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Intercultural Teaching and Learning

English as a Foreign Language Education in Finland and Japan

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ABSTRACT

In Finland and Japan, as in all countries, cultural assumptions and norms underpin pedagogic decisions which determine the outcome of foreign language teaching and learning. This study was undertaken to offer a framework for studying how teaching English as a foreign language (TEFL) is planned and executed in relation to the educational culture present in specific learning environments. The focus extends the use of Hofstede's (1980; 1986, 1990) model of cultural difference and examines how collectivism vs. individualism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance and masculinity vs. femininity as well as aspects of context (Hall 1976) and politeness (Scollon and Scollon 1983; 1995) influence TEFL and to what extent there are cultural similarities and differences between Japan and Finland in the specific junior high school educational cultures studied. The research model was applied to language planning and textbook design, testing, learner and teacher attitudes, transcribed classroom discourse and lesson segmentation data gathered in the two countries over a five-year period. Results provide an overall perspective of phenomena, including the Japan Exchange Teaching (JET) Program. While communication in English was an expressed goal in the Japanese setting, entrance tests were a major motivational factor. In the Finnish setting, test taking was only a minor factor in English education and communication was paramount. Classroom teaching methods, lesson segmentation and teacher-student/ student-student interaction in both countries were found to be influenced by textbook design and curriculum goals as well as cultural factors. The Finnish setting reflected a more learner-centered teaching approach in which teachers encouraged pupils to interact with themselves and each other. This was conducive to communicative language teaching. The Japanese educational culture in the TEFL classroom tended to be more teacher-centered with an emphasis on test training and structural teaching approaches. The Finnish TEFL methods at the junior high school level appear successful in establishing communication in the classroom and could prove useful in other settings, including Japan, that seek to provide pupils with the necessary language skills to become successful participants in the emerging English-speaking global community.

Key words: TEFL, Intercultural Communication, Finland, Japan, Education, JET Program, individualism, collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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1   INTRODUCTION

This study examines foreign language teaching and learning in Finland and Japan from the perspective of intercultural communication. In other words its primary purpose is to examine how culture affects the process of foreign language teaching and learning. English is the primary foreign language studied in the two countries and will therefore be the focus of this work (Monbusho 1994a; 1994b; Takala 1993).

Finland is a suitable country to compare with Japan because the two countries appear on the surface to have some general cultural similarities such as basically homogeneous populations[1], languages not related to English among the Japanese speaking and Finnish speaking populations and a high tolerance of silence as an integral part of their communication systems (Adams 1990; Marsh 1989: 137; Tanaka 1990: 25; Shibatani 1987; Branch 1987; Baldi 1983; Crystal 1987; Bodimer 1944; Sallinen-Kuparinen and Lehtonen 1985; Lehtonen and Sajavaara 1985; Barnlund 1975; De Mente 1989: 125-127; Widen 1985). However, Takahashi (1995: 31-32) points out the problematic nature of classifying Japan as a homogeneous country in light of the regional differences, sub-cultures and minorities in the country. This applies also to Finland where the existence of these factors also affects the concept (Skutnabb-Kangas 1988;

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1   The population of Japan was approximately 124,043,000 in 1993, when this study was conducted. In addition, 1,075,317 foreign residents resided in Japan including 687,940 Koreans, 150,339 Chinese, 56,429 Brazilians, 49,092 Philippinos, 38,364 from th U.S.A, 10,279 from Peru, 10,206 from the U.K., 6,724 from Thailand, 6,233 from Viet Nam and 4,909 from Canada (Ueda 1993: 32-39). Ainus and Burakumin are also minorities in Japan (Yoshino and Murakoshi 1977). Regional cultural differences between the Kanto, Kansai and other regions and cities are characteristic of Japan. The population of Finland was approximately 5,116, 826 in 1995 including 4,754,787 Finnish speakers, 294,664 Swedish speakers, 1726 Lappish speakers, 15,872 Russian speakers and 49,777 speaking other languages. Finnish and Swedish are the official languages. There were also 68,566 foreigners in the country, 24,329 of whom were from the former U.S.S.R. (Finland Statistics 1995). Regional cultural differences between Savo, Häme and other regions and cities are characteristic of Finland.

Stefanovic and Summa 1995; Takalo and Juote 1995). It may be better, therefore, to state that Finland and Japan are more homogeneous than countries like the United States, where different ethnic groups and minorities are a more central component of the national identity (Comager 1973; Nash et al. 1994a; 1994b).

There are institutional similarities that exist in the two countries including a post-World War II history of centralized education and, more recently, widespread equal educational opportunity and virtually universal access to English education (Nikki 1992; Monbusho 1994a; Takala 1993). Since 1992, there has also been a trend in the two countries to provide more autonomy in language planning at the local level (National Board of Education 1994a; Carter, Goold and Madeley 1993a; 1993b; 1993c; Monbusho 1994b).

A review of recent literature yielded few reports related to cultural comparisons between Finland and Japan. Pehkonen and Kawatake (1995) surveyed 2,328 Finnish and 2989 Japanese teenagers aged 14 to 18 on their opinions regarding themselves, society, other peoples and nationalities, information technology and the future. This research did not relate directly to education or English teaching or learning. Sallinen-Kuparinen and Lehtonen (1985) released an absentia conference paper on Finnish and Japanese cultural similarities. Merviö (1993; 1995), a study entitled 'Research of Japan in a World Afflicted by Nationalism, Racism and Other Biases', is not directly concerned with cultural comparisons between the two countries except for presenting brief critical remarks on populist - not academic - beliefs on similarities (Takahashi 1996). In addition, this study states that Tokai University in Japan teaches Finnish and Finnish studies. Widen (1987) relates Japan to Finnish and American cross-cultural comparison. Koivisto (1992) reported on 'Finno-Japanese Management Interaction' focusing on cultural friction which, in most cases, has its origin in the Buddhist heritage of Japan and the Protestant heritage of Finland.

Educational links between Japan and Finland have been outlined in Huhtala and Koivisto (1997a; 1997b; 1997c). In addition, Vatanen (1997) reports that there are 25 Japan-related research projects being conducted at Finnish universities in 1997. Of these, 5 are related to both Japan and Finland. The almost complete absence of former research comparing intercultural teaching and learning and English as a foreign language education between Japan and Finland was one reason for the present study.

1.1.1 Hypothesis And Research Questions

Based on my experience living, studying and teaching in Finland from 1987-1990, 1993-1994 and 1996-1997, and in Japan from 1991-1993 and 1994-96, I formulated the primary research questions for the present study.

1. What factors contribute to the apparent difference in English proficiency in the two countries?

2. To what extent are there cultural similarities and differences between Japan and Finland in regard to the educational culture of the specific junior high school settings?

The primary line of investigation this study will pursue is an examination of the many factors involved in English language teaching in the two countries. Before embarking on the project, the concept of 'English proficiency in the two countries' should be examined.

The Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) was chosen as a gauge because it is taken in large numbers by both Japanese and Finnish speakers. It is administered by the Educational Testing Service (ETS) in the United States to 'evaluate the English proficiency of people whose native language is not English' (Anon. 1995a: 9). Numerous studies and ongoing research confirm the validity and reliability of the test (Pike 1979; Stansfield and Webster 1986; Hale, Stansfield and Duran 1984; Holtzclaw 1986; Henning 1990; Schedl, Thomas and Way 1995) For a complete list see Educational Testing Service (1995a). Criticisms of the TOEFL test can be found in Raimes (1990), Narin et al. (1980) and other works.

TABLE 1.1 Summary Of TOEFL Scores For Finland And Japan

	# of Examinees	Total score ank	Percentile
Japan	278,309	494	36
Japanese speakers	274,350	494	36
Finland	2,449	587	83.5
Finnish speakers	2,343	586	83
Swedish speakers[2]	5,609	586	83

Source: Educational Testing Service 1995b

The TOEFL scores suggest profound differences in English proficiency between the Japanese and the Finns. Informal interviews with language professionals familiar with the two countries also suggest that their general impression is that communicating in English with Finns in Finland seemed much less problematic than communicating in English with Japanese people in Japan[3]. Further, the

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[2]   Swedish speakers have been included because Swedish is an official language in Finland. The '# of Examinees' column suggests that most Swedish speakers take the TOEFL test outside of Finland. Swedish speakers have the same overall score as Finnish speakers.

[3]   16 Japanese, 1 Korean and 1 German language professional were interviewed informally at the AILA 11th Congress of Applied Linguistics in Jyväskylä, Finland, 4-9 August 1996. 6 Finnish and 3 Americans language professionals were also interviewed. All conveyed the same general impression of the level of oral proficiency in Japan and in Finland. In addition, I have

concept that the Japanese have less than satisfactory communicative performance is a recurring theme in research related to English teaching and learning in Japan (Tanabe 1996; Knight 1995; Wada and Cominos 1995; Wada and Cominos 1994; Evans 1993; Schnider 1993; Sheen 1992; Ellis 1992; Ellis 1993). The factors that contribute to this difference will be discussed in great length in this study.

The second research question addresses cultural similarities and differences which were observed and recorded in specific Japanese and Finnish junior high school settings using methods which will be described later in the present work. The two central research questions spur a multitude of secondary queries which will be listed in the following section.

1.1.2 Research Questions And Sub-Questions

1. What factors contribute to the perceived difference in English proficiency in the two countries?

> How does language planning take place in the two countries?
> Are the curriculums the same?
> How are textbooks designed in Finland and Japan?
> What effect does testing have on the learning process?
> What are learner attitudes toward the target language?
> How do teachers view their role in the teaching and learning process?
> How are lessons structured?
> How does classroom interaction take place?

2. To what extent are there cultural similarities and differences between Japan and Finland in regard to the educational culture of the specific junior high school settings?

> Is classroom behavior culturally motivated and if so, how?
> What characteristics can be observed?
> Which aspects of the educational culture correspond to the classifications chosen?
> What tendencies can be found in the educational culture in the two settings?

1.2 Levels Of Investigation

In order to search for answers to these questions, a variety of different kinds of data was required. Research question 1 with accompanying sub-questions suggests that it will be necessary to investigate a variety of factors related to

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discussed the issue of foreign language proficiency in the two countries over the past 10 years with countless other individuals who may or may not have any language teaching experience. Most agree that the TOEFL scores reflect the true levels of oral proficiency in Japan and Finland. Occasionally, I have met language teachers and others who feel that Finns have a low oral English proficiency.

foreign language teaching and learning. Harris (1990) puts forth the idea that educational culture will elude researchers who study only one aspect of the classroom. Therefore, this study will investigate several aspects but will also try to avoid becoming blind to the risk of operating at too many levels at once (Stern 1983: 278). The following levels of investigation, adapted from Stern (1983: 179), are included in this study:

> 1. the *theoretical level* of defining categories (for example, Hofstede's '4-D Model of Cultural Difference' (1980; 1986; 1991); the 5th Dimension of Cultural Difference (Chinese Culture Connection 1987), Hall (1959; 1966; 1976) and Scollon and Scollon (1983; 1995))
> 2. the *historical development level* (for example, Stern (1983), Richards and Rogers (1986), Shimaoka and Yashiro (1990) and Whittaker (1984))
> 3. the *curriculum and syllabus level* of selection for language teaching purposes
> 4. the *materials development level*
> 5. the *learner and teacher attitudes level*
> 6. the *descriptive level* of gathering language data on the sociolinguistics and pragmatics of a particular language (a few discourse studies exist but these commonly combine aspects of (1) and (2), for example, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975))
> 7. the *level of teaching methodology.*

This study will basically use an ethnographic approach when dealing with learner and teacher attitudes, observation and description, and teaching methodology. Over the past 30 years, ethnography, which is based on anthropology, and other qualitative methods have gained ground in fields including education and applied linguistics (Stern 1983: 192-217; Saville-Troike 1989; Kalin 1995: 26). Ethnography, when used in anthropology, describes cultures, usually exotic ones, in relation to comparative religion, kinship and other indigenous views (Hymes 1972; 50, Fasold 1990: 40; Geertz 1973).

Ethnographic description focuses on direct observation within the context of relevant background information (Hymes 1972; Scollon and Scollon 1995; Labov 1972; van Lier 1988). Geertz (1973: 7), an anthropologist, refers to Ryles' concept of 'thick description' as opposed to 'thin description'. 'Thin description' describes only what happens, as in 'a winker rapidly contracted his right eyelid'. 'Thick description', on the other hand, includes background information and interpretation as in 'practicing a burlesque of a friend faking a wink to deceive an innocent into thinking a conspiracy was in motion'. Therefore, ethnographic description is essentially 'thick' by nature.

Geertz states that a stratified hierarchy of meaning as a cultural category is at the heart of ethnography. He also states that observations are subject to the observers' interpretation when they write their descriptions. The reader should keep in mind that this study is based on my observations of the settings, the participants and other factors and are influenced by my own, subjective interpretations.

Another method of description, ethnomethodology, also referred to as Conversation Analysis, is a branch of sociology concerned with how people organize language in daily life (Van Dijk 1985: 1-7; Richards, Platt and Platt

1992: 130). This field studies turn taking, adjacency pairs and other aspects exhibited by a particular speaker and listener in a certain social situation. It provides insights into ritual functions and interaction structures (Goffman 1974; Schiffrin 1987). The focus tends to be on the text and not the context in which it is performed. According to this method, contextual features (e.g. birthday party, calling the police) should only be cited by an analyst when participants themselves explicitly evoke such a feature (Schegloff 1986; Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974). To use Ryles' terms, ethnomethodology relies on 'thin' description.

Hymes (1974: 81) expressed concern about the treatment of transcribed classroom discourse because ethnomethodologists (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974; Sacks 1986; Atkinson and Heritage 1984; Levinson 1983) tend to treat such data as if they are the 'Dead Sea Scrolls.' Like approaching the Dead Sea Scrolls, ethnomethodology advocates that analysts should examine contemporary transcribed conversations without having background information of the participants.

This study will not rely heavily on ethnomethodology and will instead concentrate on the occasion and setting in which communication takes place. Chapters Three through Seven will provide background information before transcribed discourse is introduced in Chapter Eight. Transcribed classroom interaction is included to provide concrete examples of specific traits related to the classroom discourse within the educational cultural setting studied in the hopes of adding support to claims made in other chapters of the study. From my perspective, this is an ethnographic approach to examining foreign language education within actual context and social reality, which are necessary for an understanding of the topic. Intercultural communication theories and methods will also be incorporated in the work further distancing it from ethnomethodology or conversation analysis. Basically, this study will examine the discourse to see 'what is really going on' (discourse analysis) rather than using the text samples to 'discover systematic properties of sequential organization of talk' (conversation analysis or ethnomethodology) (Levinson 1983: 286-287).

There is another distinction which must be clarified. The impressions of the writer and the way in which a text is written, ultimately influences the information itself (Swales 1990: 111; Bazerman 1983: 1). This relates to the concept of *emic* and *etic* distinctions which was originally introduced by Pike (1967) and became part of the standard vocabulary of social science. *Emic* studies, coming from the linguistic term phonemic, usually take into account cultural factors and insiders' perspectives when analyzing data. On the other hand, *etic* studies, coming from the linguistic term phonetic, usually focus on the parts of the whole rather than the whole (Hofstede 1994: xi).

Befu (1989) clarifies these terms stating that *etic* utilizes concepts or measuring rods which are applicable across cultures. Concepts like 'school teachers' and 'English teaching' when applied cross-culturally are *etic* concepts. It is not important, according to Befu (1989) that people from the USA, Finland and Japan think about *etic* concepts in the same way. In all of the societies

mentioned, the social group (for example, school teachers) consists of elements that can be defined in roughly the same way and compared across cultures.

Befu (1989) clarifies Pike's term *emic* by putting forth the concept that all social systems are 'culturally unique'. Cross-cultural observations are subjective and culturally specific and can only be described in *emic* terms. From this perspective, the *etic* concept of the 'school teachers' enables one to recognize a general social unit that can be studied. By elaborating on the attitudes, methods and other factors related to 'school teachers' and other features within the educational cultures studied, this study hopes to provide culturally specific descriptions of these features which should provide the reader with a more an *emic* understanding of the subject.

Befu (1989) cites Hamaguchi (1977) and Hsu (1975) suggesting that many concepts including 'God' and 'individual' are culturally specific and, therefore, problematic when used as research categories. They do not necessarily act as 'measuring rods' across societies. The idea that such categories can be established, according to this school of thought, and that *etic* distinctions can be made, is, according to this school of thought, a Western ethnocentric assumption. My experience in the East and the West suggests that there is some truth in this line of questioning. However, I have chosen to use '*etic*' categories because this study is done in the 'Western scientific tradition'. Although it may entail a certain amount of ethnocentrism, this study will use *etic* approaches to frame the institutions and groups that will be analyzed and *emic* approaches to address the cultural uniqueness of these institutions and groups.

