We take this opportunity to thank Tom Gally, Alexandra Terashima, Krishan Kumar, and Yuki Furukawa for kindly collaborating with the editorial team to bring this issue to fruition. We also extend our gratitude to all the authors for their enthusiasm and trust.

Ksenia Golovina (TLP)

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モスクワの大学生は学習者主導型の日本語授業から何を学ぶか
What did University Students in Moscow Learn from a Student-led Japanese Class?

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Abstract

This study investigates a student-led Japanese language class at a university in Moscow. It was an experimental class for Russian students who were accustomed to a traditional passive-learning style. It aims to foster the students' autonomy in Japanese language learning.

The purposes of the study are (1) describing the student-led class in detail to share the practice, (2) investigating what the students thought of the class which was their first experience with an active-learning style as opposed to a passive-learning style, and (3) analyzing what they had learned from the student-led class. For these purposes, students' reflection notes and a year-end survey are used for analysis.

The design of the class is one in which each student has to search what the entire class should learn and conduct the class on his or her own. It has been revealed that the students took a long time to prepare the materials before leading the class, which made them learn on their own. The types of learning materials that they chose for the class are discussed in the paper. Some students used the same resources or topics as other students. It indicates that they had learned about the new learning resources from each other, in addition to where they should look for the materials.

The study also examines how the student-led class was perceived by Russian students. It was apparent that the students highly evaluated the new style of the class. It was observed that the students understood other students' thoughts and opinions through discussion, which in turn led to them better understanding their own. The students were stimulated by one another. Lastly, their reflections showed some clear assessments of what they have learned. However, it seemed difficult for them to put their learning into words; students might need further support from the teacher in this area.

Keywords: 第二言語習得, 自律学習, アクティブラーニング, 外国語としての日本語環境 (JFL), ロシア人大学生
Second Language Acquisition, Learner's Autonomy, Active Learning Style, Japanese as a Foreign Language, Russian Students

1 背景

ロシアにおける日本語教育には、300年以上の長い歴史がある。しかし、ロシアの大学での日本語教育の具体的な状況については、ほとんど調査が行われていない。

仲矢・稲垣（2005）では、ロシアとNIS諸国の大学の日本語授業では文法と翻訳の学習が重視されていると記されている。藪崎（2007）も、ロシアの日本語教育現場では文法訳読法が多く行われていると述べている。1970年代から盛んになったコミュニケーション能力など実践的スキルを重視する欧米の外国語教育とは異なり、主に伝統的な学問観あるいは言語教育観をもとに日本語教育が行われていることがわかる。マシナ（2009）においても、ロシアでは暗記練習と翻訳練習を中心とする授業方法が多く、「実際にコミュニケーション能力を育むことのできる内容の授業は少ない」と記されている。

木谷（1998）によるロシアの大学生の日本語学習観に関する調査では、学生は教師への依存性が高く、学習者としての自律性があまり高くないこと、そして文法や翻訳、語彙の学習を中心とする伝統的な知識重視の言語学習観を持つことが明らかになっている。マシナも同様に、ロシアには知識重視の言語学習観があると述べている。筆者は2011年から2014年まで、モスクワ市の大学で行われている日本語教育について参与観察を行った。その結果、上記のような文法分析や翻訳重視の伝統的な教師主導型の授業スタイルが多く観察された。

伝統的な授業スタイルが、言語能力の到達度の点で劣るとは言えない。しかしながら、教師への依存性の高い教師主導型の授業スタイルのもとで学習してきた学習者は、受動的な学習スタイルを持つ傾向がある。学習の場やリソースの限られた海外の日本語環境（JFL）において、受動的な学習スタイルを持つ学習者は、大学などの教育機関を離れると自分自身で学習を継続することに困難を感じる可能性がある。

近年、学習者個人の学習方法に焦点をあてた自律学習という概念が、言語教育においても注目されている（青木 2005, 青木・中田 2011）。日本語に触れる機会が少ない海外の学習環境では、学習者が自律的に学習を進められるかが日本語習得の成否の鍵となるとも言える。そこで、筆者は自律学習および学習自律性という概念を、ロシアの大学の日本語学習へも導入したいと考えた。

本研究は、モスクワの大学において学生の自律学習能力の養成を目指した試みとして、学習者主導型の日本語授業を行い、その実践について分析を行う。授業を通して、ロシアの大学生が言語学習観を見直す機会となることが期待される。

2 自律学習と学習者主導型の授業

近年、学力はより大きく深い人間的能力観の枠組みの中で捉え直され始めている。学力は「根源的な学習の力 (ライチェン&サルガニク 2006)」であり、「個人の幸福とよりよき社会が同時に実現できるような能力」とであるとされる。経済協力開発機構 (OECD) によって 3 つの鍵となる力「キー・コンピテンシー」が提示され、その 1 つに「自律的に活動する力」が挙げられている。自律的な行動能力の養成は、21 世紀の教育における世界的な主流となっている。

自律学習は、教師が学習目標やカリキュラムを設定し、教材を選択し、学習方法やペースなどを管理する、教師主導型の授業スタイルとは逆の方向性を持つ。青木の研究 (2005) では、「学習者が自分で自分の学習の理由あるいは目的と内容、方法に関して選択を行い、その選択に基づいた計画を実行し、結果を評価すること」と定義されている。教師は、学習を支援する役割を持ち、直接的に学習者個人に情報を提供しアドバイスを与えるなどの働きかけの他、間接的に学習環境の整備なども行うとされる。

自律的な学習能力は、自己主導型学習を経験することによって育つと言われている (青木 2010)。自己主導型を、教室という集団での学習に置き換えると、学習者主導型と考えることができるだろう。学習者主導型の授業では、クラスの学習活動の選択権や決定権が学習者に委ねられ、学習者自身が振り返りによって、自己の学習の把握 (アセスメント) を行う。また、学習者同士の協働の場を設定することによって、さらに学習効果が高まるという提案もされている (大関・遠藤 2012)。

3 モスクワの大学での日本語学習の状況

国際交流基金の調査 (2013a) によると、モスクワで日本語教育を行う高等教育機関は 8 校ある。高等教育機関で日本語を教える教師の多くはロシア語母語話者 (以下、「ロシア人」とする) で、日本語母語話者 (以下、「日本人」とする) の教師は少数である。日本人のロシア国内滞在には手続きの煩雑なビザ取得が必要であり、また教師の待遇が低いことも (福永他 2007)、その背景にある。

大学の日本語初中級コースで多く使用されている教科書は、ロシアで出版されロシア語で書かれたものである。日本から寄贈された教科書を学生に貸し出す形で使用している大学もある。中上級のコースでは、教師が日本の教科書や教材をコピーするなど、日本の出版物を用いて学ぶ様子も見られる。

アジアや欧米諸国と比べると、モスクワでは紙媒体の日本語に接する機会が限られている。書店には、日本で出版された書籍や雑誌等は並んでおらず、イ

インターネットを通じた海外からの書籍購入は、日本や欧米ほど一般的ではなく費用も高額なため、あまり行われていない。紙媒体の日本語としては、国際交流基金モスクワ暫定事務所に設置されたモスクワ日本文化センターや日本センターの書籍や雑誌等を閲覧することが可能である。

また、在住する日本人の数が多くないため、モスクワで日本語を学習するロシア人大学生が日本語に直に接触する機会は少ない。最近の日本語学習者にとって、インターネット上での日本語が、生の日本語に接する主な機会となっている。

4 本研究の目的

従来の教師主導型の学習スタイルに慣れ、教師への依存性の高いロシアの日本語学習者にとって、自律学習という新しいスタイルでの学習に転換するのは難しい可能性がある。そこで筆者は、学習者の自律学習能力を養成するため、学習者主導型の授業方法を新たに考案し、モスクワの大学の日本語コースの授業に導入した。本研究は、学習者主導型の日本語授業の実践を報告するとともに、学生が受動的学習スタイルから能動的学習（アクティブラーニング）スタイルに転換できるかを検討し、観察された学びについて分析を行う。

研究の目的は、以下の3点である。

- (1) 学習者主導型の日本語授業の実践を共有するため、授業の内容を詳細に記述すること。
- (2) モスクワの大学生が、学習スタイルの転換をどのように認識し評価したかを明らかにすること。
- (3) モスクワの大学生が学習者主導型の授業から何を学んだかについて具体的に検討すること。

5 学習者主導型の日本語授業の実践概要

5.1 実践を行った日本語コース

ロシアの5年制大学において、学習者主導型の日本語授業を導入した。実践の概要は、以下のとおりである。

対象：モスクワの大学で日本語・日本語教育学を専攻する4年生のクラス

学生数：10人

レベル：日本語能力レベル中級後半（日本語能力試験N2程度）

学習目標：学生の日本語能力を総合的に向上させること

授業数：1年34回（前期17回・後期17回）の授業のうち、前期7回と後期9回を用いて行った¹。授業は週1回あり、1回の授業時間は90分である。

5.2 学習者主導型の日本語授業のデザイン

学習者主導型の授業をデザインする際に、以下の2点に留意した。

- (a) 日本語で書かれた生教材を使用すること。
- (b) 教師はできるだけ学生の主導する授業に介入せず、支援者の役割を心がけること。

(a)については、学生が自身で生教材を探す練習となることが期待されている。また、生教材を使用することによって、海外の日本語学習では直に触れる機会の少ない日本事情的な知識や、自然な表現などの言語的要素を学生が学ぶことも期待された。

(b)については、教師の介入の程度は自律的な学習能力の養成に影響を及ぼす可能性がある。自律的な学習を目指して、教師主導型の授業からの転換をはかる際の問題として、教師が余計な説明をはさんだり、学習者同士の話し合いに参加したりしたという反省点が挙げられている（幸田・石井 2012）。それらをふまえて本実践では、教師は授業活動に介入することを控え、必要に応じて授業内容を補足するなどの側面的な支援を心がけることにした。

5.3 学習者主導型の日本語授業の進め方

授業は、学生が1人ずつ担当者となりクラスの日本語学習を主導する形を採った。各学生は1年に2回、授業活動の担当者となった。担当する授業活動の時間は、1回目は30～40分程、2回目は70～80分程と設定した。教師が授業活動の進め方の例を、以下のような時系列で(1)から(4)の項目リストとして提示した。

- (1) 授業前に、担当学生は授業に用いる学習教材を選択し学習活動を考え、教師に知らせる。
- (2) 授業前に、担当学生は自身で選んだ学習教材と学習活動に関して、語彙リストなど補助教材を作成する。
- (3) 授業中は、担当学生が授業活動を主導し、クラスの学生全員で学習教材の内

¹ 4年生は年度内に教育実習8週間、小テスト2回、協定大学との交流プログラムなど他のプロジェクトも行うことになっている。それ以外の時間を、学習者主導型の授業に充てた。

容を理解する²。他の学生から質問などがあれば、担当学生が解説を行う。

- (4) 学習教材の内容理解の後、担当学生が学習教材にもとづいたテーマを設定し、討論を行う。

教師は授業を観察し、授業の最後に学習内容についてコメントした上で、内容の補足や主要な問題点の指摘などを行った。必要に応じて説明や解説を加えた。

自律的な学習には、「学習の計画」→「学習の実行」→「学習の内省（習得状況の把握）」→「学習の計画」というサイクルが重要である。学習の内省によって自身の学習に関するメタ認知を行い、学習を位置づけることで、自律的な学習能力を高めることができると考えられる。自身の学習を把握（アセスメント）するために、毎回の授業後の宿題として、教師は学生に授業を振り返る内省レポートを課し、翌週に提出させた。レポートの長さは制限しなかった。

6 分析に用いるデータ

学習者主導型の授業で、学生にとって新規の学習活動となったのは、学習教材の選択、授業の担当、日本語での自由な討論、授業や学習の内省を記すこと等であった。本研究は、主にこれらの内容について分析を行う。分析に用いるデータは、以下の3点である。

- (a) 授業担当の学生が選択した学習教材
- (b) 毎授業後に提出された学生の内省レポート
- (c) 年度末の質問紙調査³（匿名可⁴）

7 結果と考察

7.1 学習者主導型の授業に対する認識と評価

受動的な学習スタイルの多いロシアの教室において、自律学習能力の養成を目指した学習者主導型の日本語授業を試みた。まず、学習者主導型の授業を初めて経験したロシア人学生が、学習スタイルの転換をどのように認識し評価し

² モスクワの大学ではインターネットが不安定なことから、全ての学生がインターネットやプリンターに接続できる環境にあることが確認できなかったため、メール等にて事前に学習教材を学生に配布することができなかった。

³ 質問紙調査の概要は、資料を参照。回答時間は制限しなかったが、10分程で全員提出した。

⁴ 質問紙調査の結果が成績評価に影響しないことを確認し、匿名を可とした。

たかを明らかにする。学生の内省レポートと質問紙調査の結果をもとに考察を行う。

7.1.1 内省レポート

まず、担当になった学生の内省レポートを見てみよう⁵。「私は長い間、テーマの選択について考えていても、いろいろな異なる文をやめました」、「テーマは長い時間迷いましたが、結局自分の好きなものにしました。文章を選ぶのも時間がかかりました」などの記述が見られ、学習教材のテーマの選択に時間をかけて熟考した様子が見える。また、「準備をしながら、そのテキストを何回も読んで、意味がよくわかったと思いました」、「家で何回も聞いて、問題を決定できたと思いました」など、教材の内容理解にも時間をかけた様子が見られた。担当授業を行う際、「授業をやる前に自分が言う言葉を全部書きました」と、多大な手間と時間をかけて準備した学生もいた。

他の学生が選んだ学習教材については、「大部分の興味を考慮して面白い教材を選んだ」、「テキストの複雑性も正しく選択したと思います。やさしくなくて難し過ぎなくて、新しい言葉も出ました」、「〇〇さんの選んだテキストは、よく日本人の性格や生活力を見せると思う」など、他学生の興味や日本語レベルの考慮が適切で、学習教材の選択を高く評価する記述が多く観察された。少数ではあるが、「テーマが面白くなくて、つまらなかった」などの記述も見られた。

また、「今まで読んだことのない星占いを読んで」と未知の分野の学習リソースを認知する記述や、「私の意見では、こんなテキストは皆の好みではちょっと・・・でしたが、そのようなテーマについてのテキストも読めることは有効です」など、自分では選ばないであろう分野の教材も自身の学習になる、と評価する意見も見られた。さらに、語彙リストについても、「難しくて知らない語彙を書きぬいて、すごかったと思います」と評価するコメントが見られ、他の学生の担当する授業について全体に肯定的な評価が行われていた。

さらに、学習者主導型という新しい授業方法に対する認識や評価が直接行われている部分を、学生の内省レポートから抜き出してみる。「これは面白い実験だと思います」、「授業の前の準備と授業の行いは、とても有益な経験だと思います」先生の授業は普通ではなくて、気に入っています」など、学習者主導型の授業による新しい経験を評価する記述が見られた。

⁵ 本文中の下線は、全て筆者が付加したものである。

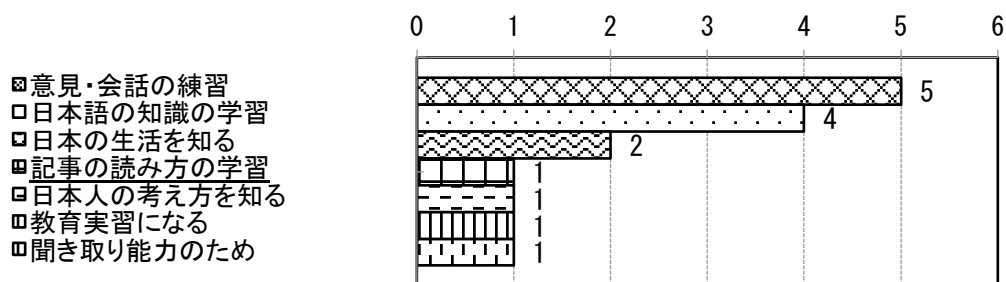


図1 質問紙調査の結果（授業方法の良い点）

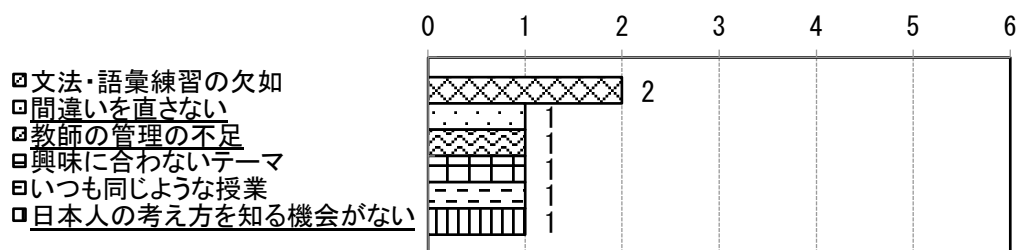


図2 質問紙調査の結果（授業方法の良くない点・改善点）

7.1.2 質問紙調査

学習者主導型の授業に関する認識について、質問紙調査の結果からも検討する⁶。学習者主導型という授業方法について、学生が意見を自由に記述した結果を図1に示す。授業方法の良い点としては、意見・会話の練習（5人）、日本語の知識の学習（4人）という意見が多かった。日本の生活を知る（2人）、記事の読み方の学習（1人）、日本人の考え方を知る（1人）、教育実習になる（1人）、聞き取り能力のため（1人）も挙げられた。

学習者主導型の授業の良くない点・改善点についての質問には、特にないという意見が多かったが、以下のような記述も見られた。文法・語彙練習の欠如（2人）、間違いを直さない（1人）、教師の管理の不足（1人）、興味に合わないテーマ（1人）、いつも同じような授業（1人）、日本人（教師）の考え方を知る機会がない（1人）という意見があった。この結果を図2に示す。

7.1.3 学習者主導型の授業に対する認識と評価のまとめと考察

ここでは、学習者主導型の授業スタイルに対する学生の認識と評価についてまとめる。質問紙調査の結果、学習者主導型の日本語授業は全ての学生に肯定的に受け止められたことが明らかになった。コース開始前には、授業活動を1人で担当するのは学生にとって精神的に苦痛なのではないかとも予想されたが、

⁶ 質問紙調査には、回答に記載のない部分や、複数回答や複数記述されている部分もある。

授業活動を準備し主導することは大変であるが面白く役に立つというのが大半の意見であった。他の学生の主導する授業には、テーマの好みが分かれたものがあったが、全体として授業内容は好評だった。

新しいスタイルの授業方法は実験と捉えられたり、普通ではない授業と認識されたりしながらも、有益な方法であると評価されていたことがわかる。また、教材選択から語彙リスト作成等の準備の段階においては、担当する学生個人による能動的な学習が行われたとすることができる。

