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Introduction to the Second Issue

The editorial team is pleased to release the second issue of Eruditi: The CGCS Journal of Language Research and Education. Eruditi is an annual peer-reviewed digital journal, established to promote research and teaching activities within the Center for Global Communication Strategies (hereafter "CGCS") in the College of Arts/Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of The University of Tokyo. CGCS is a research and educational organization under the College of Arts and Sciences/Graduate School of Arts and Sciences and is located on the Komaba Campus. The center 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 faculty 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 language education in Japan in general.

The second issue of Eruditi features three papers. As two of them are co-authored, a total of seven authors have contributed to this issue. The *Guest Paper* examines students' perceptions of native and non-native language instructors in Japan. The *Pedagogic-methodological Practices* section includes a paper that tackles complex issues of French schooling models from a perspective of sociology. Finally, the *Original Research* section introduces the results of a survey that was targeted to the University of Tokyo TLP program students.

This year, Eruditi's editorial team has been joined by Alexandra Terashima (ALESS). Her expertise in professional editing has become an invaluable resource for the journal. Emiko Nozawa (ALESS) has also worked with us extensively and helped bring this issue to fruition.

We take this opportunity to thank Tom Gally, Qian Wang, Julien Agaesse, Varvara Mukhina, Yuki Furukawa, and the anonymous reviewers who have all contributed to the completion of the journal's second issue at various stages of the process. We would also like to express our gratitude to Torahiko Terada, Naoki Ogoshi, and Hibi Watanabe for their kind support. Last but not the least, we extend our thanks to all the authors for carefully tackling the reviewers' recommendations.

We are very much looking forward to the next year's contributions from the CGCS faculty.

Eruditi Editorial Team Ksenia Golovina Ingrid Kaufmann Alexandra Terashima

Students' Experience with the Trilingual Program: A Survey Report

Authors: Ksenia Golovina, Ingrid Kaufmann

Collaborators: Julien Agaesse, Qian Wang

Center for Global Communication Strategies, The University of Tokyo

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Abstract

In this paper, the authors introduce and discuss the findings gathered from a 2017 online survey targeting students studying under the Trilingual Program at the University of Tokyo. The aim of the study was to examine how students experience the program in terms of their motivation and to identify areas where the program could be potentially improved. The study's design took into consideration the program's overarching goals, teachers' and students' voices, and general issues pertaining to third language education in Japan. Completed by 165 students, the survey aids in determining the general demographics of the program's learners, including the reasons for program withdrawal; the rationale behind the choice of the third language; and the student participation in the overseas travel offerings. Due to the authors' particular interest in the dynamics of students' motivation, both motivating and demotivating factors such as various obstacles are closely examined in order to identify potential areas of improvement. Finally, the students' direct comments and suggestions are also considered. While the paper introduces many issues relevant to updating program policy, this study's four major recommendations are related to streamlining/unifying the program's process and requirements; enhancing integration of English; optimizing workload/benefit balance for science students; and reevaluating the program's curriculum with the aim to strengthen the cultural/social component.

Keywords: TLP (Trilingual Program), third language education, student motivation, program design.

1 Introduction and background

1.1 Third language education in Japan

This paper presents and discusses the results of an online survey targeting students participating in the "Trilingual Program" at the University of Tokyo. The survey was conducted by TLP teachers¹ in order to learn about students' experience with the program following its expansion to include four languages in 2016.

The Trilingual Program (TLP) refers to a program focused on the education of students learning to speak a third language in addition to their native language (Japanese) and English, their second language. The program was initiated by the University of Tokyo and aspired to promote plurilingual education beyond the traditional Japanese-English dyad. In Japan, mastering English has traditionally received great attention while other languages have often remained marginalized in the education system, with the exception of programs under foreign language faculties.

The following issues have been reported regarding third language education in Japan: ideological dilemmas pertaining to foreign language education in general (Butler, 2007), the "hegemony" of English (Kubota, 2015), and the general post-Meiji trend to diminish rather than expand third-language learning opportunities (Sensui, 2009). Previous research has also mentioned Japan's present-day overemphasis on regarding language learning as a tool for career development rather than as an opportunity to learn about other cultures and broaden horizons (Hasegawa, 2013; Sensui, 2009). Secondary education issues include an insufficient number of schools offering third language classes as well as their reliance on non-tenured teachers to provide third language instruction to pupils (Hasegawa, 2013). Pupils are not sufficiently motivated as these languages are not relevant to their university entrance exams (Hasegawa, 2013). At the university level, there is a reportedly insufficient number of classes offered for acquiring a third language, and the inability to master the language within the given hours in turn demotivates the learners (Iwasaki, 2001). A further university-level third language education issue concerns an excessive number of students per class (Sensui, 2009).

The university language program discussed below has been implemented to overcome a wide range of issues pertaining to third language education in Japan, thus aiming to serve as a benchmark for the future development of similar programs. The University of Tokyo's program strives to achieve a balanced learning of two foreign languages (i.e., English as the second and another language as the third) in addition to students' major. As such, students' ability to speak several foreign languages emerges as an additional strength and provides the learners with a competitive edge in the global market.

Real-time examination of how students experience this program can help provide further insights pertaining to the future of third language education in Japan.

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¹ The survey was developed by the authors of this paper (from the Russian TLP and German TLP respectively) in collaboration with Qian Wang from the Chinese TLP and Julien Agaesse from the French TLP. The authors also thank the TLP committee for endorsing the project.

1.2 The TLP Program

The TLP program of the University of Tokyo was launched in 2013, at which time the only third language offered was Chinese. French, German, and Russian were added in 2016, while in 2018 Korean was added to the program and is to be followed by Spanish in 2019. Every year a new group of first-year students begins their studies under the TLP program and continues for three semesters (a year and a half) for French, German, and Russian and for eight semesters (four years) in the case of Chinese. Students' eligibility to join the program depends on their English entrance exam score, as only the top 10% are offered the opportunity to join the program.

During the first semester of the program, students are to attend 5 classes per week (2 grammar, 2 intensive, and 1 practice) and thereby obtain 10 credits. Intensive and/or practice classes are usually taught by teachers who are native speakers. During the second semester, students attend 4 classes and 3 classes during the third semester. The grammar classes are not necessarily TLP-specific and are sometimes taught in language classes together with non-TLP students.³ Overseas trips are offered as part of the program as rewards for well-performing students. Students are evaluated following each semester, and some must withdraw from the program midway if they fail to achieve the required score. Simultaneously, new high-achieving students who took classes on the target language as part of other courses can join the TLP program at the beginning of the second and third semesters.

For example, in 2016, the number of students enrolled in each language of the TLP was as follows: Chinese – 63, French – 40, German – 32, and Russian – 14. In 2017, 78 students obtained a TLP program completion certificate, with 29 in Chinese (including one 4th year student), 28 in French, 12 in German, and 9 in Russian.

The Chinese TLP program commenced in 2013, and at the time of the survey (October 2017) this program's first-year students were the fifth cohort of Chinese learners under the TLP. In contrast, the French, German, and Russian TLP programs were launched in 2016, so while at the time of the survey these programs' first-year students were the second cohort of learners under the TLP, the second-year students constituted the only seniors in the program.

Tables 1-3 provide an overview of the number of students who enrolled in and dropped out of the French, German, and Russian TLP since the program started. The survey revealed differences in circumstances between students of humanities and students of sciences, and therefore both groups are shown separately. It is also interesting to note the existence of different proportions of humanities/sciences students in each of the languages.⁴

² During the first two years of studying at the University of Tokyo, the students are split into those who belong to Humanities and those who belong to Sciences, each following their respective curriculum, albeit in the frameworks of general education course in the College of Arts and Sciences. After having completed this so-called junior phase, the students choose their specialization and transfer to the relevant faculties.

³ The Chinese and Russian TLP programs offer a TLP-specific grammar class for TLP students which is not shared with non-TLP students.

⁴ Unfortunately, we were not aware of the different conditions of science and humanities' students when developing the survey. Thus, the influence of specific circumstances is only revealed if the students mention their affiliation to one of these two courses in the free comments.

Table 1: Enrollment and dropping out of students in the French TLP

French	1st coh	st cohort					2nd col	nort				
	2016 spring 2016 autu		tumn	2017 spring		2017 spring		2017 autumn		2018		
											spring	
	Hum	Sc	Hum	Sc	Hum	Sc	Hum	Sc	Hum	Sc	Hum	Sc
Enrolled	17	20	5	-	3	1	22	16	3	1	-	1
Dropped out	4	2	2	9	1	-	7	4	6	-		
Finished prog	ram				18	10						
Obtained TLF	certific	ate			18	10						

Table 2: Enrollment and dropping out of students in the German TLP

German	1st coh	ort					2nd col	nort				
	2016 spring 2016 autumn		2017 spring		2017 spring		2017 autumn		2018			
											spring	
	Hum	Sc	Hum	Sc	Hum	Sc	Hum	Sc	Hum	Sc	Hum	Sc
Enrolled	11	21	1	2	-	1	9	20	1	2	1	1
Dropped out	3	5	1	7	-	4	3	5	1	2		
Finished prog	ram				8	8						
Obtained TLF	certific	ate			6	6						

Table 3: Enrollment and dropping out of students in the Russian TLP

Russian	1st coh	ort					2nd col	nort*				
	2016 spring 2016 autumn		2017 spring		2017 spring		2017 autumn		2018			
											spring	
	Hum	Sc	Hum	Sc	Hum	Sc	Hum	Sc	Hum	Sc	Hum	Sc
Enrolled	9	5	2	-	1	1	5	8	1	2	1	1
Dropped out	2	2	-	-	-	-	0	3	-	-		
Finished prog	ram				9	3					•	
Obtained TLF	certific	ate			7	2						

 $*2^{nd}$ cohort numbers (Table 3) were revised on September 30, 2019 because of a misprint.

In the case of Chinese, usually two thirds of the students study humanities and one-third study sciences, while during some years (e.g., 2016), the number of sciences and humanities students was the same. The Chinese dropout rate is approximately one third each year.

Because the program requires an ongoing ability to advance the learning of English, in order to obtain the TLP certificate students must excel not only at their third language (Chinese, French, German, or Russian) but must also maintain a high score in English.⁵ If they fail to remain among the best 10% of English students, they must take the external IELTS exam and achieve 7.0 points or more in order to qualify for the certificate.

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⁵ TLP students participate in regular English classes with other non-TLP students, as there are no special English classes as part of the TLP program.

The aim of the survey presented in this paper was to evaluate whether the program's established goals receive organic implementation and to determine which potential improvements could further enhance the application of the program's principles while sustaining students' motivation.

2 Demographics

The anonymous survey was conducted between October 15 and 27 of 2017 and consisted of 22 questions combining multiple-choice, multiple-answer, and open-ended questions and required approximately 10 minutes of respondents' time. All questions were compulsory and thus could not be intentionally skipped. Initially, 176 answers were obtained, but the sample amounted to 165 responses following data cleaning.⁶ The criteria for data-cleaning regarded opting out of the survey before answering the question inquiring about which language program (Chinese, German, French, or Russian TLP) the respondent belonged to. Following data-cleaning, the response completion rate amounted to 93%, as some respondents chose to opt out of the survey during a later stage, but their answers were nevertheless included in the analysis.

The demographic characteristics of the respondents are found in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Demographic characteristics of the sample (N=160)

,	Year	L	anguage	Still taking	Still taking TLP classes ⁷			
				Yes	No			
				79 (49%)	81 (51%)			
1 st year	81 (50.5%)	Chinese	21 (26%)	21 (100%)	-			
		French	26 (32%)	25 (96%)	1 (4%)			
		German	19 (23%)	18 (95%)	1 (5%)			
		Russian	15 (19%)	14 (93%)	1 (7%)			
2 nd year	67 (42%)	Chinese	15 (22%)	1 (7%)	14 (93%)			
		French	16 (24%)	-	16 (100%)			
		German	24 (36%)	-	24 (100%)			
		Russian	12 (18%)	-	12 (100%)			
3 rd year	8 (5%)	Chinese	8 (100%)	-	8 (100%)			
4 th year	4 (2.5%)	Chinese	4 (100%)	-	4 (100%)			

⁶ Among the 165 respondents, 5 second-year students did not belong to the TLP program but were allowed to join the TLP trip(s) together with the Russian TLP students due to their exceptional results. These five students only answered the trip-related questions, hence in other instances the overall number of survey respondents amounts to 160.

⁷ A few second-year students misunderstood the question and indicated that they were still taking TLP classes when the survey was conducted, which was technically impossible as such classes were not available except for the Chinese TLP. In the table, these responses are (correctly) counted as "No" (not anymore).

Among the first-year students, three indicated that they were no longer taking TLP classes. This means that they either opted out or dropped out from the program after the first semester of the first year. In contrast, none of the third- or fourth-year students who participated in the survey were still enrolled in the TLP program, as they all have either completed the program or opted/dropped out at some point in the past.

Regarding the 73 students responding that they were no longer taking TLP classes, we asked whether they completed the program or opted/dropped out of it, and Table 5 illustrates the results. The 19 respondents who indicated not completing the program were further asked about the reasons, which are shown in Table 6. Table 5 in particular clearly shows that some respondents who had completed the relevant TLP program (e.g., had attended the classes with reasonable regularity and passed the final tests) and were eligible to receive a TLP completion certificate on the basis of their TLP program score were nonetheless ineligible for certification due to their English score. Because the survey occurred while some students were still taking their IELTS exams or were otherwise unsure about their final third language and/or English classes' scores, 27.39% of respondents indicated that they "did not know" whether they would be eligible for the TLP certificate.

Table 5: "I am not in the TLP Program anymore, because..." (O3), (N=73)

Status of former TLP students	Total 73 (100%)	Chinese 26 (100%)	French 15 (100%)	German 24 (100%)	Russian 8 (100%)
I completed the full TLP Program, but I do not know yet whether I am eligible for the TLP certificate	20 (27%)	4 (15%)	7 (47%)	6 (25%)	3 (38%)
and received/will receive the TLP certificate	28 (38%)	16 (62%)	6 (40%)	6 (25%)	-
but did/will not receive a TLP certificate due to my TLP classes score	-	-	-	-	-
but did/will not receive the TLP certificate due to my English exam score	6 (8%)	2 (8%)	-	2 (8%)	2 (25%)
I did not complete the full TLP program	19 (26%)	4 (15%)	2 (13%)	10 (42%)	3 (38%)

Table 6 provides information regarding the reasons for withdrawal from the program before completion (e.g., attending classes for three semesters (more for Chinese) with reasonable regularity and passing the final tests). Multiple answers were possible in this question so the resulting number of responses exceeds the actual number of self-reported drop-outs shown in the first row of the table (19 students).⁸ The majority of responses (27 of 30) are provided by second-year students, although

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⁸ The percentages in the second column relate to the number of respondents, since we were interested in how many students chose the answer rather than the proportion between the answers chosen.

the actual withdrawal might have occurred during their first year in the program. Unless stated otherwise, the responses in the table are from second-year students.

Table 6: "Why did you opt/drop out from the TLP program?" (Q4), (N=19, multiple answers possible)

Reasons for Leaving the Program	Total 19 (100%)	Chinese 4	French 2	German 10	Russian 3
TLP program did not meet my expectations	3 (16%)	1		1	1
TLP program was too demanding	5 (26%)	1	1	2	1
My "bukatsu" was too demanding	5 (26%)			4	1
I started working part time	1 (5%)			1	
I had many other obligations	3 (16%)	3			
I did not meet the required TLP class score	2 (11%)		1		1
I did not meet the required score in English	2 (11%)			1	1
I left/am leaving the University of Tokyo/ took a leave of absence	4 (22%)		1 (1 st y.)	2	1 (1 st y.)
Other (please specify) ⁹	5 (26%)	1 (3 rd y.)		4	

While inherent factors were mentioned in 8 instances, such as the program's failure to meet respondents' expectations or being too demanding, external factors (such as *bukatsu* activities, part-time job, or other, including academic obligations) also played a considerable role.¹⁰

3 Reasons for language choice

In the first of a series of questions related to the motivation of students in the TLP program, we asked what determined their choice of language. This question resulted in responses from 160 respondents with language distribution as follows: 48 Chinese, 43 French, 42 German, and 27 Russian. The reasons provided by the students broadly varied, and because some students chose several reasons, the number of total responses exceeds 160 in Table 7 below. Discussion follows the table.