Erickson (1986) states that a corpus of materials collected from fieldwork including field notes, tapes and transcripts should be organized so that it is understandable and clear. Fieldwork, he states, should include (a) long-term, intensive participation in the field setting; (b) careful recording of what happens in the field setting through memos, records, examples of student work, audiotapes, videotapes and (c) subsequent analysis and reporting by means of detailed description as well as more general descriptions, charts, descriptive statistics and summary tables (Erickson 1986: 121). This study has attempted this.

To conduct classroom observation and gather other forms of data, settings in Japan and Finland were selected. In the two countries, junior high school students who were between 14 and 15 were observed. The Japanese town that was selected, Kanra-machi in Gunma prefecture, is a rural town of about 14,000 people (Yakuba 1990). The Finnish city, Nokia, is small with about 26,360 people (Nokian Kaupunki 1995). In relation to the population of the country, the city in Finland was naturally much larger than the one in Japan: the population of Kanra (14,000) was .00013 of the entire population of Japan (approximately 124,000,000). A town in Finland (population around 5,000,000) that had the same proportion of people to the nation would have 564 residents, which is hardly enough to sustain a school for a comparative study.

Nokia and Kanra were about the same distance from the next 'larger city'. In both cases, the next large town was 10-15 minutes away by public transport. Even though the students were from a small town or city , they had access to a

bigger city, which might influence their world view. The students in the settings chosen would not feel as 'isolated' as students who live two hours away from the nearest larger town, nor would they probably have the same attitudes as students living in the larger city. Large cities were avoided in this study because nothing in Finland compares to cities like Tokyo or Osaka.

The school setting in Finland is also larger than its counterpart in Japan. The Finnish town had around 1000 students in its junior high schools at the time of the study. The town in Japan had around 600 students in its junior high school system at the time of the study. Both schools and systems studied were basically homogeneous and neither had recent influxes of 'new immigrants' or large numbers of minority students[4].

TABLE 1.2 Components Of Situation

	Finland	**Japan**
Setting		
Bystanders	Researcher	Occasional observers
Locale	Nokia Junior High Schools	Kanra Junior High Schools
Time	School hours	School hours
Purpose		
Goals	Learn English	Learn English
Activated Roles	Teacher/ Student	Teacher/ Student
Topic	English as a Foreign Language	English as a Foreign Language
Participants		
Individuals As Members Of Society		
Ethnicity	Mostly Finnish-speaking Finns (2 Gypsies, 1 with American father)	All Japanese
Sex (gender)	Male and female	Male and female
Age	Students 12-16 Teachers 25-55	Students 12-16 Teachers 22-55

Adapted from Brown & Frazer (1979: 35) and Harris (1990)

As my classroom teaching experience has shown me, no two groups of students are the same. Exact equivalency is unattainable in groups of students as well as

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[4]   Two gypsies and one student with an American father were in the classrooms studied in Finland. Virtually all of the students spoke Finnish at home. Students from Swedish speaking families tended to attend the Swedish school in the next city. No minority students were in the classrooms I observed in Japan according to teachers and students interviewed.

schools and school systems. Even so, I decided that the two educational cultural settings were similar enough to make the present study worthwhile.

Participant observation was used in Japan because I was an Assistant English Teacher[5] in the school system that was studied and participated in many of the lessons that are included in this study. It is claimed that an observer who is a participant can understand a situation better than one who is merely observing (Richards, Platt and Platt 1985). *Direct observation* was used in Finland because I observed the school settings without teaching there. It was not possible for me to work in the schools because I do not possess certification to teach in Finnish public schools. To make up for the lack of insight that might be caused by this, I made a number of visits to the schools I observed and did my best to get to know the teachers and students alike.

The present study includes a section on the historical development level which gives an overview of general insights into Finland and Japan, cultural and historical similarities and an introduction to team-teaching in Japan. Team-teaching is a major reform initiative in Japan and should be included in order to present a clear picture of contemporary lower secondary school English education in Japan. This section hopes to present useful background information for those who are not familiar with Japan and Finland. It was included because it was deemed necessary for a deeper understanding of the issues (Stern 1983; Richards and Rogers 1986; Shimaoka and Yashiro 1990).

1.3   Data Base

The following is an account of the etic categories used in this study as well as the type of data collected to analyze them.

TABLE 1.3 Etic Categories Used And The Type Of Data Collected

Etic Categories [6]	Data
General Insights and Historical Development	Articles, books, etc.
Language Planning and Textbooks	
Curriculum Design	Articles, reports, observation, interviews
Textbook Design	Books used in setting, articles, interviews, questionnaires, observation

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[5]   Assistant English Teachers are called Assistant Language Teachers since 1996. They are recruited through the Japan Exchange Teaching Program and other schemes to team-teach with Japanese language teachers in Japanese lower and upper secondary schools. A more detailed description can be found in Chapter Three.

[6]   Teacher training is not included in this study because it was considered too wide a topic to be dealt with in the scope of this dissertation. However, further investigation into teacher training would certainly provide further insight into the language teaching and learning process.

Testing	Articles, books, tests interviews, questionnaires
Learner Attitudes	Interviews, questionnaires
Teacher Attitudes	Interviews, observation
Japanese Regular English Lessons	Observation[7], video tape, interviews, questionnaires
Japanese Team-Taught Lessons	Observation, questionnaires, video tape, audio tape, journal, interviews
Finnish Grammar-Oriented Lessons	Observation, questionnaires, video tape, audio tape, journal, interviews
Finnish Communication-Oriented Lessons	Observation, questionnaires, video tape, audio tape, journal, interviews
Classroom Interaction	Observation, questionnaires, video tape, audio tape, journal, interviews, transcription

The present study addresses the language planning level in the two countries by including technical reports from Japan and Finland, interviews with teachers working in the two countries and information from articles and books written on the subject. The data on the materials development level of the study consists of common textbooks used in the settings as well as research articles on the subject and questionnaires and interviews with students and teachers in the settings. The textbook represents the core of the syllabus and can provide insights into language planning, classroom teaching and educational culture as a whole (Sheldon 1988).

Testing issues influence decisions made by planners, teachers and students and an examination of their design and implementation should yield valuable information related to my research questions. The chapter on testing examines Japanese and Finnish English tests, student questionnaires, interviews with educators from the two countries and research articles and books on the topic.

At the learner and teacher attitudes level, questionnaires were completed by the students and interviews were conducted with the teachers and students in both settings. This provided important data to address the research questions.

The descriptive level of gathering language data on the sociolinguistics and pragmatics of classroom discourse and the level of teaching methodology were addressed using the same data. Six lessons were videotaped both in Japan and in Finland. The first seven minutes of one tape from each country were transcribed in order to provide data for the discourse analysis section. Teaching methodology data included interviews with the teachers, an observation journal of 20 lessons from each that were not video taped,

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[7]   Regular observation journals tracking Japanese regular lessons were not kept because I thought my presence in them over a period of time would disrupt them. I relied on the video tapes and interviews with teachers to provide my data.

interviews with teachers and students, questionnaires and research articles on the subject.

Since this study has incorporated so many forms of data, the analysis varied depending on which form of data was being examined. The next section will provide an overview of the primary means of analysis.

1.4 Method Of Analysis

There are literally hundreds of definitions of 'culture'. It is closely connected with people's daily lives. Culture is learned and includes everyday practices, customs and habits which make a group of people unique. It also reflects the attitudes, values and norms in a particular society or a particular setting which the participants themselves may not even notice (Salo-Lee 1995a: 13). Culture has been defined as the Human Environment (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey 1988: 28-29). Samovar and Porter (1991) point out that culture can be passed from generation to generation. The human part of the environment, or culture, and its effect on teaching of English as a foreign language will be the focus of this study.

This study will adopt an intercultural approach. As schools do not only reflect a society, but are instrumental in transferring culture from one generation to the next (Inkeles 1977), the English classrooms in Finnish and Japanese junior high schools were selected as the focus of this study.

Hofstede (1986: 302) suggests that the major human institutions are the family, the job, the community and the school.

TABLE 1.4 Human Institutions And Corresponding Role Pairs[8]

Institution	Role Pair
Family	Parent-Child
	Man-Woman
School	Teacher-Student
Job	Boss-Subordinate
Community	Authority-Member

Source: Hofstede 1986: 302

Many complicating factors derive from the examination of culture. The study of culture is not a black and white issue. When one seeks answers to cultural or intercultural questions, one should keep in mind that many factors are interrelated and although a group may show observable tendencies, exceptions and discrepant cases contrary to general tendencies are almost always present (Erickson 1986: 140). The situation and setting where behavior occurs may also

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8   Interestingly, Hofstede (1986) did not include co-workers or other roles human beings assume in the workplace (Takala 1997).

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have a great effect on participants. A Japanese person may be very quiet and obedient to his or her superiors at work in the office while outgoing, talkative and loud in a familiar restaurant with his or her close friends. Behavior and culture depends on the particular setting (Dufva 1991; Scollon and Scollon 1995). Keeping this in mind, the present study will examine only the behavior in two specific educational cultures. Results may not apply to other settings and may even change in the settings studied as the human participants and environment change.

Further, no individual is a typical example of the culture within which they live. This study will focus on groups of people, not individuals, keeping in mind that all individuals are unique. Individuals may reflect different characteristics from the group culture as a whole and may form co-cultures or subcultures and subgroups which hold different values from the dominant culture (Samovar and Porter 1992: 3). By examining group tendencies it is hoped that a general idea of the educational culture will emerge.

Naturally, this study does not wish to stereotype. Scollon and Scollon (1995: 154-6) suggest that stereotyping occurs when one describes culture through ideological statements based on polar opposites. In this study, culture will be understood as being so complex that one measurement cannot be used to completely explain what takes place in any given situation with any group. The reader should keep in mind that the framework for this study, like any cultural study, is limited to the particular setting and the researcher's impressions of them. The cultural tendencies put forth are the result of my analysis and are not the only way they could be perceived.

Cultures vary and may be discussed from many vantage points (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey 1988). This study will base much of its comparison of data on Hofstede's (1980, 1986, 1991) work-related values because his models have been used and replicated extensively throughout the world in the study of culture (Kim 1994; Triandis 1994; Bond 1994; Berry 1994; Schwartz 1994; Carbaugh 1990;).

I will also use Hall's concepts of context and culture (1976) and modes of politeness (Scollon and Scollon 1983; 1995) in my analysis of the data. These concepts have been used extensively in research on interpersonal communication across cultures. Since they will be elaborated on in Chapter Two they will be omitted here.

In his '4-D Model of Cultural Difference', Hofstede (1986; 1991) outlines points with which to determine individualism vs. collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance and masculinity vs. femininity. These classifications will provide the theoretical framework for this study. Of the four categories, individualism vs. collectivism is broader and more encompassing than the other dimensions (Hofstede 1980; 1983, 1991) and has been examined by a number of researchers (Kim 1994; Triandis 1994; Bond 1994; Berry 1994; Schwartz 1994; Carbaugh 1990).

Hofstede (1991: 51) defines individualism and collectivism as follows:

> *Individualism* pertains to societies in which ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or her immediate family. *Collectivism* as its opposite pertains to societies in which people from birth onwards are integrated into strong, cohesive ingroups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioned loyalty.

Hofstede (1986: 307-308) defines the other classifications that will be used in the present study as follows:

> *Power Distance* defines the extent to which the less powerful in society accept inequality in power and consider it as normal. Inequality exists within any culture, but the degree to which it is tolerated varies between one culture and another.

> *Uncertainty Avoidance* defines the extent to which people within a culture are made nervous by situations which they perceive as unstructured, unclear, or unpredictable, situations which they therefore try to avoid by maintaining strict codes of behavior and a belief in absolute truths. Cultures with a *strong uncertainty avoidance* are active, aggressive, emotional, compulsive, security-seeking, and intolerant; cultures with a *weak uncertainty avoidance* are contemplative, less-aggressive, unemotional, relaxed, accepting personal risk, and relatively tolerant.

> *Masculinity* as a characteristic opposes *Femininity*. Masculine cultures strive for a maximum distinction between what men are expected to do and what women are expected to do. They expect men to be assertive, ambitious and competitive, to strive for material success and to respect whatever is big, strong and fast. They expect women to serve and care for the non-material quality of life, for the children and for the weak. *Feminine* cultures, on the other hand, define relatively overlapping roles for the sexes, in which, men need not be ambitious or competitive but may go for a different quality of life than material success; men may respect what is small, weak, and slow. In both masculine and feminine cultures, the dominant values within political and work organizations are those of men. So, in masculine cultures these political/organizational values stress material success and assertiveness; in feminine they stress other types of quality of life, interpersonal relationships and concern for the weak.

Hofstede's (1980, 1983, 1991) work on cultural variability was developed from the point of view of Western social science. Later research by Michael Bond suggests that a fifth dimension related to culture exists dealing with long-term versus short-term planning and thinking, harmony, Confucian work ethics and other aspects among Chinese respondents (Hofstede 1994: xi; The Chinese Culture Connection 1987). This aspect was not addressed in the current study because the research was conducted over too short a period of time in order to analyze such factors as long-term and short-term thinking and, obviously, because Finland is a Western country where Confucianism is not prevalent.

This study will, however, lay the groundwork for this sort of analysis in the future.

The data collected on the curriculums, the attitudes of the learners, and classroom discourse in special Japanese team-taught lessons will be analyzed by integrating Hofstede's (1980; 1986; 1991) system in the sections that accompany them. Testing will be analyzed by comparing the testing system in Finland with that in Japan. References to intercultural aspects of testing can be found in the sections on the textbooks, learner and teacher attitudes and teaching methodology.

1.5 Aim And Outline Of The Study

This dissertation aims to arrive at a deeper understanding of intercultural teaching and learning and foreign language education in Japan and Finland using an interdisciplinary approach integrating theories of applied linguistics, intercultural communication and aspects of other fields related to social science. This approach reflects my background as a researcher and my method should prove useful to others interested in comparative educational culture.

Kirk and Miller (1986) put forth a qualitative research model in which observation and measurement of the data collected is interpreted, evaluated and analyzed in order to produce understanding. Phenomena are explained in their model. This study has attempted to discuss TOEFL in Finland and Japan in such a manner as to produce or contribute to an understanding of the two settings. Understanding will be defined as grasping the nature, significance and explanation of the topic in addition to showing a sympathetic and tolerant view toward the two educational cultures (Mish 1988: 1287).

The first three chapters will provide background information. This chapter is the introduction and contains the main hypotheses and research questions, a general overview of the data and a preface of what methods will be used to address the data. Chapter Two will examine the data at the *theoretical level* by defining research questions, elaborating on what data will be applied to each specific question and by giving a thorough discussion of how the data will be analyzed. Chapter Three will examine the *historical development* of institutions in Finland and Japan.

The next two chapters will discuss institutional factors which, as this study suggests, influence classroom behavior in the two countries. The *curriculum and syllabus level* of selection for language teaching purposes and the *materials development level* of textbooks will be dealt with in Chapter Four. *Testing*, which is related to the previous aspects will be explained in Chapter Five. The transition from the concepts in Chapter Two to Chapter Three to Chapter Four to Chapter Five is not easy, yet the reader should keep in mind that the subjects are integrally related and essential components of the system.

Chapter Six will examine differences in the attitudes of the teachers and learners who participated in the study. To be more precise, their views on

language teaching and intercultural similarities and differences are examined. Next, Chapter Seven will examine the level of *teaching methodology* by describing what actually happens in the classroom. This chapter will explain how lessons are structured in the two countries and what takes place in them. The study then moves to the *descriptive level* focusing on classroom discourse in Chapter Eight. The conclusion will be presented in Chapter Nine.

The subjects I have included in the study have been selected over a long process of research and teaching in Finland and Japan. Originally, this study was my unpublished Master's thesis, a study of Japanese English education and the impact of native-speaker assistant language teachers in a particular Japanese junior high school setting.

In my previous publications, I have addressed many of the issues that are included in this dissertation (Garant 1995a; 1995b; 1994a; 1994b; 1994c; 1994d; 1993a; 1993b; 1992a; 1992b; 1992c; 1992d; 1991-93). Chapter Eight contains much of what appeared in Garant (1995b) and Garant (1994b). Aside from this chapter, I have tried to avoid drawing too much material and examples from these earlier works. Garant (1992a; 1992d), for example, uses a different system of classification for classroom teaching methods than the present study. Garant (1992b), entitled "Towards a syllabus for Team-Teaching", is concerned more with cooperative development than the syllabus and curriculum of Japan (Edge 1992). Material from these publications has, to a certain extent, been used in this work to bolster my claims. Those interested these subjects in greater detail should consult these earlier works.