一方、学生は他者からも、様々な学習リソースの分野や在り処を学ぶ様子が見られた。質問紙調査の結果で注目されるのは、「記事の読み方の学習」という指摘である。他者の選んだ教材により、学生に新たな学習方法を発見する契機が生じたと考えられる。

また、教師に授業の管理や介入を求める意見も一部に見られた。「間違いを直さない」、「教師の管理の不足」、「日本人（教師）の考えを知る機会がない」などは、教師の授業への関わり方に関連している。教師主導型の授業では、学生は理解の程度や運用能力を教師に試され、間違いは必ず訂正される。そのため、授業で間違いを1つ1つ直されないことは学生にとって経験がなく、教師の管理や介入の不足とみなされたようである。

学習者主導型の授業は、従来の教師主導型の授業とは異なる概念にもとづいて行われている。教師の介入を控えて学生に学習に関する意思決定を担わせるという授業方針について、事前に学生に十分に説明し周知することで、学生は授業方法の意義を理解して学習を進めることができるのではないかと考えられる。

7.2 モスクワの大学生は学習者主導型の授業から何を学んだか

次に、モスクワの大学生が学習者主導型の授業から何を学んだかについて、具体的に検討していく。ここでは、教師主導型の授業とは異なる学習が起こったことに焦点を当てる。学生が自分で選んだ学習教材を使って授業を行うのは初めての経験であったことから、どのような教材が選択されたかについて紹介したうえで、内省レポートと質問紙調査の結果から考察を行う。

7.2.1 学生が選択した教材

学生が準備した学習教材は、多様な分野から選ばれ、テキストの長さも様々だった。長いものはA4用紙で1ページ程、短いものは7文のみの文章もあった。また、事前に準備した語彙リストの語彙数も、教材ごとに大きく異なっていた。

学習教材として選ばれたものは、新聞や雑誌の記事が約43%であった。その

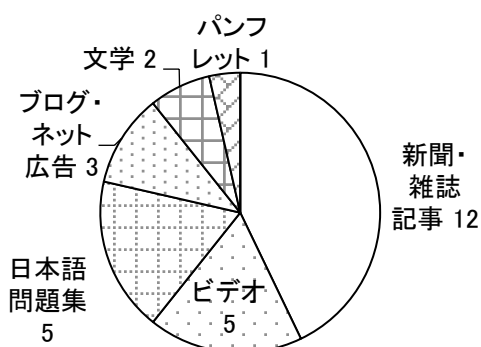


図3 担当学生が選んだ教材

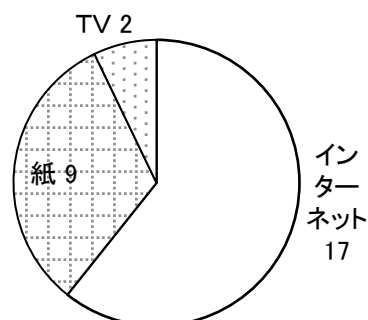


図4 教材のソース

他、ビデオやブログやインターネット上の広告などが選択されていた。1回の授業に複数の教材を準備した学生のなかには、生教材に関する理解が不足していたため、日本語能力試験問題集などから引用した学生がいた。準備された教材の内訳を図3に示す。

具体的には、新聞記事や評論など12件（雑誌サイトの記事6件、新聞サイトの評論2件、新聞サイトのニュース1件、新聞読者サイトのコメント1件、雑誌の記事1件、雑誌の星占い1件）、ビデオ5件（漫才1件、NHK特集番組1件、アニメ1件、テレビドラマ1件、星占い1件）、日本語の練習問題5件（日本語聴解問題集3件、日本語試験問題集2件）、ブログやウェブサイトの広告3件（占い師サイト1件、テレビ局サイト1件、ブログ1件）、本2件（青空文庫1件、心理術の本1件）、映画パンフレット1件であった。

次に、教材の引用元について調べる。学生が利用した教材のソースは、インターネット17件（雑誌サイトの記事6件、新聞サイトの評論2件、新聞サイトのニュース1件、新聞読者サイトのコメント1件、漫才1件、アニメ1件、星占い1件、占い師サイト1件、テレビ局サイト1件、ブログ1件、青空文庫1件）、書籍8件（日本語聴解問題集3件、日本語試験問題集2件、雑誌の記事1件、雑誌の星占い1件、心理術の本1件）、テレビ2件（NHK特集番組1件、テレビドラマ1件）、映画パンフレット1件であった（図4）。テレビ番組を使用した学生は日本に留学した経験があり、その際に録画したものを使用した。

学生の選んだ教材のソースは、インターネット上の情報の約61%に対して、紙媒体は約32%という結果であった。また、いくつかの教材は、それより以前に担当した学生と、同じ雑誌やウェブサイト等から引用されていた。

7.2.2 内省レポート

内省レポートには、授業の学習活動として何が行われたかについて書かれた

ものが多く、自らが何を学んだかに関する言及は少なかった。例を挙げると、「話や読書や文法や聞く練習などのいろいろな日本語の分野がありました」など学習分野の指摘や、「練習は面白くて、レベルはとてもやさしかったです」、「テキストのテーマはわかりにくくて、語彙は難しかった」など授業に対する感想が多く見られた。

次に、学生自身が自己の学習について把握（アセスメント）を行えたかという観点から検討する。その結果、「(担当者が) いい練習を選びましたから、私は勉強になりました」、「もっと日本のことを知ることができました」、「内容的にテキストは、日本のニュースであって、現在日本の社会における出来事を紹介するので、ある程度まで有効なもの」など、自分にとって何らかの学習になったと述べるものが多かった。

自身の学習に関して、具体的な記述は数が少なかったが、「(日本の星占いは) ロシアと大体同じだと思った」という日本事情的な理解を表したものや、「芸術的な訳の能力を伸ばすようにとてもよかったと思う」、「文化学的にとってもおもしろくて、役に立つ知識を増やすようで、良かったと思う」という特定分野の自身の能力向上を表現するものがあつた。

また、2人の学生には、以下のような記述が見とめられた。「テキストはかなり面白かった。そのおかげで、今、日本における事情について調べるようになりました」、「自分でニュースやインフォメーションなどを探しながら、自分の日本語のレベルを高めることができます」と考えます。これらの記述は、他者の選択した学習教材からの刺激を受けて、自分の学習を開始したり推進したりするような影響があつたことを示している。

7.2.3 質問紙調査

学習者主導型の授業から学んだこととして、質問紙調査のうち授業の良い点について述べられた内容を検討する。日本語で自由に話す機会(6人)という意見が最も多く、自分で記事を選ぶ練習(2人)、意見の言い方を学ぶ(2人)、討論が面白い(1人)、先生役をする(1人)、日本人の考え方がわかる(1人)、クラスみんなの考え方がわかる(1人)、語彙・表現が増えた(1人)、良く読めるようになった(1人)、書く宿題がいい(1人)などの意見も挙げられた。この結果を図5に示す。

日本語で自由に話す機会として挙げられた討論については、内省レポートでも「私たちのグループに議論が熱かったので、楽しかったです」、「皆は全員、熱狂的に話すことができました」など、肯定的な意見が非常に多かった。質問紙調査においても10人全員が高く評価していたため、その理由が述べられている部分を抜き出し、図6に示す。勉強になった(8人)、自分の意見を交換した

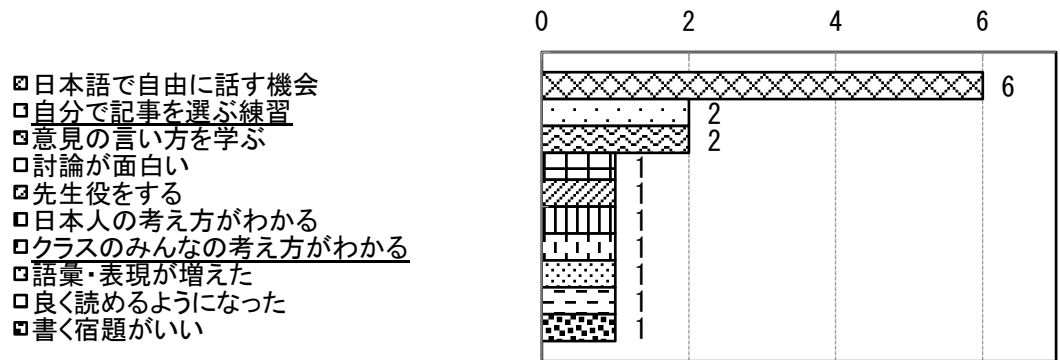


図5 質問紙調査の結果（授業の良い点）

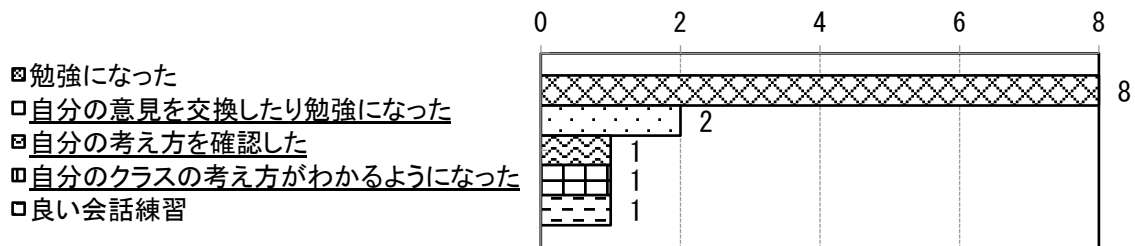


図6 質問紙調査の結果（討論について）

り勉強になった（2人）、自分の考え方を確認した（1人）、自分のクラスの考え方がわかるようになった（1人）、良い会話練習（1人）などと述べられていた。

7.2.4 学習者主導型の授業から学んだことのまとめと考察

学生の選択した学習教材は、教師がよく選ぶような新聞や雑誌の記事が最も多かった。学習教材を選ぶ傾向は、教師の教材選択の影響を受けた結果ではないかと考えられる。

また、学生の教材探しには、インターネットの利用が多いことが明らかになった。モスクワは紙媒体の新聞や雑誌にアクセスしにくい環境であるため、インターネットが重要な媒体として活用されたと考えられる。これは、様々な学習リソースにアクセスできる日本国内と、海外の日本語学習環境でのリソース活用の特徴的な違いである可能性がある。

ここで注目されるのは、他の学生が用いたウェブサイトやテーマを活用して、自身の学習教材を選んだ学生がいたことである。内省レポートにも、「私の授業はだいたい最後になりましたので、前の授業を例にして考えてきました」と他学生の授業を参考に授業準備を行ったという記述が見られた。他学生の選択した学習教材を通して、未知の学習リソースの存在や在り処を学んだ学生がいることが示唆される。また、「自分で記事を選ぶ練習」という意見から、自分にと

って適切な学習教材の選び方を学んだ様子も見られた。

授業活動の中では、討論が高く評価された。普段、日本語を自発的に話す機会が少ないロシアの学生にとって、討論の場において十分に日本語を使用する経験ができ、学習の満足感が得られたものと推察される。それに加え、他者との意見交換を通して学んだものもあることがわかった。質問紙調査の「クラスのみんなの考え方がわかる」、「自分の意見を交換したり勉強になった」、「自分のクラスの考え方がわかるようになった」、「自分の考え方を認識した」などの記述に着目したい。学生は討論を通して、他者の考え方や意見を知り、他者を理解することによって、他者との比較や対照のなかで自己の考えを認識することにつながったと考えられる。

一方、学生が自身の学習を把握（アセスメント）し記述した内容は、具体性があまり高くなかった。内省レポートと質問紙調査の結果を見る限りでは、10人のうち4人の学生は、単に授業の内容や感想を述べるにとどまっていた。

自律的な学習サイクル「学習の計画」→「学習の実行」→「学習の内省（習得状況の把握）」→「学習の計画」のうち、学生は「学習の計画」→「学習の実行」の段階は十分にできたが、自己の学習を把握（アセスメント）する活動はそれまで行った経験がなく、自身が何を学んだかを適切に言語化することができなかつたと考えられる。この点については、教師からの指導と訓練が必要な部分だと言える。教師が学生に具体的な着眼点を与え、どのような内容を内省レポートに記述するかを指示するなどの支援が必要であることが示唆される。

8 まとめと今後の課題

本研究では、自律学習能力の養成を目指して学習者主導型の授業をモスクワの大学の日本語コースに導入し、その実践内容を詳細に紹介し、学習の様子について分析した。学生は、新しいアクティブラーニング・スタイルの授業活動に積極的に参加し、授業スタイルの転換には困難を示さなかつた。学習者主導型の授業スタイルの場を設定することで、教師主導型の授業スタイルに慣れた学生でも、学習教材や学習活動の選択、補助教材の作成など1人で能動的に学習を推進することができたと言える。

また、他者からの刺激により、学生が未知の学習リソースの存在を認知したり、リソースの在り処や探し方を再認識したりする様子や、新たな学習方法を認知するなど、学生が相互に影響し合い学びが起こったことが観察された。他者の考えを理解することにより自己の考えを知った学生、他者を通して自分自身を再認識したという学生も見られた。

学習者主導型の授業のもとで、自己の力で学習内容を選択する、学習教材を

探す、他者からも学ぶ、自己の学習内容を把握する等の経験が引き起こされた。自律的な学習サイクルに当てはめると、「学習の計画」と「学習の実行」の段階は、今回の授業において問題なく行えたと言える。「学習の内省（習得状況の把握）」については、記述内容が具体的でない学生が多かったが、本授業活動が学生の自律的な学習能力を養成する練習となったと考えられる。自己の学習の把握（アセスメント）には、教師からの支援が必要なことが示唆されたが、どのような支援が効果的であるかについての検討は、今後の課題としたい。

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資料

質問紙調査の概要 (紙幅の都合により、本稿に関連する質問部分を抜粋する)

- ・担当をして、どう思いましたか。そう思うものすべてに○を付けてください。
(選択肢あり)
- ・討論について、どう思いますか。(自由記述)
- ・他の学生の選んだ記事は、おもしろかったですか。(自由記述)
- ・どの記事がおもしろかったですか。また、おもしろくない記事がありましたか。(自由記述)
- ・毎回、内省レポートを書きましたが、それについてどう思いますか。(選択肢あり)

- 日本の記事の発表という授業内容のいい点、役に立ったことがありましたか。それは、どんなことですか。〈自由記述〉
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- このコース全体について、よくなかったことを書いてください。〈自由記述〉
- このコースをもっとよくするために、アドバイスをお願いします。〈自由記述〉

Japanese Language Learning and Employment Opportunities for Foreign Residents: Russian-speaking Migrants in Japan

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Abstract

The ability of migrants to integrate with a host society is deeply affected by the migrant's knowledge of the host country's language. This paper presents the empirical findings of our study conducted in Japan in 2015-2016. The focus was the degree of Japanese language ability among Russian-speaking migrants in Japan, and the association between language skills and employment opportunities available to this population. We describe the learning sites and practices that Russian-speaking migrants utilized before and after their migration, offer insight into their Japanese language ability, and highlight the relationship between migrants' employment status and Japanese language skills. Our aim is to illustrate the importance of affordable opportunities for effective learning and the role such learning plays in developing the language skills of migrants, thereby promoting their ability to secure employment in Japan. The analysis focuses on learning sites in Japan where the respondents studied Japanese. The sites included Japanese language schools, universities, private tutoring, and free language classes provided by regional administration centers and volunteer centers. As illustrated by both the objective and the subjective language ability assessments the respondents provided, overall language ability varied per group along a continuum that can be conceptualized as "university – Japanese language school – private tutoring – other." The findings revealed discrepancies in the employment status of participants among these four groups. Narratives obtained through interviews helped us to identify areas of concern that potentially hamper migrants from obtaining the expected degree of oral proficiency and literacy in Japanese, at the corresponding learning sites. The data and findings presented here may serve to inform policy for targeted instruction in Japanese for migrants, according to their ability level and occupations, which would help to deliver effective training in Japanese that accords with migrants' needs.

Keywords: *Russian-speaking migrants, Japanese language, learning sites, employment, integration*

1 Introduction

1.1 *Opportunities for Foreigners to Learn Japanese in Japan*

According to Japan's Ministry of Justice statistics, in June 2016 there were 2,307,388 non-Japanese residents in Japan. This represents 3.4% growth compared with the previous year, and a 36.8% increase from 2000. The largest group in the foreign population is Koreans (19.8%), many of whom were born in Japan and speak Japanese as their first language, and Chinese people (29.3%). Once foreigners naturalize,¹ they are no longer reflected in the statistics kept by the Japanese government on foreign residents. Koyama and Okamoto (2010: 3) report that 63.2% of the 121,000 foreigners who became naturalized in Japan between 2001 and 2008 were Koreans.

The role of language knowledge in the integration of first-generation migrants into a host society is extremely important. Isphording (2015: 1) observes that "Immigrants who fail to achieve adequate proficiency in the host country language generally fail to achieve economic and social integration." Gottlieb explores the problem of migrants' integration into Japan's society through a "language needs of immigrants" approach (2012a: 33). She suggests that "linguistic consequences of immigration for foreign residents can be far reaching in terms of both employment and personal life, whether individual or family" (Gottlieb 2012a: 34). Gottlieb further argues that these consequences have "ramifications for the host society, in terms of delivery of services and social cohesion" (ibid.). She discusses "immigrants who are struggling to achieve mastery of Japanese and the manner in which those needs are (or are not) being met" (ibid.), and points out that Japanese does not have the advantage of being a global language – unlike English. With Japanese not being widely spoken across the world, the struggles of immigrants entering Japan are real, "making the provision of JSL² classes a key social issue as immigration continues to grow" (ibid.). Gottlieb further suggests that migrants deserve access to language services because of their status as taxpayers (2009).

Burgess addresses the topic of Japanese language learning by foreigners who reside in Japan from the perspective of language ideology, which is inextricably connected to the dominant ideas of blood and citizenship. Burgess explores an array of discourses that he sees as inhibiting the development of streamlined policies to assist foreigners in learning Japanese. He states that "national teaching guidelines and curriculum detailing how to teach Japanese to foreigners living inside Japan still do not exist" (2012: 17). Drawing on newspapers and other sources, Burgess describes this condition as a systemic problem of JSL education, illustrated by the fact that in 2009, among 2,200,000 foreign residents only 166,631 were students of Japanese. Only 12.9% of the 31,000 teachers of Japanese in 2010 were full-time instructors; the rest were part-time

¹ Acquiring Japanese nationality generally follows the bloodline principle, although in exceptional cases the place of birth is considered, if a child's parents are unknown. Adult foreigners are required to undergo a naturalization procedure (Kondo 2016). Language requirements for naturalization are not explicitly included in the application guidelines, yet some applicants are selectively asked to take a language test (Gottlieb 2012b: 7-9).