Others: "I lost motivation" (3) "I had to take and

⁹ Others: "I lost motivation" (3), "I had to take another class", "I didn't see the meaning of the certificate".

¹⁰ See Chapter 3 on motivation for a detailed discussion of the factors related to dropping out as well as an analysis of the comments provided in the "Others" section.

Table 7: "Why did you choose that particular language?" (Q7), (N=160, multiple answers possible)

		Total	Chinese	French	German	Russian
Reaso	ns for Language Choice	160	48	43	42	27
		(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)
No specific reason		7 (4%)	1 (2%)	2 (5%)	2 (5%)	2 (7%)
Only option/l	Language of first choice not	15 (9%)	12 (25%)	1 (2%)	2 (5%)	-
available						
General interest		18 (11%)	3 (6%)	6 (14%)	5 (12%)	4 (15%)
Interest in	Linguistic interest	13 (8%)	3 (6%)	3 (7%)	2 (5%)	5 (19%)
the	Previous knowledge of the	10 (6%)	3 (6%)	5 (12%)	1 (2%)	1 (4%)
language:	language					
	Similarity to 1 st or 2 nd	8 (5%)	1 (2%)	2 (5%)	5 (12%)	-
	language					
Social influer	nce	15 (9%)	7 (15%)	3 (7%)	4 (10%)	1 (4%)
Interest in	Culture and cultural image	35 (22%)	2 (4%)	12 (28%)	8 (19%)	13 (48%)
the country:	Academia	23 (14%)		2 (5%)	18 (43%)	3 (11%)
Future possib	pilities and career	45 (28%)	21 (44%)	17 (40%)	5 (12%)	2 (7%)
Classes' feati	ares and international trip	8 (5%)	3 (6%)	1 (2%)	3 (7%)	1 (4%)

In the following section, we elaborate on some of the reasons provided by students in their comments.

• Only option/General interest

Of the 15 students who indicated that they were not specifically interested in the language of the program they chose, 10 students of Chinese noted that this was the only option available when they joined the TLP program. Five students would have preferred to learn another language which was not available.

Sixteen respondents stated that they favored a certain language or the country where it is spoken without providing concrete details. Common statements included "it seemed interesting", "I was fascinated", "it is unique to me", and "it best fits my image of myself".

• Linguistic interest

Thirteen students reported having a linguistic interest in the language. Many stated that they wished to learn a language of a particular language family or that they were interested in the language's writing system. In the case of Russian, some reported its complexity to be an attractive factor. Ten respondents stated previous knowledge of a language as a reason for its choice, while a language's simplicity and similarity to Japanese or English were stated by 8 students. Within this category, the most frequent response regarded German's similarity to English.

• Social influence

Another set of reasons was related to an interest in the language due to the influence of one's ethnic background, family, friends, and greater social connections. Statements from 15 respondents fit this category, where either the students' family members or the students themselves used to live in or travel to the country of the studied language and had friends there. In some instances students' parents or grandparents spoke or even taught the language in question, while in others the respondents' choice was driven by a friend's invitation to learn the language together.

Future possibilities and career

The majority of responses could be broadly classified as relating to future possibilities and career. Some respondents mentioned career opportunities or broadening horizons in concrete terms while others more generally referred to the importance of the studied language or country. This category included 28% of the respondents, comprising 44% of students of Chinese and 40% of French but only 12% of German and 7% of Russian. Each of the groups entailed characteristic features: China was often mentioned regarding its closeness to and economic ties with Japan which would require conversing in Chinese. French was often mentioned as one of the United Nations' official languages that is also used in many African countries and was thus viewed to be important in diplomatic careers. In the case of German, the central reason concerned future careers with science, especially medicine and pharmaceutics. Finally, in the case of Russian, the reasons quoted included interest in the greater post-Soviet region and the importance of Russian in that region. Additionally, because few people in Japan choose to learn Russian, a competitive advantage was also reported as a reason to study this language.

The responses show that while Chinese and French are viewed as important languages in a globalized world, German and Russian seem to be mostly perceived as historically relevant. Although this is mainly due to the countries' general image in Japanese society, the German and Russian language departments might benefit from communicating a more up-to-date image of the countries and their languages.

• Culture and the country's image

Thirty-five respondents chose various reasons pertaining to interest in the country's culture and arts or in its cultural image. Students of Russian (13 respondents) noted the country's music, ballet, and arts. Several respondents mentioned that their reason was the perception of Russian as being "very different". Among 12 students of French in this category, many mentioned French food and the general beauty and "coolness" of the French culture and language. For German, the 8 students in this category referred to the country's culture in general, its classical music, and food. In the case of Chinese (2 students), one student mentioned the country's culture in general and its food. The second student of Chinese mentioned a desire to combat the negative image of China in Japan through learning the language and promoting the country's positive image.

Academia

Another large category with 23 total respondents was related to academic purposes, where students indicated that the studied language was useful in or associated with a certain area of study, such as humanities or sciences. German was predominant in this category, with 18 students mentioning

philosophy, literature, history, law, engineering, physics, and medicine as reasons for choosing the language. Three students of Russian referred to Russian history, politics, and architecture while two students of French mentioned science and literature. There were no students of Chinese in this category.

• Classes' features

Eight students mentioned various reasons pertaining to the distinguishing features of the relevant classes, where 2 students of Chinese chose the language because the Chinese TLP program held the longest teaching record; 1 student of French selected French due to peers' claims about the classes' engaging atmosphere; and 1 student of Russian chose Russian due to the comparatively small number of students in classes. The possibility of traveling abroad more than once as part of the program's overseas offerings was explicitly mentioned by 4 students, including 1 studying Chinese and 3 studying German.

4 Motivating factors

As explained in the introduction, the TLP program is considerably competitive and requires extensive time and effort from the students. Throughout the program, the teachers noticed fluctuations regarding the degree of student motivation. This was a temporary occurrence for some students, while for others it resulted in an inability to devote the necessary effort to the program. As such, motivation emerged as one of the crucial aspects that we wanted to assess by this survey in order to understand which factors play a role in both increasing and decreasing the students' motivation.

We asked the students whether they experienced an increase or decrease in motivation at some point in the program and asked for specific reasons. The factors that increased motivation, which were experienced by 101 (63%) of respondents, are summarized in Table 8 below. Some respondents reported more than one factor, and as a result there are 115 responses in this category. The percentages refer to the total of 101 respondents.

Table 8: "If your motivation increased at some point during the TLP program, what was the reason for that?" (Q9), (N=101, multiple answers possible)

Reasons for an increase in	Total	Chinese	French	German	Russian
motivation	101 (100%)	25 (100%)	26 (100%)	28 (100%)	22 (100%)
Trip	42 (42%)	10 (40%)	7 (27%)	19 (68%)	6 (27%)
Improvement of language skills	19 (18%)	4 (16%)	5 (19%)	6 (21%)	4 (18%)
Classmates	15 (15%)	5 (20%)	5 (19%)	2 (7%)	4 (18%)
Teacher/class atmosphere	12 (12%)	1 (4%)	3 (12%)	2 (7%)	6 (27%)
Meeting native speakers	6 (6%)	2 (8%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)	2 (9%)
Learning about country/culture	6 (6%)	1 (4%)	-	3 (11%)	2 (9%)
Tests/exams	6 (6%)	3 (12%)	3 (12%)	-	-

Table 8: (continued)

Reasons for an increase in	Total	Chinese	French	German	Russian
motivation	101 (100%)	25 (100%)	26 (100%)	28 (100%)	22 (100%)
Time: 2 nd semester	3 (3%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)	1 (4%)	-
Others ¹¹	6 (6%)	-	4 (15%)	-	2 (9%)

The results show that tendencies are similar among the languages, ¹² with the top three choices including such factors as the overseas trip offered by the TLP program, 13 students' realization of their improved skills, and being surrounded by engaged classmates.

The overseas trip emerged as the major factor influencing students' motivation, as 42% of the students in this category (corresponding to 26% of 160 respondents) mentioned it and many referred to the prospect of taking the trip. Those who had already participated in the trip mentioned having enjoyed the country, its culture, and interaction with the local people. Some also reported realization that they needed to further improve their skills in the relevant foreign language in order to more effectively communicate. One student mentioned that the trip provided motivation not only to learn the language in question but to also advance his/her English abilities in order to enhance potential for international communication.

The second important factor mentioned was the students' realization of their improved skills in the language (19% of students fell in this category). The students mostly mentioned the increased understanding of their teachers but also the ability to communicate with their classmates in the foreign language and to better comprehend written texts.

The third factor of importance, mentioned by 15% of the students in this category, was related to students' interaction with their classmates, where studying together with engaged and motivated peers positively influenced their own motivation.

The next factor was the teacher in question and/or the atmosphere in the class. Twelve percent of students in this category stated that they experienced an increase in motivation because their teachers were efficient and/or kind or because the general in-class atmosphere was cheerful and thus motivating.

The three following factors claimed the same number of respondents each, where 6% of students in this category were motivated by meeting native speakers, both in Japan and while abroad, by learning about the country and its culture in-class, outside of it, while on the trip abroad, and by studying for tests and exams.

¹¹ Others include some highly personal reasons such as enjoying the sound of the language, practicing writing, and songs.

12 An exception was teacher/class atmosphere, which was higher in the case of Russian.

¹³ At first glance, the importance of the trip for the increase in motivation shown in Table 9 seems to differ with respect to the languages (27% for French and Russian, 40% for Chinese, and 68% for German). However, the higher percentage of German is related to the fact that German is the only language program that offers a trip during the first semester, meaning that 71% of the German TLP students had already participated in the trip at the time of the survey compared to 31% of the students of the other languages. For the students of Chinese, French, and Russian who had already participated in the trip, 66% percent (19 of 29) mention the trip as well.

In addition, 10% of students in this category mentioned a variety of miscellaneous motivational factors, from inspiration due to how beautiful the language sounds to excitement resulting from described accomplishments of seniors in the TLP program who have acquired solid command of the language in question.

5 The overseas trip

As already mentioned in the previous section, the overseas trip plays a major role in the motivation of the TLP students. Forty percent (64 of 160 students) cite the trip as one of the reason(s) for joining the TLP program and 25% state that their motivation increased when looking forward to or participating in the trip.

We therefore include detailed information about the trips and students' evaluation of their features.

5.1 Information about the trips

The overseas trips are organized by the language departments and differ in length and content. The numbers of trips may also vary by year. The trips are partially funded by the University of Tokyo. The information about the trips for the French, German, and Russian TLP programs is for 2016-2017, since these programs commenced in 2016.

Students of the Chinese TLP program can take a one-week trip to Taiwan following the second semester. A three-week trip to Nanking is organized for 20 students after the 3rd semester as well as a one-week trip to Beijing for 6 to 10 students during the 3rd and 4th years. During all trips, students participate in language classes and sightseeing excursions.

The French TLP program in 2016-2017 offered 13 students a 14-day trip to Paris and Lyon after the second semester, where students had workshops, met with French students from different universities (Lyon 3, Sciences Po, INALCO, Paris 8) and visited metropolitan or governmental agencies (AirParif, ANSES). The sightseeing program included places such as the Eiffel Tower and Versailles. After the 3rd semester, 13 students participated in a 14-day trip to Angers entailing 40 hours of language lessons in different classes and at different levels as well as three excursions together with other international students (Mont Saint Michel, Saint-Malo, and Chateau of the Loire).

Fourteen students of the German TLP program participated in a summer school (10 days) held in a conference center in Bonn after the first semester, with another 14 students visiting a winter school (14 days) after the second semester. The program was similar for both groups and included language lessons in the morning (40 lessons), two academic workshops, one workshop and dinner with German students, guided tours with discussions to the broadcaster Deutsche Welle, the museum Haus der Geschichte, and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), three or four half-day sightseeing excursions, and 2 summer/4 winter sightseeing daytrips.

The Russian TLP program offered a 10-day trip to Saint Petersburg and Moscow with a cultural focus on the "Imperial Saint-Petersburg" after the second semester, which included 20 hours of language lessons, an academic excursion, and three exchange meetings (with local students, middle school pupils, and ballet academy staff). The trip also featured extensive sightseeing in Saint

Petersburg (Hermitage, Isaac Cathedral, Petropavlovskaya Fortress, etc.), a sightseeing-only trip to Moscow, and attending a ballet performance and concert (philharmonic hall). After the third semester there was a 17-day trip to Saint-Petersburg (titled "Literary Saint-Petersburg") which comprised 40 hours of language lessons, four academic excursions, an exchange program with local students and another with the Institute of Russian Literature researchers, sightseeing (Dostoevsky Museum, Blok museum, Russian museum, Savior on Blood Church, etc.), and three cultural performances (ballet, drama theatre, philharmonic hall). Each of the two trips included 11 students.

5.2 Reasons for not joining the trip

Sixty-two students claimed participation in one or more trips at the time of the survey. Of the 86 students who reported not joining the trip, 61 lacked the opportunity to do so since no trip had yet been offered since beginning the TLP program.¹⁴ Of the remaining 25 students, 14 could not join due to other obligations at the time of the trip(s), 5 students mentioned costs as the reason for not taking the trip, 5 said they failed to qualify for the trip, and 1 student was not interested.

Table 9: Reasons for not taking the overseas trip(s) (Q17), (N=86)

Reasons for not taking the trip	Total
	86 (100%)
No opportunity (yet)	61 (71%)
Schedule/other obligations	14 (16%)
Costs	5 (6%)
Not qualified	5 (6%)
No interest	1 (1%)

5.3 Evaluation of the trips

Regarding the question examining what students gained from the trip, a majority answered that their knowledge about the culture of their host country increased, closely followed by improvement of language skills, growing closer with their peers, and interaction with local people.

¹⁴ Some students skipped this question, meaning that the total of respondents is only 148.

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	Total	Chinese	French	German	Russian
Benefits of the trip	62	15	8	29	10
	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)
Improved my language skills	48 (77%)	11 (69%)	7 (88%)	21 (72%)	9 (90%)
Learnt about culture	52 (84%)	14 (88%)	5 (63%)	23 (79%)	10 (100%)
Became closer with peers	44 (71%)	15 (94%)	5 (63%)	19 (66%)	5 (50%)
Enjoyed interaction with local people	40 (65%)	12 (75%)	6 (75%)	16 (55%)	6 (60%)
Other ¹⁵	3 (5%)	-	-	2 (7%)	1 (1%)

Table 10: "What did you take from the trip?" (Q21), (N=62, multiple answers possible)

Differences between the languages can be related to differences in trip design offered by each program. For example, the high percentage of Russian students answering that they learned about culture can be explained by the Russian overseas trip program's strong focus on culture. Similarly, the Chinese trip includes lessons on Chinese culture and sightseeing to historical sites. The comparatively low percentage of German students who answered that their language skills were improved by the trip might be related to the fact that the first trip to Germany occurs after the first semester, which is a stage where students have not yet acquired sufficient skills to communicate with native speakers. Moreover, since not all students participate in the trip, the focus of the language classes in the host country must lie on practice rather than progression, otherwise there would be too great of a difference in ability the following semester between students who took the trip and those who did not.