In this study I have not attempted to provide a comprehensive description of foreign language education of Japan or Finland. Instead, I have provided a study of specific settings in the educational cultures of the two countries at the time they were studied. Educational culture, like all culture, varies according to the particular setting, and the results of the present study should not, therefore, be generalized. In an attempt to avoid being too 'subjective', I have tried to present the information as 'value-free' as possible (Merviö 1995: 15). However, as I have stated throughout this chapter, my belief is that all observation takes on a personal perspective and it is only natural that this will be incorporated in the text.

2 FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

This chapter will elaborate on the methods, data and research questions of the present study. Because of the interdisciplinary nature of this study, I have chosen to divide this chapter into three sections. The first section will present a detailed description of the intercultural communication theory that will serve as a basis of this dissertation. The second will describe ethnographic and classroom research methods which apply to the data. The third will put forth a description of the research questions, data and specific methods that each section will utilize to address the questions.

2.1 Hofstede's 4-D Model Of Cultural Difference

Culture can be defined as the 'human part' of the environment (Herskovits 1955; Triandis 1994). About thirty years ago, Lado (1957) put forth the argument that people understand information differently because their human environment trains them from the time they are born to screen information based on their culture. He further suggested that an understanding of these cultural factors is beneficial to the understanding of teaching and learning languages. Samovar and Porter (1991: 21) state that 'culture cannot occur without communication'.   The study of culture and communication are integrally related (Salo-Lee 1995a; 1995b; Hall 1959). Kim (1994), citing Segal, Dassen, Berry, and Poortinga (1990), relates culture to *ecology* which refers to the relationships living things have with their physical environment. Human environments are essential to the development of human cultures; cultures which have not developed in the same ecology are different.
      There are many ways to examine these differences including national character (Inkeles and Levinson 1969), personality at the cultural level (Cattell

and Brennan 1972) and dimensions of nations (Rummel 1972). Around 150 comparative culture studies were examined by Naroll (1970) who found that they contained themes such as the function of war (vengeful to political); leadership patterns (consensual to authoritative); distribution of goods (wealth-sharing to wealth hoarding); behavior of elites (responsible to exploitative); command of the environment (weak and strong); organizational structure (simple to complex); population patterns (rural to urban); occupational specialization (general to specific). These frameworks are useful when examining cultural variability (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey 1988: 39). However, they are not the most useful schema for examining differences in educational cultures, as in the present study.

Hofstede (1980; 1986; 1991) conducted studies on cultural differences in work-related values as they apply to groups of people and created what he terms the '4-D Model of Cultural Difference'. The four dimensions include (1) *Individualism*, in which an individual looks after his/her own interest as opposed to *Collectivism* in which a person belongs to one or more tight in-groups; (2) *Power Distance* which is concerned with the way the less powerful in a society accept inequality and hierarchy; (3) *Uncertainty avoidance* as a cultural phenomenon in which codes of behavior are maintained in order to prevent unclear or uncertain situations; and (4) *Masculinity* which classifies the maximum distinction within a society between what a man is expected to do and what a woman is expected to do as opposed to *Femininity* in which sex roles may overlap one another.

Research by Michael Bond suggests that a fifth dimension related to culture exists, dealing with long-term versus short-term planning and thinking involving Confucian work dynamism (Hofstede 1994: xi; The Chinese Culture Connection 1987). This study will not address this aspect because the primary source data was gathered in Finland and Japan only from 1991 to 1996. A realistic examination of long-term and short-term planning should, in my opinion, be conducted over a much longer period of time. In addition, Finland is a Western country where Confucianism is not a prevalent philosophy.

Hofstede's (1980, 1986, 1990; 1993) theory of cultural differentiation has been criticized for several reasons. Data from multinational corporations and the personnel of these companies may not present a clear picture of the cultures studied. Personnel at IBM, where the study was conducted, probably did not reflect the ethnic make-up of the target society or its class structure. For example, are Hofstede's Belgians Flemish or French-speakers? do the Americans come from the North or South? what is their ethnicity? Hofstede argues that using such subjects controls other variables (e.g., age, class, occupation) that may confuse results and, therefore, what is examined is culture. My feeling is that his study reflects IBM culture which may not be the same as the mainstream culture in the nations studied. This work will study a particular educational culture rather than a multinational business culture. It is possible and probable that other settings within the two countries may yield different data and results. For the present study, the Finnish and Japanese Junior high schools that were chosen for this study were small enough to remain manageable when collecting and analyzing data. Further, the

tendencies that emerge in my data are meant to reflect only those settings and not necessarily the countries as a whole. Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey (1988) state that empirical points such as what Hofstede asked and how have also been criticized. My feeling is that any study has its shortcomings and one should refer to a variety of sources rather than rely on one study to gain an adequate level of understanding of a topic. Overall, my feeling is that a multitude of problems may arise from attempting a study of as many as 50 countries. This study will only examine specific settings in two of these countries. Further, the present study will seek to verify if Hofstede's dimensions and characteristics can be found in the data that was gathered in the two educational cultures and in what way, if any, they manifest themselves.

Finally, it has been argued that Hofstede's theory is not applicable in interpersonal communication because it is based on organizational communication. However, this is also an empirical question (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey 1988: 46). Hofstede's framework has been used to explain cultural differences in affective communication (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey 1988), relationship terms associated with cultural perception of communication (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey 1986), interaction episode perceptions (Forgas and Bond 1984) and equality and equity norms across culture (Bond, Leung and Wan 1982). This study will apply Hofstede's theory to specific educational cultures in Japan and Finland, using it as a filter to explain the phenomena examined.

Hofstede's (1980; 1986; 1990, 1993) project covered cultural differences among societies in over 50 countries. 117, 000 employees from 40 countries were surveyed on 32 values questions and the results were tabulated and correlated in relation to each other. The additional 10 countries were added during a cross-checking phase of the survey. This study will focus on specific settings in two countries, namely junior high schools in Japan and Finland. Hofstede's and other models will be used as a 'filter' to analyze data collected in the two countries. It is the hope of this researcher that the model will help unravel the underlying cultural differences and similarities between the settings in these countries.

Figure 2.1 shows how data gathered in Finland and Japan will be put through the 'filter' of Cultural Difference and classified as to cultural similarities and differences. The model that I will use may be particularly suitable for intercultural comparisons between Asian and Western cultures, because the criteria that are put forward apply to social features from these cultures. Previous research suggests that in East Asia, Confucianism serves as the basis for collectivism and in the West, liberalism serves as the basis for individualism (Kim, Triandis, Kagitcibasi, Choi and Yoon 1994: 6).

Scholars have tended to concentrate on the Individualism vs. Collectivism aspect of Hofstede's model while virtually ignoring the other three dimensions since it tends to be more encompassing than the others (Bond 1994: 69; Triandis 1995; Kim, Triandis, Kagitcibasi, Choi and Yoon 1994; Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey 1988; Triandis 1986; Hsu 1977). The present study will integrate Hofstede's (1980, 1986, 1991) complete 4-D model into the analysis of the data

because the variety of data that was gathered provided the opportunity to utilize all of the components.

FIGURE 2.1 Model Of The 'Filter' Of Cultural Difference

Data from Finnish and Japanese settings

Language Policy and Textbooks
Testing
Learner and Teacher Attitudes
Classroom Teaching Methods - Lesson Segmentation
Classroom Interaction

Cultural Filter
Hofstede's 4-D Model of Cultural Difference
High and Low Context (Hall 1976)
Politeness and Face (Scollon and Scollon (1983; 1991); Brown and Levinson (1978))

Tendencies
Suggesting
Difference

Tendencies
Suggesting
Overlap and
Similarity

The method used in this study will match Hofstede's cultural components to features found in the data for three major reasons:

1. To support or disconfirm Hofstede's (1986) categories in relation to features within the Finnish and Japanese educational cultural settings studied.
2. To ease replication and provide additional information on how future researchers can analyze their data.
3. To provide insight into how I perceive phenomena and relate them to the categories.

Of Hofstede's (1986) categories, I have selected points which relate specifically to teacher-teacher or teacher-student interaction.

2.1.1 Characteristics Related To The Individualism Versus Collectivism Dimension

In individualist societies, autonomy, emotional independence, rights to privacy, pleasure seeking, the need for specific personal friendships, universalism which highly values laws and norms that apply to all individuals in society equally, and the emphasis on 'I' consciousness are held in high esteem. Collectivist societies, on the other hand, value 'we' consciousness, collective identity, emotional dependence, group solidarity, sharing duties and obligations, the

need for stable pre-determined friendships, particularism which refers to tight in-group solidarity that can hamper more encompassing principles that protect individuals regardless of group affiliation. Collectivism is also associated with group decision-making (Kim, Triandis, Kagitcibasi, Choi and Yoon 1994; Hofstede 1980; 1986; 1990; Kim 1994: 19-40).

The following is an account of Hofstede's (1986) points related to teacher-student or student-student interaction in individualist and collectivist societies.

TABLE 2.1 Differences In Teacher-Student And Student-Student Interaction Related To The Individualism Versus Collectivism Dimension

Individualist Societies	Collectivist Societies
positive association in society with whatever is 'new'	positive association in society with whatever is rooted in tradition 1
one is never too old to learn; 'permanent education'	the young should learn; adults cannot accept student roles 2
individual students will speak up in class in response to a general invitation by the teacher	individual students will speak up only when called upon personally by the teacher
individuals will speak up in large groups	individuals will only speak up in small groups 3
sub-groupings in class vary from situation to the next based on universalist criteria (e.g. task at hand)	large classes split socially into smaller, cohesive subgroups based on particularist criteria (e.g. ethnic affiliation)
confrontation in learning situations can be salutary, conflicts can be brought out in the open	formal harmony in learning situations should be maintained at all times 4
face-consciousness is weak	neither the teacher nor any student should ever be made to loose face
education is a way of improving one's economic worth and self-respect based on ability and competence	education is a way of gaining prestige in one's social environment and of joining a higher status group (a ticket to ride)
diploma certificates have little symbolic value	diploma certificates are important and displayed on walls
acquiring competence is more important than acquiring certificates	acquiring certificates, even through illegal means (cheating, corruption) is more important than acquiring competence (Continued)

(Continued)

teachers are expected to be strictly impartial	teachers are expected to give preferential treatment to some students (e.g. based on ethnic affiliation or on recommendation by an influential person)

1. e.g. Trevino 1982
2. Lieh-Mak et al., 1984
3. Redding 1980: 211
4. e.g. Cox and Cooper 1977

Source: Hofstede (1986: 312)

2.1.2 Characteristics Related To The Power Distance Dimension

Hofstede (1986) defines Power Distance as the extent to which the less powerful in society accept inequality in power. In a strong or large power distance society individuals accept power as a part of society and superiors consider themselves different from their subordinates and vice versa. Small, weak or low power distance cultures believe power should only be used when it is legitimate and that power should be distributed more or less equally (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey 1988: 47; Schwartz 1994: 86). Hofstede elaborates on specific traits related to this cultural aspect in teacher-student or student-student interaction.

TABLE 2.2 Differences In Teacher-Student And Student-Student Interaction Related To The Power Distance Dimension

Small Power Distance Societies	Large Power Distance Societies
stress on impersonal "truth" which can in principal be obtained from any competent person	stress on personal 'wisdom' which is handed down by a particular teacher (guru)
a teacher should respect the independence of his/her students	a teacher merits the respect of his/her students 1
student-centered education (premium on initiative)	teacher-centered education (premium on order)
teacher expects students to initiate communication	students expect teacher to initiate communication
teacher expects students to find their own paths	students expect teacher to outline paths to follow
students may speak up spontaneously in class	students speak up in class only if invited by the teacher (Continued)

(Continued)

students are allowed to contradict or criticize teacher	teacher is never contradicted or publicly criticized 2
effectiveness of learning related to amount of two-way communication in class 3	effectiveness of learning related to excellence of teacher
outside class, teachers are treated as equals	respect for teacher is also shown outside class
in teacher/student conflicts, parents are expected to side with the student	in teacher/student conflicts, parents are expected to side with the teacher
younger teachers are more liked than older teachers	older teachers are more respected than younger

1. according to Confucius, "teacher" is the most respected profession in society
2. e.g. Faucheux et al., 1982
3. Revens 1965; Jamieson and Thomas 1974; Stubbs and Delamont 1976

Source: Hofstede (1986: 313)

2.1.3 Characteristics Related To The Uncertainty Avoidance Dimension

Hofstede (1986) defines uncertainty avoidance as the extent to which people within a culture become uneasy in situations which they perceive as unstructured, unclear, or unpredictable. Cultures with a *weak uncertainty avoidance* are contemplative, less aggressive, unemotional, relaxed, accepting personal risk, and relatively tolerant. Cultures with strong uncertainty avoidance tend to develop strategies that reduce the likelihood of an uncertain situation developing. For example, they may have verbal cues to signal at mealtime that it is time to begin eating. Weak uncertainty avoidance cultures feel more at ease in unpredictable situations and need not develop such strategies (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey 1988: 47; Schwartz 1994: 86). Relating to teacher-student or student-student interaction Hofstede proposes the following traits.

TABLE 2.3 Differences In Teacher-Student And Student-Student Interaction Related To The Uncertainty Avoidance Dimension

Weak Uncertainty Avoidance Societies	Strong Uncertainty Avoidance Societies
students feel comfortable in unstructured learning situations with vague objectives, broad assignments, no timetables	students feel comfortable in structured learning situations with precise objectives, detailed assignments, strict timetables (Continued)

(Continued)

teachers are allowed to say "I don't know"	teachers are expected to have all the answers
a good teacher uses plain language	a good teacher uses academic language
students are rewarded for innovative approaches to problem solving	students are rewarded for accuracy in problem solving 2
teachers are expected to suppress emotions (and so are students)	teachers are allowed to behave emotionally (and so are students)
teachers interpret intellectual disagreement as stimulating exercise	teachers interpret intellectual disagreement as personal disloyalty
teachers seek parents' ideas	teachers consider themselves experts who cannot learn anything from lay parents and parents agree

1. Stroebe 1976
2. Triandis 1984

Source: Hofstede (1986: 314)

2.1.4 Characteristics Related To The Masculinity Versus Femininity Dimension

The final list of categories that will be applied to the data relates to masculinity and femininity within society. Masculine cultures expect men to be assertive, ambitious and competitive. They expect women to serve and care for the non-material quality of life, for the children and for the weak. Feminine cultures, on the other hand, have relatively overlapping roles for the sexes, in which men need not be ambitious or competitive but may go for a different quality of life than material success (Garant 1995b; Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey 1988: 47; Schwartz 1994: 86). Hofstede (1986) found these traits related to teacher-student or student-student interaction

TABLE 2.4 Differences In Teacher-Student And Student-Student Interaction Related To The Masculinity Versus Femininity Dimension

Feminine Societies	Masculine Societies
teachers avoid openly praising students	teachers openly praise good students
teachers use average students as the norm	teachers use best students as the norm (Continued)

(Continued)

system rewards students' social adaptation	system rewards students' academic performance
a student's failure in school is a relatively minor accident	a student's failure in school is a severe blow to his/her self image and may in extreme cases lead to suicide
students admire friendliness in teachers	students admire brilliance in teachers
students practice mutual solidarity in class	students compete with each other
students try to behave modestly	students try to make themselves visible
corporal punishment is severely rejected	corporal punishment is occasionally seen as salutary
students choose academic subjects in view of intrinsic interest	students choose academic subjects in view of career opportunities
male students may choose traditionally feminine academic subjects	male students avoid traditionally feminine academic subjects

Source: Hofstede (1986: 315)

The reader should keep in mind that not all individuals in any group reflect all of the features of that group. There are any number of variations in behavior between group members. As Dufva (1991) suggests, cultures are not uniform.

> 'There is no such thing as a typical Finn.'

Also, one may assume that there is no such thing as a *typical* Japanese person. Still, the prevailing values in society may be inferred from individual values averaged across the members of the society (Hofstede 1980; Schwartz 1994: 92). This study will present an averaged value of the factors studied which can point to the values in the specific educational cultures of the two settings.

2.2 Context And Culture

Applied researchers have become increasingly interested in *low* and *high context* communication and culture (Hall 1976; Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey 1988;

Samovar and Porter 1991). These concepts will also be examined in the present study.