² Japanese as a second language.

instructors (35.5%) or volunteers (51.6%) (2012: 50-51).³ Gottlieb (2012a: 48) examines the positive side of language instruction by volunteers, stating that “it is precisely this bottom-up activity and provision of language training with volunteer participation, reflecting acknowledgement of language needs in local communities, that may in time effect a change in national policy as well.” By contrast, Burgess (2012: 51) raises the concern that “the fact that volunteers tend to play the main role in teaching Japanese to foreigners in turn reflects the fact that no official license or qualification exists for JSFL⁴ teachers.”

To understand how language teaching by unqualified people might fail to meet the needs of migrant learners, the findings of Heyse et al. (2015) are useful. Heyse et al. conducted research with Russian and Ukrainian women migrants in Belgium, many of whom were highly educated. The researchers reported on their conversations with a non-government organization representative, who suggested that current language services in Belgium – originally developed for less educated migrants in the past – might be “too low for highly skilled migrants; that is why many of them drop out” (Heyse 2015: 83). These findings, from a country with a tradition of language education for immigrants, serve as an important benchmark. They suggest that merely providing language classes is not enough; countries have to account for the various migrant populations. The lessons must be methodologically and cognitively structured to create opportunities for effective learning.

Learning a foreign language in a host country, while undergoing a major life transformation brought about by migration, is a difficult task. This reality should be considered by researchers. Although the disturbances associated with such a transformation affect educational and labor migrants, whose primary aim is to study and work, they also affect “marriage migrants.” This is especially true if the period in which the migrant needs to master the language coincides with a gendered life stage that prevents them from studying in a focused manner. For instance, in Japan, language barriers are reportedly one of the most urgent problems experienced by immigrant women in the perinatal period (Kita et al. 2015). These findings highlight that linguistic needs strongly affect every aspect of a person’s life. Scully (2002: 402) examined a small group of Filipina women in rural Japan, and offers important insight into the complexities of the process in which her subjects either “succeeded or failed to assimilate into the local community and/or master the intricate details of Japanese language and culture.” Scully’s study reveals the highly personal nature of the acculturation process, which might not be directly associated with the length of stay in the host country. The women had followed different paths in maintaining or failing to

³ In 2014, the number of Japanese language learners who were accounted for among the foreign population (2,121,831) in Japan was 174,359 people. Of these, 82% were from Asian countries and 5% were from Europe, including Russia and other post-Soviet countries (Iwamoto 2015). The total proportion of migrants from Europe (including Russia and other post-Soviet countries) was 2.9% of the population of foreigners, according to 2014 statistics of Japan’s Ministry of Justice. These figures suggest that European migrants take great interest in attending centers at which Japanese is taught.

⁴ Japanese as a second foreign language.

maintain the Japanese language they acquired, after the community-based support for newcomers – in the form of language and cooking classes – had finished (Scully 2002: 411-413). The community-based learning support lasted six months. Thus, Scully focused on migrants who completed short-term language training provided by the host community rather than solicited by the women themselves. These women were then absorbed into the everyday hassles of their lives, pushing the hope of focused learning opportunities further away and leaving their linguistic needs unmet. This affected their ability to secure stable employment.

The labor shortage in Japan, the increased number of migrants, and the need to utilize their working potential have been among the most pronounced topics in public discourse for nearly a decade. Inability to fully use the language in a society with a literacy rate of almost 100% (Maher and Yashiro 1995: 3) significantly affects migrants' position in the labor market. This reality has an economic cost for Japan. The estimated cost of inadequate literacy in Japan is among the highest in the world, at USD 84.21 billion in 2015 (World Literacy Foundation, 2015). An important development in terms of Japanese language education for migrants occurred quite recently. In 2015, the Japan Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare assigned the Japan International Cooperation Center (JICE) to organize the "Training Course for Promoting Stable Employment of Foreign Residents." Although it is too soon to comprehensively assess this system, it is an important step toward providing migrants with targeted language learning opportunities and thus a chance to realize their employment potential. This in turn will have a positive effect on the country's labor-shortage situation.

1.2 *Japanese Employment System at a Glance*

To provide some background for the results presented in Section 3, this section focuses on the main features of the Japanese employment system. The post-war Japanese employment system is characterized by lifelong employment, which favors men over women. Other features include low mobility of employees across firms, seniority-based wages and promotions, firm-specific training, hiring practices that enable new university graduates to be employed, and favoring young employees and those with elite education. All these features help companies to avoid unpredictability and cut their labor costs (Nemoto 2016: 31). Lifelong employment is reflected in Articles 25 and 27 of Japan's Constitution and in the country's legal system; it is still largely supported both socially and politically (Noble 2012: 68). A number of changes have taken place since the 1990s, such as attempts to foster performance-based promotion and to increase temporary hires. However, these moves have only destabilized the employment system and intensified the gender gap, because women are hired to fill temporary positions. They do not provide real solutions to the inertia in Japanese employment practices (Nemoto 2016). Lifelong employment is granted through full-time tenured positions (*seishain*). Other employment statuses include contract positions, with a predetermined length of contract (*keiyaku shain*); and part-time positions (*arubaito* or *paato*⁵). There

⁵ Legally, both terms refer to part-time work and there is no distinction between them. Initially, the term

are also indirect employment positions (*haken*) for which a person is registered with an agency and dispatched to firms for various lengths of time (Takahashi 2012).

1.3 Russian-Speaking Migrants in Japan

According to statistics released by the Japan Ministry of Justice in June 2015, about 7,973 Russians live in Japan, 68.5% of whom are women. Russians comprise the third largest population of European migrants, after people from the United Kingdom and France (Kurata 2016). Japan's Russian-speaking population is in fact even larger, as it includes an estimated 14,000 people who have migrated to Japan from post-Soviet countries and who speak Russian as their first or second language.

The migration of the so-called “female wave” of Russians to Japan, where marrying local men has become a characteristic feature, started in the 1990s. The collapse of the Soviet Union brought with it the liberalization of individual movement, followed by political and economic disturbances that peaked in the crises of 1998, 2008 and most recently 2014. These factors, among others, have contributed to women's migration; in the case of Japan, initially women immigrated mainly for employment in the entertainment sector or for international marriages. More recently and to an increasing degree, women are migrating for educational and professional reasons (Mukhina and Golovina 2017) and are choosing to leave Russia in search of better opportunities.

According to the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) report “Education at a Glance” (2016), Russia has the second highest share of adults with a tertiary education. The employment rate of tertiary-educated adults was 83% in 2015, thus revealing the work-oriented nature of this population.

2 Methodology

The research described in this paper took a year to complete. It was conducted in Japan between April 2015 and March 2016, with Russian-speaking migrants as the participants and topic of study.⁶ The data were collected through interviews with four Japanese recruiting companies, an online survey, and 13 interviews with Russian-speaking migrants. The interviews with recruiting companies helped to identify problematic areas pertaining to the employment of foreigners in Japan, including issues regarding the Japanese language. The online survey (titled “On Education and Employment of Russian-speaking Migrants in Japan”) was developed through a paid online survey tool and consisted of 72 questions on migration routes, education in one's

arubaito emerged among students to signify occasional labor; *paato* (from *part-time*), where one works a shortened day, appeared as an antonym to full-time work. These historical connotations are somewhat preserved nowadays, although an employer has the freedom to mark an advertised vacancy with either of the terms. While *paato* is often used to attract housewives, *arubaito* has come to be used rather broadly, without a specific group (such as students) in mind. As a reflection of the governmental discourse to reach marginalized populations, advertisements for *arubaito* posts often mention that “housewives, elderly, and foreigners” are welcome.

⁶ This project was funded by The Japan Science Society (Sasakawa Scientific Research Grant).

home country and in Japan, linguistic abilities, and employment. To create the questions, we relied on previous literature and our own cumulative experience of 10 years in researching the Russian-speaking population in Japan. The incentivized invitation to participate was posted from June 24 to July 8, 2015 in the largest Facebook-based community of Russian-speaking migrants in Japan. At the time of the survey, this group had nearly 6,800 participants. The obtained data were cleaned and the final sample was N=184. The interview portion of the research was aimed at personalizing the data we had obtained through the online survey and at gaining a more in-depth look at the situation of Russian-speaking migrants' education and employment. The interviews were held between August 27, 2015 and January 15, 2016, and the participants were invited through the same online community. For a few participants, the snowball sampling technique was also applied. Thirteen people from localities such as Tokyo, Kanagawa, Saitama, Chiba, Ibaraki, Kumamoto, Kyoto, and Osaka participated in face-to-face, in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Informed consent forms were gathered. All the interviews were recorded, transcribed, and coded using NVIVO. For the purpose of this paper, we employ the relevant portions of the data.

In the following sections, we introduce and discuss the results of the online survey and our interview fieldwork. The focus is on the learning sites where our research participants learnt Japanese, the degree of language skills they obtained at those sites, and ultimately their employment situation.

3 Survey Results: Japanese Language Learning Sites and Employment

Most of our participants were women (80.4%) who were young, long-term stayers predominantly from Russia (72.8%). Therefore, the data from the online survey represent a microcosm of the population of post-Soviet migrants in Japan who possess comparable demographic characteristics (outlined in Section 1.3). We noted that 82% of the respondents had arrived in Japan as undergraduate or postgraduate degree holders. Given the targeted population's high education level and potential for employment, as supported by OECD data, we were interested in their employment situation in Japan and whether it was associated with the migrants' Japanese language skills – both oral proficiency and literacy.

This paper is focused on Japanese language ability among Russian-speaking migrants, with regard to their current employment situation in Japan; we do not include respondents who held “foreign student” visa status. The latter subgroup comprised 18.48% of our original (N=184) sample but we exclude their data here, as their primary purpose for migration was education. They can only work part-time and can thus be classified in a transitional category. By the same logic, we exclude a respondent who was in Japan on a “cultural activities” visa. We include here the respondents who held working visas; spouses of Japanese nationals; spouses of foreigners who are permanent residents (but not those who accompany their working family member as a “dependent”, because of limitations in their working hours); permanent residents; long-term permanent residents; highly qualified human resources; and people who are naturalized

Japanese. Our sample for the purpose of this paper was N=147. The comparison of data on the current employment situation of the respondents was conducted according to the learning sites where the migrants learned Japanese in Japan. In addition, we outline the time the respondents allocated to learning, and the determination of respondents' language ability using both objective assessment (Japanese Language Proficiency Test, JLPT) and subjective self-assessment (along the given dimensions and response categories). We also examine data on the migrants' pre-migration learning of Japanese. Ultimately, we aim to explore the influence of a person's Japanese language ability on that person's employment opportunities in Japan. The results presented and discussed in the paper are summarized in Table 1 at the end of this chapter.

3.1 *Pre-migration Japanese Language Learning*

About 47.52% of the respondents had learned Japanese language before their migration. Most did so at universities as a first (47.14%) or second (10%) foreign language. These data were obtained from a multiple-answer question. Most (72.68%) of the respondents who had learned Japanese before migrating had continued their language studies for more than two years. The fact that these respondents studied Japanese as a first foreign language at universities in their home country suggests that their specializations might have been largely connected with Japan, in fields such as Japanese studies or translation and interpreting. People who receive a degree under such a specialization before migrating to Japan are commonly called "Japanologists" by members of the Russian-speaking community in Japan, regardless of their current occupations. These migrants are in a somewhat advantageous position in terms of the solid language training they obtained in their countries of origin. They find it relatively easy to navigate Japanese society in general and the labor market in particular.

In the group of pre-migration learners, 50% of the respondents held Level 1 (old system until 2009) and 24.14% held N1 (new system) certificates in JLPT.⁷ The respondents were asked to rate their own Japanese language proficiency for the dimensions of speaking, understanding, reading, and writing. The response categories were "unable to use," "can use with limitation," "can use freely in everyday life," "can use freely in academic settings," and "can use freely in professional settings". In the pre-migration-learning group, most respondents indicated an ability to use the language in professional settings, for all four dimensions: speaking (67.14%), understanding (71.43%), reading (51.43%), and writing (48.57%). Being able to use the language in a professional setting marks the highest level on the confidence scale, and this response was selected more often than any others. The data were gained from a multiple-answer question. With regard to employment, 82.86% were currently employed in Japan under varying employment statuses. We noted that people who had acquired knowledge in Japanese as university students in their home countries, and further continued to study

⁷ Summaries of linguistic competence for each level can be found at the JLPT website: <http://www.jlpt.jp> (Accessed May 1, 2017). There are five levels under the new system; N1 is the most advanced. Under the old system, four levels existed, with Level 1 being the most advanced.

the language at universities in Japan (12.92% of N=147), exhibited a high employment rate (89.47%) and stable working status (76.47%) as tenured full-time workers in Japan. This rate of tenured employment was higher than that of any other group we studied. Interestingly, this group had initially entered the country as educational migrants.

3.2 *Post-migration Japanese Language Learning*

Of the sampled respondents, 80.27% studied Japanese after migrating to Japan. Among them, 55.08% considered this to be their first time ever learning the language.⁸ In the survey (multiple-answer question), we asked respondents to choose the site where they studied Japanese in Japan, with the following options: university, Japanese language school, or privately with a tutor.⁹ They could also specify a particular learning site under the “Other” option, which allowed free answers. Most respondents chose Japanese language school (45.76%), followed by university (29.66%) and private learning (23.73%). In addition, 14.41% had studied at various self-reported learning sites (“Other”) such as language classes provided by local administrations, volunteer centers, weekend courses, and language exchange. One respondent attended UNESCO classes and another had attended JICE (mentioned in the Introduction to this paper). The average age at which the respondents had arrived in Japan was 24.7 years in the “Japanese Language Schools” group, 22.3 years in the “Universities” group, 25.8 years in the “Private Learning” group, and 27.5 years in the “Other” group.

3.2.1 *Japanese Language Schools*

An equal number of respondents (29.63%) in this group had studied the language either for 6 to 12 months or for more than two years – a total of 59.26% participants in this group. In addition, 77.77% of all respondents in this group held JLPT certificates. The prevailing JLPT levels were Levels 2 and 3 for the old system (36.36% each) and N2 (51.85%) for the new system. Some people (16.66%) held both; that is, they held a certificate under the new system and had also passed JLPT under the old system. In their self-assessment, this group selected an equal number of the responses “can use freely in everyday life” and “can use freely in professional settings” (40.74% each) for

⁸ Migrants may possess varying degrees of pre-migratory exposure to the language of the country of destination, which in the long term has a potential to influence their success when actively learning the language in the host country. Isphording (2015: 5) observes: “Pre-migratory exposure might also take place through foreign language education in school or exposure to foreign language television programs, books, or other media.” In our survey, we gathered information on the pre-migratory learning sites, but adequately measuring the exposure through the literature or the media was difficult. However, we should keep in mind that even for migrants for whom studying the language post-migration might be their first time to actively explore the language, learners’ predisposition might vary by the degree of pre-migratory exposure.

⁹ A total of 118 people learned the Japanese language post-migration. The number of samples of 134 (i.e., 54 for Japanese language schools, 35 for universities, 28 for private learning, and 17 for miscellaneous learning sites such as free-of-charge language classes provided by local administration or volunteer centers) slightly exceeds the N=118 of learners. To better reflect reality, the respondents could have chosen multiple answers of the learning sites they attended.

speaking. For understanding, “can use freely in professional settings” (53.70%) was the most widely selected response. For reading, “can use freely in everyday life” was the most popular response (33.33%), but the number of people who indicated they had limited ability was also substantial. For writing, “can use with limitations” was the most widely selected response (40.74%). The difficulty of learning to write Japanese, compared with the other three dimensions, was evident in the high number of participants who selected this response. Clearly, although half of the answers indicated professional-level proficiency in speaking and understanding the language, many respondents were not fully literate – especially in terms of applying their reading and writing skills in professional settings.

About 79.63% of respondents who studied at Japanese language schools were currently employed, with 67.44% working at a single place and the rest combining two or more side jobs. In this group, most people had full-time employment. The responses to multiple-answer questions indicated that 35.88% of these full-time workers were contract workers and 27.91% were tenured employees. However, the percentage of irregular work was also high: 44.18% of respondents indicated some form of part-time employment, mostly *arubaito*. A small percentage (6.98%) indicated entrepreneurship. Generally, this group exhibited a moderate level of Japanese proficiency and a low percentage of tenured employment.

3.2.2 Universities

Among migrants who had studied Japanese at university settings in Japan, 71.43% had received some form of tertiary education in Japan. We assume the rest – those who indicated they had not received tertiary education in Japan but had nonetheless studied Japanese in a university setting – had attended Japanese language centers affiliated with universities. Alternatively, they might not have completed a full university program. In the group of post-migration university learners, 34.29% had studied Japanese for more than two years – which was nearly 5% more people than the equivalent figure for Japanese language schools. Only 14.29% said they had studied for less than six months. A considerable number of responses in this group indicated pre-migration learning of Japanese at universities (82.61%), highlighting this group’s initial characteristic as educational migrants. This finding also shows that, for educational migrants aiming to relocate to Japan and enroll in one of the country’s university programs, learning Japanese or even majoring in it at university might be a necessary prerequisite for a successful transition.

In this group, 71.48% of respondents are holders of JLPT certificates. The majority of cases (86.67%) indicate possession of a Level 1 certificate under the old system of JLPT, and 46.67% hold N1 certificates under the new system. The fact that so many respondents hold the most advanced level under the old system suggests that this group’s proficiency in Japanese is not newly acquired. These respondents had already acquired an advanced proficiency by 2009, the year the old system was replaced. Some hold certificates under both systems; 33.33% of certificate holders under the new system also possess a certificate under the old system. In their self-assessment, this

group exhibited the most advanced ability (“can use in professional settings”) for each of the four dimensions: speaking (80%), understanding (73.33%), reading (60%), and writing (53.33%). Predictably, writing remains an issue for this group. Although no-one reported an inability to write – unlike respondents in the other groups, 20% chose “can use with limitations” to describe their writing. Thus, although this group exhibits the highest level of both oral proficiency and literacy, literacy remains an issue. The situation can be explained in terms of “linguistic distance” (Isphording 2015: 3-5) related to differences in the writing systems of the alphabetic versus non-alphabetic languages (Gottlieb 2012a: 44, 53).¹⁰

A total of 91.43% of respondents who studied Japanese at universities in Japan were currently employed. This is the highest employment rate among the groups we studied. In this group, 75% of the respondents worked in one place, and this group had the lowest percentage of respondents who were combining one or more side jobs to make a living. Most responses in this group indicated either full-time tenured (62.5%) or contract (18.8%) employment. Given that tenured employment (*seishain*) is traditionally considered the most stable and thus the most sought-after form of employment in Japan, a large proportion of this group can be considered as having obtained secure jobs. Only 21.88% of the respondents – a smaller percentage than that in other groups – indicated some form of part-time employment, and 3.13% reported engaging in entrepreneurial activity.