Table 11: "Did the trip meet your expectations?" (Q20), (N=62, multiple answers possible)

Satisfaction with the trip	All 62 (100%)	Chinese 15 (100%)	French 8 (100%)	German 29 (100%)	Russian 10 (100%)
Expectations fully met	38 (61%)	7 (47%)	6 (75%)	15 (52%)	6 (60%)
Expectations met but not enough language learning	12 (19%)	5 (33%)	-	6 (21%)	1 (10%)
Expectations met but not enough sightseeing	7 (11%)	-	-	6 (21%)	1 (10%)
Expectations met but not enough exchange with local students	18 (29%)	5 (33%)	1 (13%)	7 (24%)	4 (40%)
Expectations met but not enough academic workshops etc.	9 (15%)	2 (13%)	2 (25%)	3 (10%)	2 (20%)
Other ¹⁶	6 (10%)	-	-	5 (17%)	1 (10%)

¹⁵ Other: "Came to like the country more" (German, Russian), "opportunity to talk with teachers" (German).

Other: "Due to the size of the group, the students use Japanese most of the time", "the trip took place too early so that the language skills of the students where not sufficient", "some workshops were too difficult for students with a different subject", "there were not enough visits to major cities", "the language classes were good but too similar to the classes in Japan", and "there was not enough freedom during the trip".

As Table 11 shows, the trips met the expectations of most students, however 29% found that there was not enough exchange with local students, 19% would have preferred a stronger focus on language learning, 15% would have liked more academic programs, and 11% preferred to have more opportunities for sightseeing. Again, differences between the languages can be observed.

The responses show that, for many TLP students, the trip is the highlight of the TLP program and importantly provides the opportunity to communicate with native speakers outside the classroom. Consequently, a number of students suggested introducing additional opportunities to study abroad into the program.

6 Obstacles while learning under the TLP program

6.1 Overview and Tables

This section discusses the obstacles experienced by students while studying under the TLP Program reported in the survey responses. Several questions gave students the opportunity to specify various issues they found to be problematic while being TLP students. The questions were:

- Q4: Why did you drop out of the TLP Program?
- Q8: Did your motivation decrease at some point during the TLP program? If yes: What was the reason for that?
- Q11: Did the TLP Program meet your expectations? If no: The TLP program did not meet my expectations because...
- Q12: Are/Were there any external obstacles for you to learn efficiently under the TLP program?

Most were multiple-choice questions with more than one possible answer and a field for those wishing to provide additional comments, however Q8 on motivation was an exception as it provided no predetermined answer choices and allowed the students to freely express their opinions. Moreover, the survey's final question (Q22: What do you think about the TLP program? Do you have any suggestions?) was another opportunity for students with concerns about the program to comment freely. Below are the tables corresponding to each of the questions above, followed by the discussion of the obstacles mentioned by students. The table summarizing answers to Q4 was already presented in Section 2 (Table 6).

• Question 8

Overall, 101 students reported no decrease in motivation, while 55 (35% of the 156 respondents who answered this question) stated that during some point of the program they felt decreased motivation. Of the latter, first-year students comprised the highest share (27 students).

Table 12: "If your motivation decreased at some point during the TLP program, what was the reason for that?" (Q8), (N=156, multiple answers possible)

Reasons for a decrease in motivation	Total	Chinese	French	German	Russian
	55 (100%)	13	14	13	15
Too difficult/fell behind	9 (16%)	1	1	4	3
Too much work	10 (18%)	1	4	2	3
Other obligations (not enough time)	3 (5%)			2	1
Classmates (dropouts/demotivating behavior)	6 (11%)	1	3	1	1
Overlapping classes	4 (7%)	2	2		
Schedule (1 st /5 th periods)	1 (2%)				1
Low English score	2 (4%)			1	1
Usefulness of the TLP certificate	2 (4%)	1			1
TLP not acknowledged by university	2 (4%)	1	1		
No follow-up courses after the third semester	1 (2%)		1		
No English TLP classes	1 (2%)	1			
Vacation without training	4 (7%)	3	1		
No trip	2 (4%)	1		1	
Other ¹⁷	5 (9%)		2		3

Question 11

Only 10% (17 students) of this question's 156 respondents stated that the program did not meet their expectations.

Table 13: "The TLP Program did not meet my expectations because..." (Q11), (N=156, multiple answers possible)

Reasons for unmet expectations	Total	Chinese	French	German	Russian
	17 (100%)	9	1	5	2
Too much homework	1 (6%)	1			
Too much focus on speaking	1 (6%)			1	
Not enough speaking	1 (6%)	1			
Too much focus on grammar	1 (6%)	1			
Too much focus on culture	1 (6%)	1			
Not enough focus on culture	2 (12%)	2			
Not enough focus on reading	1 (6%)			1	

¹⁷ Other: "forced to take classes which differ from my studying style", "too demanding: unable to learn other languages beyond the third language and English", "no special care for students entering half-way", "learning goal is unclear", "was not studying enough", and "no special English programs for TLP students".

Table 13 (continued)

Reasons for unmet expectations	Total	Chinese	French	German	Russian
	17 (100%)	9	1	5	2
Too many classes	8 (47%)	5		2	1
Not enough classes	1 (6%)	1			
Other ¹⁸	8 (47%)	3	1	2	2

• Question 12

Of 154 students who answered this question, only 21% (33 students) reported experiencing no obstacles, which means that the majority of students experienced some difficulties while studying under the TLP program.

Table 14: "Are/Were there any external obstacles for you to learn efficiently under the TLP program?" (Q12-1), (N=154)

Were there external obstacles?	Total	Chinese	French	German	Russian
	154 (100%)	44 (100%)	41 (100%)	42 (100%)	27 (100%)
No obstacles	33 (21%)	13 (30%)	7 (17 %)	10 (24%)	3 (11%)
Obstacles	121 (79%)	31 (70%)	34 (83%)	32 (76%)	24 (89%)

Table 15: "What were the external obstacles to learn efficiently under the TLP program?" (Q12-2), (N=121, multiple answers possible)

External obstacles	Total	Chinese	French	German	Russian
	121	31	41	42	27
	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)	(100%)
The classes' schedule	67 (55%)	16 (51%)	21 (51%)	13 (31%)	17 (63%)
Too many TLP classes	15 (12%)	4 (13%)	1 (2%)	5 (12%)	5 (19%)
Other academic obligations	42 (35%)	11 (35%)	12 (29%)	11 (26%)	8 (30%)
Extra-curricular obligations	34 (28%)	7 (23%)	10 (24%)	12 (29%)	5 (19%)
(bukatsu)					
Maintaining the high English score	38 (31%)	13 (42%)	5 (12%)	9 (21%)	11 (41%)
Maintaining the high TLP score	12 (10%)	2 (6%)	5 (12%)	4 (10%)	1 (4%)
Other ¹⁹	13 (11%)	2 (6%)	7 (17%)	3 (7%)	1 (4%)

¹⁸ Other: "English too demanding" (2), "not enough English classes for a trilingual program", "three semesters too short", "not enough information in advance", "no German follow-up classes", "the program style did not agree with my personality", and "too many classes, no time for wrap-up".

Other: "workload too high", "content of the program was not made clear in the beginning", "constant high English scores/IELTS", "no English classes", and "no follow up classes".

6.2 Discussion

Schedule-related obstacles

Schedule-related obstacles were a dominant concern for students and thus comprised the majority of responses to the questions analyzed in this section. For example, the schedule-related obstacles were reported in Q12 with 67 responses, and students' comments revealed that this category of obstacles includes three aspects.

The first is related to the fact that classes are often held during the 1st and 5th periods. Some students reported finding it difficult to attend (especially if living far from the university) or remain alert during these timeframes.²⁰

The second aspect relates to the problem of classes overlapping with other optional subjects of interest to students. In general, the TLP program is crafted in a way to ensure that the TLP classes do not overlap with any mandatory courses, thus the 1st and 5th period offerings. However, some students reported the inability to enroll in optional classes due to TLP obligations as a demotivating factor. Consequently, some respondents suggested that students should be allowed to choose the TLP class that best fits their schedule.

The third aspect refers to the program's temporal design and includes a number of issues. Firstly, a number of students voiced their dissatisfaction with the fact that there were no follow-up courses offered after the third semester (with the exception of Chinese where classes continue for 4 years). Some also suggested that auxiliary courses should be embedded in the program during the summer and winter breaks. Secondly, several students were displeased with the situation in which TLP students of the same language program belonged to different grammar classes progressing at different speeds. As a result, students who followed a more moderate learning schedule found themselves unable to keep up with the pace of the intensive TLP course. Finally, some students were dissatisfied that the advanced-level thematic classes that are compulsory for second-year learners under some of the TLP divisions were not specifically designed for TLP and were thus mainly attended by students of more advanced levels.

Time-related obstacles

Many students reported an inability to effectively time-manage their TLP studies both due to their other academic and/or extra-curricular obligations and due to the workload demands inherent to the TLP program. For example, 22 responses to Q8 and 91 responses to Q12 referred to various time-related issues.

The issue of balancing the TLP with other academic obligations may hold particular relevance to science students who generally have more classes. Although science students are exempt from one of the compulsory TLP classes, many nonetheless choose to attend to avoid falling behind their peers. One student particularly mentioned that it was difficult for him/her to maintain a healthy lifestyle due to the double burden of regular assignments along with the TLP tasks. In the comments section, some TLP students voiced suggestions to either reduce some university obligations outside the TLP

²⁰ Because the 1st period starts at 8:30 and 5th period finishes as 18:35, in some cases students have to stay on campus for more than 10 hours.

program or to reduce the number of TLP and English classes. Another suggestion was to move some TLP classes from the busy third semester (spring semester of the second year) to the fourth semester (autumn semester of the second year) when students have fewer classes to attend.

Extra-curricular obligations (student circle activities known as *bukatsu*) were also cited as an obstacle by a considerable number of respondents. In the student culture of Japan, many students attend sports events, and there were cases of students favoring *bukatsu* when its events (camps, tournaments, etc.) overlapped with TLP activities such as an overseas trip.

The students' (primarily first-year) comments revealed a perception of the program as requiring an extensive amount of studying. As a result, some students experienced an inability to keep up with the new material and felt that they were falling behind their peers.

• Status of English in the TLP

Students of the TLP are required to maintain a high English score (or otherwise pass an external IELTS exam with the score of 7.0) in order to receive a certificate of completion of the TLP program, even when excelling in learning their language of choice. Many students reported this requirement to be a problem, as in Q12 38 respondents (i.e., almost 25% of the 160 students who participated in the survey) explicitly named it as an obstacle. In general, the status of the English language in the TLP program is mentioned in many students' comments, which shows that English is not yet well integrated into the program. Some students state that although a high English score is required, there is a lack of offered English classes designed specifically for TLP students. One student explicitly mentioned that his/her English skills worsened during the program as s/he had little opportunity to practice English. Others stated a desire to not have to worry about having to obtain a required score in English, as they felt excited to dedicate all their energy to the learning of their new language of choice under the TLP.

Classmates

Demotivation was found to be associated with classmates in some way for two highly different reasons. On one hand, students mentioned demotivation resulting from the change of class atmosphere when peers must leave the program, while on the other hand some respondents mentioned the demotivating behavior of some of their classmates as an obstacle. Such behavior may have been the case with students who primarily joined the program due to opportunity rather than personal aspirations. Due to the specificity of the program, it may be important to more closely monitor and address demotivating behavior in order to maintain a motivating atmosphere in the classroom and to foster healthy competition.

• Status of the TLP program

Several students mentioned feeling that the TLP program or language learning per se was not fully acknowledged/appraised across the university, since one is expected to first and foremost master one's specialty beyond the language learning. One student stated that he/she could have studied under the TLP with less anxiety if there had been greater intra-university appraisal of language learning.

Science students mentioned that the program's extensive workload did not translate into credits that substantially count towards one's so-called *shinfuri* score, a score which matters when students

choose their specialty during the second year of studies. While TLP credits are counted by the programs to which the students apply, these credits provide no advantage score-wise despite the increased time and effort invested in the program. Although the program grants a certificate to successful completers, this was not appealing enough for some students who were unsure about its possible uses.

• Inability to participate in the trip

Another quoted demotivating factor regarded failing to join the overseas trip both due to one's inability to achieve a required passing score on the trip's placement test and due to cancellation of the planned trip. Students of the German TLP also suggested that there should be a trip for the second-year students, as offered by the other languages under the TLP, rather than only for the first-year students.

• Need for extra guidance

Some students requested additional clarification regarding the program's completion requirements, including both the TLP and the English language scores, which indicated that they experienced difficulty in understanding the program's technical requirements. The need for guidance was also reported by some students who transferred to the TLP from regular, non-TLP language classes. Some of these students reported difficulty in keeping up with the TLP classes and indicated that a guidance session targeted to transferees would have been beneficial.

7 Students' comments and suggestions

In the final question of the survey, students were given an opportunity to freely express their opinions about the program. Overall, 148 respondents left a comment. Of those, 65 (44%) of the commenters were explicitly positive about the TLP program. The program was praised for providing an "ideal environment" for targeted learning and for the "teachers' enthusiasm". As discussed in the previous section, some responses included critical remarks mainly referring to various obstacles experienced by students that prevented them from studying under the TLP program as effectively as initially envisioned. Finally, some comments contained suggestions regarding how students felt the program could be improved to better suit their needs as learners. Some of these suggestions are directly related to the obstacles experienced by students. The major suggestions are outlined following the table below.

Table 16: Praise, criticism, and suggestions in the students' final comments on the TLP (Q22), (N=148)

Students' comments	Total	Chinese	French	German	Russian
and opinions	148 (100%)	42 (100%)	39 (100%)	41 (100%)	26 (100%)
Praise:	65 (44%)	15 (36%)	23 (59%)	21 (51%)	10 (38%)
Praise only	37 (25%)	11 (26%)	15 (38%)	6 (15%)	5 (19%)
Praise and	24 (16%)	4 (10%)	8 (21%)	7 (17%)	4 (15%)
comments/suggestions					
Positive despite obstacles	9 (6%)	-	-	8 (20%)	1 (4%)

Table 16 (continued)

Students' comments and	Total	Chinese	French	German	Russian
opinions	148 (100%)	42 (100%)	39 (100%)	41 (100%)	26 (100%)
Criticism:	36 (25%)	5 (12%)	8 (21%)	18 (44%)	5 (19%)
Obstacles (including responses above) No/not enough long-time	26 (18%) 10 (7%)	3 (7%) 2 (5%)	4 (10%)	14 (34%) 4 (10%)	5 (19%)
perspective perspective	10 (770)	2 (370)	4 (1070)	4 (1070)	-
Suggestions	56 (38%)	19 (45%)	12 (31%)	17 (41%)	8 (31%)
No comment	17 (11%)	5 (12%)	2 (5%)	3 (7%)	7 (27%)

• Make the program more transparent

Although basic information about the program is available through its website and pamphlet, students felt they lacked information regarding the program's overall structure, content, and specific requirements to obtain the completion certificate. Some students suggested adding a more extensive introduction both to the program's specifics and the basics of the new language before program commencement.

• Make the program more attainable for science students

This group of suggestions included both propositions to reduce science students' obligations in their area of specialty in order to allow more time to devote to language-learning under the TLP and/or to reduce the TLP workload (either of the third language or English) for science students. Some respondents proposed that providing different (easier) materials specifically targeting science students may be beneficial.

• Enhance/Restructure the program

Suggestions in this area included adding culture classes allowing one to learn about the country and culture in question. Some recommendations also indicated a preference to increase conversational class offerings or to include additional dialogue sessions with native speakers. Some students also recommended utilizing smaller classes (about 10 students per class) for an improved learning environment.