Hall (1976) suggests that how and in what circumstances language is used varies according to societies and cultures. He classifies *'high-context cultures'* as those in which situational features can be interpreted and relatively small amounts of information need to be explicitly encoded. *Encoding* is the process in which verbal and non-verbal information is interpreted based on the rules governing interaction and the rules of the language being used (Samovar and Porter 1991: 8). In high-context communication 'most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message' (Hall 1976: 79).

In *'low-context cultures'*, relatively little information is interpreted from the situations and verbal communication is necessary in order to convey meaning. 'The mass of the information is vested in the explicit code' (Hall 1976: 79). Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey (1988: 58-59) suggest significant differences in the communication systems of Finland and Japan.

TABLE 2.5   Scores On Hall's And Hofstede's Dimensions Of Cultural Variability For Selected Countries On A Scale Of 0 - 100

Country	Power Distance	Uncertainty Avoidance	Individualism	Masculinity	Context
Afghanistan	-	-	-	-	high
Africa (East) a	64	52	27	41	high
Africa (West) b	77	54	20	46	high
Arab Cultures c	80	68	38	53	high
Argentina	49	86	46	56	high
Australia	36	51	90	61	low
Austria	11	70	55	79	low
Bangladesh	-	-	-	-	high
Belgium	65	94	75	54	low
Bolivia	-	-	-	-	high
Brazil	69	76	38	49	high
Cameroon	-	-	-	-	high
Canada	39	48	80	52	low
Chile	63	86	23	28	high
China (People's Republic)	-	-	-	-	high
Columbia	67	80	13	64	high
Costa Rica	35	86	15	21	high
Cuba	-	-	-	-	high
Denmark	18	23	74	16	low
El Salvador	66	94	19	40	high
Equador	78	67	8	63	high
Finland	33	59	63	26	low
France	68	86	71	43	low
Germany (D.R.)	-	-	-	-	low
Germany (F.R.)	35	65	67	66	low
Great Britain	35	35	89	66	low
Greece	60	112	35	57	high

(Continued)

(Continued)

Guatemala	95	101	6	37	high
Honduras	-	-	-	-	high
Hong Kong	68	29	25	57	high
Hungary	-	-	-	-	low
Indonesia	78	48	14	46	high
India	77	40	48	56	high
Iran	58	59	41	43	high
Ireland	28	35	70	68	low
Israel	13	81	54	47	low
Italy	50	75	76	70	low
Jamaica	45	13	39	68	high
Japan	54	92	46	95	high
Korea (S.)	60	85	18	39	high
Malaysia	104	36	26	50	high
Mexico	81	82	30	69	high
Nepal	-	-	-	-	high
Netherlands	38	53	80	14	low
Nicaragua	-	-	-	-	high
Norway	31	50	69	8	low
New Zealand	22	49	79	58	low
Pakistan	55	70	14	50	high
Panama	95	86	11	44	high
Peru	64	87	16	42	high
Philippines	94	44	32	64	high
Poland	-	-	-	-	low
Portugal	63	104	27	31	high
Puerto Rico	-	-	-	-	high
Romania	-	-	-	-	low
Singapore	74	8	20	48	high
South Africa	49	49	65	63	low
Spain	57	86	51	42	high
Sri Lanka	-	-	-	-	high
Sweden	31	29	71	5	low
Switzerland	34	58	68	70	low
Taiwan	58	69	17	45	high
Thailand	64	64	20	34	high
Turkey	66	85	37	45	high
Uruguay	61	100	36	38	high
USA	40	46	91	62	low
USSR	-	-	-	-	low
Venezuela	81	76	12	73	high
Vietnam	-	-	-	-	high
Yugoslavia	76	88	27	21	high

SOURCE: Adapted from Hall (1976) and Hofstede (1980, 1983).

NOTE: The low/high designation for context is based on the cultures' score on individualism/ collectivism (those below median are considered high-context, those above the median are considered low-context) or discussions of the culture in previous cross-cultural analyses.

a. Includes Kenya, Ethiopia, Tanzania, and Zambia
b. Includes Ghana, Nigeria, and Sierra Leone
c. Includes Egypt, Lebanon, Libya, Kuwait, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and United Arab Emirates

The data gathered for this study exhibits a number of both high and low context cultural features. These will be discussed in detail in the analysis section of the study. Many studies suggest that low-context culture is closely related to individualism and high-context culture is closely related to collectivism (Hall 1976; 1983; Devito 1995: 29-33). These aspects of culture will be dealt with in relation to aspects of individualism and collectivism found in the data. Not a great deal of independent discussion will be included as it might restate information and appear redundant.

Table 2.5 presented Hofstede's original findings along with the classification of low and high context in culture. The table serves to illustrate how individualism is related to low context and collectivism is related to high context.

2.3 Politeness

The study of *politeness phenomena* has become an important aspect of the study of 'universals in language usage' (Brown and Levinson 1978; Scollon and Scollon 1995). Terms related to this area of study will be defined in this section.

Grice's maxims (1975) put forth his rules of politeness which can be summarized as 'be polite' and 'make yourself clear'. Lakoff (1977) and Leech (1983) elaborated on Grice's suppositions. 'Being polite' or 'making oneself clear' is usually not a problem within one's own culture because human beings are raised to know their own culture's rules of politeness. However, dealing with other cultures with different rules of politeness is quite a different matter. There are many ways in which to analyze politeness across cultures. This study will incorporate the following theories.

Face, a concept often associated with politeness, is an individual's public self-image. It is usually used in the old English sense of 'losing face' or being publicly embarrassed or humiliated (Goffman 1967; Brown and Levinson 1987; Carbaugh 1990). In Japanese, the concept of face, or *mentsu*, carries with it a concept of honor (Scollon and Scollon, 1995: 34). In Finnish, the concept of face, or *kasvot,* carries with it similar connotations. A *face threatening act* puts into jeopardy an individuals 'face' (Fasold 1990; Brown and Levinson 1987).

Brown and Levinson (1987) put forth the concept of positive and negative polarization.

negative face: the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others. Emphasis on social distance.

positive face: the want of every member that his needs and ideas be desirable to at least some others. Emphasis on interaction.

Source: Brown and Levinson 1987: 62

From negative face derives *negative politeness* which is familiar to Westerners as formal, non-imposition politeness. From positive face comes *positive politeness* which includes the wants of individuals to be treated as a friend, be a member of the in-group and have their ideas liked and accepted by others (Brown and Levinson 1987: 59-71).

Scollon and Scollon (1995: 37-38) clarify Brown and Levinson's positive and negative politeness by equating it with a magnet which attracts at the positive poles and repels at the negative poles. However, they point out a weakness in using this terminology because 'negative' can easily be confused with 'bad' and 'positive' may equally be confused with 'good'.

They put forth, instead, the terms *solidarity politeness* and *deference politeness*. Both forms of politeness are projected during all encounters. That is to say, individuals reflect both independence and involvement while interacting. Too much involvement may produce a *face threatening act* in which an individual feels that their independence has been encroached upon, while too much independence may make a participant feel that the speaker wishes to have limited involvement (Scollon and Scollon, 1995: 38). Such is the nature of face in interaction.

Rather than including a paradigm of positive and negative politeness which may suggest good and bad to the reader, the two categories of politeness which will be applied to this study will be *deference politeness* and *solidarity politeness* because they could be more applicable to the Asian-Japanese data (Scollon and Scollon 1983; 1995). The terms are defined as follows:

Deference Politeness: *Imposition is assumed to be high* and the more powerful speak 'downward' to the less powerful. The less powerful speak 'upwards'
Solidarity Politeness: *Imposition is assumed low* and communication is more or less equal.

Source: Scollon and Scollon 1983: 169-170

Due to the nature of the data, the concept of politeness will not take a central role in this study. It will, however, be incorporated as a secondary line of analysis, and clear examples of politeness phenomena will be pointed out as they appear in the following chapters.

2.4 General Considerations For Classroom Research

As for research methods, *ethnomethodology* which would focus only on classroom discourse (Sacks 1986; Atkinson and Heritage 1984; Levinson 1983), was rejected in favor of an *ethnographic* approach which looks at interaction within society and its culture (Hymes 1972; Scollon and Scollon 1995; Saville-Troike 1982).

Richards (1989) points out that research methods on educational culture should include both qualitative and quantitative aspects. *Quantitative methods* are those that codify phenomena utilizing structured interviews, social surveys and questionnaires. Quantitative methods will be used in examining aspects of language planning, testing and textbook design because they tend to concentrate on objective, 'countable features'. For example, the chapter on curriculums examines when learners begin studying second languages and what the goals are. From my perspective, such matters are not subject to negotiation but may be subject to interpretation.

In contrast, *qualitative methods* utilize observation, diaries and open-ended and informal questionnaires (Griffin 1985: 100).   The methods adopted for this study focused on watching, asking and doing. Controlling methods such as experiments were not utilized primarily because I was not in a position, as a participant observer in Japan and researcher in Finland, to initiate such activities in the lessons that were observed.

Figure 2.2 suggests that the majority of the methods used in the study are qualitative while they are reinforced by quantitative methods. The figure also indicates which methods were based on several lessons and which methods were used in only one lesson in order to clarify this point.

The resources for the present study consist of a wide corpus of materials gathered during five years of research in Finland and Japan. Richards (1989) provides an excellent discussion of *ethical issues* that are involved in research. Because of their human desire not to be ridiculed in public, the teachers, administrators and students concerned should feel that the researcher will not portray them in a bad light. In order to relieve the tensions and apprehension that might have been caused by the project, time was allotted to get to know the teachers and students who participated.   Two years were spent in Japan working within the schools studied, and one year was spent in Finland during which intermittent visits were made to the schools studied. This was done so that both the researcher and the subjects of the study would have time to feel comfortable communicating with each other.

While the familiarization process was under way, the researcher made notes of the teachers' comments and opinions as well as of what was taking place within the schools. This was done as an ongoing process so the learners and the teachers would get used to having the researcher around.

Brophy (1979: 743) advocates studying different classrooms stating that studying 20 classrooms for 20 hours each yields better results than examining one classroom for 400 hours. On the other hand, van Lier (1988: 4) takes the

position that 'one lesson may yield as much useful information as ten lessons, and probably a good deal more than fifty lessons, except if we have unlimited time at our disposal'. This study will strike a balance between the two positions. 20 lessons were observed in Finland and 20 team-taught lessons were observed in Japan in order to make general notes and observations (marked M on figure 2.2). Three regular Japanese English lessons were videotaped by the Japanese teacher of English who taught them. The teacher stated that the lessons were typical English lessons. Other Japanese English teachers suggested they used similar methods in their regular lessons. This made it possible to make fairly reliable conclusions concerning the English classroom settings studied in the two countries.

FIGURE 2.2 Quantitative And Qualitative Research Methods

Quantitative		**Qualitative**	
Measuring	**Observation**		**Interviewing**
	Transcription	**O**	Learners **M**
Questionnaires **MO***	Video taping	**M**	Teachers **M**
	Notes	**M**	Administrators **M**
[Curriculum design]			Teacher trainers **M**
[Testing]			
[Textbooks]			

[ ] = institutional constraints
M = many lessons
O = one lesson
* Questionnaires were used to examine learner opinions of many lessons. In Chapter Seven, questionnaires were given to students focusing on one specific lesson.

This study will also use six videotaped lessons from Japan and six videotaped lessons from Finland to examine the specific subject of lesson segmentation and classroom activities (indicated by M in figure 2.2) . Also, transcribed introductions of one Finnish lesson, one regular Japanese lesson and one team-taught Japanese English lesson will be used to examine classroom discourse (indicated by O in Figure 2.2). This will provide a cross-section of the videotaped data.

Fanslow (1977; 1992; 1993) puts forth the proposition that no two people view the same event from identical perspectives. This applies to the observation techniques in this study. My perspectives have, unavoidably, been incorporated into the analysis. However, in order to bring balance into my interpretations, I have, where necessary, consulted Japanese or Finnish informants.

A number of techniques were incorporated into this study each with their own advantages and disadvantages. *Observation* describes what goes on in the classroom but cannot provide information on unobservable phenomena such as reasoning or mental strategies. *Interviews*, whether structured or unstructured, provide personalized information on types of behavior which cannot be determined through observation, but they take a considerable amount of time. *Observation diaries* can provide valuable insights into the classroom but are difficult to compare between classrooms and groups of learners (Oxford and Burry-Stock 1995: 2). The study of institutional constraints including teacher training, testing and the textbook design of Japan and Finland provides insights into classroom behavior. This study will include a discussion of these topics for two primary reasons. The first and foremost is that it is essential for gaining an understanding of foreign language teaching and learning in the two countries (Lado 1957; Hofstede 1986; Stern 1983; Widdowson 1990). Secondly, few people are familiar with the institutions and education systems of either Japan or Finland and even fewer are familiar with both (Merviö 1993; 1995). An overview of the institutional factors will provide the reader with necessary background information.

Stubbs (1983: 234) states that researchers should double-check their account or interpretation of an event or setting. The use of *triangulation* (figure 2.3) which includes the adoption of different methods, different kinds of data and assorted research tools is advocated by many researchers (van Lier 1988: 13). Data and method triangulation have also been called "ethnographic monitoring" (Hymes 1986: 56). Cohen and Manion (1980) identify three types of triangulation: (1) between method (figure 2.3), (2) within method, and (3) investigator triangulation.

FIGURE 2.3 Between Method Triangulation

Measuring
  Structured Questionnaires
  Institutional Factors

Watching
  Observation
  Videotapes

Asking/Doing
  Interviews
  Informal surveys
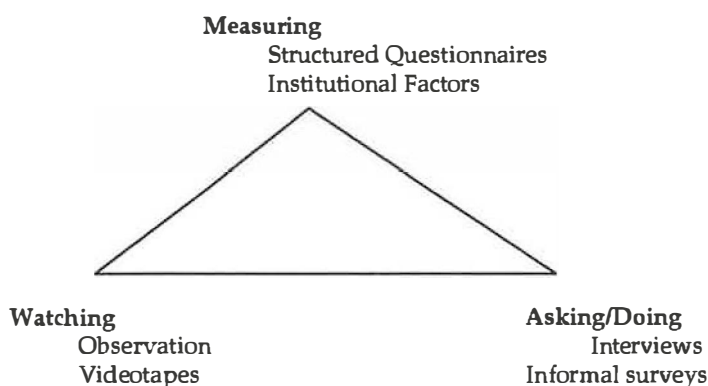
The first two points concerning *method triangulation* of research have been integrated into this study by double-checking information in more than one set of data using more than one method. For example, the existence of formal harmony in the Japanese classroom is cross-checked in the textbooks, teacher attitudes, lesson segmentation and discourse analysis sections. Teachers,

researchers and pupils provided *investigator triangulation* through informal discussions as well as through feedback at academic conferences where preliminary results were presented.

2.4.1 Examining Language Planning And Textbooks

The curriculum is an important instrument of educational policy (Widdowson 1990: 127-129). Therefore knowledge of language planning and the curriculum in Japan and Finland, as in any country, has a great importance in examining how English teaching and learning takes place in the specific settings in the two countries (Huhta 1996; Oda 1996).

In this study, the terms 'curriculum' and 'syllabus' will both mean "the specific teaching program or pedagogic agenda for a particular group of learners in regard to a particular subject" (Widdowson 1990: 127). A number of questions will be investigated, such as:

> Are the curriculums the same in the two countries?
> If not, what are the differences?
> How are they influenced by the culture?
> What are the goals of the system?
> Are the goals compatible with each other?
> Who plans the system?
> Is it planned locally or centrally?

The data includes technical reports from Japan and Finland, interviews with teachers working in the two countries and information from articles written on the subject. The data was analyzed by comparing and contrasting the settings studied in relation to each other.

The textbooks used in the settings reflect the curriculum and will be examined in relation to the criteria put forth in Hofstede's (1980; 1986;1990) '4-D Model of Cultural Difference'. This could shed light on cross-cultural similarities and differences which influence language planning in the two countries.

Textbooks are closely linked to the curriculum and have therefore been included in the same chapter of the present study. Central questions are how textbooks are designed in Finland and Japan and whether they reflect cultural characteristics of the two countries.

The data includes the textbooks used in the two settings as well as research articles on the subject. This study concentrates on junior high school textbooks because the classroom research section of the present study was done in settings that used them (Arnold, Haavisto, Kallela, Nikkanen and Suurpää 1991a; 1991b; Kairyudo 1987; 1993). Other textbooks that are used in the two countries were not examined because they were not used in the settings where lessons were videotaped and observed.