3.2.3 Private Learning

Private learning indicates learning a language with the help of a paid private tutor. In this group, 35.71% of our respondents had studied Japanese for more than two years and 21.43% for less than six months. These figures represent a higher percentage of new learners than in the Japanese language schools or university categories.

In terms of JLPT, 71.42% of the respondents held certificates: 45.45% held Level 2 certificates in the old system and 53.85% held N2 in the new system. Some respondents held both; 30.76% of new certificate holders had passed the JLPT under the old system as well. In their self-assessments, no participants selected the advanced option (“can use in professional settings”) for any of the four dimensions. For both speaking and understanding, “can use in everyday life” was the most popular selection at 42.86% for

¹⁰ In the discussion on *kanji* learning among people who lack a *kanji* background, Paxton and Svetenant (2014:90) state that “mastering *kanji* is a complex and daunting task for learners from alphabet-based languages.” This sentiment is corroborated by the fact that Japanese, a non-Western orthographic language, is classified as one of the most time-consuming languages to learn (Graiger 2005, quoted in Paxton and Svetenant 2014: 90). This does not mean that, for instance, Chinese speakers have no difficulty in acquiring Japanese *kanji*. Tanaka (2015) raises the issue of orthography versus phonology-based processing of *kanji* by Chinese learners, revealing a complex nature of mutual *kanji* recognition within the Sinosphere. Yet she states that compared with learners from alphabet-based cultures, Chinese learners already have a basic knowledge of *kanji* and can distinguish the basic meanings (2015: 902). Furthermore, research has shown that various strategies, such as mitigating “unwarranted negative attitudes” about the Japanese writing system being too complex, and building curricula in line with the learners’ cognitive capabilities (Mori 2012), may help students to master *kanji* acquisition successfully.

each. For reading and writing, “can use with limitations” obtained the highest share of responses, with 39.29% of participants selecting this answer for reading and 46.43% for writing. Across all four dimensions, 7.14% indicated a complete lack of language knowledge.

About 73.08% of the respondents in this group were currently employed; 63.16% worked in one place and the remainder combined two or more side jobs. Cases of employment as irregular workers (mostly *arubaito* and a small percent of *paato*) account for 68.43%, which is a higher proportion than its counterpart in the Japanese language schools and university groups. About 36.84% were employed as tenured full-time workers and 15.79% were full-time contract workers. These data were yielded by multiple-answer questions.

3.2.4 *Other*

The “Other” category combines free municipal language classes, volunteer centers, weekend courses, and JICE and UNESCO classes as self-reported by the respondents. In this group, an equal number of learners had pursued post-migration studies of Japanese for less than six months, one to two years, and more than two years (29.41% each). This group exhibited the lowest number of long-term learners compared with other groups.

In this group, 82.35% were holders of JLPT certificates; the predominant level under the old system was Level 3 at 37.50% and in the new system it was N2 at 50%. Some held both: 25% of new certificate holders also had a certificate under the old system. In their self-assessment, the “can use in everyday life” response gained the most endorsements (47.06%) for speaking. The “can use with limitations” and “can use in professional settings” responses were each selected by 35.29% of respondents for understanding. “Can use with limitations” and “can use in everyday life” were the most popular choices for reading (29.41% each), and “can use with limitations” was the most popular response (41.18%) for writing. The reading and writing dimensions obtained a substantial share of responses that indicated a lack of literacy (17.65% and 23.53%, respectively), higher than those in any other group.

A total of 64.71% of respondents in this group were currently employed, which was the lowest employment rate among the compared groups. In this group, only 54.55% of the respondents worked in one place and the remaining migrants were combining two or more side jobs. This group had the highest number of respondents who performed two or more jobs at once to make a living. With regard to employment status, 73.35% of the participants indicated they had irregular employment (mostly *arubaito*), and 36.36% were employed as tenured full-time workers. The data were obtained from multiple-answer questions.

	Japanese Language Schools	Universities	Private Learning	Other
Length of studying Japanese and JLPT levels				
Over two years' length of studying	29.63%	34.29%	35.71%	29.41%
JLPT holders	77.77%	71.48%	71.42%	82.35%
Predominant JLPT level (old system)	Level 2/Level 3	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3
Predominant JLPT level (new system)	N2	N1	N2	N2
Both certificates	16.66%	33.33%	30.76%	25%
Self-assessment (predominant responses)				
Speaking	can use freely in everyday life/ can use freely in professional settings	can use freely in professional settings	can use freely in everyday life	can use freely in everyday life
Understanding	can use freely in professional settings	can use freely in professional settings	can use freely in everyday life	can use with limitations/ can use freely in professional settings
Reading	can use freely in everyday life	can use freely in professional settings	can use with limitations	can use with limitations/ can use freely in everyday life
Writing	can use with limitations	can use freely in professional settings	can use with limitations	can use with limitations
Employment				
Employed	79.63%	91.43%	73.08%	64.71%
Work in one place only	67.44%	75.00%	63.16%	54.55%
Employed as tenured workers	27.91%	62.50%	36.84%	36.36%
Employed as contract workers	35.88%	18.80%	15.79%	None
Employed part-time	44.18%	21.88%	68.43%	73.35%

Table 1: Comparison of results by site of learning Japanese. (Legend: “/” indicates that both response categories have an equal percentage of responses.)

4 Interview Results: Learners Raise their Concerns

In this section we present the findings from the face-to-face interviews. The interview data provide deeper insight into Japanese language learning by Russian-speaking migrants. This information allowed us to explore the reasons for many people failing to achieve oral proficiency and (particularly) literacy, despite their learning the language in Japan. In this paper we focus on a few narratives about sites for learning Japanese and the challenges migrants experience when attempting to learn the language.

As we analyzed the interview data, a variety of topics emerged that revealed migrants' everyday struggles while learning the language in the hope of securing a job. These struggles often related to the unavailability of affordable learning sites and being constantly slowed down by daily life circumstances in the migrants' respective life stages. Unclear and often unrealistic linguistic demands by potential employers were also articulated as an area of concern. Discrepancies in the types of tuition required emerged as a structural factor responsible for the divide in respondents' Japanese language ability, which further influenced their employment status. The following narratives gathered during the interviews illustrate the scenario. The narratives are grouped thematically.

[1]. “After going to that language school, I went to another one for two years. As my specialization is education, I could see that the teaching methods were wrong in the first school. Well, I don't know. Maybe this system is considered effective here.”

[2]. “He [Japanese husband] then sent me to study at the X University. But there was no specific language [to use at work] while training there.”

- [3]. “Volunteer centers are not really effective. They are more for just talking.”
[4]. “So I lost my motivation and dropped out of the volunteer center.”
- [5]. “I think the best would be really good language courses, preferably with Russian teachers.”
[6]. “I have to start looking for some instruction, maybe through Skype.”
- [7]. “If only I attended something like this [JICE language courses] when I first came to Japan, it would have changed a lot in my life.”

These narratives reveal the general concerns of Russian-speaking migrants about the Japanese language instruction they received at learning sites they attended in Japan. The narrative [1] by an informant who has an educational background in pedagogy, and who changed schools after observing ineffective teaching methods in the first center she attended, is of interest. Whereas switching schools was an option in her case, for most migrants this might not be a choice because attending an expensive commercial language school is often a challenge in itself. The informant in the second narrative told the story of how her husband had facilitated her university learning in Japan, which later helped her to gain full-time employment. Although proficient in Japanese, she expressed the wish to have had an opportunity for more targeted learning of professional Japanese, which could have minimized her language difficulties at work.¹¹ The second informant’s extended narrative, as well as the many other comments we recorded, suggest that most of these struggles have to do with written Japanese used in the workplace. Although some unskilled jobs might not require one to be literate, our observations of work advertisements targeting foreigners suggested the opposite. For example, kitchen work might require an N1 certificate of JLPT, or people might be asked to read at an interview when applying for a cleaning job at a hotel. Once again this highlights the need to help foreigners become literate in Japanese. As these two cases indicate, the situation is aggravated by the general ambiguity of standards pertaining to language skills required for certain work.

Volunteer centers [3] and [4] were criticized for focusing on casual talking only, thereby suggesting that the centers our informants attended might have been sufficient as multicultural communication sites but not as language training sites. Staying motivated in such an environment proved to be difficult and the informant quit the volunteer center. This situation suggests that the participants’ expectations that they would master the Japanese language beyond daily conversations were unmet, and the level of teaching did not match their educational backgrounds and expectations for future employment. This issue should be considered in conjunction with the critical observations by Burgess (2012) (referred to in the Introduction) on the teaching of Japanese by volunteers and the lack of licenses or qualifications. We argue that when the lack of license or qualification translates into ineffective teaching, as perceived by

¹¹ In this regard, McHugh and Challinor (2011) suggest that implementing effective employment-focused learning for migrants, although difficult policy-wise, can play a crucial role in opening doors for their success in the workplace.

some of our research participants who attended volunteer centers, foreigners in Japan fail to attain proficiency in Japanese. Therefore, their linguistic needs are not met, which does not improve their ability to secure the desired form of employment or to be employed at all. This issue (which we discussed in the Introduction) also emerged in the research by Heyse (2015), which showed that educated migrants tend to drop out of free-of-charge language courses that are not tailored to their level and needs.

One informant [5] articulated the wish to have Japanese taught by Russian-speaking instructors, who could easily convey the complexities of grammar. Another participant [6] desired a more flexible way to sustain her language knowledge through Skype classes with an instructor. These two narratives illustrate that migrants look for alternative ways to improve their Japanese language skills if they cannot afford to enter a commercial language school and have not received proper support at the learning sites they initially attended. Although we chose only a few narratives that we considered illustrative for the purpose of this paper, most of the narratives we recorded about language learning sites in Japan were characterized by a degree of frustration. The narrative [7] from an individual who came to Japan many years ago and in 2016 attended the newly established JICE courses is of particular interest. This narrative highlights the relationship between life's unfolding in the host country, on the one hand, and language skills facilitated through the provision of language education for migrants on the other. The availability of sites for effective language learning, with wide regional representation and a target population in mind, greatly influences migrants' livelihood. Through our conversations about these courses with members of the Russian-speaking community, we recorded the following concerns: unavailability of such courses in many prefectures, limited availability of advanced levels compared with basic levels, and insufficient outreach. Participants reported that representatives in some local *Harōwāku* offices (Japan's governmental employment services center), which are responsible for promoting the JICE courses, were unable to provide them with any information. We suggest that information dissemination about these courses, especially in view of their potential impact – as indicated by the informant in the narrative extract above – may boost the outreach by community leaders.

5 Discussion and Concluding Remarks

In the analysis of data from our online survey, discussed above, we highlighted the major differences among the four groups studied in this paper. The groups were as follows: 1) migrants who learned Japanese in Japan through Japanese language schools, 2) those who learnt Japanese at universities, 3) those who learnt privately, and 4) those who used various self-reported learning sites (the “Other” category). Although the “Other” group had the lowest share of respondents for some parameters (e.g., number of long-term learners or holders of advanced certificates in JLPT), many respondents in each group had clearly devoted much time and effort to language learning. However, as seen from both the objective assessment (JLPT) and especially the subjective language ability assessment the respondents provided, overall language ability varied among the

groups along the “university – Japanese language school – private tutoring – other” continuum. Discrepancies were also noted in the migrants’ resultant employment status, along the same trajectory. The highest levels of unemployment occurred among respondents who had studied in free language classes provided by local administrations and at volunteer centers. Both of the groups in which Japanese had been learned privately or at various (mostly) free learning sites had the highest shares of irregular workers, employed as *arubaito*. In the Japanese language school group, although more participants worked full-time than irregularly, most respondents were employed under contracts rather than as tenured employees. The university group displayed the highest proportion of employment in general and full-time employment in particular. People who had studied the language at universities prior to coming to Japan, and continued their studies in the academic setting post-migration (i.e., so-called educational migrants or “Japanologists”), exhibited the highest rate of full-time tenured employment. Although we were encouraged by the finding that people who could be considered as having initially aspired to connect their future with Japan were able to obtain secure positions in Japan, their share in the sample was relatively small. It is unrealistic to demand that migrants should learn Japanese at a university both before and after migration, or even only post-migration. University is often inaccessible because of the expense and in terms of the life paths of migrants who arrive in Japan through non-educational routes. Most of our participants were already university graduates, at both undergraduate and graduate levels, at the time of their migration. However, our findings showed that pre-migratory education in general plays a less significant role in one’s employment in Japan than does a degree obtained in the country, or a combination of two degrees.

Some comment is needed on the high employment rate among migrants who studied Japanese at universities in Japan. Studying at a university in Japan in itself might be associated with increased employment opportunities. This trend cannot be overlooked when discussing Japan, given the *shinsotsu saiyo* system that favors new university graduates as tenured employees – a system still prevalent in Japan (albeit in changed form). Migrants who graduate from Japanese university programs,¹² having secured jobs in Japan, then develop their language ability further in the workplace; whereas those who do not possess this advantage receive fewer employment opportunities and thus fewer chances to advance or sustain their Japanese language ability. Under these circumstances, as observed by Isphording (2015: 7), “better-quality jobs, higher wages, and higher employment probabilities” function as “incentives for learning.” We observed that in the absence of these incentives, non-university groups with poor

¹² However, mentioning the university programs in Japan that offer tuition in English, the completing of which does not necessarily grant employment in the country for someone who does not speak Japanese, is necessary. Burgess (2012: 49-50) addresses this issue by questioning the positive side of the recently adopted Global 30 project in Japan, which has “promotion of English in research institutions” as one of its aims. He argues: “If non-Japanese students are able to graduate from a Japanese university never having taken content classes in Japanese, their employment prospects in Japan will inevitably be limited and Japan will likely lose much of the very “top-class talent” the project aims to retain.”

prospects of tenured employment might not find an investment in their language ability (beyond the initial period of studying) highly appealing. Therefore, Japan's employment system in itself functions as an inhibitory factor in the employment of foreigners.

We therefore emphasize the need to provide better language services for migrants belonging to non-university groups. Although the Japanese language school group showed a fairly balanced outcome in terms of participants' current employment, with a 20.37% unemployment rate, this type of commercial education might not be within the financial reach of some migrants. However, the fact that 45.76% of our participants had enrolled in commercial Japanese language schools suggests that many respondents were both able to afford it financially and understood the need to do so, given the limited availability of free opportunities for effective learning.¹³

Studying privately with a tutor also emerged as a popular option. The resultant employment rate and status were lower than those associated with Japanese language schools. Our findings showed that only a small number of participants accessed the free-of-charge learning opportunities, and ultimately these did not meet respondents' language needs. Enrollment at free learning sites usually did not boost people's stable-employment status and might not have resulted in any employment at all.

Only 3.03% of the unemployed migrants in our sample indicated that they did not want to have a job; the rest showed a desire to be employed to varying degrees. All the unemployed people in our sample were women and childcare emerged as the most crucial inhibitory factor for employment (54.55%). Language barriers were a close second (51.52%; data obtained by multiple-answer questions). Although the lack of childcare support can prevent women from working at the moment, language barriers may prevent them from using the available childcare support or even from attempting to become employed. Therefore, these factors are strongly interconnected. Krumm and Plutzar (2008: 9) suggest that although mothers might not feel the need to learn the language or might lack opportunities to do so, this situation changes when their children grow older. Therefore, we argue that migrant women who have limited Japanese ability and are unemployed will experience a strong need to master the language later in life. When they do, their expectations should be met. The life-course perspective on female migration is illustrated by Heyse (2011), who traces how initially low interest in employment later transforms into the desire to find a job. Therefore, this category should be examined from a longitudinal perspective.

Essentially, our findings showed that the education which respondents received before migration shaped their potential to become working professionals in Japan. People who succeeded in translating this potential to meet the realities of the Japanese labor market were ultimately able to secure better forms of employment or even start their own businesses. This potential can be enhanced through enrolling in tertiary programs in Japan or investing in commercial language education. Migrants who invest in their language skills eventually become members of the category of "highly skilled foreign workers," who are officially recognized by the Japanese government as a target

¹³ However, it is important to note that recently certain Japanese language schools in the country have served as a channel for labor migration (Liu-Farrer 2009).

migrant population to nurture. However, many of our respondents who could have fit into this category if they had been given access to better language services to strengthen their Japanese, were destined to gain only unstable and socially uncertain part-time positions or to remain unemployed. They had not managed to secure stable employment in, for instance, the service sector.

Our research provides an empirical illustration of the challenges migrants face when attempting to learn the Japanese language through currently available learning sites. The framework of our work is a discussion on employment status and form, and our conclusions are based on firsthand data from the Russian-speaking community in Japan. Because expecting migrants to enroll into university programs to learn Japanese is unrealistic, and because commercial language schools might only be accessible to migrants who initially possess a level of financial security, the Japanese government needs to make a greater effort to provide free municipal courses. This would provide opportunities for more targeted, by-level, work-focused, and thus effective learning that accords with the needs of migrants. At the same time, moving volunteer efforts into the multicultural communication domain to emphasize the inner strength of these initiatives, while ensuring that migrants are not unwittingly misled into assuming that these centers are facilitated by the administration as the primary source for mastering Japanese, may be a reasonable step. Furthermore, an expansion of the JICE program into regions would benefit a large pool of migrants if combined with aggressive outreach. In sum, the provision of Japanese language teaching should be organized in such a way that migrants are able to achieve the language proficiency they need to become employed – which includes the ability to read and write.

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Support Systems for Instructors and Teaching Assistants in the ALESS Program

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Abstract

Teaching English communication to students of science is an essential aspect of scientific education, if students are to develop and become competitive in a global setting. The ALESS (Active Learning of English for Science Students) Program at the University of Tokyo is a 13-week academic writing course for all first-year students of science. The course is taught completely in English by instructors with diverse backgrounds from not just the natural sciences, but also from the social sciences and humanities. For this course, active learning is encouraged and the scientific thought process is emphasized through project-based learning, and students partake in this scientific process by designing and performing scientific experiments which provides the content for their academic papers.