Students suggested that it could also be beneficial to hold more events allowing information exchange with TLP students of other languages as well as with those who have already completed the course. Another suggestion was to provide interaction with native speakers residing in Japan through invitation by the university to attend classes or relevant events.

Besides the notion to introduce additional languages to the TLP Program, this group of suggestions included ideas concerning the program's diversification. For instance, some students suggested the program should continue beyond three semesters and that there also should be classes for students with previous knowledge of the target foreign language. Finally, some suggested that there should be a third-language program which does not depend on English.

• Make the overseas trip more available

The overseas trip under the TLP Program is currently available only to a portion of TLP students, as each of the TLP languages has its system of determining candidates based on either their mid-term tests or additional targeted tests. Students suggested that the trip should be available to everyone and that other opportunities to study in the country of the target language should be introduced as part of the program in order to provide additional options to consider. Students also suggested the TLP's overseas trip should ideally occur after the third semester when students have already acquired enough knowledge to use the language onsite after 18 months of learning.

It is evident that some suggestions are mutually contradictory; for instance, it is not possible to enhance the program's content through adding culture classes and additional overseas trips while simultaneously reducing its workload. Some suggestions, such as to reconsider the role of English in the TLP, oppose the basic principle of the TLP as a trilingual program, however they highlight the need to better integrate English into the program in order to ensure that it is seen to play a natural role. Furthermore, such suggestions advancing the program's transparency and enriching its social dimension would undoubtedly benefit both learners and teachers.

8 Recommendations and concluding remarks

On February 1, 2018, a TLP graduation ceremony was held at the University of Tokyo with 78 students from four languages: Chinese, French, German, and Russian. Students received program completion certificates, and students from each language gave three-minute speeches reflecting on their experiences during the TLP program. The program's ultimate goal was achieved, as within a period of 18 months students achieved the ability to communicate complex ideas fluently and before a large audience. Many students obtained high scores in external language examinations undertaken either independently or following the advice of their university teachers. Among the respondents of the survey, 27 students reported having passed one or several of the following exams: the HSK (levels 4-6), TCF (B2), DELF (B1), Goethe Zertifikat (B2), TPKH (B1), and 中検, 仏検, 独検, ロシア語検定 (levels 2-5), with twice as many indicating having plans to do so.

By conducting this survey we aimed to determine how to help students reach the above-mentioned goal in order to maximize their opportunities while experiencing the least possible amount of disturbances. To conclude, we focus on the main points raised by the students' responses and the ways these issues could be tackled, namely by providing (1) more information about the program, (2) better integration of English, (3) optimized workload/benefit balance for science students, and (4) by enhancing the social aspects of the program. The recommendations are as follows:

It is encouraged to streamline the process so that students are fully aware of the requirements for
the program's completion and are thus able to make timely and weighted decisions. Furthermore,
it may also be beneficial to unify the output source of information regarding the requirements
and ensuring its accessibility.

- 2. Integration of English could be approached from multiple angles. Firstly, it should be considered whether TLP-specific English courses for TLP students could be offered to help students maintain their knowledge of English while learning the third language. If such classes simultaneously incorporate students from multiple TLP programs, students are likely to feel motivated by the opportunity to share their experiences with peers in a similar situation. Under such circumstances, cross-language communication is likely to be facilitated.
- 3. In its current form, the TLP program is beneficial score-wise for the students of humanities. When second-year students of humanities choose their specialization under the system of *shinfuri*, their TLP scores are fully reflected in the general score required to enter the relevant program. In contrast, for science students TLP scores are translated into a minimal score that does not aid their general score when applying to certain science programs. If the goal of the program is to sufficiently integrate science students and maintain its high standard, some measures must be taken to advocate to allow the program a more significant share in the *shinfuri* system related to science programs or to complement the program with an additional bonus which may serve to motivate its completion. Alternatively, a "TLP light" version for science students could be considered if the program continues to aim at all students in the future.
- 4. Due to the extensive workload of the TLP program, there may be little room to embed additional culture classes into the curriculum. Instead, offering talks, workshops, and movie screenings to address the socio-cultural aspect may be considered. Perhaps some of these events could simultaneously target all TLP students without being language-specific, which would satisfy the students' wish for additional interaction with their similarly positioned peers.

In summary, the findings show that while the program succeeds in addressing the needs and hopes of the majority of the students, this has however not been the case for every learner. The experiences of the learners who found it difficult to study under the TLP could be contextualized when evaluated against the third language education situation in Japan, which is briefly addressed in the "Introduction and background" section of this paper. In this regard, our survey highlights two central problems: The primary problem relates to the difficulties students experience with establishing the overall purpose of learning the third language. In the absence of such a purpose, everyday struggles and technical issues are experienced as particularly discouraging. This situation corresponds to the ideological dilemmas of Japanese society regarding the positioning of third-language learning. Furthermore, some struggles can be explained by the fact that, for many students, this program is the first experience of learning a foreign language other than English. Lack of exposure to other foreign languages at the secondary education level complicates the process of new language acquisition at the university.

To solve these problems, third-language learning must be addressed in its totality while regarding one's learning trajectory from childhood through university. In addition, a comprehensive discourse on the importance of third-language education should be adopted, as not only does third-language education facilitate one's ability to learn more languages and develop plurilingual competence, it serves as a window to truly understand other cultures.

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- First-hand survey data (gathered through Survey Monkey)
- Expert discussions of the authors and collaborators

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現代フランスにおける学校教育モデル類型論の社会学的比較 ーナタリー・モンスとマリー・ドュリュ - ベラ及び フランソワ・ドュベに着目してー

Comparaison sociologique de la typologie des modèles scolaires de Nathalie Mons et de celle de Marie Duru-Bellat et François Dubet

Michaël Dervelois

The University of Tokyo

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Résumé

Notre objectif est ici de confronter trois sociologues français de spécialisation et de parcours similaires qui ont collaboré tour à tour à des recherches communes et qui ont fini par élaborer deux typologies divergentes sur les systèmes scolaires. Il s'agit de Nathalie Mons, de Marie Duru-Bellat et de François Dubet, reconnus depuis les années 90 comme des chercheurs de référence dans la sociologie de l'action et les sciences de l'éducation. La première typologie de Nathalie Mons se base sur différents modes d'organisation pédagogique qui entraînent une certaine hétérogénéité des conditions pédagogiques suivant les pays. Elle met en exergue des modèles d'organisation scolaire de type anglo-saxon qui auraient des caractéristiques vertueuses devant les autres modèles pour l'application de l'enseignement individualisé. La seconde typologie de Marie Duru-Bellat et de François Dubet se fonde sur deux facteurs pertinents que sont l'intégration scolaire et la cohésion scolaire. Ils distinguent ainsi le modèle éducatif japonais de celui anglo-saxon, ce que ne parvenait pas à faire Nathalie Mons à travers sa typologie. Ils replacent le modèle éducatif français dans une logique de cohésion plus pertinente encore que la simple uniformité de traitement observée par Nathalie Mons. Cette comparaison soulève une critique forte de l'actuelle tendance au rapprochement des politiques éducatives dans le monde. Elle offre des repères d'analyse plus pertinents que la simple observation des différences de gestion des parcours scolaires comme le redoublement, la répartition en classes de niveaux ou encore le recours à l'enseignement individualisé. Pourtant, malgré cette avancée, tous ces spécialistes de l'éducation en France semblent maintenir un soutien unanime à un modèle pédagogique qui associe l'efficacité dans la performance des élèves et l'égalité de leurs résultats scolaires.

Mots clefs: Sociologie des Organisations, Typologie des systèmes éducatifs, «Communauté démocratique», Cohésion scolaire, «Shudan seikatsu» 組織社会学、教育システムの類型論、民主的コミュニティ、教育的な団結、集団生活

1. 序文

この論文の目的は、現代フランスにおける学校教育システムに関して、それぞれ異なる類型論を確立した三人の社会学者を比較することである。その三人は、ナタリー・モンスとマリー・ドュリュ - ベラ及びフランソワ・ドュベである。彼らは専門分野を同じくし、類似した経歴を持っている。ナタリー・モンスはパリ・クレテーユ大学の講師で、外国・フランスの教育政策の実行過程を専攻している。国民教育の公共活動を研究する社会学者として彼女は「国立教育制度評価センター(CNESCO¹)」の研究所長になり、国際比較に果敢に取り組んでいる。マリー・ドュリュ・ベラは政治学院における教育学の教授である。彼女は 2007 年から「フランス国立科学研究センター・変動社会学研究所(OSC-CNRS²)」に所属し、「学校教育評価の高等評議会」の研究者であった。彼女は主として教育不平等の課題に取り組んでいる。フランソワ・ドュベはボルドー第二大学の教授であり、「社会科学高等研究院(EHESS³)」の元研究者(2000-2004)である。彼の社会学の経歴は、社会周縁の若者、社会運動、社会学理論、行政機構の課題についての研究を経て、学校という機構の課題を研究するに至る。学校について研究する際は、学校不平等の課題等についてマリー・ドュリュ・ベラと協力する。

ナタリー・モンス は、アングロサクソン風の教育機関のモデルを利用して、個人の形成を促すよう教育機関を再編成することで教育体制を改良することができると信じている。つまり、児童生徒の管理と選抜のメカニズムを導入することによって、教育機関の働きを改善することを目指している。ナタリー・モンスは国際的なアプローチによって知られているが、それに対してマリー・ドュリュ・ベラは教育不平等の課題の方に興味を持っている。マリー・ドュリュ・ベラとフランソワ・ドュベは、教師と児童生徒との関係を改善し、児童生徒を学校に統合しようとする学校機関の努力が、彼女らが提唱する学校組織モデルの決定的要因に結びついていると考える。フランソワ・ドュベは、行政機関についての彼自体の著作とマリー・ドュリュ・ベラとの共著書を通じた継続的協力によって彼女の思考と近い立場にあり、二人とも教育評価の課題について考えを共にしている。

これら3人の研究者はまた、国際的な比較を視野に入れて、学校教育のシステムに特化した政策提言を行った研究者でもある。ナタリー・モンスはマリー・ドュリュ - ベラ同様、この研究分野において、90 年代から知られている研究者である。二人とも行動社会学に名を連ね、2004年には共同研究もしている⁴。ナタリー・モンスは欧州委員会及び「経済協力開発機構 (OECD)」のもとで、専門家としての役割を果たしている。マリー・ドュリュ - ベラは変動社会学研究所に協力しながら研究を行ってきた。フランソワ・ドュベは教育社

³ Ecole des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales.

¹ Centre National d'évaluation des systèmes scolaires.

² L'Observatoire sociologique du changement.

⁴ ドュリュ - ベラ・M、モンス・N、スュショ・B. 2004. 『教育システムの特徴と 15 歳の若者の能力: 各国の比較による解明: 評価・予測部局のためのレポート』というタイトルの著作がきっかけであった。

会学と経験社会学について幾つかの研究をしたのち、マリー・ドュリュ - ベラと共同研究をした。

以上のことから、現代フランスの学校教育システム改革をめぐる政策過程について、国際的な比較の視点で議論を企てる3人の研究者は、彼女らの研究領域や研究テーマの近さといった点から見て比較に値するものであると考えられ、本論文は、それぞれのアプローチの特色と問題点を比較することを試みる。そこで、研究テーマも近く、共同研究でも近い関係にあるこれらの研究者について、具体的な研究内容を考察していこう。ナタリー・モンスは中学校までのレベルに集中して調査研究を行ったが、マリー・ドュリュ・ベラとフランソワ・ドュベはナタリー・モンスが対象としていた教育期間の狭さを批判し、研究対象を小学校から高等学校までに広げた。そこで本論文では、大学を除く学校教育システムに関する議論を取り上げる。時期は、バカロレア取得率が上昇した1980年代から現在までの、大学を除く学校教育システムに関する議論を取り上げる。

その二つの類型論を比較するのは三つの理由で価値がある。まず多種多様な角度から、教育機関が主要な影響を及ぼすアクターであることを証明する。次に、ナタリー・モンスの類型論を見ることでフランスで著名な教育学者が共通に受け入れている分析の傾向が解明でき、彼らの意向を明確にすることが出来る。最後にナタリー・モンスの類型論では、各国の教育機関に影響を与えている固有の文化的影響の程度を過小評価し、どの国でも学校運営改革を行えば一様に期待された結果に達すると仮定されており、その点でマリー・ドュリュ・ベラとフランソワ・ドュベの類型論と対立していることを明らかにする。

彼らの研究を比較するために、彼らが提唱した類型論を自身で弁護している記述が明瞭な論文に焦点を当てることにしよう。ここでは『新教育政策-フランスは良い選択をしているか』(PUF 出版 2007) と題したナタリー・モンスの著作を分析する一方、マリー・ドュリュ・ベラとフランソワ・ドュベの共著『社会と学校・学歴による支配と社会的一体性』(Seuil 出版 2010) を同様に調べていくことにする。すぐに気づく事は、マリー・ドュリュ・ベラがナタリー・モンスの著作の数年後に本を出したことである。よって、マリー・ドュリュ・ベラがナタリー・モンスの著作の数年後に本を出したことである。よって、マリー・ドュリュ・ベラの類型論というのは、ナタリー・モンスの分析方法に反発し、意図的に異なる分析方法を採用したのだと解釈することもできる。そこで本稿では、まず、第一段階として、これらの社会学者たちによる研究成果とアプローチの全体像を説明し、その後、第二段階として、彼らが擁護する学校教育システムの二つの類型論の間に存在する亀裂を示していくことにする。そうすることで、第三段階として、これら二つの類型論に関して投げかけられる幾つかの批判を提起できよう。そのような学校教育モデルの二つの類型論を、研究者が立てた分類の基準から考察することにより、それぞれの類型論の正当性を比較す

ることが目標である。さらにこれら三人の社会学者が提示した学校教育モデルは、フランスの社会に特有の争点を表出していると思われる⁵。

以上のことから次の推論が導かれる。ナタリー・モンスの類型論では、日本の児童生徒が受けている教育機関への文化的影響は考慮されず、アングロサクソンのシステムと同一であるとみなされている。結果として日本の教育課程の編成メカニズムは、児童生徒の履修コースの選択が容易であり、職業進路指導の支援を十分に受けていると評価され、それが日本の低い失業率に結びついているという支配的イデオロギーが、フランス人研究者の間で共有されることとなった。そしてフランスでも同様の政策をとれば、児童生徒の進路選択と失業率を改善することができると信じられるようになったのである。それに対して、マリー・ドュリュ・ベラとフランソワ・ドュベは、その誤解を修正して、日本の教育システムが、児童生徒の努力に応じて平等に進路選択へのアクセスを保障する教育政策をとっていることを強調し、この努力に応じた平等という概念が学校教育システム改革のキーワードになると提案した。しかし、この概念は同時に、児童生徒の先天的な素質に基づく個性の目覚めというアングロサクソンの教育とは全く相容れないことも認められる。

2. 2つの科学的アプローチの両立可能性と教育政策への貢献をめぐる対立点

最初に、これらの社会学者たちは皆、行動社会学を目指していて、ピエール・ブルデューの構造主義的社会学に対しては距離を置いている点を、機会あるごとに強調している。ナタリー・モンスは学校教育が社会的不平等を再生産しているという概念を否定している⁶。彼女の議論の進め方は、ネオ制度主義の自らのアプローチに従い、教育政策の結果を予想する事である。学校教育システムとは、刷新的(あるいは自己組織的)な総合的建造物だと言う事なのであろう。なぜなら、様々なアクターの学校教育システムは戦略が対峙するプロセスの中から生まれ、様々な要素(その一つが国)の間の調整や摸索や摩擦を通じて組織化されていくからである。同様に、マリー・ドュリュ・ベラは社会階級の再生産現象が固定化することを否定した⁷。彼女は、東ヨーロッパの国々とヨーロッパの他の国々との間の一人当たりの国内総生産の違いを分析し、教育の社会的不平等が顕著な国が、収入の不平等が見られる国ではないことを見出した。次に、学校教育の効果を学業成果(成績)

⁵ フランスの特別の文脈から見ると、彼らの対立からフランスの教育制度を変革する論点に結びつく可能性が高い。フランス教育学においては、社会の不平等から教育の不平等に集中したブルデューの構造主義の影響で、フランスの社会的ギャップを縮小させようとする民主主義な連帯感が流行っていた。九十年代になって、政策志向的な研究が進展し、市民性という観点から教育学に関与している研究者が、社会の課題を解決するための見解を提示するような研究が優位になってきた。組織社会学派に所属するマリー・ドュリュ・ベラ達は、討議を通じて高い行動・活動の価値観をもった市民をどのように育成しているかを分析することにより、教育政策の方針を指導する立場にある。

⁶ 前掲書 p. 14, p. 26.