Textbooks represent the 'visible heart' of any EFL program (Sheldon 1988: 237). Several methods of examining textbooks have been proposed by various researchers, teacher trainers and applied linguists. Most of these are primarily concerned with situations where the teacher or local administrators have a wide

range of options in their choices, such as the United States where 28 major publishers offer 1623 textbooks for ESL (Goodman and Takanashi 1987).

Tucker (1977) put forth a system for evaluation in which number scales were used to evaluate textbook traits. This system was rejected because a more descriptive approach will cover the topic better. Widdowson (1990: 156-80) put forth a system for examining materials and methods but does not address textbooks directly. Instead, his method concentrates on other teaching materials, the study of which, although useful, is a different topic than evaluating the textbooks of Japan and Finland. Harmer (1991: 281-84) presents another system for evaluating textbooks in which he puts forth the following categories:

> Practical considerations, Layout and design, Activities, Skills, Language type, Subject content, Guidance, Conclusion.

He then suggests straightforward questions with which to analyze textbooks. However, Harmer's terminology will not be adopted because the questions that he uses are too specific for comparing general characteristics as was done in the present study.

The present study will analyze the textbooks used in the specific educational cultures studied in Japan and Finland by a modification of the procedure of Sheldon (1988), which is somewhat similar to Harmer's method presented above, incorporating much of his terminology. However, Sheldon's method puts forth too many subcategories. Although all of his subcategories could be useful when actually selecting course books, not all will be used in discussing the general differences between Japanese and Finnish textbooks.

Lado (1957), Yoshio (1995) and other studies examine the relationship between culture, textbooks and language planning. Surprisingly the relationship between culture and language textbooks does not take a central role in many syllabus and textbook studies which tend to focus instead on linguistic or teaching aspects with emphasis on learner needs (Nunan 1988; Cunningsworth 1984; Candlin and Breen 1979; Hutchinson and Waters 1987). This study will first examine linguistic and teaching aspects, then use the information to analyze cultural features.

This study will use the following of Sheldon's (1988) terms:

TABLE 2.6 Terms For Analyzing Textbooks

Rationale	Availability
User Definition	Layout and Graphics
Accessibility	Linkage
Selection and Grading	Physical Characteristics
Appropriacy	Authenticity
Sufficiency	Culture Bias
Stimulus and practice revision	Guidance
Educational value	Overall Value

Rationale is concerned with why the textbook was written and what gaps it intends to fill. It is also concerned with what needs analyses were conducted and what the book's objectives are. *Availability* is concerned with whether the book is easy to obtain. *User definition* deals with the clear specification of who the book is intended for, their culture, precise entry/exit definitions and what international standards the book conforms to, such as Council of Europe scales (van Ek 1975). *Layout and graphics* are concerned with the way text and graphics interact on the page. Does the book look cluttered? Is the artwork appealing?

Accessibility rates how the material is organized. Is it possible to clearly rate when progress is made? Are there indexes, section headings, vocabulary lists? Can the learners monitor their own progress? Is the learner given clear advice on how the books should be utilized? *Linkage* measures the way in which the chapters of the book and the book series progress. *Selection and grading* is related to the previous point, being more concerned with the level of the material. Is it too deep or too shallow for the students? Is the book useful when taking into account the learner's mother tongue?

Is the book easy to carry? Can it be re-used? Are spaces provided for the students to make notes? These questions determine the book's *physical characteristics*. *Appropriacy* is concerned with whether the material will hold the attention of the learners and whether they can relate to the topics the book discusses. *Authenticity* rates whether textbooks use native-like constructions or actual material from the target language and if not, to what extent the language is modified to suit the ability of the learners. *Sufficiency* measures whether the book can stand on its own or whether the teacher must prepare extra material in order to reach the target of the lessons.

Culture bias incorporates social environment and religious topics, weaning preconceived notions, humor and philosophy, racial stereotypes and what Sheldon (1988) calls 'presenting sanitized versions' of the United States and Britain regarding racism, unemployment, poverty and other types of social problems. These topics will not be addressed as Sheldon (1988) presents them. Instead, culture and how other cultures are presented in the textbooks will be included in a separate discussion.

The terms *Stimulus and practice revision* will be used to rate if the material is interactive and if the texts provide opportunities for the students to practice what is presented. Is the material likely to be retained and remembered by the learner? Are tests and ongoing revision exercises included with the text and are self-checks provided? *Guidance* will be used to measure how the teacher is instructed to use the textbook. Is there appropriate delay between the adoption of the textbook and the beginning of its being used so that the teachers can familiarize themselves with the new materials? Is teacher training provided? Are there enough notes in the teacher's book? Is the book useful for non-native teachers?

Educational validity and overall value evaluate the other categories and sub-categories. They answer the question: "Do the books do what they are supposed to do?" Are they easy to use and successful in the teaching situation? Do they cover the points that the learners need?

Following the discussion of these topics, the textbooks will be analyzed through the filter of Hofstede is '4-D Model of Cultural Difference' as presented in figure 2.1. This and other cultural aspects that can be seen in language planning and textbooks will be examined in order to suggest differences and similarities in the textbooks from an intercultural perspective and to integrate the textbook section into the whole of the present study.

In summary, Chapter Four will:

1. compare similarities and differences in language planning and textbook design.
2. examine how these two areas reflect cultural similarities and differences in the two settings.

The purpose of this investigation is to begin to explain cross-cultural similarities and differences in English teaching and learning in the educational cultures studied in Japan and Finland. Also, this chapter will seek to provide background information necessary for understanding testing, teacher and learner attitudes, English teaching methods and classroom interaction in the two settings.

2.4.2 Examining Testing

Testing is an essential component of any foreign language program and may have either a positive or negative effect on the syllabus (Brown and Yamashita 1995a; Harmer 1991). This study will address testing within the two systems studied rather than the particular settings because the effects of system-wide testing appeared to exert substantial influence on the English classrooms of the two countries. Naturally, locally constructed tests were also important. However, the entire system of testing should be presented in order to paint a clear picture of testing and its place within the educational culture. The discussion in this section will be primarily concerned with university admission tests because of their importance within the Japanese system and, therefore, on the educational culture of the setting studied. Testing raises a number of relevant questions:

What effect does testing have on the learning process?
Are testing and testing design culturally motivated and if so, how?
What is the role of testing?
How does it effect university admission?
What are the learners' attitudes toward the tests that they take?
How are the questions on the test designed?
Are the tests reliable?
Are the tests valid for their purpose?
What is the purpose of testing in the educational culture?

All of these questions will be addressed by the present study.

In addition, junior high school English tests in both Japan and Finland will be addressed and sample university entrance tests, interviews with educators from the two countries and research articles will be used as data.

In order to discuss the topic of testing, there are a few relevant terms which must be defined. *Reliability* and *validity* are the most important of these. For the purpose of this paper, *reliability* will be 'a measure of accuracy, consistency, dependability, or fairness of scores resulting from the administration of a particular examination' (Henning 1987:74). For *validity* this paper will rely on Henning's (1987: 89) definition, according to which 'a test is said to be valid when it measures what it is supposed to measure'. The *backwash effect* is the effect of testing on teaching. It can be harmful or beneficial. If a test is regarded as important, preparation for it can dominate all other learning activities (Hughes 1989: 1).

In keeping with Brown and Yamashita (1995a; 1995b), an *item* will be defined as 'the smallest distinct unit within a test that yields separate information'. For example, a single multiple choice question would be defined as an item as would a translation exercise or an essay, because each is the smallest unit which produces a score. *Translation items* will be defined as those in which the examinee must translate an item from L2 into L1 or vice versa.

Tests from the two countries will be analyzed by comparing their general characteristics in relation to each other based on the research questions that I have formulated for this study.

2.4.3 Surveying Learner Attitudes

Learners' attitudes toward the target language play an important role in the learning process (Richards 1990: 42-49; Prabhu 1987: 75-78; van Ek 1991, Ellis 1985: 103-126). In order to determine what these attitudes were in the settings studied, the students were polled as to the following:

> Why do you study English?
> How many foreigners have you talked to?
> Did you speak English with the foreigner?
> Have you been abroad?
> What are your educational goals?
> Do you like English?
> Do you hate English?
> Do you take private lessons?
> How much do you study?
> Do you watch English movies? How many?
> What do you like in English class?
> Do you listen to English music?
> Do you read English books, magazines, etc.?
> How is your English?

Questionnaires were used to elicit responses for the empirical analysis of this study. The participants polled were 100 Japanese and 129 Finnish junior high

school students. The students in both countries were between 14 and 15 years old when the surveys were conducted.

Phillips (1983) puts emphasis on *participant observation.* A participant in a setting is better able to provide an insider's *emic* perspective. This was one of the methods used in the Japanese setting. I worked for the Board of Education in the town and taught in the schools as an assistant English teacher. Participant observation was not possible in Finland because foreign teaching assistants do not teach in Finnish junior high schools and I did not possess the proper qualifications to teach in the schools. Therefore, in the Finnish school setting, I assumed the role of a researcher. It should be noted that although I did not teach in the schools where I conducted research in Finland, my previous experience with Finnish learners of English helped provide a more inside perspective to the study.

Oxford and Burry-Stock (1995) report on worldwide language learner strategies through the Strategy Inventory for Language Learning or SILL. SILL is a summative rating scale for assessing language learning strategies using questionnaires. It has been used in many countries and settings but was rejected for this study because of its length and because it did not contain questions vital to this project. For example, learners are instructed to respond to questions using a scale from 1, which means 'never or almost never true of me' to 5, which means 'always or almost always true of me'. -the survey included items such as 'I try to talk to native English speakers'. My experience when constructing the questionnaires and results suggested that both Japanese and Finnish junior high school students tried to speak to 'native English speakers'. My questionnaire asked 'how many' in order to gain specific information. I felt that a SILL type test was inadequate for this study since it probably would not account for specific information necessary for understanding the setting. Locastro (1993) found the same for her Japanese learners. Oxford and Green (1995: 166) state in response to Locastro that 'normal people who use the SILL understand the restrictions placed on use and interpretation of this (and any other) cumulative rating scale'. However, I felt that constructing a questionnaire that would ask more specific questions would be effective in the settings that I studied.

The present study initially set out to design a questionnaire, based on extensive reading and discussions with numerous language professionals, that would inform practicing teachers in Japan about Japanese learners. The responses could be used to analyze the student's views toward foreign language teaching and learning and their place within the system. The analysis could, in turn, be used for lesson planning. Questions were structured in several different ways including multiple choice questions, yes/no questions, yes/no questions followed by open response questions and open response questions. The questionnaires were written in English and explained and clarified to the Japanese learners in Japanese by the Japanese English teacher when administered.

The questionnaires differed slightly between the two countries because of slight differences in their respective educational systems and the terminology used. Entrance examinations to senior high school which are common in Japan

are non-existent in regular Finnish senior high schools, post-junior high school options are different for students and more English language television is shown in Finland. So, questionnaires were modified to reflect this.

Befu (1989) suggests that *emic* distinctions between cultures make translating certain *etic* concepts problematic. The questionnaires used in this study were changed in order to adapt to this. Concepts that were problematic or vague when administered to Japanese learners were modified and explained when given to the Finnish learners who also answered an English questionnaire that was explained and clarified by their Finnish English Teacher.

Only one question was completely restructured between the two countries because of cultural assumptions (Befu 1989; Hamaguchi 1977; Hsu 1975). The question concerned whether or not the students liked English. 'Do you hate English' was included in the Japanese questionnaire because there is an idiomatic expression, *Eigo kirai,* meaning 'English Hate', in the Japanese language. Popular belief among many Japanese English teachers and in society suggests that over 50% of third year Japanese junior high school students hate English because of impending senior high school entrance examinations (Araki 1995; Wada 1992). After informal discussions with teachers and students, I wanted to find out if the total was actually that high. In the Finnish questionnaire, 'Do you like English? was asked with the multiple choice answers 'yes', 'no' and 'I don't know', because the concept of large numbers of students hating English is not common in the culture.

This raises interesting methodological questions for cross-cultural research. In order to make the questionnaires the same, it would have been necessary to make the questions too general and thus lose great deal of their content, because of the institutional and cultural differences between the two countries. Therefore, the questionnaires used in the two countries were similar but not identical (Appendix 1).

In Finland, 17 questions were included. Study motivation was addressed in questions 1, 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15. What and how they studied English was addressed in questions 7, 8, 9 and 10. In addition, intercultural topics were dealt with in questions 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15. Finally, all those surveyed were asked about their career goals. Finnish students were only asked about English, not about other languages they were studying.

In Japan, 19 questions were included in the questionnaire. Questions 1, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14 and 15 were concerned with study motivation. Questions 8, 9, 10 and 11 were concerned with how and why they studied the language. And, questions 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 were concerned with intercultural topics. In addition, Japanese learners were also asked to respond to two questions (17 and 18) regarding their impressions of team-taught lessons.

The Japanese questionnaire was constructed first. I had taught in Japan for a year before I designed the questionnaires and had established a relationship between myself and the learners. This probably increased the number of genuine responses to each question and decreased the number of 'joke answers'. My original goal was to determine how the students felt in order to better teach them the target language as well as to investigate their

attitudes toward international issues related to their language education (Garant 1992).

Although the questions were written in English in both Finland and Japan, they were orally translated to the students by their teacher in order to avoid confusion. The questions on the surveys were written in such a way that the learners should have been able to understand them although some students needed clarification. Students were instructed to respond to the questionnaires with their own opinions and not how they thought they should respond or how others in the class might respond.

The questionnaires were analyzed by comparing the Finnish responses to the Japanese responses.

2.4.4 Eliciting Teacher Responses

Japanese teachers of English, in the views of many assistant language teachers, tend to be defensive and avoid direct questions regarding their teaching (Bay 1992; Kobayashi 1994). This is consistent with the concept of indirect communication in Japanese language and culture which relates to the face concerns and deference politeness discussed in Chapter One (Kobayashi and Atler 1992, Kobayashi and Cominos 1995; Scollon and Scollon 1983; 1995). Therefore, a variety of means were necessary in order to accomplish the goal of unraveling the views of the Japanese teachers of English involved in the project, while simultaneously maintaining positive working relationships within the schools.

Preparing a specific questionnaire for the teachers was ruled out because the study wished to elicit the teachers' personal opinions about foreign language teaching and learning in their schools, rather than have them answer questions prepared by the researcher which could be biased by the design of the questionnaire. This was possible because there were less than ten English teachers in each setting in the two countries. I wanted to try and find out what the teachers really felt. This is problematic in Japan, with questionnaires and surveys in general, because the teachers may answer what they think they should answer rather than how they really feel (CLAIR 1992). Triangulation techniques were therefore utilized to cross-check information. It was hoped that a more informal approach would produce genuine differences in opinions as well as original perspectives on the classroom and language teaching in general. It was chosen in order to attempt to spotlight differences in the way Finnish and Japanese teachers perceive classroom interaction, their roles as teachers and their foreign language education systems without putting constraints or pressure on them.

Edge's 1992 paper entitled "Co-operative Development" suggests that a need exists for teachers to work together in order to become better teachers. In order to accomplish this, he suggests, the teaching act should be discussed in dialogue, with 'respect, empathy and honesty', in order not to intimidate individual teachers. This concept is instrumental in eliciting information from teachers because intimidation is likely to make them uncooperative. Underhill (1989) stresses the need for educators to promote well-being and not be

antagonistic, and King (1983) advocates using a counseling approach when dealing with fellow teachers. When eliciting responses from teachers for this study, these concepts were kept in mind. However, the project produced mixed results because many Japanese teachers were intimidated by the mere presence of an assistant language teacher (Yamane 1995; Bay 1992). In many cases, Japanese teacher respondents would not convey personal opinions about the teaching and learning process.

This was probably related to cultural factors in Japan: *'tatemae'*, or harmony, should be maintained at all times, often at expense of *'honne'*, or true opinions (Tanaka 1990: 62). Koivisto (1993b) suggests that openly expressed opinions, *tatemae*, are a facade intended to keep communication going. True opinions, *honne*, must be read from the situation. Nevertheless, some of the informants who participated in the present study were willing to make direct statements, usually one on one in informal situations. Koivisto (1993b) suggests that one-on-one meetings with key individuals are important in the Japanese decision making process because during these meetings true opinions, *honne*, are expressed. Individuals who expressed true opinions regarding this project in Japan could have done so because of one-on-one or informal meetings, experience abroad, greater confidence in their English skills, their personalities or a combination of these and other reasons. Such informants' direct opinions will be quoted often in the work when they were supported by indirect opinions from other teachers or from data gathered by the other means used in the present study. The reader may, therefore, find one informant being quoted repeatedly in certain sections of the work.