Here, the “support system” includes assistance for students as well as mutual cooperation amongst instructors. As instructors have diverse academic and teaching backgrounds, collaboration and mutual learning constitute an important element of the development of effective curriculum and pedagogy. Among various aspects of the ALESS course, this paper specifically focuses on the supporting system involved in the course. Based on the close examination of the current situation, this paper proposes some possible solutions to problems observed in this study. This study may contribute to the development of course design and teaching methods in English for Specific Academic Purposes.

In this paper, reasons for students to seek advice will be discussed with specific examples of some actual visits. Furthermore, recent attempts to minimize the gap between students’ interests and TAs’ background disciplines to provide more effective consultations will be mentioned. Some reflections by instructors of various backgrounds as well as some specific concerns that have risen will be reported. Here, we will consider some of the difficulties that are encountered, not by students, but by the instructors and teaching assistants who directly support those taking the course, and discuss the support systems that are in place.

Keywords: *ALESS, English for Specific Academic Purposes, pedagogical practices, scientific writing, support systems*

* All authors contributed equally.

1 Introduction to the ALESS Program

1.1 *Academic Writing for the Sciences*

Academic writing in English is rapidly becoming a required course as part of the English education across all disciplines in Japan. The language of science, as the language of literacy, has become common in various aspects of everyday life (Hyland 2008: 301), and becoming familiar with the shared language in scientific writing is increasingly considered important even at the undergraduate level, rather than assuming that students will learn the writing skills that they will need to succeed later, after they become researchers or take up another profession (Maratese 2013: 3). It is also ideal if Japanese students can learn to write in English without first writing in Japanese, then translating into English. Not only does this save time, direct translations do not make writings easier to communicate to non-Japanese readers (Gosden 1996: 121).

To support such needs, the ALESS Program started in 2008 to prepare undergraduate students to be able to understand the construct and also be able to write in English in the most common research format (IMRaD i.e., Introduction, Methods, Results and Discussion) to present scientific research (Gally 2010, Gally 2011, Middleton 2013). The program is specifically for all first-year students studying science. It has been reported that a significant majority of graduate students in Korea find that they had been at a disadvantage when publishing papers due to technical problems with the language (Cho 2009: 237). Therefore, “[h]aving them acquire appropriate writing skills in English would increase their confidence in English” (Cho 2009: 238) and make them and the country as a whole more competitive globally (Cho 2009: 237). Approximately 80% of science students from the University of Tokyo pursue advanced degrees in graduate school, so in order to prepare its students to perform well as researchers, the ALESS Program believes that an early start is beneficial.

From purely a teaching perspective, there are many decisions that must be made by programs implementing such academic writing courses. From choosing the specialty of the instructors to deciding on the language of instruction, each decision will have impact on the students and on the success of the course. Furthermore, there are conflicting arguments about whether the scientific method should be implemented in classrooms to teach how to investigate science or more simply, “how science is done” (Windschitl 2008: 8). The argument against contends that the scientific method does not allow students to learn a subject matter deeply, focuses on the testing of predictions, and “lacks epistemic framing relevant to the discipline” (Windschitl 2008: 1).

For the ALESS Program, all classes are taught in English by instructors from various fields of research. It also follows the scientific method, as a form of authentic practice to teach English is applied in preparing students to become comfortable reading and writing scientific communication. Authentic forms of inquiry allow students to be enthusiastic and engaged in activities, although it may not focus students’ attention to actual scientific ideas (Windschitl 2008: 4). As an English class ALESS is not focused primarily on teaching scientific content, instead the activities are used to facilitate academic writing. Windschitl (2008) argues that the actual scientific method may not

lead students to ask “why” questions, but may be “reinforcing a naive ‘discovery’ worldview in which scientists pose random questions without the framing of any underlying model” (Windschitl 2008: 6). Nonetheless, in ALESS classes, students begin by finding background papers to find gaps in knowledge to form the initial research question and to pose a hypothesis. Furthermore, the actual IMRaD format forces students to ask questions such as “why was the experiment important to do?” or “why were the results unexpected and what were the limitations that may have led to the discrepancies?” leading to development of conceptual understandings that can be guided in the classroom.

Modeling the scientific process stimulates scientific inquiry, and the authenticity of activities stimulates discussions, makes each activity more individualized and meaningful for each student, and also models research that many students will pursue in graduate school (Mishina 2015). Furthermore, incorporating an experimental aspect allows students to perform their own research and find scientific articles related to their research. This naturally raises awareness of the language that is used in scientific communication and provides concrete content for learning. This is important as classes are mixed levels, and for those language learners who are not proficient in English. The experimental aspect provides something concrete, rather than abstract ideas, to write and incorporate into their academic papers. Therefore, the supporting system for students must address two aspects—developing an academic writing skill in English as well as designing and performing original scientific experiments. The ALESS Program believes that the final product of the course, students’ final IMRaD papers, is extremely important, but it puts just as much emphasis on the magnitude of the learning process throughout the course. By providing self-access support centers, the program provides opportunities for students to gain effective and valuable learning tools for the future.

1.2 Support Centers for Students

To assist students taking the ALESS course, there are two support centers. The Komaba Writers’ Studio (KWS) is a writing center to help ALESS students with the writing aspects, whereas the ALESS Lab is a laboratory to help students with scientific assistance. Both of the support centers are self-access and encourage autonomous learning. Each support center has a manager who is in charge of overseeing and organizing the consultations, but on the whole, the actual consultations are initiated by graduate student teaching assistants (TAs).

The Komaba Writers’ Studio (KWS) is a writing center initially created specifically for the ALESS Program and is designed to support students with the writing aspects of the course (Gally 2010). “Writing for publication in peer-reviewed research journals requires specialized skills and knowledge. It asks for mastery of English grammar and the ability to structure and present a convincing, logical argument. It needs a clear understanding of the technical requirements of the research paper genre and of international norms governing their production” (Matarese 2013: 2). The concept of the KWS, however, is to not simply provide a grammar check assistance but rather help students with all other aspects of the writing process, including improving ideas and

helping students develop the thought processes that would help them in their future writing. ALESS students can receive individualized writing assistance for such concerns at the KWS.

In general, the KWS has approximately 1200 visits each semester and estimates that approximately 50% of students revisit for follow-up consultations. The 40-minute consultation sessions can be in either English or Japanese, providing students with options to speak with the TAs who are comfortable consulting in either Japanese or English. More than 20 graduate students work as KWS TAs each year, and every semester, they are trained while on the job to get immediate feedback after each session and to observe other TAs consulting students. They participate in workshops with invited speakers on topics such as “how to lead sessions.” They also participate in role-playing sessions to play or consult a hypothetical “difficult student.” KWS TAs are also required to attend ALESS classes to observe and learn how the classes are implemented and discover their role in the Program.

The second support center for students is the ALESS Lab, which is a scientific laboratory specifically designed to support students of the ALESS program (Yamamura et al. 2016). The ALESS program covers a variety of science disciplines. There are about 20 graduate students who serve as TAs and consult approximately 1300 undergraduate students each semester. The ALESS Lab is a scientific laboratory specifically designed to support the students of this course. There are approximately 3000 consultations each year, attesting to the role that it plays in active learning in this course. TAs have a wide variety of science backgrounds, including mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology. These Science TAs have the responsibility of helping ALESS students with their research projects.

2 Support for ALESS Staff

2.1 Support for ALESS Lab TAs

Students generally visit the ALESS Lab for three main reasons (Figure 1):

Case 1. Students want help coming up with initial ideas for their ALESS experiment (more than 50%).
Case 2. Students want to know how to prove their scientific questions and actually set up their experiments (40%).
Case 3. Some students come to the ALESS Lab because they want to use cutting-edge technologies (less than 10%).

Figure 1: Three main reasons for ALESS Lab visits by students

As ALESS students spend the first several sessions deciding on a research question and an experiment to answer the question, many seek advice early in the semester at the ALESS Lab. The topics of the research questions can range from biology and food

chemistry to physics, for instance, so the ALESS Lab consults students about a wide variety of scientific disciplines. Table 1 shows the research topics of the consulting students as well as the research fields of the ALESS Lab TAs for the Autumn semester 2016.

Research Topic	Number of Consultations	Research specialty of the TAs
Mathematics	10	2
Physics	132	5
Chemistry	57	5
Biology	105	11
Food Science	141	0
Behavioral Science	25	2
Other	77	-
Total	547	25

Table 1: The number of consultations in one semester by research topic and research field of the 25 ALESS Lab TAs in Autumn 2016 semester

Furthermore, as the ALESS Lab consultations are by walk-ins only, TAs have the responsibility of assisting students with their experimental projects “on the spot,” and these TAs may find it problematic if they are consulted about experiments that are outside of their field of discipline. In fact, in such cases, most of the Science TAs felt that during the consultations they were unable to confidently advise students on subjects outside of their respective disciplines.

Among students who visit the ALESS Lab more than half consult with TAs because they are unsure what they should do for their ALESS experiment. Experienced Science TAs usually begin consultations by asking students about their general interest in science; however, some students have a difficult time answering. In such situations, a new TA may not know how to successfully proceed with the consultation. On the other hand, a few students visit the Lab wanting to use specialized equipment or perform advanced research such as stem cell research. As the ALESS experiments are expected to be performed with commonly available materials, TAs must explain to the students that not all ideas are feasible to perform in the ALESS Lab.

Some students have specific ideas about what experiment they want to perform, but consult the TAs about how to set up their experiments. For instance, a student wanted to know the strongest bridge shape. Although the student came to the Lab with models of the different bridges, he did not know how to measure and compare their strength. During the consultation, an experienced Science TA suggested that plastic pet bottles filled with a known amount of water were useful to measure the resistant weight of the

bridges. The advice worked well to compare the bridge models. In another consultation, a student wanted to know how fast hot water cooled down to room temperature in a mug. Despite her attempts at searching for literature to find a method for her experiment, she was only able to measure cooling times in different mugs due to the suggestion of a TA to use a stirring bar and a magnetic stirrer. However, coming up with such advice quickly can be more difficult for a new TA, who has not been exposed to a wide range of student ideas and is not yet experienced with the types of questions that the students may ask. Therefore, less experienced Science TAs often encountered difficulties and uncertainties when consulting students about their experiments. For these TAs, there is now a database accumulating examples of ALESS consultations: trends and useful solutions for questions that often arise in ALESS experiments of each science field. In addition to the new database, to further streamline the consultations, a consulting manual was made to support the Science TAs (Figure 2).

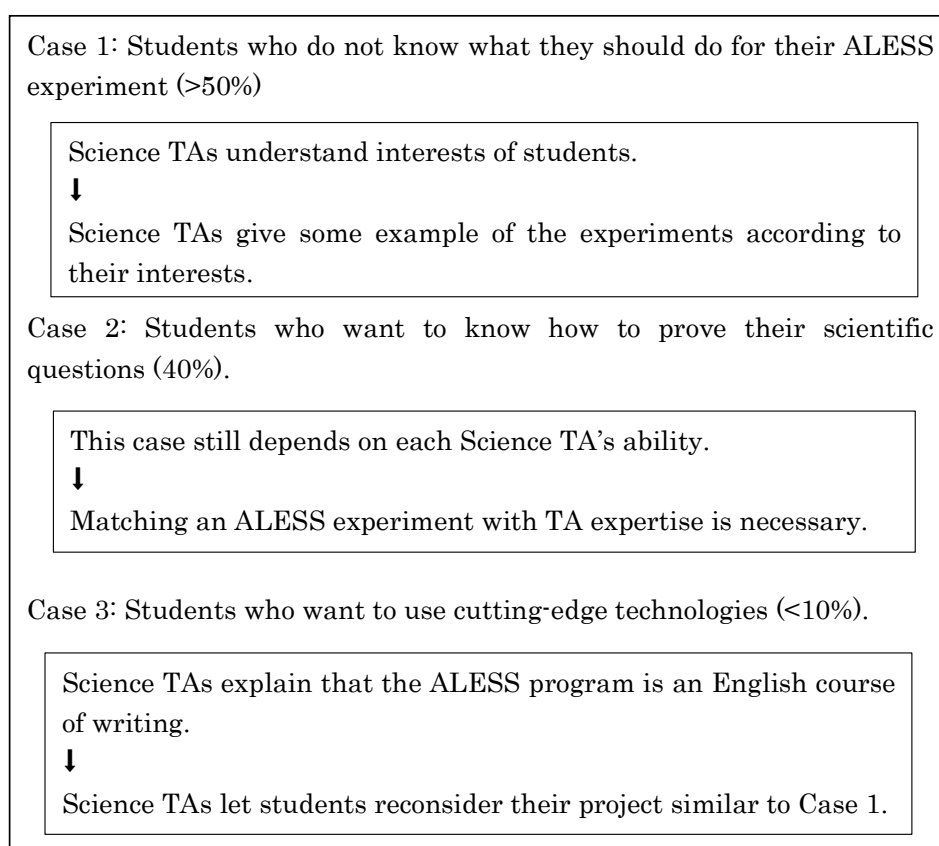


Figure 2: Manual made for Science TAs to facilitate ALESS consultations

In Case 1, ALESS students do not know what they should do for their experiments. First of all, a Science TA should understand the interests of the students and categorize their experimental topics into mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, or others (Table 1). Second, if the Science TA comes up with ideas of the experiment in each category, the TA should show examples of possible experiments to the students. If the TA has only a few ideas, the students, now that they know the categories of their interest, can think of

a question again and revisit the ALESS Lab at a later time. As in Case 3, if ALESS students want to do advanced research experiments, Science TAs must remind the students that ALESS is an English course for writing. Then, they consult the students similar to case 1. Finally, in Case 2 where ALESS students know what they want to do, but they do not know how to do their experiments, it becomes essential for Science TAs to use their background knowledge and rely on their expertise. Therefore, the advice strongly depends on the ability of each TA.

The TAs are selected to work in the ALESS Lab for their research expertise as well as their ability to work well with students. Most of the ALESS students visit the lab with high expectations of the Science TAs. However, sometimes there is a gap between the TAs' disciplines and the students' research interests. TAs have a diverse background in fields such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, so if they have to consult students on topics outside of their discipline, their expertise would not help. As can be seen in Figure 2, the most popular ALESS research topic is in the food sciences. Despite this substantial interest in food-related experiments by undergraduate students, the ALESS Lab does not have TAs with research fields in food science or food chemistry. In fact, in such cases, most of the Science TA felt that they did not have confidence to consult in the different disciplines. If TAs have difficulty in consulting students, the ALESS manager will assist them with regards to conceptual frameworks and discipline-specific experimental design and methods. In order to minimize the mismatches and ensure more relevant and productive consultations, a new system has been introduced recently. Currently, at the beginning of each consultation, students are asked about their research interests. If the students are interested in performing chemistry-related experiments, the assisting Science TA should ideally have chemistry background. Thanks to this new manual, there is now a process in place that matches the ALESS experiment with the expertise of each Science TA to help improve the effectiveness of each consultation. This has helped to alleviate some of the extra responsibilities of the Science TAs and to maximize the effectiveness of the consultations.

2.2 *Support for ALESS Faculty*

This gap in the research expertise and the chosen experiment or course content can be a point of concern for the instructors of the ALESS course as well. There are approximately 25 faculty members from varied backgrounds teaching the ALESS classes, including those from the natural sciences such as chemistry, biology, environmental science, food science, and paleontology, but also from the social sciences and humanities such as anthropology, education, applied linguistics, human geography, cultural and Japanese studies, psychology, linguistic anthropology, and sociology.

Scientific writing as part of academic writing is to persuade and communicate arguments, and it aims to share and further knowledge. Furthermore, awareness of audience and writing as social action are two other critical aspects. In particular, the purposes of scientific writing and its impact on the academic and social arena are broad and varied (Hyland 2008).

Due to the interdisciplinary nature of the instructors and the course itself, the content and the materials that are used in ALESS classes are multifaceted. ALESS classes have specific aims such as having students perform scientific experiments and write in the IMRaD format. Furthermore, there is no textbook or common required course materials, although there are shared teaching objectives for all instructors of the ALESS Program. Those objectives are to teach scientific writing, guide collaborative learning such as group work and peer reviews, and teach presentation skills. In particular, teaching scientific writing has various aspects such as designing a feasible experiment with a hypothesis and teaching the IMRaD and linguistic styles for each of the four major sections of the paper: introduction, methods, results, and discussion. Instructors also focus on teaching students how to develop their research question and find appropriate background papers that support their hypothesis, how to analyze their data that they collected from their experiments, and finally, how to develop their discussion and interpret their results while taking into account previous scientific studies.

As these teaching objectives are common to instructors of all fields of research, in order to gain a better idea of how some instructors draw on certain aspects of their backgrounds to enhance their courses, participant observation research was performed from November 2014 to July 2016. In addition, in July 2016, ALESS instructors were asked to anonymously complete an online survey, titled *Experiences Teaching ALESS*, about their thoughts on teaching scientific writing. Responses were received from 13 instructors: 5 were from natural sciences, 3 from social sciences, 2 from applied linguistics, and 3 from humanities.

Writing academic research papers is difficult and requires specialized skills and knowledge—in language, logical argumentation, data presentation, and ethical considerations. Instructors from humanities agree, and in the survey they focused in particular on argumentation, with comments such as “the unifying feature across all academic writing is having a clear argumentative thread running throughout the essay or paper” (Instructor 6, with humanities background) and “argumentation (signaling claims and showing reasoning) and the rhetoric conventions (topic sentences) are needed in academic writing across disciplines” (Instructor 9, with humanities background). Those with expertise in social sciences argue that “the author should show clear purposes, argument, supportive evidences, and a logical thread throughout the paper in academic writing across disciplines” (Instructor 12, with social science background), “basic stats and the organization of academic writing (...) and how to find and cite related papers” (Instructor 12, with social science background), and “ethics and participant recruitment strategies” (Instructor 7, with social science background). It seems instructors with social sciences are more likely to draw their knowledge of research methods and skills they acquired through their empirical research experiences.

On the other hand, instructors with natural science backgrounds directly apply their knowledge, skills, and experiences in their disciplines to their teaching. They mentioned in the survey that they were able to apply their “basic knowledge of life sciences, especially relating to background of experiments” (Instructor 16, with natural science background), “my practical scientific knowledge in predicting which experiments are

going to succeed and fail” (Instructor 8, with natural science background), “experiment design, writing in IMRaD format, data analysis, giving a story line in writing the paper, peer review and scientific presentation” (Instructor 10, with natural science background), “knowledge and experience gained in publishing papers in scientific journals” and even “everything I have learnt since I was an undergraduate” (both from Instructor 13, with natural science background).