⁷ ドュリュ - ベラ・M. 2009.『フランスにおける不平等状態 - データと分析 2009 年』.

と同等であると仮定し⁸、それを教育システムの正当な基礎とするというナタリー・モンスの考えを、マリー・ドュリューベラとフランソワ・ドュベも踏襲していることに注目したい⁹。知識の獲得のために生徒が実践的に取り組めるようにする学校教育システムの質、その質に応じた学業成績が得られるという可能性、この二つの間の望ましい掛け合わせという考えを三人とも支持している。このように見ていくと、テストの際にどうすれば効果的かを知るための戦略を発展させていくのは生徒自身であるという、ネオリベラルなアプローチに彼らが傾倒しているということができる。ここからも、これら三人の社会学者が共通のテーゼを共有していると言える部分的証拠があるのは認められよう。マリー・ドュリュ・ベラとフランソワ・ドュベは、ナタリー・モンスが基礎教育課程の期間の長さと社会的不平等との間の関係¹⁰を発見したことを評価している。そしてナタリー・モンスは、マリー・ドュリュ・ベラと実りのある共同研究をしたことを認めている。それはその研究の中で収入の違い、大人の教育水準、公共支出、幹部となる教師の割合と、学業のパフォーマンスや成績との間には相関関係がないことを証明したことだ¹¹。

他方、こうした全般的な暗黙の一致にもかかわらず、さまざまな場面において、これら三人の社会学者の間には幾つかの摩擦も感じられる。マリー・ドュリュ - ベラとフランソワ・ドュベは自分たちの著作において、まずナタリー・モンスの類型論の要約をしている。ナタリー・モンスは彼女の著作全体を通して、フランスモデルにおける学校教育課程の運営手段に関して非常に批判的な論調を保っている¹²が、マリー・ドュリュ - ベラとフランソワ・ドュベは意識的に、より中立的な調子で、ナタリー・モンスの類型論がアングロサクソン系のモデルに肯定的であることを指摘している¹³。また、様々な場面で、彼らはナタリー・モンスの研究の適用範囲を限定しようとしながら、彼女の研究について次のように述べている。例えば、彼らはナタリー・モンスが中学のレベルでしか調査をしなかったと指摘している¹⁴。これに続いて、意見の相違点があらわになってくる。マリー・ドュリュ - ベラとフランソワ・ドュベは明確に、ナタリー・モンスが提示する基礎教育課程のグループ化の信憑性について疑問視している¹⁵。ナタリー・モンスは学校教育システムの一体化の度合いがどれだけ進んでいるかによって、各国の学校教育システムをグループ化することが

⁸ 前掲書 p. 131.

⁹ ドュベ・F、ドュリュ‐ベラ・M. 2015.『学校を変えるための 10 提案』p. 90.

¹⁰ 前掲書 p. 99.

¹¹ 前掲書 pp. 24-25.

¹² 前掲書 p. 93.

¹³ ナタリー・モンスによるモデルの描写は、アングロサクソン系のモデルに肯定的という明らかな偏りを抱いており、また「ラテン系」として彼女が示すモデルに対しては大きな誤認が見られる。このナタリー・モンスの軽蔑的な描写に対して、「全ての国が最も正当なケースに倣ってしまうことを避けるために、これのモデルの優位性を示しながら基準を決めてしまう悪しき慣習に身を委ねるのは軽卒だ」とマリー・ドュリュ・ベラとフランソワ・ドュベは簡潔な言葉で語っている。

¹⁴ 前掲書 p. 92.

¹⁵ p. 93: 彼らはナタリー・モンスの「比較的共通している」という表現を敢えて使って、ナタリー・モンスの誇張を指摘し、彼女が論じる基礎教育課程が長いモデルの正当性を批判しているようだ。

できると主張しているが、彼らはその理論に異を唱え、ナタリー・モンスによる類型論を超える必要性を唱えている。彼らによると、彼女の類型論は、学校教育システムの一体化があまり見られない学校システムと、高度に一体化が進んだ学校システムとを混ぜてしまっている¹⁶。彼らの説明によると、学校の一体化の基準は学校組織の運営によっては説明できない。なぜなら、一体化の基準はそれぞれの社会に特有の教育文化と専門家達の文化から生まれるものだからだ。そのようにして、彼らは自らのアプローチが、学校の一体化という高い基準を持つため、ナタリー・モンスのアプローチと比べて、より的確でより完成度が高いと主張している。特に、彼らはナタリー・モンスの基礎教育課程期間の長さが社会的不平等の縮小にとって重要であるとする理論を批判することになる¹⁷。つまり、ドイツのように学校に与えられた任務の一部を専門家機構が担当できるような介入が行われれば短期基礎教育課程であっても、社会的不平等を縮小させると批判する。

3. 学校教育モデルの二つの類型論の間の比較

以下の表によって、二つの類型論を比較していこう。左側の列はナタリー・モンスによる学校教育システムの類型論、右側の列はマリー・ドュリュ - ベラとフランソワ・ドュベによる類型論である。なお左側のナタリー・モンスによる類型は、教育システムの最良なものから良くないものへの順に分類されている(表 1)。

ナタリー・モンスの類型論は、基礎教養課程の長さ、留年の割合、中退の割合、個別補習授業への依存などの教育組織の様々な指標に基づいている。彼女によると、これらの「教育カリキュラムの多様な応用手段」¹⁸が教育条件のある種の不均一性をもたらしているという。

¹⁶ p. 94-95: ナタリー・モンスと意見がと異なっている事をはっきりさせるために、彼らは「この認識が重要だ」(p. 95)という強調表現をためらわずに使っている。

¹⁷ 前掲書 p. 125.

¹⁸ 前掲書 p. 114: まず様々な形態の教育組織に着目したナタリー・モンスの学校教育システム類型論により、児童生徒が教育課程の選択・変更が出来るように、学校側も学生個人個人へ多様な教育的対応が可能であり、そのような学校の組織的な手段が利用できる国ごとの調整システムがあることを把握できた。その国ごとの調整システムが上記の表に示したナタリー・モンスの四つのモデルという類型論である。「教育カリキュラムの多様な応用手段」と言うのはクラス編成の変更、学生個人のプロファイルに応じて教育方法をカスタマイズする等、調整システムによる学校の組織的なツールを活用することなどを意味し、このような様々な指標を比較することによって、教育効果の特色を示すことが出来る。具体的な例としては、留年の決定、レベル別グループの設定、校則の規定、少人数制クラス導入など、教育機関が使用できる「ツール」を機械的に設置・応用することだ。そのうえでマリー・ドュリュ・ベラとフランソワ・ドュベは、モンスの類型論の弱点を指摘し、加えて学生の愛校心や教育機関への統合の関係まで包含しているため、ナタリー・モンスの類型論を補完した分析だと言える。順番として一人目の研究者の世界教育体制の比較が次の二人の研究者の教育体制の世界教育体制の比較と照合されている唯一なきっかけが明快に表れている。彼らの世界教育体制のアプローチを比較出来て、どうやって比較の基準によって成果を変更されるかという貴重な情報が手に入れてきた。

表1. 学校教育モデルの二つの類型論

	マリー・ドュリュ - ベラとフランソワ・ドュベ
ナタリー・モンスにより学校・教育組織の一体	により集団的機能の中で用いられる手段をも
化をもとに構築された類型論	とに構築された類型論
個別融合モデル	民主的コミュニティモデル
(北欧、日本)	(アングロサクソン系の国々)
自由選択式融合モデル	恩情のあるコミュニティモデル
(アングロサクソンの国々)	(地中海沿岸の国々)
均一的融合モデル	知識の学校モデル
(フランス)	(フランス、ドイツ)
分離モデル	全員が高レベルモデル
(ドイツ)	(ノルウェー、オーストリア、日本)

ここから、たとえば他のモデルと比較して、個別補習授業に依存する傾向がある学校組織のモデルをより洗練されたものにする必要があるというような主張に行き着く。また、彼女の主張は、授業間の進捗の調整や、生徒を学力レベル毎にクラス分けする選択の仕方、さらには無資格のままで学校を離れる場合の対応力といった分野にまで及んでいる。ナタリー・モンスは今までの研究分野においては、一見矛盾するとみなされたパフォーマンスの効率と成績の平等性という二つの変数を使用し、各国の教育システムからその変数を確認しているが、それはマリー・ドュリュ・ベラとフランソワ・ドュベの理論とも共通している。さらに、近年の研究者たちが各国のモデルを参照するようになったため、その二つの変数によって教育体制を採用する国々を上位化する傾向が目立つようになってしまった。また、ナタリー・モンスの考えではその二つの変数の存在が認められた上で、前述の教育機関が使用できる「ツール」によって「教育カリキュラムの多様な応用手段」からした「個別的融合」のモデルと「自由選択式融合モデル」の二つをより重視している。

それに対して、マリー・ドュリューベラとフランソワ・ドュベの類型論は、教育機関との融合と一体化という集団機能を基準にしており、それは次のような二つの要素に基づいている。彼らは「教育的な団結(cohésion scolaire)」と「学校への統合(intégration scolaire)」という要素を組み合わせてそれぞれの国の学校教育の特徴を比較することにより、ナタリー・モンスよりも明確な類型性を提示している。これら二つの要素は別個のもので、その配置や固有の組み合わせにより各モデルの特徴が表現されている「9。彼ら二人は、社会的一体化を、協力に向かわせる価値観や態度として定義し²⁰、また、クラスメイト間の信頼や先生に支えられているという気持ち、学校に溶け込んでいるという感覚や学校での孤立感などを社会的一体化の「日常の感覚」として定義している。彼らはまた、生徒の社会階層や母国語または両親の出身地の違いによって生徒の扱い方が異なるかどうか、さらに生徒を

¹⁹ 前掲書 p. 63.

²⁰ 前掲書 p. 50, pp. 97-98.

融合させるか分離するかの学校側の努力とその結果を学校への統合の度合いを測る基準と 定義している²¹。

ナタリー・モンスの類型論の三年後、マリー・ドュリュ - ベラとフランソワ・ドュベは アングロサクソンの国々の学校システムを「民主的コミュニティ」の模範的なモデルとし て示し、そのモデルに内在するプロテスタントの伝統が、学校の一体化をよりよくもたら すと述べた。「民主的コミュニティ」は学校内の絆の強化の良い例として紹介され、一方で ラテン世界のカトリック的特徴は、「民主的コミュニティ」で描かれた良い性質とは反対の モデルとして認識されている。フランソワ・ドュベがプロテスタント色に染まった学校モ デルに、これほどの寛容さを示すのは不思議である。実はかつて彼は、個々の人生の歩み に寄り添うという「神聖な使命感」に動機付けられたフランスの学校で現地調査を行い、 学校やそこでの生徒の取り扱い方に対して、より告発調の強い主張を行っていたのである22。 フランソワ・ドュベにより観察されたフランスの学校機関は、自己達成を目標に掲げ、合 理主義的な生徒の能力を評価している。そこで評価される能力とは、合理主義的な振る舞 いにより、先天的な本性と要求される社会的身分との両立を図ることである。ここでは、 合理主義的な振る舞いを生み出す生まれつきの傾向(そのようにできている)という概念 が導入されている。このことは、心理学的なアプローチや個人的かつ合理的・積極的な関 与を、後天的な教育によっては説明不可能な親和力のようにみなし、意志には何の価値も ないとして退ける事を想定させる。適性というものは、パーソナリティテストを行ったり、 人生について語らせたり、状況適応能力テストなどで確認することによって、説明するこ とができる。しかしながら、マリー・ドュリュ - ベラとの共同研究以降、フランソワ・ド ュベは、社会的一体化を軸において考えるようになったに違いなく、彼の考え方の枠組み の変更が、「民主的信頼」という非常に魅力的な点に関する分析に限定されていくことにな ったのは確かだ。反対に、ナタリー・モンスのテキストは、はっきりと学校のプロテスタ ント的性格を評価している点で、彼らと異なっている。「個別的融合」と「自由選択式融合」 という彼女における中心的な二つのモデルが、コミュニティにおける「牧師としての」教 師の役割という概念化を支えている。そうした教師は、学者的な師として自分を体現する のではなく、自らの経験を分かち合うことを職務とする。すなわち、このような教師は児 童生徒の身分をわきまえさせる規律を喚起するのではなく、コミュニティの生活を活発化

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²¹ 前掲書 p. 98.

²² ドュベ・F. 2002. 『学校機関の衰退』では、学校機関に対する彼の厳しい言及は pp. 32-33 に書かれている。この箇所において、フランソワ・ドュベの告発的で批判的な調子は明らかである。なぜなら、行政機関から評価される功績の新しい基準を公表して、読者を驚かせたからである。実際、「衰退している」行政の組織として認められるには、自らに義務を課し、その具体的な計画を示すことが重要で、どんな犠牲的行為も、価値観共有のちょっとした証明も必要ではない。そしてそのテキストの中で、フランソワ・ドュベは、創設者共通の価値観に対する学校機関側の無知を強調している。実際の教師の能力を確認することよりも、心理的で形だけの契約によってポストを与えているという、変動するフランス共和国の学校機関の不思議さを我々に気づかせてくれる。彼は最先端の社会学的分析の枠に留まりながら、学校機関の取り組みの不条理さをかなり皮肉に表現している。

させ、連帯感や忠誠心を生み出す感情的な繋がりを作る。つまり知識を伝えるのではなく、 生徒自らが目覚めるよう努力するような教授法に力を注ぎ、そして、生徒が自ら選択でき るよう生まれつきの能力に重きを置きながら、個性を表現できるように促すのである。

ナタリー・モンスは奇妙にも、理想的な融合のモデルに日本のシステムを加えている。 しかしながら、日本のモデルをアングロサクソン系各国の学校モデルに近づけるようない かなる文化的な架け橋や共通の特徴は見られない。確かに日本の私立学校はアングロサク ソン系の教授法を適用しようとたびたび試みているが、それは主にスローガンによって主 張された限定的な教育措置であるであると私は考える。ここで二つの類型論の間に亀裂が 生じてくる。実際、ナタリー・モンスは「個別的融合」のモデルの一貫性を誤って主張し ている。というのは、そこに「集団生活」という「個別的融合」とは相容れない日本の概 念を持ち込んでしまっているからだ。この概念は、生徒の能力は同等だという考えに寄り 添ったものであるのだが、その概念とは正反対である、先天的な才能が開花できるように 個性を伸ばすことを提案するアングロサクソンのモデルと結び付けてしまっている。日本 のモデルに関しては、マリー・ドュリュ・ベラとフランソワ・ドュベの方がより良く理解 している。日本では、学校で良い成績を得るためには先天的なものを完全に捨て去ること、 そして努力によりあらゆる能力が身に付けられるという考えがあることを彼らは理解して いる²³。日本のモデルに関する社会学者たちの間のこうした理解の相違はさらに大きくなる。 なぜならナタリー・モンスがそこに学校の強い一体化をみている²⁴からだ。一方、マリー・ ドュリュ - ベラとフランソワ・ドュベは、学校への統合を教師が支えていることを日本の 生徒は認めてはいても、日本の生徒による学校システムへの信頼度が低いこと25を証言して いる。二人の社会学者たちは、日本をノルウェーやオーストリアに近いモデル、すなわち 学習に大きな価値が認められていて機会が均等であるという点で、民主主義的な成功の土 台として認知されているモデル、すなわち「全員が高レベル」モデルと定義している。

それにもかかわらず、これらの社会学者たちは皆、日本の学校教育システムの平等主義的性質については、意見が一致しているように思われる。「非常に平等主義的な」²⁶システムについて語るマリー・ドュリュ・ベラとフランソワ・ドュベ達に加え、ナタリー・モンスは「フリー・スクール」、または、補習塾²⁷から得られる代替の平等性に果たす役割について述べている。実際、個人の主体的選択に対応する一時的な修学の機会を拡張させるといった、個人の発達の中で代替教育による解決法が普及していくのを見るのは、ネオリベラルな社会学者たちにとっては非常に喜ばしいことだ。さらにこれらの社会学者たちは、

²³ 前掲書 pp. 127-128.