The Finnish teachers responded well to questions and provided many valuable insights as well as personal opinions on their attitudes toward teaching. This clearly reflects different cultural traits. In Finland, the teachers seemed to be more receptive to the idea of classroom research than their Japanese counterparts. This is probably due to a variety of reasons, including their perception of their English ability, their experience as well as cultural traits.

The Japanese teacher's opinions toward the lessons became clear to the researcher through the planning process of team-taught lessons. The lessons are ideally constructed in three phases by the assistant English teacher and Japanese teacher of English. The 'pre-lesson' phase consists of formulating goals and planning the activities for the lesson. The 'in-lesson' phase takes place in the classroom in which language skills are presented, practiced and produced. This is followed by the 'after-lesson' phase in which the assistant English teacher and Japanese teacher of English discuss the good and bad points of the lesson (Brumby and Wada 1990: 10-19; Tanaka 1992: 3-5). This also serves to illustrate that cooperative development is a part of the team-teaching process.

In Finland, consultations with the teachers before and after the lessons in addition to other informal conversations form the basis of evaluating their opinions on foreign language teaching and learning and their contemporary education system. Therefore, the questioning of the teachers in both settings

took place in a free, loosely structured format. However, the same topics were covered in both countries with both groups of teachers.

To contribute to a fuller understanding of the Japanese teachers' view of the classroom, two model lessons and their critique will also be included in this study. The first lesson was prepared for viewing by the research committee of Kanra town. Principals and teachers were invited to the class to view the lesson. Following this, the Japanese teacher of English prepared and presented a paper on the lesson for the members of the committee. The second such model lesson was prepared to be evaluated by the prefectural school inspector. The comments and justifications for both team-taught lessons are invaluable because they include explanations intended for Japanese teachers and administrators. A report of this sort is culturally revealing.

An examination of the comments collected in the above manner presents a clear picture of both the Japanese and the Finnish teachers' attitudes toward the lessons that they taught and their opinions toward different aspects of the system in which they work.

Hofstede's (1986) '4-D Model of Cultural Difference' will be used to analyze the data.

2.4.5 Examining Methods, Activities And Timing And Classroom Discourse

What goes on in Finnish and Japanese junior high school English lessons? In what ways are they similar or different? How do they reflect their country's culture? This study will use several methods to answer these questions

This study will use videotape to record classroom sequences because it provides visual information that audio tapes could not provide. The video camera was, in every lesson but one, the only outside observer. This was done in order to try and capture a regular class on film because outside observers tend to make both the teachers and learners nervous and behave in a different or special manner. Laylock and Bunnag (1991: 46) recommend that the camera be positioned in the front of the class in order to tape both the teacher and students. This was rejected in Japan because a side view would have caused one of the two teachers in the team-taught classes to be blocked from view and the Japanese teacher of English preferred to have the camera in the back of the classroom.

Further, by positioning the camera in the back of the class, pointed toward the teacher, the clock was in view thus making it easier to measure the time of each segment while focusing on the teacher or teachers. My experience as a classroom teacher has shown me that timing is an important factor in the teaching and learning environment. Without including it in the description of the lessons, the reader may be left without a clear understanding of the way in which the lessons flowed. They may find themselves asking the question, 'did that take 5 minutes or 20 minutes?'. Timing was included in the description to prevent such vagueness and to give the reader the feel of virtual witnessing, or watching the event for themselves. Six lessons were recorded in Kanra Number

Three Junior High School of second year English classes. Three were team-taught lessons and three were regular lessons.

In Finland, the researcher filmed the lessons that were to be examined. The method of recording differed from Japan for several reasons. In Japan, time and personnel constraints limited the availability of a third party to act as a cameraman to film all but one of the lessons, which was filmed by a third party. It was also felt that an external cameraman who the Japanese teacher of English and students were not familiar with would disrupt the lesson more than the presence of only a camera. For example, a normally talkative class was observed on one occasion to become quiet when a 'stranger' participated in the lesson. In Finland, the researcher was available to tape the lessons. It was felt that since the researcher was not a teacher in the school that was studied, his filming would cause no more disruption than his observing lessons. However, it should be stressed that the teachers and learners were familiar with the researcher before taping began.

There were no clocks in the Finnish classrooms which eliminated one concern when positioning the camera. An angle where the teacher and learners both could be filmed was decided to be best for filming, with some moving around the classroom in order to capture certain aspects of student-student and student-teacher interaction. This was not without its drawbacks. Finnish students were observed to talk to the cameraman and ask him questions. However, 'distractions' of this sort occurred in the Finnish classrooms even when no camera was present. Some of the Finnish students were observed to shy away from the camera. The Japanese learners in the particular educational setting studied did not exhibit this type of behavior.

Initially, it was determined that the most effective way to pursue the project was to tape lessons at all three schools in the Japanese town with all six Japanese teachers of English and from these, select sections for further investigation. However, this was not possible because half of the teachers refused to be videotaped. One teacher who agreed to be videotaped became so nervous in front of the camera that the lessons broke down. Two Japanese teachers of English who taught in a school where the other teachers agreed refused to be filmed. This exerted group pressure that would have made taping in the school problematic. Japanese teachers of English were also observed to modify their classroom behavior when audio tapes were made of lessons. This left only one Japanese teacher of English whose lessons could be recorded.

This demonstrates the problematic nature of using video or audio taping as a means of classroom research. After having observed the reaction of Japanese teachers of English to the prospect of being taped, I decided that the subject should be approached delicately with the Finnish teachers who agreed to participate in the study. Like some of the Japanese teachers of English, some of the Finnish English teachers became apprehensive at the mention of video taping their lessons. However, more of the Finnish teachers participated in videotaping. So, the videotaped data included in present study is based on the lessons of one Japanese teacher of English and four Finnish teachers of English. These videotaped lessons, in my opinion, exhibited many of the same characteristics as those of the other teachers I worked with in Japan and

observed in Finland and reflect the general situation of both educational cultural settings studied.

It also raises questions as to the validity of 'one-shot research' in which a researcher visits a school for one day and observes (Smith 1995; Sloss 1995). My experience indicated that such researchers have only a slight chance of seeing 'everyday lessons', especially in Japan

Fanslow (1992) argues that videotaping lessons is a helpful way in which lessons can be analyzed and should be used more widely in classroom research. However, my feeling is that it should not be pushed on colleagues who agree to participate in research projects. Therefore, in both Japan and Finland, when teachers hesitated at the mention of video taping, the subject was dropped. Otherwise, the relationship between the researcher and the teachers might have been affected adversely.

The apprehension expressed by the Japanese teachers of English was not unwarranted. There is sometimes a tendency for foreign professionals to become angry and criticize Japanese teachers of English, or for assistant English teachers with professional knowledge to have bad relations with them (Cominos 1992a; 1992b; Yamazaki 1995; Kobayashi 1994). The risk of offending a colleague makes conducting ethnographic research in Japan as in many other settings problematic. The importance of maintaining good relations with Japanese colleagues is further discussed in Hook (1992).

In Japan, I decided to include three videotapes each of team-taught lessons and regular lessons in which the assistant English teacher was not present. In addition, a videotaped model lesson was included in the material because it was accompanied by a research paper presented by the Japanese teacher of English that explained his views toward team-teaching and how it can be used as an effective teaching tool. It was hoped that this would clearly show the differences between classroom interaction in team-taught and regular lessons as well as the variation of teaching techniques. The Finnish teachers who participated in the study allowed several different types of lessons to be taped.

Once the tapes were made, they were viewed by the researcher and notes were made as to significant aspects within the lessons. Consideration was given as to which sequences would be most representative of actual team-teaching and regular classroom interaction. Analyzing special or remarkable features within the classrooms of both countries was rejected, since the goal was to present a 'common classroom'. With the videotaping completed, a methodology for analyzing them was constructed.

2.4.6 Observation Of The Videos

Classroom research has developed into many different forms since it was recognized by such early works as Flanders' (1970) research on teaching styles and Moscowitz's (1967; 1968) studies which used classroom observation for interaction analysis. These early studies were initially hailed as a cure-all for everything that is bad in teaching and consisted of elaborate observation systems in which several types of behavior were checked off on a list as they were observed in the classroom (Allwright 1988). These studies did a great deal

to promote teacher awareness of classroom behavior. However, by the 1970's, they began to be criticized for their failure to encompass the entire range of possibilities and their complexity.

Fanslow's (1977) landmark paper 'Beyond Rashomon - Conceptualizing and Describing the Teaching Act' suggested that everyone observing an incident sees it from a different perspective. Therefore, no observation system can be objective because it is clouded by the observer's perspective. He suggested that a standard system of describing the teaching act be adopted so teachers, trainers and administrators would use the same terminology because no technical language for describing the teaching act existed. His 'FOCUS' analysis system attempted to do this. However, like the previous systems, it too was extremely complicated (Allwright 1988).

To answer the research questions in this study, two approaches were adopted to analyze the videos. A descriptive section on lesson segmentation was included in the study in order to provide the reader with an overall perspective of the English language classrooms in Finland and Japan (Rees 1991).

Lesson segmentation analysis consists of observing the transition points within lessons and which activities are included in each 'section' of the lesson and recording what activities are performed and their duration (Garant 1992). This will provide a description of what takes place in the classroom and how it differs between and within the two countries. The primary concerns of this type of analysis are the variation in lessons and lesson plans, the number and variation of activities, what skills are emphasized and how textbooks are utilized.

In addition to the analysis of lesson segmentation, it was felt that a micro-level analysis of classroom discourse could provide important additional information. Therefore, introductions of classes were transcribed according to Richards' (1991) model and analyzed in regard to Hofstede's 4-D Principles of cultural awareness.

2.4.7 Methods Of Text And Discourse Analysis

Chapter Eight of the present study will examine classroom interaction in what may properly be called a discourse analysis model in order to present concrete examples of how the factors that are discussed throughout the work affect the actual classroom environment. The model that will be used is relevant for the present study because it either supports or invalidates claims made throughout the study regarding teacher-centered and learner-centered classroom management styles as well as concrete evidence related to politeness strategies and other aspects of the present study (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975). Such data was included because it was hoped that it would support claims made in other sections of the present study. This will be followed by a section that matches the data to the filter of Hofstede's (1986) '4-D model of cultural difference'. In addition, some aspects of solidarity and deference politeness and context within the discourse samples will be examined (Scollon and Scollon 1995; 1983; Samovar and Porter 1991; Hall 1976).

Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) work is based on the assumption that the level of language organization is different from, yet analogous to, the levels of grammar and phonology in linguistic description. It follows, then, that it must be possible to analyze discourse by a systematic description. Their original work was reported in *Toward an Analysis of Discourse* (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975). Modifications and further developments appeared in Coulthard and Montgomery (1981), Sinclair and Brazil (1982) and Coulthard (1987). These books concentrate on theoretical issues without providing an actual example of how transcribed discourse can be analyzed in written form. The only one of these works which contains an example of how to do an analysis based on this model is Sinclair and Brazil (1982). However enlightening the model, the form of analysis in Sinclair and Brazil (1982) is somewhat confusing. Therefore, the present study has adapted a written form taken from the University of Surrey, English Language Institute Coursebooks based on Sinclair and Coulthard's theories(Anon. 1993).

Since Sinclair and Coulthard developed their model specifically to analyze classroom discourse, it is more suited to this study than some other models, such as Schiffrin (1987) which examines discourse markers or pragmatic particles. These, however interesting, are difficult to relate to the theme of teaching and learning in different educational cultures, because they concentrate on non-classroom settings. Levinson (1983), which concentrates on conversation analysis, was discussed earlier in this work in relation to the controversy between ethnography (includes relevant background information in analysis) and ethnomethodology (concentrates only on what is actually said). Conversation analysis and ethnomethodology are often seen as the same and were rejected for this study because of their propensity to exclude culture. Brown and Yule (1983) and Tannen (1984; 1990) concentrate on non-institutional settings and talk among participants in social settings.

Further, studies including Swales (1990), Halliday and Hasan (1989) and Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens (1957) concentrating on register and genre analysis where not deemed suitable as models for this study either. Each of these previous works has its merits. However, they were found inadequate for analyzing the institutional settings of the specific educational cultures that were studied.

The discourse itself was transcribed from video tapes, in the case of the regular Japanese and Finnish English lessons, and from audio tape, in the case of the Japanese team taught lesson. In some instances, body language is included in the transcripts of the videotaped lessons where essential to the discourse, for example, when the teacher recognizes a student by pointing.

The primary aim of using this method and form of analysis is to provide a simple and clear account of discourse in the Finnish and Japanese classroom to the widest possible audience. Perhaps this method will appear a bit technical at times, but it is the minimum apparatus through which classroom discourse can be shown with a reasonable amount of accuracy (Sinclair and Brazil 1982: 1-2).

2.4.8 Exchanges: Initiation, Response And Follow-Up

The basic unit of discourse is the exchange which consists of three elements. They are: *Initiation, Response* and *Follow-up* (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975). A typical I-R-F exchange is:

A:	What time is it?	I
B:	Four-thirty.	R
A:	Thanks.	F

An initiation (I) sets up expectations of what will follow and occurs at the beginning of an exchange. According to Sinclair and Brazil (1982), it is the primary unit in classroom discourse because it begins all exchanges. Response (R) follows the initiation. It can be an answer, some diversion, for example "I don't understand", or anything else (Sinclair and Brazil 1982: 45). Follow-up (F) says something about the previous discourse. It can also indicate a plane or subject change.

A distinguishing feature of Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) I-R-F exchange system is the assertion that every utterance, and/or part of an utterance, has a single prime function. Sinclair and Brazil (1982) use the technical term *move* instead of the term 'utterance' because 'utterance' can imply a complete speech by one speaker. A 'move' must be either I or R or F. Sinclair and Brazil (1982) suggest that a move may also have a dual function of responding and initiating. Sinclair and Brazil (1982) propose the term R/I to describe such phenomena, as in:

A:	Where's the notebook	I
B:	In the cupboard?	R/I
A:	No	R

In addition, organizational moves marking boundaries between exchanges will also be classified.

A:	OK	Organizational
	What day is today?	I
B:	Monday	R
C:	Yes, Monday	F

Exchanges, or I-R-F sequences, are obviously not the only feature of the organization of discourse that can be described. Individual parts of discourse may be described in more detail. The moves were originally called Opening, Answering and Follow-up (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975). These terms reflect the position of the exchanges rather than their function. According to this system, an utterance such as "It's three o'clock" would be classified as an opening move and an informative act if it began an exchange. This line of analysis obviously gives the same information twice and was therefore soon abandoned. Later versions incorporate the terms which this study will use to classify moves within the exchanges.

In this study, in an exchange which includes the exchange of information, there are three possible moves: *eliciting, informing* and *acknowledging*. There are various possibilities for the moves and the elements to be realized.

FIGURE 2.4   I-R-F Moves
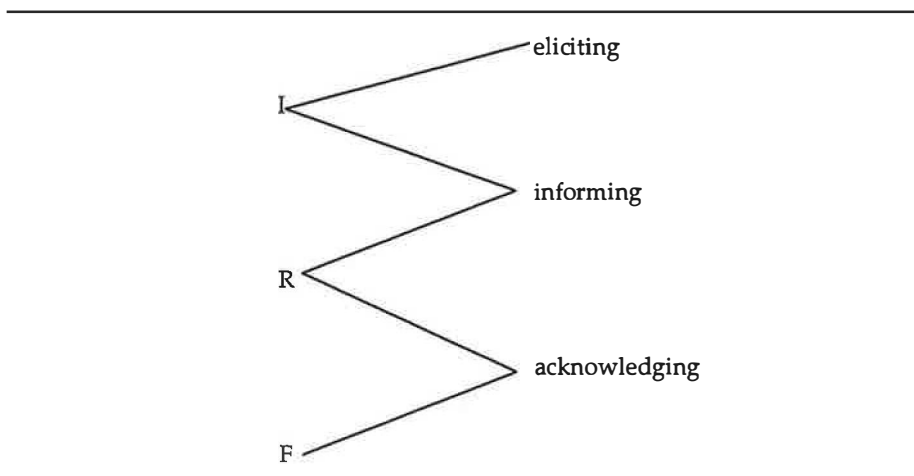
Source: Huddleston 1991: 50

In this study, an eliciting move can only realize an I. An informing move can realize I or R. An acknowledging move can realize R or F. For example:

Teacher:	Hey Makiko, How do you feel?	eliciting	I
Student:	I have cold.	informing	R
Teacher:	Cold.	acknowledging	F

These three move labels are sufficient to analyze most conversations as well as virtually all classroom discourse.

Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) further break down the moves into the main part or 'head'. Anything that follows the head is the post-head and anything that precedes it is the pre-head. These and other sub-classifications were not included in this study because I felt that they did not yield enough relevant information.