From these survey results, it may appear that instructors from the natural sciences may have an advantage and face few challenges while teaching ALESS, compared to instructors from other fields. However, the results indicate otherwise. Instructors with natural science backgrounds face challenges such as “managing time to cover all the necessary material” (Instructor 11, with natural science background), teaching the “APA style of citation, referencing and preparation of graphs” (Instructor 10, with natural science background), and perhaps typical of any classroom, “students not asking questions for clarification (...) I was never quite certain how much of my instruction they understood” (Instructor 8, with natural science background). Other basic concerns included learning to incorporate the active learning style of teaching, one of the main features of ALESS classes. As one instructor put it, “learning how to allow students to discuss in class was a bit of a hurdle” (Instructor 8, with natural science background). Furthermore, as most of the instructors are from abroad, even with teaching experience prior to coming to Japan, there were also comments such as “finding effective ways to teach the material to non-native English speakers” (Instructor 13, with natural science background) and “teaching non-native English speakers the language necessary to convey their scientific results” (Instructor 8, with natural science background).

Just as the ALESS Lab and the KWS directly provide support for students, there are measures in place to help instructors during the semester. There are also many opportunities to interact with other instructors, as all the instructors have offices in the same building and also meet for meetings on a varied schedule, but as often as on a weekly basis. However, networking systems are naturally in place, as there are ample opportunities for instructors to problem-solve during both formal and semi-formal training sessions and workshops before, during, and after each semester. One of the in-service training include weekly meetings for new teachers where there are opportunities to reflect, trouble-shoot, and problem-solve with targeted advice of the older instructors. Some of the concerns that have been raised in these meetings include making decisions about whether to allow students to perform their ALESS experiments in groups or individually, whether a proposed experiment is actually feasible to do in the given time or with commonly available equipment. Other issues to discussions about how to effectively manage classrooms and how to give feedback. In general, there is never a correct solution to a problem, but the discussion and advice allow each instructor to make an informed decision and choose options that are best suited to match their teaching styles. More formal settings such as workshops and lectures allow time for reflections, raising awareness about assessment, and sharing novel or ambitious practices including flipped learning or incorporation of technology in the classroom.

The spirit of collaboration and willingness to share can also be seen in the classroom. ALESS instructors welcome class observations by their colleagues, and both new and senior instructors sit in on each other's classes, sometimes for an entire semester to take advantage of the occasion to learn from one another. This can be beneficial for both new and more experienced instructors in the Program to see how instructors use their teaching materials, get hints about how to effectively facilitate group discussions in the classrooms, and learn how students interact with other instructors. The sharing that occurs in the program can also be further perceived with the tradition of having access to one another's class pages, as well as the common Wiki where instructors willingly share their syllabi, materials, ideas about weekly activities and descriptions about uploaded and any modified materials. Often, new teachers do not have much time to prepare for their classes at the beginning of the semester, so being able to adapt a more experienced instructors' material becomes valuable.

There are, however, some aspects that may further improve the support given to instructors in the ALESS Program. For instance, although meetings are well attended, formal and informal discussions taking place, they are not fully recognized as faculty development opportunities by instructors and the institution. There is not much organized institutional support for instructors' attempts and new activities. In addition, there could be specialized teacher training sessions where discussion addresses specific issues that instructors find challenging. Although there are meeting minutes, specific details of discussions are not recorded, but they should be logged and made retrievable for reflection and future instructors. Finally, one of the main issues that arise is that the program relies heavily on individual instructors' voluntary efforts, so good practices, new activities, and unsuccessful attempts are not sufficiently shared and analyzed. Individual teachers' efforts should be officially recognized, and providing institutional support will likely promote further faculty development and lead to improvement of the course as well as discussions on teaching methods in English for Special Academic Purposes.

3 Conclusion

The present paper examined the support systems in teaching scientific writing in the ALESS Program. ALESS courses begin with the design and implementation of scientific experiments and conclude with a scientific paper written in the IMRaD style. To this end, the students taking ALESS classes can receive help from instructors as well as two support centers facilitated specifically for the ALESS Program, the KWS, and the ALESS Lab. The support systems in place for those who are helping the students, mainly the instructors and TAs, are essential for the success of the Program.

The process of how students acquire knowledge as a result of various pedagogical practices and how they can be supported to do so is important. Yet, unlike studies on direct learning outcomes, research on the support systems and the process of learning itself is still limited. This research has investigated the systems in place to support the needs of ALESS Lab TAs and the instructors of the ALESS courses at the University of Tokyo. Currently, due to the voluntary efforts of the instructors, there is an abundance

of resources that are shared among the faculty to choose their individualized methods to teach the course. However, having too many materials can make searching through the database a daunting task. Even after finding appropriate materials to use, knowing how to use it effectively can be challenging. Having more homogenous classroom practices along with the presently standardized learning outcomes may be advantageous, especially for new instructors in the program.

Uniformity in the program, in general, may actually help the Science TAs as well. Unifying the topics among instructors and restricting the research themes that are allowed for the course may help TAs provide more support to students. In the future, ideally, all TAs could be trained so that they are confident with most ALESS themes. However, recent efforts to categorize student research themes and matching the consultation topics with the research background of the TAs has been effective in providing more focused and specialized guidance to students. Such endeavors to shape the learning process for students of the ALESS Program are continuously and actively taking place for various aspects to improve English language education curriculum and pedagogy.

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Emotional dimensions in learning: motions in the foreign language class

Des dimensions affectives dans l'apprentissage: Les émotions dans la classe de langue étrangère

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Abstract

Emotions are very important for foreign language acquisition. During the language learning process, the appearance of emotional walls can hinder learner development. These barriers can be reinforced with different emotions, such as anxiety and low self-esteem. These emotions have an influence on the learners' performance. Understanding and considering these emotions can help teachers create favourable conditions in which their students can better perform different tasks. This paper will first give an overview of emotions from a psychological perspective and argue how important they can be in foreign language learning and teaching. Then, some ideas will be proposed about activities such as classroom games that help to take into account emotional factors, based on personal teaching experience.

Résumé

Les émotions nous accompagnent et nous guident dans la vie. Elles nous poussent à faire des choix et à prendre des décisions. Sans la joie, la peur et bien d'autres encore, la vie voir même la survie ne sont pas possibles. D'après certains chercheurs tels que Stephen Krashen et Jane Arnold, les émotions ont une grande importance dans l'apprentissage d'une langue étrangère. Mais quels liens les émotions entretiennent-elles avec l'enseignement/apprentissage des langues étrangères? Apprendre, acquérir des compétences, ou pratiquer une langue devant autrui ne se fait pas sans difficultés. Lors d'un apprentissage, des obstacles ou des murs affectifs peuvent apparaître et gêner les apprenants. Ces barrières peuvent se renforcer avec différentes émotions, dont deux plus particulièrement, qui nous ont semblées intéressantes à étudier: l'anxiété et l'estime de soi. Ces dernières ont une influence sur les apprenants, sur leurs envies, leur motivation ou encore sur leur plaisir d'étudier. Considérer les émotions peut aider les enseignants à placer leurs apprenants dans des conditions favorables pour réaliser différentes tâches. Dans cet article, nous avons tout d'abord défini ce que sont les émotions d'un point de vue philosophique et psychologique, puis nous avons apporté des précisions sur deux émotions en particulier: l'anxiété et l'estime de soi. Nous avons également exposé les liens qu'elles entretiennent avec l'enseignement apprentissage des langues étrangères. Finalement, en tenant compte des facteurs affectifs, des idées ont été proposées afin de réfléchir à l'atmosphère et à l'organisation des classes ainsi qu'à des activités que les enseignants pourraient employer avec leurs apprenants.

Keywords: *affective filter, anxiety, classroom, emotions, learners, self-confidence, teaching and learning*

Mots clés: *anxiété, apprenant, confiance en soi, émotions, enseignement/apprentissage, filtre affectif*

1. Introduction

In philosophy, Aristotle defined emotions as all those feelings that change man in such a way as to affect his judgment and are accompanied by suffering or pleasure (Rhetoric II). Ravat (2007: 83) has explained that “basic” emotions correspond to more specific mental states characterized in particular by a rapid onset, a limited duration, and an involuntary emergence. He distinguishes emotions from feelings such as love or jealousy, and adds that feelings can be established gradually, last longer than emotions, and also refer to a conscious perception. This is not always the case with emotion.

In psychology, certain emotions are related to biological evolution and are primary or universal such as joy, sadness, fear, or anger (Damasio, 1999: 58). They are innate and are expressed automatically or unconsciously from birth. All over the world, emotions allow human beings to express themselves as part of non-verbal language such as facial expressions (Botella, 2015: 9). Furthermore, emotions are used to protect humans against dangers. The physical processes related to fear, for example, allow people to escape danger, such as deciding to run away from a predator (Damasio, 2010: 185). These emotions are all related to body language (Ravat, 2007: 83). Some emotions, such as shame, pride, shyness or envy, are more complex. These “higher cognitive emotions” are much more related to social interactions and require more complex cognitive skills (such as reflective consciousness) (ibid).

Teacher-researchers often refer to the notion of the “pleasure of learning” in foreign language classrooms. After numerous research projects about communication, task pedagogy, project pedagogy, and intercultural and learner empowerment, researchers such as Arnold (2006) are interested in emotional factors and their effects in foreign language classrooms. At the beginning of the 1980s, Krashen (1982: 31) argued that an “affective filter” can appear when students are anxious. It includes three variables: motivation, self-esteem, and anxiety. As learners are at the centre of learning, teachers should examine not only the teaching and the learning in foreign language classes, but also how these are related to the emotions students can experience.

In a classroom, emotional and social dimensions seem to play an important role for every individual as they find their place, either as learner or teacher. From motivation to pleasure of learning, from anxiety to self-esteem, many notions have been analyzed by specialists in foreign language teaching.

Inspired by the work of psychologists or neuroscientists, many researchers specializing in education consider it important to investigate how emotions could be connected with foreign language learning processes. How can teachers take these different emotions into account and help learners to mitigate or overcome “negative” emotional factors, allowing them to progress and concentrate on learning? What tools or activities could be used in the classroom to enable learners to overcome these emotional elements and help them build or develop their knowledge and skills?

The next section, examines how some psychologists define anxiety and self-esteem and how affective factors interact with teaching and learning foreign languages. The subsequent section proposes ideas that may assist teachers to create a positive

atmosphere in the classroom, organize classes, and conduct activities such as games that support language learning.

2. Affective factors in relation to language learning

Porcher (1977: 74) has argued that foreign language classrooms contain more than linguistics or language. Teaching materials, teachers, and learners are involved in learning for reasons other than linguistics. Students in the classroom are not predictable, programmable machines. As human beings, students have their own perspectives, goals, motivations, or constraints that determine whether their experiences are in common with their classmates or not. Through their experiences, students make discoveries, encounter obstacles, and implement strategies to overcome them. This process is organized differently depending on learners' individuality and on their desires, goals, motivations, and also on their emotions. Affect is a very broad field comprising feelings, emotions, beliefs, and attitudes which significantly condition our behaviour (Arnold, 2006: 407).

2.1 Definitions of emotions: anxiety and self esteem

One emotion that appears to have an impact in foreign language classrooms is anxiety. Arnold and Brown have states that anxiety is quite possibly the affective factor that most pervasively obstructs the learning process (2005: 8). The Larousse dictionary (Larousse 2015) defines anxiety as a painful worry, a nervous tension, caused by uncertainty, expectation, or even an emotional disturbance resulting in an indefinable feeling of insecurity. Similarly, the website psychologies.com explains that, like fear, anxiety is an emotional state of nervous tension. People generally experience it when they are waiting for a serious event, such as medical surgery, results of an examination, or a response from an employer, among many others. In foreign language classrooms, anxiety can arise when learners have to speak to others or take an exam.

Delignères (1993: 235) has added that anxiety is the way an organism responds when confronted with environmental demands. This response manifests itself in the development of negative affects, feelings of apprehension and tension, which are associated with a high-level activation of the organism (cold sweats, heart beating faster than usual). It is therefore a complex response, combining the cognitive and somatic dimensions. According to Spielberg (in Delignères, *ibid*), the state of anxiety is linked to the perception of a threat, that is, to the assessment of the present situation as dangerous, either physically or psychologically.

The Cégep de Sainte-Foy mentions that anxiety has effects on several cognitive elements such as the short, medium, and long term memory (ability to memorise, store information and encode); the ability to plan an action, coordinate it, and mobilise ourselves to achieve it; the ability to project the achievement of an objective; communication (expression and understanding); fatigue; discouragement; and shame.

Anxiety is an emotion that can disrupt and hamper learners and hamper their learning. Anxious students will often tend to question and undervalue themselves.

The greater the anxiety, the lower the self-esteem; the first having a strong influence on the second. According to Larivey (2002), self-esteem is the result of self-evaluation. It is, in a sense, a barometer revealing the extent to which we live in harmony with our values. Self-esteem manifests as pride in being ourselves and in the continuous evaluation of our actions. Whether people are aware of it or not, they are always affected by their own self-assessment of their behaviour. At each subjectively important action, individuals issue an evaluation such as, “what I do is valid in my eyes” or, “this is not valid”. For the first example, the result may be that the “action values me”, whereas in the other case it may be “I feel devalued in my eyes” (ibid). In the classroom, learners may lack self-confidence and encounter more difficulties participating in activities or interacting with others if their self-esteem is low or very low. Because of this, students who are learning foreign languages and who have to perform tasks or actions that could have negative consequences for them can be less motivated, because motivation is linked to different emotions, such as anxiety and self-esteem (Arnold and Brown, 2005: 2). To act, it is not enough to mentally develop a project, or to have an idea or representation of our actions. Human beings still have to be motivated to act. Motivation, far from being the only result of rational faculties, proves on the contrary to be intimately connected with emotion (Ravat, 2007: 82).

Finally, Ravat (2007) has explained that emotions are not solely related to the individual action. They also contribute to the collective action, making possible different phenomena of affective synchronisation. Thanks to more specifically social emotions, common parameters of action can emerge and organise. Collective action, therefore, is not solely the result of the cognitive activity of rational and calculating agents, it also emanates from a coordination of emotions. The link between emotions and actions is thus not only dependent on innate programs derived from biological evolution, but also on socio-cultural interactions (ibid: 88). The socio-cultural interactions that take place in classrooms can also reveal various emotions depending on the content of the exchanges or on the activities carried out.

2.2 Emotions and learning

2.2.1 Emotions of individual learners

Emotional factors play an important role in the success of classroom learners. In the 1980s, Stephen Krashen (2009: 31) had already cited anxiety and low self-esteem as negative factors in learning a second language and also as components of the level of motivation among learners. He identified an emotional filter composed of three elements: motivation-attitude, self-confidence, and lack of anxiety. If a student’s anxiety is low, and if he or she has good self-confidence, they will have more motivation and more success in learning. The weaker the emotional filter, the stronger the acquisition, and vice versa (Germain, 1993: 249). It is important to consider this filter to help language learners. If anxiety is too strong, the filter works as a

psychological wall that can appear when students are afraid of making mistakes, or appearing ridiculous in front of others when they try to communicate. Anxiety is therefore an obstacle in learning, especially when fear comes to consolidate it. It is a mechanism of psychological defense (Kertesz-Vial, 2009).

Learning another language is an arduous task that requires much effort from those who undertake it (Bogaads, 1991). This includes efforts to spend time on the process, but also social efforts for learning, cooperation, or collaboration with the various actors of the course. In the classroom, a learner is not alone and must work, share, and cooperate with others. It is somewhat akin to a real society whose learners are the social actors. In the classroom, the importance of individual efforts is the same as in our societies (e.g., politeness formulas, sociolinguistic correction), as well as the rules that are linked to the language they study. In the classroom, the interactions can reflect (i.e. are similar to) those which happen in the broader society in everyday life. Relationships with others are necessary as students must communicate with each other and with their teacher, and take into account others' emotions in order to move forward in their learning.

By making efforts to do this, learners manage different emotions such as self-esteem, anxiety, beliefs, and many more. They are confronted with different experiences. An individual can live situations he or she does not know and become familiar with previously unknown attitudes (Bogaards, 1991). This experience can lead to changes in behaviour and attitudes. A challenge that is judged to be too difficult can cause anxiety and demotivation in learners, or give them the feeling that they are not good at learning a particular language, finally leading to a decrease in self-esteem. They will not feel able to do what a teacher requires and will not be involved in the classroom tasks. Foreign language learners, especially those at the beginning of their learning, may find themselves in a similar emotional situation. Therefore, it is up to the teachers to play a friendly role, providing support and encouragement to their students. This will enable learners to feel safe in an environment where they can achieve their potential with less fear.

2.2.2 Impact of the teachers on students' emotions

Teachers' own lives also play a positive or negative role on students' emotions. As Gagnon, Gravel and Tremblay (2013) have argued, another difficulty for teachers is their own history and their own emotional life that consciously or unconsciously interferes with and influences the pedagogical relationship and the learners' feelings. These difficulties are compounded by the fact that language teachers are often taken by surprise and must act on the spot, which creates uncertainty (ibid). Therefore, intervening appropriately requires an effective mobilisation of the teacher's cognitive and emotional resources, which means that the teacher must know how to distinguish and identify the emotions involved in order to better understand and manage them. Moreover, it is known that the emotional charge present in certain situations can block rational thinking (ibid). For example, students may ask a teacher about a grammar

structure they do not understand. The teacher may be surprised by the question, but the answer may sometimes be crucial to the pupils. If the teacher explains and the students understand, these students can be reassured and continue to advance in their learning. However, if the teacher's response does not match the expected one, it may cause the learners to feel confused or to become lost, potentially leading to anxiety or stress. It is the responsibility of teachers to take these emotional factors into account and to try to ensure that their students can understand themselves. They have a role as a mediator and facilitator in class, following the path of student emotions. In general, many adults who talk about their school experiences exaggerate memories with affective coloration, in particular a teacher perceived as a more or less benevolent mediator (Chevalier-Gaté, 2014).

2.2.3 Requirements of the teacher

As emotional factors play an important role in foreign language classrooms, teachers must take them into account to help their learners to progress and build their knowledge. Arnold has argued that the affective dimension reaches all aspects of our existence and in a very direct way what happens in the classroom (2006: 408). Citing Stevick (1980), she explains that, in the classroom, success [in learning foreign languages] depends less on linguistic materials, techniques and analyses than on what happens in and between people in the classroom. Giving adequate attention to the subjective processes means focusing on individual factors such as anxiety, inhibition, self-esteem, ability to take risks, self-efficacy, learning styles and motivation. Inter-subjective processes may relate either to intercultural processes, such as cultural shock in second-language learning situations, or to interactions in the classroom where it is necessary to take into account the attitudes of the teacher, and the establishment of an appropriate classroom atmosphere.