²⁴ 前掲書 n 119

²⁵ この点に関して、「非常に平等的だが、一体性の乏しい」と P.100 に引用されている、ナタリー・モンスが言う「平等主義的融合」のフランスモデルに非常に近いものとして、マリー・ドュリュ - ベラとフランソワ・ドュベは日本システムを表現している。

²⁶ 前掲書 p. 100.

²⁷ 前掲書 pp. 118-119.

アングロサクソン的モデルの先天的素質に価値を置くイデオロギーへの歩み寄り²⁸について彼らの著作の中で時折触れながらも、学校で努力をすれば能力が得られると日本人が皆揃って幻想を抱いてしまっていることに対し、一様に批判的な見方をしている。努力による知識の平等化の探求というユートピア的考えについては、全員が非難めいた口調で言及しているのだ。このようにナタリー・モンスにとって、こうした日本的な教育の取り組み方は「強い信仰」のように見え、また、生まれつきの素質に重きを置くことを「拒否」しているように見える²⁹。マリー・ドュリュ・ベラとフランソワ・ドュベは、この同じ教育の取り組み方について、内在的なモチベーションを「確固として信じる」³⁰のが「支配的な見解」であると見ている。

他方で、フランスの学校教育に関しては彼らの間に認識の相違が見られる。マリー・ドュリューベラとフランソワ・ドュベは、ドイツやベルギーと共にフランスを「知識の学校」という彼らのモデルに分類している。それに対し、ナタリー・モンスはフランスを、ラテンの国々と共に「均一的融合」というモデルに分類している。マリー・ドュリューベラとフランソワ・ドュベの「知識の学校」のモデルでは、知識の獲得と優秀な学生の冷静なる選択を目的としている。一方、ナタリー・モンスの「均一的融合」は児童生徒の扱い方に関する平等性と非常に中央集権的な社会的一体性を求めるという、社会の教育に対する方針に従っている。ナタリー・モンスは「均一的融合」に関する記述において、学校教育の質に対して非常に批判的な見解を表明している。というのも、画一的な知識教育を行うと彼女のこだわりであるところの個性の表現手段を持つ可能性がなくなるからだ。そのレベルにおいて、フランスのモデルの分析に関して、もう一つの亀裂が生じている。マリー・ドュリューベラとフランソワ・ドュベは、学校の一体化に焦点を合わせているナタリー・モンスほど否定的にはフランスのモデルをとらえていない。

4. 提案された二つの類型論に関しての幾つかの批判

以上に述べた学校教育モデルの二つの類型論の比較から、筆者が考える双方への批判と提案を試みたい。ナタリー・モンスは一つの長期の基礎教育課程によって学校システムのより良いモデルを特徴づけているが、私の感覚からすると、それが唯一というわけではない。実際に、均一的な知識および彼女が主張する長期の基礎教育課程を与える代わりに、彼女好みの「融合」のモデルが少なくともフランスでは適用されている。しかし、このモデルは長期の基礎教育課程の条件に合致しない。そのため、もう一つの私が提示するモデ

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²⁸ 内部の規範について、彼らは非常に懐疑的な調子でコメントしており、この規範はよくない結果とストレスの元となるという考えすら表明している(p.128)。

²⁹ 前掲書 p. 119.

³⁰ 前掲書 pp. 127-128.

ルは、「個別的融合」の理想化されたモデルと同じ思惑に基づくが、実際には個性の表現に 磨きをかけ、生き方の選択肢を広げるものである。そして、ナタリー・モンスが指摘する 「均一的な融合」のモデルは結局、「分離」³¹モデルにより一層適合するが、基礎教育課程 を終えた段階で導入されるため、遅めの「職業専門学校」へ向かわせるものであることは 明白である。比較的短期の基礎教育課程に続く非常に長い専門教育課程間の位置づけは、 生徒の扱い方に多くの差異を引き起こし、生徒のやる気が失せる傾向がみられ、一体化も 欠如し、レベルの不均質性をもたらす。この教育方法も、ナタリー・モンスの専門教育に よって個性を伸ばすという提唱は、試験による実践的な効果を狙うものである。ただし実 際には、エリート養成課程、バカロレア試験S(サイエンス)の導入により、生徒間のレベ ルの差が開き、成績の明らかな不均等がもたらされた³²。ナタリー・モンスの類型論は実際 には長期の教育課程を一貫させた明確なモデルを生み出してはおらず、彼女のモデルを特 徴付けている「個別的融合」の目的が基礎教育課程を終えた後で現実の期待に添わないも のであるにもかかわらず、不幸なことに試験の実施だけが彼女の理想と合致してしまった。 他方で、マリー・ドュリュ‐ベラは、ナタリー・モンスとの 2004 年の共同研究を通して、 彼女たちは、幹部となる教師数の割合は生徒のパフォーマンスに影響を与えないことを証 明した。もし教師の支えが学校教育の効率において効果がないことが 2004 年に明らかにな ったのなら、教師が加わる学校の融合と学校の一体化の評価について展開される 2010 年の マリー・ドュリュ‐ベラの新しい研究テーマの意義は一体何であろうか。教師と生徒の関 係が学校教育の効率には影響を及ぼさないとする 2004 年の共同研究にマリー・ドュリュー ベラは参加しているが、その後のフランソワ・ドュベとの共同調査では「全ては学校が生 徒をいかに受け入れるかにかかっている」³³と断言している。彼女の二つの研究に見られる

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³¹ 前掲書 p. 119.

³² ドュリュ - ベラ・M. 2009.『フランスにおける不平等状態 - データと分析 2009 年』p. 237. 労働力市場の 需要と相容れる教育をしたいと願う学校機関の思惑により、CAP (Certificat d'aptitude professionnelle 職業能 力資格)を取るための進路の最初の選抜のところで長期の基礎教育課程が終了するというまやかしが生み 出された。その後には長い期間にわたって様々に専門化した直線的な過程のシステムが続く。中学のレベ ルから、それぞれ生徒の異なる扱い方のもと、各コースに分かれて昇級していく(13歳ごろから)。専門 家養成課程は非常に長いく、例えば CAP から BTS [Brevet de technicien supérieur 高等技術者資格] まで約7 年かかる。以前は新入社員がこういう職務の能力を企業で先輩から習得していた。例えば、13 歳での CAP から 20 歳での BTS まで、基礎教育課程に似たこの過程は、少なくとも 7 年にわたって、専攻の選択枠を ますます絞っていく。この過程はいくつもの職業研修によって延長され、この専門化の過程にさらに数年 が加わることになる。フランスの学校機関が、あるポストに生徒を就かせるために 7 年以上も費やしてい るにもかかわらず、企業はこの教育をまだ学術的で、プロの能力からは程遠いとみていることは驚きであ る。これらの社会学者たちが評価しているアングロサクソン系のどの国にも、このように企業の需要に応 えようとする学校機関は見当たらない。さらに、専門高校、技術高校、普通高校の間の階層化が、労働・ 中流・特権階級制度の区別されたクラスとして長期間機能し、社会の階級制度と教育組織の機関制度によ っての成績を均一に変えることを妨げている。専門の資格を与える各教育課程の帰結はそれ自体で完結し ており、アイデンティティの開花のシンボルとされる。これは「個別的融合」を好むネオリベラルのモデ ルの理論に合致している。しかし、これらの学校教育の道筋は完全に分断され、社会的排他をもたらした り、切望されていた効率と結果(成績)の平等性の並存という理想の実現を妨げたりしている。 33 前掲書 p.100.

明らかな矛盾がフランソワ・ドュベと共に構築した類型論の正当性を台無しにしてしまっている。

フランスの学校教育のモデルに対するナタリー・モンスの批判は辛辣で、それは試験の 際の効率の欠如に基づいている。彼女は「均一的融合」のモデルというレッテルを貼り、 フランスの学校教育システムは最も能率が低く、全てのレベルで失敗していると見なし、 社会的不平等に関する彼女の分析によると、フランスは学校での平等性という利点さえも 失っているとする。そして留年や補習授業やレベルごとのクラス分けのような時代遅れの 実践に頼っているのはラテン文化に属しているからだ³⁴と述べている。ラテンの影響を受け た文化という示唆は差別的で、理論的基盤としてネオ制度主義のアプローチを採用すると される研究者としては、あまりにも根拠がないと思われる。ネオ制度主義によると、学校 機関とその環境の間の対立のような戦略的要素のぶつかり合いだけが納得できる科学的価 値を示すことになる。では彼女の分析にこれほど頻繁に現れる文化というものは何の役割 を果たしているのか。彼女の著作の初めに宣言されたネオ制度主義的取り組みはどこにい ってしまったのだろうか。ナタリー・モンスは、学校教育課程の運営手段の様々な慣習を 基にして類型論を構築している。それら全てが「個別的融合」のモデルの条件に合致さる という目的に収斂されており、彼女が批判してきた留年やレベルごとのクラス分けという 実践は、どんなに彼女が非難しようとも、ラテン文化のせいにすることはできないだろう。 その証拠に、生徒の選抜という手段は他の場所ではありえない程、彼女自身が責任者であ るフランスの大学で過剰に使われており、彼女自身が教育政策のアングロサクソン化の動 きを最も活発にリードしている。競争を押し進めるために、学校の地方分権化と学校自治 を奨励しながら、それと同じ理屈に従って、個性に合った学校や教員補充研修の意義や、 個性によって異なる進路選択の推奨が、彼女の著作の中で繰り返されている。学校システ ムのアングロサクソン的性質は、彼女が好む「個人的融合」のモデルにおいてしか認めて いない³⁵。さらに勘違いも甚だしい事に、生まれつきの才能を開花させるとか個性を目覚め させたりする考えを拒否する日本のモデルを、アングロサクソンモデルと同一視する誤り を犯している。この種のイデオロギー的に偏った言明は、結局研究者としての中立性の問 題を引き起こす。

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³⁴ モンス・N. 2007. 『新教育政策 - フランスは良い選択をしているか』 p. 130: ナタリー・モンスは p. 122 で、実力主義の論理に基づく競争に対する学校の文化的傾向について述べるブシュトマンとヴェルディエの研究を取り上げながら、彼女が「ラテン特有の学校」と名付けているものに対し、すでに説明し難い否定を表明している。

³⁵ 前掲書 pp. 128-129: ナタリー・モンスは、アングロサクソン的「寛容な」学校から得た「自由選択式融合」のモデルを、試験においては高レベルの効率性を持っていると宣伝している。学校のパフォーマンスのばらつきは、学校間の機能のばらつきからもっぱら生まれているという理由付けをして、成績の隔たりを許容している。

5. 結論

現代フランスの学校教育について、パフォーマンスにおける効率と結果(成績)の平等性という明らかに相容れない二つの目標は、その相互矛盾にも拘らずフランスの社会学者達により異口同音に支持されている%。なぜなら、この二つの目標は、生徒の特性を考慮した個別的教育の局面において、イデオロギーの下で集められた生徒のプロフィールを正当化するからであろう。そこで私は、フランソワ・ドュベの著作『経験の社会学』(1994)の中で描かれている社会の当事者の覚醒を促すより成功した事例から、この二つの目標を別の意味に置き換えることによって、ナタリー・モンスとマリー・ドュリュ・ベラの議論にみられた矛盾を埋め合わせる提案を試みたい。つまり、結果(成績)の平等性を生徒の扱い方の平等性に置き換え、もう一方であまりにも専門化しすぎた教育実践の成果を、細分化されない広い一般的な知識を得る生徒の能率/博識に置き換えることで教育モデルの方法面を改善していこう。この二つの目標を置き換えることにより、教育のより良いモデルを形作ることができると思われる。なぜなら、生徒の扱い方に対する学校側の努力の強化には当然、マリー・ドュリュ・ベラとフランソワ・ドュベが主張する学校への統合と一体化が含まれるからだ"。

マリー・ドュリュ - ベラとフランソワ・ドュベの「全員が高レベル」モデルは、児童生徒を統合するための教育機関への支持が児童生徒から承認されると同時に、日本の学校において弱い教育的な団結が維持されることも含む。そのモデルに基づけば、児童生徒と先生が互いに協調しながら行動して、児童生徒が先生の授業を勝手に批判することなく、積極的に発言もせず静かに出席することを先生が許容し、お互いに寛容なものになる。その全員一致を尊重する価値観の中で教師が児童生徒を非難することはなく、児童生徒が限ら

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³⁶ ナタリー・モンスは彼女の著作 p. 128 で、試験における効率性を肯定しておいて、p. 26 では矛盾した論を展開している。すなわち、最高点と最低点の差が大きければ大きいほど、エリート生徒は不安定になるとし、そこから、エリートによるエリートの選択という政策に好意的になる危険があると断言するのである。

³⁷ 個別の生徒の実践的な要求に従って教育するために考えられた学校教育モデルを推進したいという強い誘惑をフランスの社会学者たちが断ち切るのは、一見して困難である。その教育モデルが公平さを守るという職業倫理に加え、民主主義の学校モデルの社会的表象が生み出し得る「共感」の効果を決定的に消し去ることが最大の課題である。このように、私はマリー・ドュリュ - ベラとフランソワ・ドュベによる「民主的コミュニティ」のモデルに対しては、ナタリー・モンスの「個別的融合」のモデルに対するのと同じくらい用心深くなっている。プロパガンダ的相違、曖昧さに満ちたモデルに対し、私は生徒の扱い方の平等性という目標を再導入したい。それは、学校システム類型論を構築するためにより文化的な面をカバーし、そしてこれらの社会学者たちが研究している学校機関の集団機能のうち、これまでは殆ど取り上げられてこなかった利点も取り込むものである。生徒の扱い方の平等性は、アカデミックな知識の伝授に専念するシステムから生まれた所謂エリート主義に対するナタリー・モンスの批判にも答えることができる。閉鎖的な専門課程に分ける方法をやめることにより、若い卒業生は基礎教育課程において高レベルの博識を持つことになるであろう。その基礎教育課程において、教員は生徒の扱い方の均等化、知識の伝授の均質化を保つことに気を配ることになるだろう。大部分の科目において、一様にハイレベルの教養を得ることは、一貫して例外なく、専門職業に就いた際に広い知識の価値を認めさせる事につながるのだ。

れた努力しかしなかったとしても、卒業をさせてもらうことができるだろう。また児童生徒の両親が、誰もが荒廃したと感じる教育環境を否認することもないだろう。しかし、実際には日本の教育機関が知識の伝達を結果的に失うことにはならない。なぜならば勉強したいと思う児童生徒は長期の就学を選択し、民間セクターで就職を求める生徒は自分たちの要求に完全に開かれた企業を見つけるからである。日本の教育選抜は否定的な効果をもたらすことはなく、日本の側にむしろフランスとは異なる長所が認められる。なぜなら、このようなタイプの力関係の中で、日本の学校教育機関は企業の募集の気まぐれを自ら掌握し、将来の職業ポストに向けて児童生徒を教育することを拒否するだけの十分な権威を持っているからである。フランスの学校教育機関に関して言えば、児童生徒の職業的使命を目覚めさせるという原則をもちつつも、民間企業の動向を自ら掌握するに至ることは決してない。そのようなフランスの問題点に対して、生徒や学生との完全なる教育的な団結に代わって、学校で評価を行うことに対する信頼と、市民連携という形をとって彼らを統合する関係性をもつことが、彼らの広い社会環境に対して学校教育機関が優位となるメリットを提供するのである。

付記:本稿を執筆するにあたり、上越教育大学の大前敦巳教授から原稿のコメントをいた だいた。

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Comparing Sources of Interest of High and Low Proficiency Level College Students in Japan in Classes with Native English-Speaking Teachers and Japanese English Teachers

Olya Yazawa

Global Business Faculty, Showa Women's University, Tokyo

Chisa Inouchi

International Communication Department, Kokusai Junior College, Tokyo

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Abstract

This article is part of a long-term study investigating Japanese university student perceptions of Native English-Speaking Teachers (NESTs) and Japanese Teachers of English (JTEs) and how these perceptions affect learner motivation. According to the quantitative results of the study, High Proficiency Level Students (HLS) and Low Proficiency Level Students (LLS) do not differ significantly in their perceptions of NESTs. In contrast, LLS have noticeably lower perceptions of JTEs compared to NESTs. For the qualitative part of the study we focused on interest, a major factor of learning motivation. As a result, the main source of interest for HLS is a positive attitude toward the global community of English speakers. This interest is a major contributor to the integrative orientation in learning motivation. LLS' interest is based on the enjoyment of learning, which contributes to their intrinsic motivation. Both integrative orientation and intrinsic motivation are very important factors of language learning. While it is not always easy for educators to influence learners' integrative orientation, intrinsic motivation, on the other hand, is considered by many as transitory and can be induced by the learning environment. Considering such discrepancies between HLS and LLS interest sources and motivations, educators, especially JTEs, should focus on developing new techniques that enhance intrinsic motivation.