In summary, the following definitions will be restated:

Exchange: basic structure I-R-F.

Exchange	T:	Are you all here?
	S1:	No
	T:	No?

Move	:	basic structure - minimum contribution by one speaker			
Moves	T:	What day is it today?	eliciting	I
	S1:	Tuesday.	informing	R
	T:	Good. Tuesday.	acknowledging	F

An analysis of this kind will be applied to classroom discourse recorded and transcribed for this study in Chapter Eight.

The transcribed discourse will then be examined in relation to Hofstede's 4-D Model of Cultural Difference (1986), solidarity and deference politeness and context within culture (Scollon and Scollon 1995; Samovar and Porter 1991; Hall 1976). These frameworks have been described earlier in this chapter.

2.5 Teacher Training

Teacher training is an important aspect of English as a foreign language education in Japan and Finland. However, it will not be addressed by this study because it is much too broad a subject and warrants an independent study.

2.6 Summary

This study will incorporate a variety of methods to analyze the various types of data that were gathered. Each method has been selected to complement the data it addresses. This study has not sought to employ one method to reveal all of the answers. Comparing foreign language teaching and learning in two countries is too complex for that. Instead, it will utilize a variety of sources of data as well as several different methods in order to confirm claims through triangulation. This should provide insights into the two countries educational cultures and how this affects English as a foreign language teaching and learning. My study will also try to point out intercultural similarities and differences using the cultural comparison models that I have selected. My belief is that no method addressing this topic can provide all the answers. My goal is to propose a method that can provide some of the answers and, hopefully, provide enough information on the subject for future researchers to conduct further investigations into intercultural teaching and learning in Japan and Finland as well as in other educational cultural settings.

3 GENERAL SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES

This chapter will provide background information on Japan and Finland that is related to the rest of the study. First, what the author perceives as societal similarities will be discussed because they provide necessary insight into topics discussed in this dissertation. Differences between the two countries along with similarities will be included in Chapters Four through Eight. Then, an overview of the history of the two countries as it applies to education will be outlined in order to familiarize the reader with the institutional development of Japan and Finland. Finally, this chapter will discuss team-teaching in Japan because it is at the forefront of Japanese foreign language educational reform and it provides the reader with background information needed to understand the information presented in this study.

3.1 Societal Similarities

In order to establish a means of comparison between Japan and Finland, this section will discuss some similarities between the two, acknowledging that cultural diversity may render such classifications problematic (Befu 1989). The populations of the two countries vary greatly with Japan having approximately 124 million people in 1991 (Ueda 1992: 32) and Finland having about 5.1 million people in 1995 (Statistics Finland 1996). However, the population of both countries is basically homogeneous, especially in the educational settings studied where no major minority group was present. In Finland, there are a small minority of Swedes who mainly occupy the South-Western coastal areas, a small minority of Lapps in the far North, and gypsies and tartars who live throughout the country. There is also a small number of new refugees

primarily from Africa, Eastern Europe and South-East Asia who live throughout the country. Finland is a bi-lingual country, the official languages being Finnish and Swedish. However, 93.6% of the population are ethnic Finns (Baird 1990: 545). In the setting studied, no major Swedish speaking population was present.

Japan, despite regional differences and sub-cultures, is perhaps even more homogeneous with the only major ethnic minority being Koreans at about 0.6%. In addition to the Koreans, small groups of Caucasians, Chinese and Ainus, considered to be the indigenous people of Japan, also reside within the country (Baird 1990: 741-3). It has been proposed that a 'civil religion' has developed in Japan which is basically a shared set of 'beliefs' which most Japanese identify with. These beliefs are mostly centered around the royal family, as presented for example in the death of Emperor Showa (Hirohito) or royal weddings (Davis 1983; 1992). Although it is a problematic concept that fluctuates and does not apply to all members of society[9], this view is supported in varying degrees by the establishment through the national anthem, the imperial institutions and the national emblem, the chrysanthemum, in virtually all aspects of the society and will no doubt continue to dominate (Befu 1993).

Having basically homogeneous populations, as Finland and Japan did in the educational cultural setting studied, will affect the institutional factors of a society as well as group dynamics within the classroom.

3.2 Cultural And Historical Similarities And Development

The literacy rates of the two countries are quite similar, with Japan rating 99% and Finland averaging 99.9%. (Kurian 1985: 389; Kobayashi 1985: 696). High literacy rates in Finland can be attributed in part to the historical fact that in 1683 legislation was passed requiring Finns to prove their literacy in order to get a marriage license and take communion. Therefore, education was begun in the hands of the church and remained so until 1872 when secondary schools were taken from ecclesiastical control and put into the hands of the civil authorities (Kurian 1985).

In Japan, literacy increased because of the need for educated individuals to administer the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1868). This created the need for the development of private schools which included 'hanko' for samurai and 'terakoya' for commoners. With the collapse of the Shogunate in 1868 and the establishment of the Meiji government, educational reform began on a wider scale in Japan. The national educational system was first established in 1872, four years after the Meiji Restoration (Shimizu 1992), which is, interestingly enough, the exact year Finland's education was put into secular hands (Whittaker 1984). The Japanese promoted literacy and general education in

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[9]   Interviews that I conducted suggest that some Japanese people dislike the Imperial Institution mainly because of what they perceive as Emperor Showa's involvement in World War II.

order to improve 'moral education', or *shushin*, and 'national loyalty', or *kokutai*. By 1912, under Emperor Taisho, primary school attendance was estimated at 99% (Kobayashi 1985: 697-8). However, the number of students who reached secondary school prior to World War II was only 10-20% of the population (Shimizu 1992: 111). Out of every 1000 students who entered elementary school, only between five and eight, depending on the year, would graduate from a college or university (Passin 1965: 108). Before World War II, the number of colleges and universities was limited in Japan and they admitted only a small number of students. Needless to say, competition was fierce.

One could argue that many of the motivations among Finnish educational reformers who significantly contributed to the development of the school system were the same as those of their Japanese counterparts. Uno Cygnaeus (1810-1888) was an instrumental figure in the development of the Finnish school system. His obituary, in 1888, spoke of the emergence of 'Finnish nationality' and 'Finnish education' (Whittaker 1984: 26). In fact, developing on the Danish educator Gruntvig's and other ideas, he saw the folk school as being a 'citizenship school' or *medborgareskola*, which would educate the population of the country. This suggests that similar events were taking place in the two countries but for different reasons. Also, many of the ideas for the development of both the Finnish and the Japanese school systems came from abroad, especially from Germany and France (Whittaker 1984; Passin 1965).

Using the schools to promote nationalism became one of the Japanese system's primary functions beginning with the Imperial Education Rescript of 1890. The government used the schools to promote the idea of reverence to the Emperor and the administration of education was brought under tight control (Passin 1965). Passin (1965: 149) states that 'no modern nation state has used the schools so effectively for political indoctrination as Japan'. This study will not concentrate on Japanese education history and militarism. It should, however, be noted that, during the pre-war period, anti-foreign ideas were instilled in the population through the schools. This included the concept that learning about foreign countries reduced one's ability to relate to traditional Japanese values. These attitudes promoted the belief that to speak a foreign language fluently somehow decreases one's 'Japaneseness'. The study of Japanese, the national language, was put in the forefront. Such historical biases underscore the radical aspect of the current practice of introducing foreign assistant language teachers into the Japanese system (Wendel 1992: 38-41).

In 1945 and following the second world war, the Japanese schools were re-designed based loosely on American ideas which put an emphasis on democracy in education (Shimizu 1992). Before the Second World War, a small number of Imperial and private universities served a small number of elites. Since 1945, many new universities and colleges have been opened. In 1991, there were 97 national, 39 public and 378 private universities, in addition to 592 junior colleges and 63 technical colleges (Ueda 1993: 223). Needless to say, admission to university is not as competitive as it once was although it continues to be a major theme in the mass media both in and out of Japan (Thronson 1992).

Such profound changes did not happen in the Finnish system from the 1890's to the 1940's. Since the second world war, however, access to education improved drastically in Finland where the enrollment of students and the number of teachers increased by about one-half between 1950 and 1970 in secondary schools. In Japan, enrollment increased gradually and not by such dramatic steps.

Primary school enrollment in both countries was similar in 1985 with Japan standing at 100% and Finland at 98% (Kurian 1985). The Finnish Ministry of Education quotes slightly higher figures of 100.9% in 1986 and 100.8% in 1986. The percentages exceed 100% because some students repeat grades (Ministry of Education 1988: 41).

These figures show that at the primary school level, universal education exists. Secondary school enrollment stands at 92% in Japan and 98% in Finland while tertiary education stands at 30% in Japan and 32.2% in Finland (Kurian 1985). Although small differences exist in the age students begin their education, the way in which the 12 years of primary and secondary education are divided (6+3+3) as well as the enrollment percentages in primary, secondary and tertiary education is enough to state that the systems are similar in general (Kurian 1985: 1344-85).

In Japan, virtually all of the students study English as an elective subject because it is generally the only foreign language offered (Monbusho 1994a: 60-61. In Finland, students study 2.5 languages on average when examining the average across an entire age group (Takala 1997). The foreign language policy of the two countries will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four.

3.3 Team-Teaching In Japan

The Japanese government set about to change the language teaching system within the country with the broad-scale introduction of native speaker English teaching assistants from the United States, Britain, New Zealand, Canada, Ireland, and Australia to team-teach in secondary schools (Wada 1991). The program has been in existence for over ten years and should continue to develop (Kaneko 1997). This reflects the focus in Japan on 'internationalization at the local level', where foreign culture and language learning are intertwined through the introduction of foreign teaching assistants into local school systems. The goal is to produce a larger number of high school and university graduates who are able to assist in Japan's increasing international activities (Cominos 1991).

The purpose of this section is to introduce key concepts related to the Japan Exchange Teaching (JET) Program, team-teaching, assistant language teachers and Japanese teachers of English because they are an integral part of this foreign language teaching reform in Japan (Wada and Cominos 1994; 1995). This information is necessary to understand the information presented in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

Cominos (1991) states that through the years there has been scathing criticism of English education in Japan in both the Japanese and foreign press. Few outside the system appear to disagree with this assessment. Wada (1988) summed up these feelings citing the following quote:

> A key stumbling block [in reform] consists of the roughly 50,000 teachers of English in the Government school system, who for the most part cannot really speak English themselves. They feel threatened by any reform of the system. In addition the whole school system finds useful the present utilization of English for examination purposes, despite the fact that it teaches very little usable English. And behind the school system sit the bureaucrats of the Ministry of Education who, like bureaucrats everywhere, have little desire for change.

Source: Reischauer 1988

Language education in Japan has relied heavily on structural theories and methods, which has lead to the feeling that most Japanese cannot communicate in the target language and are 'tongue-tied giants' (Tanabe 1996). However, these methods are not always seen in a negative light. Cominos (1991: 115) cites the example of a Japanese professor who believes that the traditional approach to English 'has contributed greatly to the intellectual training of the Japanese people since Meiji' (Watanabe 1991).

My feeling is that Watanabe (1991) is correct in his assessment of the historic role of English training in Japan. However, current improvements in Japan's economic position and the recent ease with which many members of the Japanese society can travel abroad have increased the need for using English for communication and the need for reforming English education.

In 1987, the Japanese Ministry of Education, henceforth Monbusho, along with the Foreign Ministry and Home Ministry responded to this need and inaugurated the Japan Exchange and Teaching Program(me), or JET Program, in order to improve the public secondary school system's foreign language education and promote internationalization at the local level. It developed from the Monbusho English Fellows program which ran from 1977-1987 and recruited 35 American English Teacher Consultants nationwide in 1979-81 (Yamane 1995: 3) and the British English Teachers Scheme which ran from 1978 to 1987 and placed a small number of British teachers in secondary schools (CLAIR 1993).

The participants in these programs were recruited to act more as teacher trainers for the Japanese English teachers. As more English teaching consultants were placed directly in schools to team-teach, the nature of the program changed and thus led to the establishment of the JET program as it currently exists (CLAIR 1992: 8-9). Through the JET program, the government recruits foreign teaching assistants for junior and senior high schools throughout Japan. The program is impressive in scope as demonstrated by the approximately 3,700 program participants, which include Assistant Language Teachers and some 300 Coordinators of International Relations, henceforth CIRs, in the 1993-94 academic year (CLAIR 1993: 3).

In 1995, this number had increased to 4,185 and the number should continue to increase in the future (Murayama 1995). The importance of the internationalization aspect of the JET Program is such that it has, albeit jokingly, been suggested that the program be called simply the 'Japan Exchange Program' (Juppe 1992b: 2-3). Indeed, the contribution made to cultural exchange should not be underestimated (Yamane 1995). While on the program, I met many Japanese people, who expressed that I was the only foreign person they had ever talked with. A junior high school principal stated at a planning meeting that:

> ...the first foreigners I saw were American GIs after the war, who gave us gum and chocolate. It made us happy. Now, it is better for our students to meet foreigners in their schools as their teachers.

Such expressions reflect the desire to provide international contacts for students in schools and to portray foreigners in a positive light, as teachers in the community.

This study will focus primarily on the teaching aspect of the program, not the international relations aspect, and its impact on English education in Japanese junior high schools.

> The goals of the JET program are:
>
> 1. To develop the student's ability to use foreign languages as means of communication (communicative competence)
> 2. To foster student's positive attitudes towards communicating in positive   attitudes
> 3. To cultivate students' interest in language and culture, and to deepen international understanding (global awareness)

Source: Niisato 1995

Beginning in spring 1993, Monbusho instituted a new curriculum for junior high schools which, as stated in a report given to the Prime Minister by the National Council on Educational Reform, was designed 'to make educational structures and practices correspond to such contemporary changes as internationalization and development toward an information-oriented society' (Wada 1991).

In effect, this provided more autonomy at the local level for the development of communicative language teaching. Specifically it divided oral communication classes into conversation, listening and oral debate. However, the new curriculum, which was introduced into upper secondary schools in 1994, does not specify how native speaker assistant language teachers are to be used in the system (Juppe 1993: 4-5; Carter, Madeley and Goold 1993a; 1993b; 1993c).

Team-teaching has many forms throughout the world. In some cases it is defined by the cooperation between specialists and EFL teachers in order to teach ESP such as De Escorcia's (1983) work on team-teaching economics in a

Colombian university and Dudley-Evans' (1982) study on teaching English for Operational Purposes. Minoru Wada, former curriculum director of Monbusho, states that the generally accepted definition in the Japanese context is as follows:

> Team-teaching is a concerted endeavor made jointly by the Japanese teacher of English and the assistant English teacher in an English language classroom in which the students, the Japanese English Teacher and the Assistant English Teacher are engaged in communicative activities.

Source: Brumby and Wada, 1990

In addition, team-teaching was introduced to transform the English education system from one in which grammar-translation methods are used in the classroom to one in which communication is emphasized (Wada and Brumby 1990: intro.; Shimaoka and Yashiro 1990: 1-3).

Niisato (1995) states that team teaching should provide:

1. Motivation for communication in the target language
2. Cross-cultural understanding
3. Clear objectives and procedures
4. Presentations of situations
5. Interactive activities
6. Teaching materials development
7. On-the-job training

These goals are what one should strive for when team-teaching. However, considering Japan's history of English education, this may not be an easy task.

Unlike any other country in the world, Japan experienced about 250 years of voluntary isolation followed by the Meiji Restoration which began in 1868, during which the basis for the modern education system was created by such reformers as Fukuzawa Yukichi (Horio 1988). Tanabe (1996) puts forth that English education during this period tended to make the strange familiar by transforming the 'foreignness' of English into familiar Japanese cultural codes. He cites examples from early Japanese English textbooks including Kambe 1914, Kanda 1908, Olendorf 1879, Nakahama 1886 and Fukuzawa 1927. He puts forth interesting examples of militarism in Japanese English textbooks (Hasegawa 1936), the first English pronunciation book of English published in Japan (Takenobu 1886) and an example of an English book from before the Meiji Restoration (Shimizu and Usaburo 1860).

Tanabe (1996) uses examples from these and other books to illustrate how English education in Japan has tended to use acculturation devices to adapt the 'useful' aspects of the language while discarding unnecessary elements. One element of this is the emphasis on visual learning which is necessary to learn 'kanji', the Chinese writing system. He puts forth the proposition that speaking was therefore not emphasized. It follows then that teaching communication to non-Western language speakers will take not only specific linguistic efforts but an overall socio-cultural effort. This study like Tanabe's work will address both

linguistic and cultural aspects of language teaching. However, it will not examine the history of textbooks beyond this brief discussion.