Taking into account emotional factors essentially reduces the effect of negative factors and stimulates positive factors (Arnold, 2006). It is the task of every teacher to consider factors such as joy, humour and motivation. They must create an environment that promotes learning and places learners in favourable situations to carry out activities. Teachers should therefore examine various elements related to affectivity, such as anxiety, self-esteem, and learners' attitudes and beliefs. Doing so will place learners in good emotional conditions, which could enhance their motivation and thus enrich their learning. In order to achieve this, the teacher has to structure the class to bring support to students and to prepare various pedagogical provisions, among other things.

3. In class: practical experiences and suggestions

In this section, some elements that are important for managing emotions in the classroom will be introduced and some explanations will be offered for how teachers could implement them. For example, creating a positive environment, supporting the

learners, and using games can bring about less daunting learning experiences in the classroom.

3.1 Atmosphere

First, teachers can consider the emotional state of their students only if they are aware of the atmosphere in the classroom. Canfield and Wells (1994: 5) have suggested the importance of creating an environment of mutual support and care in order to help students emotionally and intellectually. To create an atmosphere where learners feel comfortable, the teacher must be warm, sensitive, tolerant, patient, and flexible (Robinett, in Bogaards, 1991). Further, the teacher must inspire confidence, respect for his- or herself and others, and a sense of acceptance. Finally, they must have a strong personality and be a source of stability (see Stevick 1976, in Bogaards, *ibid*: 124). During the first foreign language lesson, the fears that learners and teachers feel are sometimes very intense. Students may worry about whether the teacher will be competent, understanding, sympathetic, strict, stern, calm, or relaxed. Similarly, teachers may wonder whether the students will work, participate actively, be motivated, and be friendly. Teachers must consider that all these concerns asked can generate curiosity as well as anxiety for both parties. Bogaards supplements that it is only in a warm and confident atmosphere that learners can flourish and optimally exploit their learning abilities (*ibid*).

It is for this reason that teachers should try to create an environment in which learners can feel safe physically, psychologically and emotionally, where it will benefit both learning and teaching. In order to develop a comfortable atmosphere for the students, a teacher can arrange the tables in the shape of a “U” in the classroom. Through this arrangement, students are facing each other and are more aware of their classmates, therefore looking at and listening to them more than in a traditional class and asking more questions. The teacher should then try to stay, as often as possible, on the sides of the “U”, avoiding the centre of the class and making the students more relaxed. With this arrangement, the teachers can look at all the members of the classroom, walk around the classroom to help students to check their progress, and be attentive to their emotions. Moreover, the “U” shape creates an open space in which the students can move freely and without pressure.

3.2 Relaxation

For teachers, it is essential to work with and for their learners, to give them freedom, to help them to be in good conditions to learn, and to leave room for them to use their inventive and creative forces. One perspective is to consider that to learn a language is to mobilise a body through the attention sought, among other things, by listening and seeing the other, and to temporarily become another individual, with cognitive, semantic, emotional, relational, and cultural implications (Louÿs and Leeman, 2013). Bottineau (2013) has added that, despite the current valuation of communicative skills

and the notion of task in a task-based approach, learners are kept apart from two essential dimensions: speaking, which is physically engaging in a relationship; and semantic, emotional and interactional cognitive effects, which are co-produced bilaterally and irreducible to a task. This discrepancy between the displayed objectives and the nature of the experience leads to frustrations and blockages, which sometimes lead to trauma and are based on a cascade of misunderstandings (ibid). It is the responsibility of the teacher to ensure that communication is possible among all class participants, thereby mitigating the impact of emotional factors that may affect the learning process. Teachers must therefore pay attention to the different emotions that learners can feel.

In his autobiographical novel, Pennac (2007) explains that some students even fell asleep from time to time in his classes. This would happen when he tried to restore his students' taste for French literature by reading them texts as people would read stories to children. However, the micro-siesta of Pennac's students did not bother him because they seemed to be more creative and better motivated after their nap. They remobilised themselves to be actors of their learning. To rest in the classroom can sometimes be beneficial. Teachers can occasionally (depending on the state of fatigue or nervousness of their learners) invite their students to place their heads on the desk and ask them to close their eyes for five minutes. This can help learners remove tensions and refocus. Of course, these are not pedagogical moments, but they allow students a short break. Such a tactic can only be applied if the teacher considers the emotional state of the class. Like Pennac, teachers should not hesitate to allow certain freedoms to the learners in their classes in order to help them. Allowing them to yawn or walk in the classroom can help evacuate the stress that has accumulated. Fife (2016) has explained that, to promote relaxation, the teacher can propose exercises in the form of exhalation with sound emission, releasing the tensions of the face and the body, as after an exercise of muscular tension in gymnastics. This relaxation can be obtained through laughter and other activities that concern breathing. Humour can also be an important tool. Indeed, the pedagogue must take into account the "socio-emotional factors" that encourage the appropriation of the target language, because stress and negative stimuli reduce or even remove the willingness to offer answers in the language classroom. One of the most convenient ways to defeat anxiety is using humour (Kertesz-Vial, 2000). It is not just about humour itself, but also about using it to help learners to unwind and relax, allowing them to focus on classroom activities.

3.3 Valuation

If learners feel valued, they can invest more in classroom activities. According to the Rodriguez, Plax and Kearney model (quoted by Arnold), if the teacher creates an affective relationship that supports learners through proximity and friendship, this predisposes students to devote more time to learning tasks and thus leads to better cognitive outcomes (Arnold, 2006: 416). A teacher can facilitate positive relationships between students (ibid), and also between the students and the teacher. A way the

teacher can build confidence is to act more as an advisor or even a friend and less like an authority making the students perform (Young, 1991: 432). Students are aware when their teacher is trying to get to know them, and this creates a relationship between student and teacher. By doing this and by giving the learners confidence in their skills, the teacher makes them feel comfortable and creates group cohesion, or even a true micro-society. Murphey (1998: 15-16) has noted that when students are allowed and encouraged to make friends quickly and effectively with their classmates, socialization is facilitated, self-esteem is higher, and the conditions for learning are better. As the students feel encouraged and listened to by the others, they talk more in the foreign language, without anxiety or stress.

Both inside and outside classes, teachers must try to encourage learners to speak the foreign language with them but also between themselves. At the beginning of the learning period, a teacher should explain to students that they are willing to help them express themselves in a foreign language with their classmates. By taking this habit, students seem to take more pleasure in practicing a foreign language and they become more and more confident in their abilities. For example, the University of Tokyo (College of Arts and Sciences at Komaba) has recently implemented a program where teachers organize a weekly meeting where students can come freely to talk in French. Two Japanese assistants (with a high level of proficiency in French) help to make the students more comfortable to have discussions in the foreign language. Each week, the room is full (approximately 25 people). It is not easy when students come for the first time. However, after a few weeks, they open up to others, become friends, and improve their self-esteem and social skills.

3.4 Games

For a teacher, helping learners to have better self-esteem while meeting the expectations of all learners is a difficult task in any foreign language classroom. Teachers will not be able to always answer each learner individually, but they will have a very wide range, a varied toolbox, that enables them to meet the different expectations of the members of the class (Agaësse, 2009: 89). Creative activities and tasks to be carried out in groups with the support of the teacher (i.e., cooperating or collaborating) could be useful in class. Variation in activities and class organization could help learners get to know each other, trust each other, make exchanges and thus to strengthen their ties (see tenseignes-tu.com).

Tools such as board and card games can be captivating to use with learners if emotional factors are to be considered. When they play, learners often forget that they are studying, their anxiety is reduced, and their motivation is reinforced both consciously and unconsciously. Little by little, they become less reluctant to speak (Agaësse, 2009). They often maintain more friendly relationships with their peers (*ibid*: 54) and positive emotions such as joy manifest themselves. These tools can be helpful to calm the pedagogical scene and to make the learning of a language less stressful.

The rules of grammar that are very different from those of their mother tongue can

be a barrier to learning another language and can also create frustration, nervousness, or blockages. Studying, revising or re-using different linguistic points in a relaxed context can help students. Brougère explains that game, “as a game”, produces devices to get away from everyday life and consequences (Brougère, 2005: 57). He quotes Bruner who argues that the game provides the opportunity to try combinations of behaviours that, under functional pressure, would not be attempted (ibid: 56). With the game, learners have the right to make some mistakes. They are also led to think and find a solution to solve riddles, leading them to greater empowerment, and help them to develop their autonomy. They have problems to solve (defined by the rules of the game or its variants) in order to achieve goals (to win the game). Students must pay attention to what is said by their comrades, cooperating and making deductions. Thus, students have the opportunity to perform tasks with more freedom than in a traditional setting and have more choices in their topics of conversation without being aware that they are studying or learning. During sequences where card games are used, it is surprising and enjoyable to see learners who are usually very reserved or anxious become more talkative and willing to interact. As for teachers, they position themselves behind or alongside the students to ensure the smooth running of the activities, answer questions, clarify meanings or rules, and ensure learners’ psychological and emotional security. Pennac (2007: 164) left his students to play freely with the language in his French classes. According to him, we must know how to play with knowledge because it can help learners to better learn, memorize, and master it.

Games can be used to help learners to review vocabulary, reuse grammar, or think about strategies to improve their learning process. In a game like *Who Would Win?* (see boardgamegeek.com) students can practice arguing, work on the construction of their argument, and reuse what they learned without much stress. When teachers use this type of game, students try to speak more and they use strategies such as cooperation and collaboration in order to win. The atmosphere is more relaxed, and students who are usually timid speak and participate much more, laughing and they having fun together. By using games, the teacher is no longer in front of the learners, but behind or among them to answer their questions, to take care of their emotional state, and to watch the progress of the game. As the students are in smaller groups, the teacher can bring them more individualized support. However, games should not be used exclusively in lessons. Teachers have to use various types of activities to help their learners improve their skills in foreign languages. Games are one such useful activity, and should not only be used for break times.

4. Conclusion

Studying a foreign language is not easy, and it is not always logical; some tensions may appear. It is therefore necessary to give learners more freedom to be creative and play with their knowledge in a relaxed environment in order to mitigate the influences of negative emotions such as anxiety. Activities that will lead them to be less anxious should be developed to improve their self-esteem, reduce their fear of expressing

themselves and lower their “affective filter”. This approach could enable learners to become more involved in the tasks of learning and more autonomous.

It would be beneficial to create environments in classrooms that encourage positive emotions in learners. Students who notice that their teacher or their classmates are considering their interests or personalities may feel reassured, which will alleviate anxiety in the classroom and increase their self-esteem. To achieve this, teachers must first take into account who the students are, taking the time to talk with them and varying the types of activities in their lessons. The emphasis of this paper is that good pedagogy is not just about the type of activity, but about how teachers can introduce, manage and complete the activities with their learners. Taking into consideration any negative or positive emotions they may feel is an arduous task for teachers. While it is impossible to control everything, it is important to be attentive and to do one’s best.

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Students' Perception of Native English-Speaking Teachers and Japanese Teachers of English: The Effect on Students' Self-Efficacy and Emotional State

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Abstract

The Project for Promotion of Global Human Resource Development is a Japanese government funded project started in 2012 which aims to foster human resources in Japanese high schools and universities who can enhance unprepared discourse instructions in the classroom and contribute positively to the globalization and internalization of young Japanese people. Native English-speaking teachers (NESTs) are employed throughout Japan on almost all academic levels. It has been long believed by default that NESTs are preferable teaching models for second language learning, for numerous reasons, at the same time their direct influence on self-efficacy and emotional state of students in Japan's higher education has not been fully researched or documented. I have conducted a study about students' perception of their native English-speaking and Japanese teachers of English (JTEs). Based on the social cognitive theory, the study focused on students' self-efficacy as a major factor in the learning motivation and attempted to answer following questions: "What are the advantages and disadvantages of native NESTs and JTEs for Japanese high school students?" and "Who do the students feel the most comfortable speaking English with?" This study showed the overall preferences for teachers and the level of stress or comfort among students. In the present article I will discuss the students' preferences in their English instructors and the reasons for such preferences. The findings indicated that 55% of students who answered the questionnaire felt more comfortable with Japanese teachers of English, the most popular reasons for the preference were an ability to talk to the teachers in Japanese and lack of self-confidence in using only English. One third of the respondents prefer native English-speaking teachers of English. Among the most popular reasons were personal interest in the English language, teachers' language authenticity, clear pronunciation and the students' self-realization of the English language mastery process.

Keywords: *NEST, JTE, native-speakerism, self-efficacy, affective state*

1 Background

Easy access to information, the great mobility of modern Japanese and finally, the highly anticipated, 2020 Olympic Games have been for a long time changing the status of English. Japan's Ministry of Education, Sport, Science and Technology (MEXT) has implemented numerous programs to foster language education on all academic levels in Japan. Starting from 2012, efforts to promote the internalization of university education in Japan were given a priority support from the government (MEXT 2012).

Japanese people need and want to communicate internationally and the effectiveness of this communication is determined, to a considerable degree, by the ability to produce an unprepared oral or written discourse in English. The majority of English as a foreign language (EFL) learners in Japan lack the ability to engage in spontaneous English speech, even when they have all necessary grammatical competence to do so. One of the reasons why Japanese students, having sufficient grammar and vocabulary background, cannot engage into spontaneous oral or written English discourse is a lack of English rhetoric and communicative skills. Writing in Japanese high school is usually limited to drills and tests, with little or no focus on content based writing or academic report composition. Students learn how to write correct grammar sentences and pass tests, but when you ask them to write a short creative essay or a contrast and compare paragraph, they commonly end up producing "google type" Japanese to English translation of their thoughts and ideas, which are poorly organized, not supported by adequate facts and hard to comprehend. As a result, young Japanese adults enter universities, but they cannot write at their academically appropriate levels and present their ideas in oral form under the proper format of English rhetoric.

Japanese government provides funding for numerous projects that aim to foster human resources who can positively meet the challenges and succeed in internationalization and globalization of Japanese students on all academic levels. The task of educators in Japanese high schools, colleges and universities is to empower the students to recycle the rich baggage of grammatical knowledge they possess after years of English study and reuse it in practical and efficient way. One of the main concerns of English teachers in Japan is increasing student engagement and learning. They often wonder why there are so many students who are disengaged and apathetic in the English classroom. There is a chronic problem in Japanese higher education, which urgently needs to be addressed.

When entering a pool of language professionals in Japan, one eventually finds himself or herself involved into a battle of native and non-native teachers. Houghton and Rivers in their book on native-speakerism in Japan define native-speakerism as "prejudice, stereotyping and/or discrimination typically by or against foreign language teachers, on the basis of either being or not being perceived and categorized as a native speaker of a particular language" (2013: 14). Native English-speaking teachers (NESTs) are employed throughout Japan and are highly valued, welcome and usually well paid here. At the same time, they rarely get hired on tenured positions. One may dislike the

grammar based teaching techniques Japanese teachers of English usually use in their classrooms or their non-native accents, but they have an indisputable head start in this battle for stable employment. According to Houghton and Rivers native-speakerism is manifested in multiple work-related factors, that directly affect the professional careers of English language teachers in Japan. Numerous scholars, researchers and practicing teachers have recently been heard voicing their concerns about native-speakerism related issues in Japan (Motha 2014, Noriguchi 2006, Houghton and Rivers 2013, Toh 2013). This is a popular area in the contemporary research on English language teaching (ELT) in Japan, and one feels that students' voices need to be included in the discussion. Listening to the voices of students is a necessary step toward overcoming native-speakerism and improving ELT. Given the sorts of challenges that come with uncovering the underlying reasons for the current native-speakerism trend in ELT in Japan, I have assumed that finding out how NESTs and JTEs affect their students, how they impact students' emotional state, will facilitate understanding of the nature of current teaching and hiring practices and contribute greatly to their rectification.

2 Methodology

This section describes the design of a survey administered to high school students in Tokyo, Japan. In order to find out what Japanese students think about their teachers, I have conducted a survey study about students' perception of their NESTs and JTEs. Three hundred twenty freshmen students in a Tokyo metropolitan high school were asked to participate in this study. After the explanation and consent, they were given a questionnaire consisting of 16 questions in English with Japanese translation following each question. Half of the questions were designed to get statistical frequency distribution data, the other half of questions were designed to bring out students' opinions about their teachers and engage them dialogically.

Self-efficacy has been related to the motivation, quantity of effort and the willingness of students to be engaged in the learning process (Bandura 1997). Based on the social cognitive theory, the study focused on students' self-efficacy as one of the major factors influencing their learning motivation and attempted to answer following questions: "What are the advantages and disadvantages of native English-speaking teachers and non-native English-speaking (Japanese) teachers of English for Japanese high school students?" and "Who do the students feel the most comfortable speaking English with, NESTs or JTEs?"

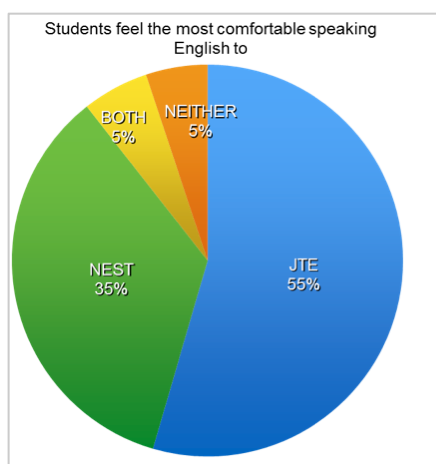
According to the social cognitive theory, learning most likely occurs when the observer has a high level of self-efficacy. Schunk defines self-efficacy as "an individual's judgments of his or her capabilities to perform given actions" (1985: 207), and Bandura (1994: 391) defines it as "people's judgments of their capabilities to organize and execute courses of action required to attain designated types of performance." Bandura (1994) said that, self-efficacy affects the amount of effort and persistence that a person devotes to a task. According to Mayer (2008), self-efficacy plays an important role in academic achievements and can be increased by improving emotional states of the observers (learners).