Keywords: NEST, JTE, interest, intrinsic motivation, integrative motivation

1 Literature Review and Rationale

The research on successful language learning has long shifted away from fixed defined factors influencing the learning process such as methodology to more specific and transitional factors, such as the language classroom itself. In the language classroom situational interest, learners' temporary beliefs, and the dynamics of teacher-learner interaction are of growing interest among researchers. Environmental factors such as instructor attitude, teaching style and identity are considered important influences of learner motivation (Oxford and Shearin 1994; Peirse 1995, Dornyei 2005, 2001, 2011). In fact, teacher personality and teaching style are listed as the most common demotivating factors by many contemporary researchers (Dornyei 2001). Motivation is usually considered as responsible for "why, how long and how hard" people engage in the process of learning (Dornyei 2011). It is generally described as being *intrinsic* vs *extrinsic* and having *instrumental* and *integrative* orientation (Lins 2007; Loewen and Reinders 2011).

1.1 Instrumental and Integrative Orientation

One method of interpreting learner motivation is to describe it as having instrumental or integrative orientation. Instrumental orientation is extrinsic, as it refers to language learning for attaining instrumental (extrinsic) goals, such as better job offers or passing entrance exams. Integratively oriented motivation is also regarded as extrinsic, but the goals learners pursue are rather different. Learners with integrative motivation enjoy the foreign language they are studying, they like people who speak that language and want to integrate with the culture and society that uses this language. They want to make friends who speak the target language, to travel and to watch movies in the language they learn. Dornyei characterizes integrative motivation as having a positive attitude toward the target language society (1998). Gardner, Masgoret, Tennant and Mihic believe that integratively motivated students have more positive attitudes towards members of the target language group and are more strongly motivated than instrumentally motivated students (2005). In English as a foreign language learning settings, integrative motivation is more general and determined by wider attitudes towards multiple foreign countries and cultures. In Japan, integrative motivation can be described as the desire to globalize, and integrate with the rest of the world. It is not necessarily restricted to any particular native-speaking country.

1.2 Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation

The main source of intrinsic motivation is interest (Gardner 1985). Students are motivated to learn because they find the process of learning itself enjoyable. There is no particular reward or goal in learning except for the excitement of the process. In contrast, extrinsically motivated students are persistent in their studies because they assign a utility value to it. They understand the importance of the process for current or future goals. Multiple researchers find intrinsic motivation to have stronger and longer effect on student performance, because intrinsically motivated students are able to concentrate better and longer on the learning process (Dornyei 2005; Ryan and Deci 2000).

Intrinsic and integrative motivations appear similar since they are both based on interest. However, they are quite different because of the nature of the interest. Student interest related to intrinsic motivation is observed in the process of learning, while integrative orientation in motivation

is supported by interest in the object of learning, the interest in achieving integrative goals. Intrinsically motivated students enjoy the way lessons are organized, presented and experienced; while integratively motivated students enjoy the content, language and the cultural knowledge they gain.

Because intrinsically motivated students enjoy the way lessons are organized and experienced, their motivation is affected to a certain degree by teachers, as the teachers represent a significant part of the learning environment. Knowing the causes of the teacher effect, we can discuss what teachers can do to improve students' levels of intrinsic motivation.

1.3. Teacher Effect

Different teaching techniques and strategies, as well as teacher attitude, manners, and personality, are among the many external subjective factors that impact learner motivation. Although teachers have their own individual differences and individual teaching styles, as well as different countries' culture to bring to the classroom, Native English-Speaking Teachers in Japan (NESTs) are widely stereotyped and regarded by many other teachers and learners as one distinctive group. Recently, NESTs have been in the spotlight of growing interest in studies of 'native-speakerism', the very ideology generalizing and grouping teachers of English based on their race and country of origin. There have been several studies published on native-speakerism reflected in office politics and hiring processes in Japan (Kubota and Lin 2006; Houghton and Rivers 2013; Swan, Aboshiha and Holliday 2015). The differences in student perception of teaching style between NESTs and Japanese Teachers of English (JTEs) have also been previously researched. NESTs are seen as good at teaching oral skills, focusing on classroom activities to enhance fluency and communicating with students only in English. On the other hand, JTEs are perceived as good at teaching grammar, vocabulary and literacy skills, using explicit linguistic knowledge (Medgyes 1994; Murahata 2001; Nakai 2003; Saito 2014). However, given the recent increase in research interest on NEST and JTE relationships in the office and in the classroom, there have not been any studies done on student motivation in Japan with a focus on native-speakerism. Considering the fact that teachers are often listed as great demotivators by learners, the purpose of this article is to explore whether Native English-Speaking Teachers (NESTs) and Japanese Teachers of English (JTEs) influence learner motivation in different ways and how educators can nurture and foster motivation among English language learners in Japan.

1.4. Language Learners

Research on individual differences of foreign language learners is growing in popularity all over the world. The present study examines teacher effect on student motivation, as one of the important factors in learner-centered education, and also focuses on student proficiency as one of the individual differences that may influence their motivation in context.

The relationship between proficiency level and the process of language acquisition has been well investigated (Graham 1987; Konishi 1998; Oxford and Nyikos 1989). However, there have been only a few comparative studies of sources of interest among students of low and high language achievement in Japan. Considering that the quality of communication between native speakers and

learners of the target language may be different according to the degree of their language proficiency, such a difference may or may not play an important role influencing students' interest and motivation in the classroom with "Native" and Japanese teachers. The majority of tertiary institutions in Japan divide English learning classes according to the student proficiency level and tend to assign JTEs to Low Proficiency Level Students (LLS) classes and NESTs to High Proficiency Level Students (HLS). The rationale for such a division is usually the presumed inability of NESTs to use Japanese language in order to facilitate the learning process for low proficiency students. LLS may experience lower interest in classes with NESTs if their language skills are insufficient to understand the content of the lessons. Therefore, this research attempts to answer the following questions: 1) How does the reported interest towards NESTs and JTEs differ between students of high proficiency levels (HLS) and low proficiency levels of English (LLS)? and 2) What are the sources of interest? We believe that understanding the differences in student perception on different proficiency levels can help us, educators, to find better ways to manipulate and modify student interest, anxiety, and self-efficacy, in order to improve their learning skills and achieve better learning results.

2 Methodology and Instruments

This study was conducted at a junior college in Tokyo, Japan. The students are usually divided into English language classes according to their TOEIC Bridge test exam score, which they take at the beginning of each academic year. The highest class (HLS) represents students with the average score of 150 and the lowest class (LLS) corresponds to the score of 100 and below. The majority of students were from the urban area of greater Tokyo and its suburbs and possessed considerably uniform cognitive abilities. The participants of this study were 111 freshmen students, and 80% of them were female.

First, a wide diagnostic survey was designed to detect general traits in the student perception of their teachers in terms of self-efficacy, interest, utility value and anxiety. The questions categorized into four categories with English translations are presented in Table 1. The primary goal of this survey was to evaluate general student perceptions towards different types of teachers and examine how these perceptions may signal traits and tendencies worth further investigation. After a brief explanation of the study, the participants were given a questionnaire consisting of 10 questions in Japanese. The survey was conducted at the end of the first semester of the freshman year. For the majority of students this freshman year was their first experience of taking classes from NESTs. The NESTs in this school were three male teachers and one female, from the Unites States of America, Canada and Russia. There were four JTEs, two female and two male. For freshman students, both NESTs and JTEs teach the same course using a common textbook aimed at strengthening grammatical skills. The teachers however, were free to integrate any communicative activities in the classroom. Besides this basic course, phonetics and business English were taught by NESTs, and writing and preparation courses for proficiency tests were offered by JTEs.

Table 1. Survey questions and their translation in English

Self-eff	Self-efficacy			
I am confident I can master English well with	ネイティブ英語教師となら英語をうまく習得			
NESTs.	できると自信をもっています。			
I am confident I can master English well with	日本人英語教師となら英語をうまく習得でき			
JTEs.	ると自信をもっています。			
Inter	est			
I think NESTs are interesting and fascinating.	ネイティブ英語教師は楽しいし、面白い。			
I think JTEs are interesting and fascinating.	日本人英語教師は楽しいし、面白い。			
Utility Value				
I think NESTs' lessons are very useful.	ネイティブ英語教師の授業はとてもために			
	なると思う。			
I think JTEs' lessons are very useful.	日本人英語教師の授業はとてもためになる			
	と思う。			
Anxiety				
I do not feel uneasy with JTEs.	ネイティブ英語教師の授業で不安な点がな			
	Įν _o			
I do not feel uneasy with NESTs.	日本人英語教師の授業で不安な点がない。			

The first part of the questionnaire required participants to state their gender and proficiency level according to their class section. The remaining 8 questions were Likert Scale type questions with weight assigned to each answer choice. The choices were "全くそう思わない" (not true at all)", "そう思わない" (not true)", "どちらとも言えない" (cannot say)", "そう思う (true)" and "とてもそう思う (very much true)" with weights assigned from one to five, respectively. The statements were in Japanese and randomly shuffled in their order of appearance. The collected data was processed in Microsoft Excel (Windows 2016); mean, median, standard deviation and weighted average of the each category were calculated.

Following the first analysis of the diagnostic survey results, 25 students from High Proficiency Level classes and 25 students from Low Proficiency classes who participated in the first part of the study were given a follow-up questionnaire, requiring them to define the sources of their Interest towards NESTs and JTEs, to further the understanding and interpretation of the data. They were asked two questions: "ネイティブ(または日本人)英語講師の授業のどのような点が面白いと感じますか?詳しく書いてください。(Describe in details what you find interesting in NESTs' (or JTEs') classes)".

The limitation of this study is that it relies on self-reported data. The validity of the results relies to some extent on the learners' honesty. In general, survey respondents tend to provide socially

desirable answers (Hancock and Flowers 2001). A second limitation is that because the article's main focus is on the qualitative data, the quantitative component was considerably small.

3 Results and Discussion

3.1 First Survey

According to the first diagnostic survey results, students on average had a higher interest, saw a greater utility, and higher self-efficacy levels when learning English from NESTs than from JTEs. In the category of anxiety, NESTs score was surprisingly also positive compared to JTEs' (Table 2, Figure 1).

Table 2. Diagnostic survey questions

Category	Weighted Average	Questions in Japanese
NESTs Self-efficacy	4.02	ネイティブ英語教師となら英語をうまく習得できると自信を
		もっています。
JTEs Self-efficacy	3.4	日本人英語教師となら英語をうまく習得できると自信をもっ
		ています。
NESTs Interest	4.48	ネイティブ英語教師は楽しいし、面白い。
JTEs Interest	3.69	日本人英語教師は楽しいし、面白い。
NESTs Utility Value	4.47	ネイティブ英語教師の授業はとてもためになると思う。
JTEs Utility Value	3.8	日本人英語教師の授業はとてもためになると思う。
NESTs Anxiety	3.56	ネイティブ英語教師の授業で不安な点がない。
JTEs Anxiety	3.32	日本人英語教師の授業で不安な点がない。

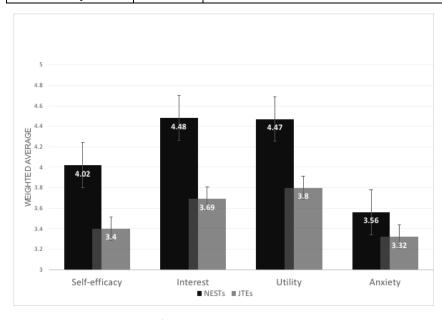


Figure 1. Comparison of students' perceptions towards NESTs and JTEs

The gaps in student perception of NESTs and JTEs support the idea that the relative status of teachers as belonging to NEST or JTE group affects the levels of student self-efficacy, interest, utility value and anxiety. Furthermore, having a NEST or JTE in the classroom can be a different experience for students with high English proficiency compared to students with the low. Therefore, data of High Proficiency Level Students (HLS) and Low Proficiency Level Students (LLS) were compared in order to see if there are any tendencies in their perceptions depending on their proficiency levels (Figure 2).

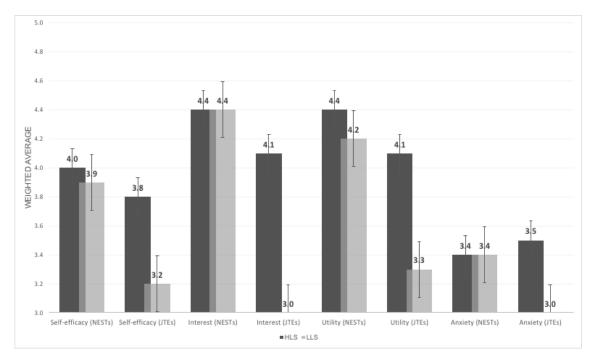


Figure 2. Comparison of students' perceptions towards NESTs and JTEs according to their English proficiency levels.

According to the quantitative results of the first survey, HLS and LLS did not differ much in their perceptions of NESTs. However, LLS had lower average scores for JTEs compared to HLS. The biggest gap in student perception of JTEs was in the category of interest. While the average HLS and LLS interest scores towards NESTs were practically the same, the difference between HLS and LLS perceptions towards JTEs was 1 point on 5-point scale. Such difference showed that a further qualitative investigation was needed to define interest sources in order to highlight the discrepancies and discuss what teaching techniques can be constructed to enhance the intrinsic motivation among low-level learners.

3.2 Qualitative Follow-up Survey

In order to determine the sources of enjoyment and interest while learning English, the students were given a short questionnaire and asked to describe in detail what they found interesting about their teachers. The collected data was divided into two groups (HLS and LLS) and their discourses were compared to each other.

Looking at the qualitative results, we can distinguish connections and similarities between HLS and LLS perceptions of NESTs. Throughout the gathered data, some consistently arising themes and ideas suggest that both groups share common sources of interest for NESTs. As shown in Table 3, students are attracted to lessons with NESTs by language authenticity, novelty and English pronunciation of native speakers such as "生のネイティブ英語(authentic English)[HNS11]", "日本人にはない感性(atmosphere different from the Japanese people)[HNS4]", "生きた英語 (practical English)[HNS5]", "日本人にはないテンション(have a different vibe from JTEs)[LNS12]", "ネイティブの発音(pronunciation of native speakers)[LNS1]".

Table 3. Common perceptions among HLS and LLS toward NESTs³

-	1 1
	NESTs
HLS	[HNS1] <u>生のネイティブ英語</u> が聞ける、単語を日に日に学べるところ
	[HNS2] まず、英語で授業のポイントや説明を聞けるところ。そして、ジョー
	クや、言い回しが <u>英語独特</u> でとても面白い。
	[HNS3] <u>外国人ならではの</u> 授業スタイルが面白い。
	[HNS4] <u>日本人にはない</u> 感性を持っていて、私たちに <u>ネイティブならではの</u> マイ
	ンドやものの見方を教えてくれるので非常に興味深いです。
	[HNS5] <u>生きた英語</u> が聞けて面白い。
	[HNS6] グループに分かれてクイズをみんなで当てるのが面白いです。
LLS	[LNS1] <u>日本人とは違う</u> テンション。 <u>ネイティブの発音</u> に慣れられる。
	[LNS2]海外の文化を教えてくれる
	[LNS3]冗談をたくさん言ってくれたり、ゲーム感覚でできる
	増やす。
	[LNS4]日本の先生よりテンションが高いのでこちらも楽しい。

On the other hand, there are also some remarkable differences in student perception between HLS and LLS groups toward NESTs and JTEs. First of all, it appears to be a common idea among HLS to find lessons with NESTs and JTEs equally interesting because they are interested in English language and its culture as shown in the excerpts of their comments shown in Table 4.

 $^{^{1}}$ H = High Proficiency Level Student, N = students' attitude towards NEST, S1 = student with an assigned number.

² L = Low Proficiency Level Student

³ The keywords that present their common perceptions are underlined. The English translations are provided in Appendix B. The same applies to Tables 4 and 5.

Table 4. Perceptions of HLS toward NESTs and JTEs⁴

NESTs JTEs [HNS2] まず、英語で授業のポイントや [HJS1⁵] 生徒の話をきちんと聞いて、授 HLS 説明を<u>聞ける</u>ところ。そして、ジョー 業に反映してくれることから。先生の経 クや、言い回しが英語独特でとても面 験や知識が豊富で、素晴らしいから。 [HJS2] 常にビデオや写真を用いていて、 白い。 私たちのタイムリーなネタを用いて勉 [HNS4] 日本人にはない感性を持って いて、私たちにネイティブならではの強できるところ。 マインドやものの見方を教えてくれる [HJS3] 英語と日本語が混ざってて内容 ので非常に興味深いです。 が面白い。 [HNS7] 海外の価値観が分かること。日 [HJS4] とりあげるトピックが毎回興味 本語が全く存在しないからこそ、努力 があるもので面白い。 できる環境があるからです。知らなか [HJS5] 日本と海外の違いを教えてくれ った英語に沢山<u>触れられる</u>こと。 て面白い。 [HNS8] 視野が広いし、もっとアメリカ [HJS6] 気軽に<u>質問できる</u>ので外国人教 のことが<u>勉強できる</u>し、知識だけじゃ 師の授業でどうしても分からなかった 部分を掘り下げて<u>聞く事ができる</u>点で なくて、考え方もいろいろおしえてく れているし、とてもいいと思います。 [HNS9] 色んな事が<u>聞ける</u>事ですね。例 えば海外でよく使われる表現を使って 話してくれるので、「ヘェ~こんな表 現があるのか!」と為になります。 [HNS10] 他の国の文化や伝統も<u>学べる</u> ところ。

Second, sources of interests among HLS are diverse and more in depth compared to the LLS. They find enjoyment in learning "ネイティブならではのマインドやものの味方 (mindset and ideas of Native speakers) [HNS4]", "海外の価値観 (other countries' value system) [HNS7]", "他の国の文化や伝統 (cultures and traditions of other countries)[HNS11]", "先生の経験や知識 (experience and knowledge of the teacher) [HJS1]", "タイムリーなネタ (authentic material) [HJS2]", "トピック (topics) [HJS4]", "日本と海外の違い (difference between Japan and other countries) [HJS5]" through English language.

Also, students clearly demonstrate their self-motivation toward learning English. The words associated with "~できる (dekiru)" meaning "can do something" frequently appeared in their

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⁴ The descriptions that indicate their attitudes toward NESTs and JTEs are double-underlined. The same applies to Table 5.

⁵ J = student's attitude towards JTEs.

comments as highlighted in Table 4. For example, key-phrases such as "努力できる環境がある (try to make an effort) [HNS7]", "学べる (can learn) [HNS11]", and "質問できる (can ask questions) [HJS6]" all show their positive attitude toward learning English. For HLS, the teacher functions as more of a facilitator or guide rather than the gate-keeper of knowledge. Gardner (2001) believes that a learner must have a positive attitude towards the target language society to learn a foreign language. Both NESTs and JTEs equally facilitate and enhance HLS' interest in their classrooms by sharing their experiences about the language and its culture. Therefore, we conclude that HLS have a higher integrative orientation in their learning motivation, as they enjoy learning the language and culture of that society equally with NESTs and JTEs. English is a global language and for many HLS, the motivation to study English is the desire to learn the cultural difference, to communicate with other nonnative speakers, just like themselves, to share experience, to grow, to integrate "globally".

On the other hand, LLS have different interest levels towards NESTs and JTEs, because their interest seems to be based on pure enjoyment of learning English. LLS are intrinsically motivated in NESTs' classrooms through games and other fun activities.

Table 5. Perceptions of LLS toward NESTs and JTEs

NESTs	JTEs
[LNS1]日本人とは違う <u>テンション</u> 。ネイティ	[LJS1]楽しい授業にして欲しい。
ブの発音に慣れられる。	[LJS2]楽しくないです
[LNS4]日本の先生より <u>テンション</u> が高いの	[LJS3]日本人同士なので <u>親しみやすい</u>
でこちらも楽しい	[LJS4]文法が <u>分かりやすい</u>
[LNS5]友達みたいな授業で、安心します。	[LJS5]わからないことを聞くと、詳しくわ
いつも笑う。	かる。
[LNS6]全体的に楽しくして <u>くれる</u> 。	[LJS6]面白い話をして <u>くれる</u> ところ
[LNS7]英語を沢山話して <u>くれる</u> し、日本語で	[LJS7]詳しく教えて <u>くれる</u> ところ
も説明してくれる!	[LJS8] <u>覚えやすく</u> 話して <u>くれる</u> ところ
[LNS8]話す <u>テンション</u> が面白い	[LJS9]海外のジョークを教えて <u>くれる</u>
[LNS9]ダジャレを教えて <u>くれる</u> ところ	[LJS10]日本語で説明して <u>くれる</u> から
[LNS10]ゲームしたりするところ	[LJS11] <u>分かりやすい</u>
[LNS11] <u>テンション</u> が良い!!	[LJS12 <u>]</u> 伝わりやすい、 <u>わかりやすい</u>
[LNS12]海外の文化を教えて <u>くれる</u>	[LJS13]海外旅行とかでよく使う英語など
[LNS13]冗談をたくさん言って <u>くれたり</u> 、	を教えて <u>もらえる</u> ところ。
ゲーム感覚でできる	
[LNS14]日常会話を教えて <u>もらえる</u> ところ。	

For them, an atmosphere of fun and excitement created by NESTs are the key components of their enjoyment. With regard to the latter factor, the word " $\mathcal{T} \mathcal{V} \mathcal{V} \mathcal{I} \mathcal{V}$ (vibe, energy) [LNS1,4,8,11]" frequently appeared in the narratives describing NESTs. It seems that the stereotyped impressions or

presumed personalities of NESTs and JTEs strongly affect their perceptions and expectations in class. NESTs in this study come from different countries and cultures, however, LLS tend to generalize NESTs as having more enthusiasm than JTEs. From this perspective, students clearly distinguish the atmosphere in classrooms with NESTs from JTEs, and their nature of expectations is different. It is possible to conclude that a perception of JTEs as having a lower "fun factor" could be induced due to the novelty of interacting with a foreigner, rather than the difference in teacher's classroom practice and actual personalities. However, several LLS indicated in their responses that they enjoy jokes and games in NESTs classrooms, which they did not mention for JTEs. Rather, they enjoy comprehensive explanations provided by JTEs, which makes learning easier, as expressed by following comments: "文法がわかりやすい (easy to understand grammar) [LJS4]", "伝わりやすい (easy to communicate) [LJS12]", for example.

Furthermore, we find a remarkable difference in the discourse of HLS and LLS, which can be viewed as the fundamental attitude gap toward learning English. As shown in comments by LLS, their discourse tends to be expressed in passive voice compared to that of HLS. The words "~〈れる (kureru)" and "~もらえる (moraeru)" meaning "make/help one do something", appear in many of the comments from LLS students (e.g. "楽しくしてくれる (make it fun for us) [LNS6]", "話してくれる (talk to us) [LNS7]", "説明してくれる (give us explanations) [LNS10]", "教えてもらえる (give us instructions) [LJS13]"). Such grammatical markers indicate that the students' learning style remains passive regardless of the teacher's identity (Table 5).

4 Conclusion

Personal interest in English as a language and English language-related culture increases integrative orientation in motivation, engagement in the learning process and comprehension. Integratively motivated students are equally motivated in classes with both types of teachers. Excitement and the novelty of interacting with a foreigner in the NEST's classroom result in an overall increase in enthusiasm and intrinsic motivation among learners. Native English-Speaking Teachers excite low proficiency level students more than Japanese teachers and thus positively influence student self-efficacy and furthermore positively affect their learning outcomes. Therefore, it seems that assigning NESTs to classes with LLS seems more rationalized and effective than assigning JTEs. This finding contradicts current practices in Japanese universities and warrants further consideration from researchers.

This study demonstrates that teachers can directly influence the excitement factor in the classroom and need to become more aware of the level and complex structure of motivation among their students. Teachers can enhance student intrinsic motivation by encouraging enjoyment in learning English through fun activities and thoughtfully designed assignments. This study shows that NESTs manage to enhance LLS' interest to a greater extent than JTEs. This suggests that JTEs too can play a more active role in promoting an enjoyable environment and intrinsic motivation in low proficiency level students. To be intrinsically motivated, it is important that the students enjoy learning English with JTEs. LLS mention that they appreciate the exciting atmosphere provided by NESTs. Therefore, JTEs, who sometimes feel reluctant to play games in class, may be advised to re-evaluate their teaching approaches and try to create an exciting atmosphere by proactively including enjoyable learning activities with comprehensive instructions that interest LLS students.

To help LLS increase interest and positive perception of their JTEs, some instructional activities are suggested. First of all, considering the passive learning attitude of LLS, JTEs are advised to apply more interactive teaching methods using Information and Communication Technology or active games. Providing a more communicative environment among students and teachers in class will enhance students' positive attitude toward learning English from JTEs. Also, in order to increase the enjoyment of learning from JTEs, teachers may consider making use of authentic topics and contents that attract attention and amuse the students. When the students have an interest in the topics discussed in class, JTEs can help students increase their motivation to learn.

Through comparison and analysis of different proficiency levels, this study showed that High Proficiency Students have a distinctive integrative orientation in their learning motivation and Low Proficiency Students are intrinsically motivated. This difference in attitude between HLS should attract the attention of English language teachers in Japan. If we become aware of these discrepancies between the sources of motivation for HLS and LLS, we can work more efficiently towards enhancing intrinsic and integrative motivation in classrooms with different learners. Considering the importance of motivation in foreign language learning, further research should be carried out on the role of teachers and their effect on learner motivation and how this knowledge can be incorporated into English teaching practice in Japan.

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Appendix: English translations of Tables 3, 4 and 5

 Table 3. Common perceptions among HLS and LLS toward NESTs

	NESTs	
HLS	LS [HNS1] We can listen to <u>authentic English</u> and learn new words [HNS2] First, I can listen to the key points and explanations in English. Second, I am	
	interested in learning jokes and expressions that are unique in English.	
	[HNS3] Teaching styles of foreigners that are distinctive from the Japanese people.	
	[HNS4] I find interests in the atmosphere different from the Japanese people, and I like	
	to learn visions and ideas of native speakers of English.	
	[HNS5] It is fun to listen to <u>practical English</u> .	
	[HNS6] It is interesting to do quiz in groups.	
LLS	[LNS1] Enthusiasm distinctive from JTEs. I get used to the pronunciations of the	
	native speakers of English.	
	[LNS2] They teach us different cultures.	
	[LNS3] They tells us a lot of jokes, and we get to learn through playing games.	
	[LNS4] NESTs are more enthusiastic than JTEs, so it is also fun to learn from them.	

Table 4. Perceptions of HLS toward NESTs and JTE

	NESTs	JTEs
HLS	[HNS2] First, I can listen to the key points and explanations in English. Second, I am interested in learning jokes and expressions which are unique in English. [HNS4] I find interests in the atmosphere different from the Japanese people, and I like to learn visions and ideas of native speakers of English. [HNS7] I learn ways of thinking in other countries. With the environment that Japanese is not spoken, I try to make an effort. I get exposed to a lot of new English expressions. [HNS8] They have wide perspective, I can learn about America, and they give me new knowledge as well as ways of thinking. They teach us many things, so that is very good for me. [HNS9] I can listen to different things. For example, they use expressions that are often used in other countries. In class, I feel "Wow, there is such an expression in English!" It is meaningful for me. [HNS10] I can learn cultures and traditions of	

Table 5. Perceptions of LLS toward NESTs and JTEs

NESTs	JTEs
[LNS1] <u>Enthusiasm</u> distinctive from	[LJS1] I want them to make our class more fun.
Japanese. I get used to the pronunciation of	[LJS2] It is not fun.
native English speakers.	[LJS3] I have a friendly feeling with them as
[LNS4] They are more enthusiastic than	they are also Japanese.
Japanese teachers. It is fun to learn from	[LJS4] It is easy to understand grammar.
NESTs too.	[LJS5] When I ask them questions, they give me
[LNS5] They make a friendly atmosphere in	detailed explanations.
class. It makes me feel relaxed, and I laugh all	[LJS6] They <u>tell us</u> funny stories.
the time.	[LJS7] They give us explanations in details.
[LNS6] Overall, they <u>make it fun for us</u> .	[LJS8] They speak to us in a memorable way.
[LNS7] They talk to us in English a lot, and	[LJS9] They <u>tell us</u> jokes of other countries.
they also give us explanations in Japanese!	[LJS10] They explain to us in Japanese.
[LNS8] Their speech with enthusiasm is fun.	[LJS11] It is <u>easy to understand</u> .
[LNS9] They teach us jokes.	[LJS12] It is easy to communicate, easy to
[LNS10] Playing games in class.	understand.
[LNS11] Their enthusiasm is good!!	[LJS13] They <u>teach us</u> useful expressions when
[LNS12] They <u>teach us</u> cultures in other	we travel abroad.
countries.	
[LNS13] They <u>tell us</u> a lot of jokes, and I can	
participate in class like playing games.	
[LNS14] They <u>teach us</u> daily conversations.	

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Ksenia Golovina
Ingrid Kaufmann
Alexandra Terashima

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