When a student's self-efficacy is raised, his or her understanding of the material increases. Students who have confidence engage in deeper processing of the learning material, which results in a better academic performance. Mayer (2008) said that there are four main sources of self-efficacy for students in any learning situation. First source of self-efficacy comes from interpreting one's own performance. When a student engages into a new task and after some time finds that she or he can do it successfully, his or her self-efficacy consequently rises. Second source of self-efficacy comes from interpreting the performance of others. When a student also sees that others around him or her can do the task well, his or her self-efficacy gets a boost. Third source comes from interpreting others' expressions of your capabilities, in other words from a peer and teacher feedback. Finally, the last source of self-efficacy comes from interpreting one's physiological state. When a student has a sense of high anxiety, his or her self-efficacy drops. On the other hand, the more relaxed a student feels, the higher his or her self-efficacy for the task. To understand the emotional state of the students, one of the four forces, which influence self-efficacy, and how it can be influenced by the teachers, I included the following question in the survey conducted to the Japanese high school students: "Who do you feel more comfortable speaking English to, a native English-speaking teacher or a Japanese teacher? Explain why." The present article will discuss the results of the survey and concentrate on the answers to the question mentioned above. Samples of students' answers will be written in Japanese with the original punctuation. English translation will follow.

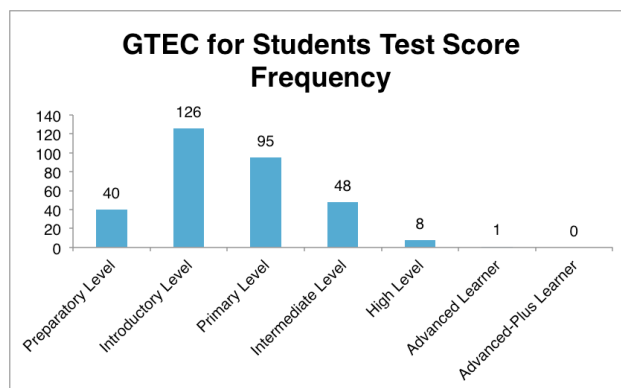
3 Results of the Survey

The present study was conducted in a Tokyo Metropolitan High School in a greater Tokyo area. Freshmen in the school are ranked slightly above the national average according to *hensachi* system, which is a popular means of measuring academic performance in Japan and defined as the "abstract notion of a national norm-referenced person-indexed score" (Brown 1995: 25, quoted in Newfields, 2005). The acceptance *hensachi* score for the year 2016 was 52 points in this school. Among 320 high school students who participated in the study, 154 were female and 166 were male. Their average Global Test of English Communication for Students (GTEC) score was 380 points. According to the GTEC grade system this score falls into the range of Primary Level 3 (GTEC). Frequency distribution of the GTEC scores among the participants is shown in the graph below (Graph 1).

Two hundred twenty two of the respondents answered the question "Who do you feel more comfortable speaking English to?" in the questionnaire. Eighty nine students, 35% of the total, reported that overall they felt more comfortable learning from NESTs. One hundred thirty nine students, 55% of the total, felt better with JTEs. Fourteen students, 5% of the total, responded they felt equally comfortable with both, and thirteen students, 5% of the total, felt uncomfortable speaking to either NESTs or JTEs. The results are illustrated in the graph below (Graph 2).



Graph 1: Distribution of students' preferences in speaking English to different teachers



Graph 2: GTEC test score frequency distribution

According to the results, one of the main reasons for which students felt more comfortable learning from NESTs over JTEs was a guaranteed model of accuracy or authenticity. Some of the comments supporting this idea were: 「本場の英語の方が楽しいから」 (Authentic English is fun to learn), 「本場の発音を聞くことができるから」 (I prefer native teachers, because I can hear authentic pronunciation), 「ネイティブスピーカーだと元の出身の英語の訛りが聞けて面白いから」 (Because it is interesting to be exposed to a variety of native English accents), 「ネイティブスピーカーの方は英語がきれいだから」 (Native speakers' English is more accurate), 「英国原地で使われているポピュラーな言葉が学べる」 (We can learn cool new words used in English speaking countries), 「自然な英語だから」 (Native speakers' English is natural), 「表現などが豊かで楽しい」 (The language is rich and fun), 「日本で言うような略語 (今アメリカなどでは流行っていたりする) などを教えてもらう。日常的に使える (友達などと) ことは学べる」 (Same as in Japan, there are short forms of words in America, which are now popular. You can learn such forms that you can use (with friends etc.) every day), 「本物だから」 (Native teachers are better, because their English is authentic). I can conclude from the responses above and many similar ones, that the comfortable emotional state for these students, who prefer NESTs as their teachers of English is directly related to the state of excitement and personal interest. There are researchers who argue that students first get excited about the theme or topic, develop their personal interest, and then get involved into the learning activities. As they get involved into learning and engage in it over time, they develop higher self-efficacy with the development of expertise (Renninger, Hidi, and Krapp 1992).

English is a foreign language for the majority of Japanese learners in higher educational settings. Therefore, having a foreign teacher, usually a NEST, to teach this foreign language adds positively to the students' interest, and thus increases their motivation and engagement into the learning process. I can presume that many teachers of English in Japan share the desire for their students to have personal interest in the

English language and in the material taught. When a student has a personal interest, they can be easier involved into the content of English lesson in terms of the language value.

Mastery experience is another factor influencing self-efficacy, which students' who answered they felt more comfortable with NESTs indicated in their reasoning. 「ネイティブスピーカーのほうがいい。自分の英語で話が通じるかがわかるから」 (Native speakers are better, because talking to them I can really understand whether my English is good or not), 「ネイティブスピーカーの方がいい。伝わった時にうれしい。反応が大きいから」 (I am happy when I see my native English-speaking teachers understand my English and praise me for that), 「日本人教師だと日本語を話してしまうから」 (I prefer NESTs because with a Japanese teacher, I am inclined to use Japanese), 「ネイティブスピーカーの方がいい。今まで学んできたことが通用しているか実感できるから」 (I feel good speaking to native teachers, because I can fully utilize the extent of my English language knowledge), 「ネイティブスピーカーの方がいい。理由は、話していると、自分の英語が相手に伝わっていると実感できる」 (I feel good speaking to native teachers, because I feel happy when I see that they understand my English). These are the example of many similar answers from the students, who indicated in their responses they felt more comfortable with NESTs. Asking questions in English, talking to the teacher and getting him or her to talk back help some students realize their achievements and lead to more complex objectives. According to the research, students who see themselves as capable of performing well and receive positive feedback from their teachers, usually develop a higher level of self-efficacy, which in its turn leads to a higher motivation and better learning (Schunk 1985). Bandura (1994) said that “The most effective way of creating a strong sense of efficacy is through mastery experiences.”

According to the survey, another reason why Japanese students prefer NESTs over JTEs was pronunciation. Some of the comments supporting the idea are following: 「ネイティブスピーカーの方はとても発音が良いので内容が理解できないこともありますが、とても話していて快適です」 (Even though, I do not always understand what they say, because of their clear pronunciation, I feel comfortable talking to native speakers), 「ネイティブスピーカーの発音とか上手で聞いていて気持ち良い」 (I enjoy listening to the clear speech of native speakers), 「発音が良くて、しゃべっていて楽しい」 (Good pronunciation, fun to talk with), 「現地の発音分かる」 (We learn local pronunciation), and many similar comments.

According to Linnenbrik and Pintrich (2003), utility value represents how useful the students believe the content is to them. Some students may have personal interest in English and be intrinsically fascinated with NESTs as sources of authentic and accurate material. Others may not be so interested in foreign teachers or English itself, but they see such teachers as very useful. Listening to clear speech brings certain satisfaction to students and thus positively influences their self-efficacy. They may not perceive English as personally interesting, but they see it as very important for their goal to find a stable employment in this globalizing society, and thus get motivationally engaged and excited to hear native or native-like pronunciation of NESTs in their classrooms. Value

beliefs operate by increasing the level of cognitive engagement and thus influence positively on self-efficacy (Pintrich and Schrauben 1992).

Indeed, native teachers are often hired as a source of standard pronunciation. While the rest of the world, has long ago discovered that British or North American pronunciation as a Gold Standard is a myth, Japanese employers still value it. Much of the English education in Japanese schools revolves around standardized test-taking and memorizing written grammar. New words are usually transcribed in Japanese alphabet, katakana, for the sake of better memorization. As a result, many Japanese English learners feel a lot of anxiety about their “katakana” English pronunciation. Bad pronunciation was one of the disadvantages of Japanese teachers of English mentioned by the students who participated in the survey: 「発音が日本人!」 (Japanese pronunciation!), 「発音がじゃっかん違う」 (Pronunciation is a little bit different), 「日本人の先生本当の発音は分からない」 (Japanese teachers don't know the real pronunciation), 「本当の発音があいまいになる」 (We cannot learn the real pronunciation), 「発音が下手」 (Bad pronunciation) and similar.

Bad pronunciation, however, did not stop JTEs from getting an overall preference from the students. About 55% of those who answered the question in the questionnaire indicated that they felt more comfortable learning English from Japanese teachers. Similar study on university students in Hong Kong, conducted by Clayton (2000) revealed that students felt strongly stressed out in classes run by NESTs because of lack of translation. The following replies were among popular reasons from the students in my study who indicated they prefer JTEs over NESTs: 「分からない単語を日本語で伝えても、意味が通じ単語を教えてくれるから」 (When we don't understand the meaning of a word, they can translate it in Japanese), 「困ったときに日本語が通じ、解決が早いところ」 (When in trouble, I can use Japanese and easily resolve it), 「もし、英単語がわからなくても理解してもらえる安心感がある」 (There is a sense of security with Japanese teachers), 「すぐ助けてくれるから。ネイティブスピーカーの先生は緊張しちゃう」 (Because Japanese teachers help me, and I feel nervous with native teachers), 「ネイティブスピーカーの英語が難しくてわからないから。日本人教師は日本語も混ぜながら教えてくれるから」 (Native speakers' English is difficult for me to understand. Japanese teachers mix English and Japanese), 「気が楽」 (I feel at ease with Japanese teachers) and many similar examples.

From the responses above I can conclude that the emotional state influencing students' self-efficacy in the case when they prefer JTEs is a state of security and predictability. Some of the respondents who indicated they prefer JTEs also mentioned they felt nervous with NESTs in the classroom. 「緊張してしまいます」 (I feel nervous with native teachers), 「伝わるか不安だから、日本人教師と話すときに安心する」 (I feel uneasy whether native teachers cannot understand me, I feel safe with Japanese) etc. The research shows clearly that high levels of anxiety in classroom situations are negatively related to learning and performing (Zeidner 1998). There is both theoretical and empirical evidence that emotions can influence self-efficacy (Wright and Mischel 1992). But there is also research to suggest that self-efficacy influences emotions. Students, who have high self-efficacy are more likely to feel less anxiety and more

positive emotions in academic contexts (Harter 1992). I can suggest that students, who answered they felt more comfortable with JTEs as the teachers to speak English to, and who indicated in their answers, that they felt nervous with NESTs for such reasons as a lack of language skills, had the emotional state like this due to the original low self-efficacy levels. 「英語が上手しなくても、伝わる」 (Even when I can't speak English well, I can explain myself to a Japanese teacher). 「英語わからなくて、思い出せないときに言いたいこと理解してくれるから」 (I prefer Japanese teachers, because I don't know English, and when I forget words, my teacher can still understand me). 「日本人教師がいい。英語が苦手だから」 (Japanese teachers are better, because I don't like English). 「ネイティブスピーカーと話せるほど自分の英語に自信がないから」 (I prefer Japanese teachers, because I have self-doubts about my English capabilities) were among popular answers.

The students who answered similar to the above were not sure they were good enough to speak only in English, and had negative beliefs about their capability to do the work. Their low self-efficacy resulted in a negative emotional state with NESTs and consequently, in a more positive emotional state with JTEs. Self-efficacy beliefs refer to specific and situational judgments of capabilities. In a situation where NESTs do not speak students' first language, and a student does not believe his or her cognitive abilities are good enough to participate in tasks only in English, low self-efficacy results in anxiety toward NESTs and preferences toward JTEs. Identification also plays a major role in teacher modeling for these students. Identification allows students to feel a one-to-one similarity with the model (Japanese teacher), which leads to a better learning from the model. 「日本人だから」 (Because we are Japanese) was also a common response among students who prefer JTEs to NESTs.

Being able to use Japanese while learning foreign language was not the only advantage of Japanese teachers according to the survey. One foreign student who participated in the survey mentioned that “I can learn English in a very academic style” as an advantage of learning from Japanese teachers. Other similar replies were: 「文法を正解に教える事ができる (日本語だから)」 (Because they speak Japanese, we can learn the correct grammar), 「本当に英語だけだとわからない文法などを学ぶとき」 (Japanese teachers are good when you want to learn grammar points which you really do not understand if you are taught only in English). Students who answered they felt better with JTEs, because they could discuss difficult grammar rules in Japanese, saw the importance of English grammar and valued the ability of JTEs to explain it to them in Japanese. Their choice was based not on emotional state, but on the utility value discussed earlier in this article, and which represents how useful the students believe the content is to them. Japanese teachers can explain grammar in Japanese and grammar is what needed to pass difficult entrance examination tests for many students in Japan's higher education.

4 Discussion

Students' affective experience is an important part of their motivational engagement. Emotions can play an important role in raising or lowering levels of students'

self-efficacy and contribute to their motivation in learning. Fifty five percent of respondents indicated that they felt more emotionally positive with JTEs and 35% indicated that they preferred NESTs. The differences between self-observed emotional states among students may be influenced by various factors, among which the fact that many higher education institutes in Japan have a strict policy regarding languages used in classroom. NESTs are asked to use only English and avoid using Japanese. Students in such classrooms are also commonly asked to use only English. Students with low levels of self-efficacy, who have doubts about their abilities to perform tasks only in English, feel anxious in such settings, give up easily when confronted with difficulties, even when they have the skills to perform the task. Such students achieve a more comfortable emotional state with JTEs present in the classroom. At the same time, majority of learners in the study, who indicated that they felt more relaxed and comfortable with JTEs did so because of the possibility to use Japanese with the teachers when needed. Rivers (2011) states that the “English only” classroom should be regarded as a part of prohibited pedagogies. He argues that such classrooms create undue tension for students and fail to use the value of their first language. One may suggest that NESTs should not be restricted to using only English, in the contrary Japanese should be allowed to facilitate the flow of the class instruction and contribute to the relaxed emotional state of the learners.

The increase in negative emotions towards NESTs most likely occurs because students with low levels of self-efficacy do not feel as they can perform in tasks without Japanese backup. Further correlational studies are needed to be done in future to examine in details the relationship between students’ self-efficacy and their emotional state and to investigate whether students who feel more comfortable with JTEs have lower English proficiency than those who prefer NESTs. Future research will determine whether it is students’ low proficiency which causes negative emotional state with NESTs and thus low self-efficacy, or the affective state has no correlation with the original language proficiency. An experimental study where students who have high levels of anxiety in NESTs classrooms are assigned different treatment conditions may be needed to investigate whether “Only English” policy is a factor, which decreases emotional state of students and whether NESTs with Japanese language abilities can positively influence students’ self-efficacy and their motivation for learning. Assessment and Placement Tests may be designed and implemented prior to deciding on the acceptable amount of Japanese used in the classroom to assure that students are given tasks that are challenging, but not too difficult.

Personal interest in English and English language related culture results in a higher emotional state of the students; it increases their motivation, learning and comprehension. Value beliefs like importance of clear pronunciation or knowledge of grammar rules in English, may have direct effect on motivation and self-efficacy. Authenticity of language provided by NESTs in classroom results in overall excitement and up-lifted spirit among learners, which positively influences their self-efficacy and thus learning outcomes. Learners feel excited to learn about something new, different, even when it is cognitively challenging. When they feel emotionally positive, they pay

attention to the teaching modeling and produce more learning outcome. According to these findings, it may be possible to foster students' motivation by increasing their interest in English by diversifying English lessons with modern, authentic, and culturally enriched topics and tasks.

Bad pronunciation of JTEs evokes negative emotions among students and thus leads to a lower self-efficacy. The recent tendencies in language learning shift away from the necessity of perfect Standard English pronunciation toward the acceptance of its variations and accents. Should a bad pronunciation really be holding Japanese students back? Does the current trend of globalization in Japan include self-acceptance of "katakana English"? What would be a better way to approach the problem, to concentrate on improving JTEs pronunciation or to educate students about acceptance and diversity? Further research should be focused on how different self-efficacy constructs work together and influence the students' engagement in classrooms with Native English-speaking teachers and Japanese teachers of English.

5 Conclusion

Based on the study I have conducted, it seems clear that emotional state and self-efficacy play an important role in the way students perceive NESTs and JTEs. It is important to consider what it means in terms of native-speakerism, in NESTs and JTE relationships and whether teachers of English should be judged, valued and classified as natives and non-natives. 「誰でも良い。英語を話すこと自体快適に感じるから」 (Everyone is fine. Because I feel comfortable speaking English) was one of the similar responses among 14 respondents (13% of the total number) in the study who indicated they felt equally happy communicating with either NESTs or JTEs. The main reason for such state of affection was their perceived English fluency and self-confidence. A confident in his or her English proficiency student is confident enough to relax and enjoy learning from both NEST and JTE. Higher levels of comfort during classroom instructions boost the self-efficacy and as a result facilitate learning process and further mastering of the language.

Low levels of comfort among the respondents in the present survey were mainly caused by the inability to use Japanese with NESTs. Houghton and Rivers' book "Native-speakerism in Japan: Intergroup Dynamics in Foreign Language Education" discusses recent research in foreign language education that suggests the benefits of using students' first language. The authors state that we learn more in a bilingual or multilingual environment. Not only our first language enriches the learning experience, it also helps to prevent anxiety among students, it gives them backup or a safety belt (Houghton and Rivers 2013).

Noriguchi (2006) outlines that contemporarily institutional practice of hiring NESTs on limited terms is supported by the idea of "freshness" and "novice". Knowledge of Japanese language and the country's culture brings more damage to the value of NESTs in the eyes of institutions for as they are commonly regarded as a resource of authentic material. A NEST who speaks Japanese is no longer "fresh". He or she is rather an "adjusted" NEST. And adjusting to suit the needs of students is

regarded as a bad habit in Japan (Noriguchi 2006). While majority of the respondents from the present survey indicated they too valued language authenticity of NESTs, they never stated that it was “freshness” that interested them, or specifically the lack of Japanese skills in NESTs boosted their excitement. Contrarily, the students who felt nervous with NESTs indirectly stated that they would prefer them to speak some Japanese. The knowledge that the students could use their first language in case of misunderstandings or lack of vocabulary would bring comfort to the respondents with high level of anxiety, and thus contribute positively to the affective side of their self-efficacy.

Students who have positive self-efficacy are more likely to be more motivated to be actively engaged in the classrooms. NESTs and JTE can work together and design their instructions to foster students’ motivation and learning. Listening to the voices of students is an essential step in order to unravel current teaching practices and to overcome native-speakerism in Japan.

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