Four years after the Meiji Restoration in 1872, there were 119 British, 16 American and 50 French consultants helping the Japanese construct a modern nation (Takanashi 1979: 12). The number of foreign experts continued to increase in the following years. Most taught in the newly created universities. The most influential of these were H. E. Palmer and A.S. Hornby who advocated what was called the Oral teaching method for English. Palmer taught and acted as a professional advisor in Japan from 1922 to 1936. Hornby worked in Japan from 1924 to 1941. Hornby summed up his method by saying that students should first identify the sound by listening, fix or fuse it by repeating it and finally acquire the ability to operate in the language (Shimaoka and Yashiro 1990: 11-12). Before World War Two, English was studied mainly by a small number of elites who strived to enter one of the few universities in the country. Japanese language was stressed because of nationalistic political ideology to students of both elite and non-elite backgrounds. During the Pacific war, the study of English was banned. Foreign books used in education were and still are translated into Japanese making it unnecessary to read English in order to study (Hoshiyama 1978: 104-114).

Charles Carpenter Fries was invited to Japan in 1956 and, along with A.S. Hornby, advocated the descriptive structural linguistic approach developed at the University of Michigan in the United States (Shimaoka and Yashiro 1990: 14-15). Fries (1945:3) stressed the mastery of 'features that constitute the structure of language' and mastery of the sound system of English. Beginning in around 1965, language laboratories began to be installed in universities, then senior high schools, then junior high schools. They are now fairly common in Japan. In the setting studied, one of the three junior high schools in the district had a state of the art language lab. The structural or 'Michigan Method' is probably what is being referred to when 'grammar translation' English teaching methods are spoken about in regard to Japan. Professor Hiroshi Kita of Nara University of Education stated to me:

> Language laboratories have made a positive contribution to English
> education in Japan and, although some have suggested otherwise, are
> not in conflict with team-teaching or the new communicative syllabus.
> Language laboratories enhance the English teaching process.

My view is that language laboratories can be useful when used in unison with team team-teaching and the new communicative syllabus. Informants' opinions that were solicited reflected the still prevailing positive attitude among Japanese educators towards the traditional methods.

Horio (1988) suggests that despite the reforms that were instituted after 1945, the education system designed during that period has been carried through to today and is designed to provide trained, docile workers. Although Horio's views are perhaps slightly exaggerated it is clear after a careful viewing of lessons that in Japanese junior high schools students are encouraged to sit and listen to the teacher, rather than be active as participants in the learning

process. This affects language lessons in which the students who have been trained to sit and listen are suddenly told that they are supposed to speak and provide input during team-taught activities.

Unlike in other parts of the world, in Japan team-teaching is most common in secondary schools, especially junior high schools. In Gunma prefecture where the study was conducted, the ratio of junior high school to senior high school assistant language teachers in 1991 was 2:1; 24 in junior high school to 12 in senior high schools (CLAIR 1992a: 190-191). One-shot assistant language teachers visit a different school every day (Yamane 1995; CLAIR 1992b: 24). The purpose of their presence in the school is often more to increase the student's international understanding than to teach English. In 1988, six of the assistant language teachers in the prefecture did one-shots and 12 had base schools or semi-regular positions. By 1991, of the 24 in junior high schools , 18 were in base schools or semi-regular situations (CLAIR 1992a: 190-191). In these situations, assistant language teachers teach the same students with the same Japanese English teachers during their stay in Japan. This suggests a trend away from one-shot teaching.

The number of assistant language teachers and their wide distribution even in rural areas have made it so that every secondary school student in Japan has at least some contact with a native speaker teacher (Juppe 1993). As assistant language teachers move more and more into regular positions, their usefulness as teachers increases. Therefore, a need arises for a greater understanding of their place within the system, which is one of the things this study has sought to achieve.

The goals of team-teaching in regards to the student, as stated in Wada and Brumby (1990), are (1) to communicate in English with the native speaker or with their classmates, (2) to realize that English is a living language through contact with the assistant language teacher, (3) to be motivated by seeing English in action between the assistant language teacher and JTE and (4) to increase their awareness of foreign values, ways of thinking and culture. This study will look at how teachers within the system perceive these goals in addition to their personal goals and how they enact them within the classroom.

Much has been written on team-teaching in Japan (Wada and Brumby 1990; Shimaoka and Yashiro 1990; CLAIR, 1991; Tanaka 1992, Garant 1993; Wada and Cominos 1994; 1995). However, the work tends to be prescriptive. Some studies based on classroom research have been conducted (Garant 1992, Juppe 1990) and many other studies have been published in Japanese language journals such as the Japanese Association of College English Teachers' Bulletin and The English Teachers' Magazines. However, these cannot be accessed by most assistant language teachers because they cannot speak Japanese. Therefore, a need exists to conduct more research on team-teaching and its effect on the Japanese English classroom (Juppe 1992b; Cominos 1992a; 1992b; Garant, 1992). This study will investigate some of the questions involved with team-teaching in Japan. It will also examine how team-taught lessons compare with regular English lessons in Japan.

3.4 Summary

There are clearly many differences between Japan and Finland. Japan is a monolingual country with a large population while Finland is bi-lingual with a small population. Still, both countries have had relatively few foreign residents and, despite regional differences, sub-cultures and minorities, basically homogeneous populations, especially in the educational cultural settings that were studied. Despite the many differences, there are some interesting historical similarities which may have an effect on today's education systems in Japan and Finland. Japan and Finland have both borrowed many aspects of their educational institutional structure from other countries and now divide their primary and secondary school years in a 6+3+3 fashion. Team-teaching in Japan was discussed because it is at the forefront of Japanese foreign language educational reform. Terms related to team-teaching in Japan will occur throughout this study. Finland does not have a similar program. This chapter has sought to provide a brief discussion of background information necessary for the reader.

4 LANGUAGE PLANNING AND TEXTBOOKS

Studying the curriculum is a fairly new field in education. This study will refer to the curriculum as the substance of the educational program, and, in a more restricted sense, as the content or course of study of a particular subject: English education (Stern 1983: 435-6). Recently, there has been a spate of interest in comparing language planning between countries and cultures (Sajavaara, Takala, Lambert and Morfit 1993). This includes the establishment of an electronic International Language Policy Forum to collect and share information on the subject via the Internet/World Wide Web (Brecht, Maxwell and Walton 1996). The Language Education Study conducted by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement studies the national, economic, social and educational contexts for language teaching and learning in 27 countries (Cumming and Dickson 1996). This section will examine language policy issues in Japan and Finland and the design of English textbooks and how they reflect the cultures of the respective countries according to the criteria put forth in Chapter Two.

4.1 Background

At the base of what goes on in the classroom in any given institution is the curriculum which is used to advance the goals set out, in the case of Finland and Japan, by the teachers, administrators and ministry of education (Nikki 1992; Monbusho 1994b). This is especially true of the public school situations such as those studied. Countries such as the United States have a decentralized education system in which a great number of differences in what is taught exists between school districts and even between schools within the same

district (Sjogren 1986: 7). Japan and Finland have had centralized planning for much of their foreign language education since the Second World War (National Board of Education 1993: 10-11; Monbusho 1995). Recently, there has been a trend toward local control in both countries. Despite the new local autonomy, radical reforms had not apparently taken place in the educational cultures studied. Huhta (1996) suggests that despite decentralization, language teaching in Finland is still fairly uniform due to similar materials and teacher training. The same can be said of Japan (Kiguchi 1995).

The curriculum can be best understood by examining technical reports issued by the respective ministries in each country and textbooks that are recommended for use in the schools. Until recently, education ministries in both Japan and Finland provided a list of approved textbooks for selection by the schools. Therefore, a limited variety of English and other foreign language textbooks are used in the public schools of both countries (Juppe 1992; Huhta 1996). Since the early 1990's, Finnish schools are no longer restricted in their textbook selection. Even so, the schools that were studied continued to use the same English textbooks they had been using before.

The following section will explain the language policies of both countries and current influences of these policies by examining curriculums and textbooks. The section on textbooks at the local level will include a more detailed discussion on curriculums at the local level. This will be followed by a discussion of how these features reflect cultural traits of the two educational cultures studied.

In Finland, foreign language proficiency is essential because the country has a population of only five million and must use foreign languages to trade and maintain relations with foreign countries (Takala 1993). For the Japanese, foreign language proficiency is more of an option because the country has a domestic market of about one-hundred twenty-four million people who all speak Japanese (Ueda 1993). The different environments of the two countries suggest that language planning may take place in different ways.

Until recently, education ministries in both Japan and Finland formulated language policy and created a general curriculum, and subsequently sent their decisions down to the local level, including recommended textbooks and guidelines for what was to be taught. While Japan's educational policy is still formulated at the top, Finland has recently granted local administrations the power to decide what is to be taught in their schools based on loose guidelines issued by the National Board of Education (National Board of Education 1994b: 18-19; Huhta 1996).

From 1976 to 1979, a high-level committee conducted comprehensive surveys in business and governmental institutions in an attempt to determine the needs of the country's economy. The information gathered was then consulted by the committee who formulated language policy. These needs analysis surveys influenced the multi-language teaching policy of Finland also based on the Council of Europe recommendations which promote the learning of several languages beginning in elementary school (Takala 1993).

In Japan, Monbusho bases the Course of Study on recommendation from the Curriculum Council which is comprised of persons of 'learning and

experience' including teachers and researchers (Monbusho 1994b). The new Course of Study concentrates on improving students' English communication skills (Niisato 1995). Nine measures for improving English education have been adopted. They are:

1. The Research Committee on Improving Foreign Language Education
2. The Revision of the Course of Study
3. The Revision of the Cumulative Record
4. The JET Program
5. Overseas Teacher Training Programs
6. English Teaching in Elementary Schools
7. Teaching Foreign Languages other than English in Elementary Schools
8. Pilot Schools for Team-Teaching
9. Handbook for Team-Teaching

The Research Committee on Improving Foreign Language Education studies proposals for bettering English teaching and learning in the schools. The revision of the course of study will be explained in this section. The revision of the cumulative record gives students greater access to their own permanent school records. The JET Program was discussed in Chapter Three. Overseas Teacher Training Programs allow language teachers to study abroad. The main problem with this program is that there are too many Japanese English teachers to send them all abroad and other subject teachers might not like the idea that English teachers get to study abroad while they do not.

English teaching in elementary schools is still in the planning stages and will be discussed in this section. Teaching foreign languages other than English, mainly French and German, takes place in some high schools in the country (CLAIR 1992: 24). Pilot schools for team-teaching study the process of this type of instruction in order to suggest improvements and a Handbook for Team-Teaching assists assistant language teachers and Japanese English teachers plan more effective communicative language lessons.

The goal of these measures is to shift away from so called 'grammar-translation' teaching methods which are perceived to inhibit communication skills (Nozawa 1995). Intriguingly enough, in the 1970s, when Finland was embarking on language reform, Japan was studying the matter, producing, among other publications, *The Teaching of English in Japan* which outlined many of the problems with Japanese foreign language education (Koike, Matsuyama, Igarashi and Suzuki 1978). However, significant reforms have not taken place and the same problems are still present today.

Central to any discussion of foreign language education in Finland is the early age at which students begin studying languages and the number of languages that they study by the end of their education. In the setting studied, the curriculum offered the students English as their first foreign language, beginning at grade three (around age 9) of elementary school. At the time of the present study, most Finnish students studied English as their first foreign

language. Because the students spoke Finnish as their mother tongue[10], Swedish, the country's other official national language was a mandatory subject beginning in seventh grade. At the time, additional languages were also offered. Students could choose from English, German and French as a third language beginning in eighth grade.

TABLE 4.1 Percentage Of Finnish-Speaking Pupils Who Studied Different Languages In Comprehensive School

First choice in 1994

English	Swedish	Finnish	German	French	Russian
87.7%	3.3%	4.6%	3.5%	1.0%	0.2%

Languages studied by end of comprehensive school in 1994

English	Swedish	Finnish	German	French	Russian
98.7%	92.1%	5.5%	20.1%	7.1%	1.1%

Saame	Latin	Other languages
0.1%	0.5%	0.1%

Source: Strömmer 1997

These figures do not fully reflect the needs of industry and trade as indicated by needs analysis surveys conducted in Finland between 1986 and 1989 (Mehtäläinen and Takala 1990). There is a growing need in Finnish companies for speakers of German and, to a lesser extent, Russian.

TABLE 4.2 Language Needs Of Finnish Industry And Trade

	INDUSTRY	TRADE
ENGLISH	76%	61%
SWEDISH	67%	52%
GERMAN	45%	27%
FRENCH	12%	12%
RUSSIAN	11%	13%

Source: Mehtäläinen and Takala 1990

TABLE 4.3 Target Figures For Comprehensive School Language Learners; Finnish Speaking population; First foreign language

English	Swedish	German	French	Russian
70%	15%	5-7%	2-3%	5-7%

Source: Mehtäläinen and Takala 1990

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[10]   Because the country is bi-lingual (93% Finnish, 6% Swedish), Finnish-speaking students must study Swedish and Swedish-speaking students must study Finnish (Nikki 1992a).

The discrepancy between the language needs of trade and industry and what languages are actually studied demonstrates that the learners, because they are given a choice, tend to want to learn English. Although the Finnish-speaking students are given a choice as to their first language, they must learn Swedish as one of the two mandatory languages.[11] Nikki (1992), based on surveys conducted for her Ph.D. dissertation, argues that because motivation is a prime factor in second language acquisition, learners should be allowed to choose both languages they study. She found that 77 percent of the Finnish junior high school students she surveyed preferred to have Swedish as an optional subject. Takala (1993) states that a third of the boys in upper secondary school indicate that they would choose to study only one foreign language if given the option and is skeptical of depending on choice as a factor on motivation.

Because such a majority of the learners in Finland choose English as their first language, the situation provides a legitimate comparison to the Japanese system where virtually all of the students study English.

In Japan, foreign language education in the public school system basically means English education. Officially, it is an optional subject but, primarily because of the entrance examinations discussed in Chapter Six, it is studied by almost 100% of the students in Japan (CLAIR 1993). English is seen as the clear choice in foreign language education because of its usefulness as an international language (Kuroda 1995). A small minority of senior high schools offer other languages such as German, French or Chinese.

Japanese students begin studying English when they enter junior high school at around age 12 in the seventh grade. At the beginning of study, they generally have some knowledge of the language, which they have acquired from cram schools or other sources. Cram schools, or *juku*, are private extra-study schools where Japanese parents send their children for extra-curricular lessons in academic subjects to give them an advantage in school or on entrance examinations (Brown 1995).

The concept of lowering the age at which students begin to study English is generally accepted by teachers and parents in Japan (Murakami 1995; James 1995), and pilot programs have been established to test the idea (Toda 1992, Niisato 1995). However, this policy has yet to be adopted. Interviews with language professionals in Japan suggest that elementary school English education may be adopted in the near future.

Japanese students set out to master both vocabulary and grammar forms primarily using the grammar-translation methods discussed in Chapters Seven and Eight on regular Japanese English lessons (Garant 1992). Monbusho is making a concerted effort to institute oral communication skills and has adopted an oral skills curriculum to promote this goal (Izumi 1995; Le 1995). In addition, large numbers of native speaker assistant teachers have been recruited to provide oral skills classes focusing on communication.

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[11] Swedish-speaking students must study Finnish.

4.2 Current Situation In Japan And Finland

The 'Oral Communication A, B and C' approach was incorporated into the junior high school curriculum in Japan in spring 1993 and into the senior high school curriculum in spring 1994. The course concentrates on three areas: everyday conversation (Oral Communication A), listening (Oral Communication B), and public speaking such as debate, speech making and discussion (Oral Communication C) (Monbusho 1993; 1994). The complete lower secondary school English Course of Study can be found in Appendix 10.

When these broad guidelines were first published, there was an uproar, mainly because teachers saw preparing the students for entrance examinations as a priority over teaching communication. Although many of the teachers like the concept of teaching communication, a number of them are of the opinion that the new curriculum is not consistent with the goal of helping the students get into the top universities (Nozawa 1995).

> "I have heard that some senior high school teachers enroll their students in Oral A, B or C, have them buy the books, then not open them and teach grammar as they have always done because they feel it is the only way in which the students will pass their university entrance examinations."

> (Japanese Teacher Informant 1)

The Oral Communication C curriculum appears to be most problematic. For example, in Ishikawa Prefecture, none of the schools had adopted it by 1995. Of the 49 public senior high schools, 21 schools adopted Oral A, 11 schools adopted Oral B and 15 schools adopted Oral A and Oral B. Two schools in the prefecture adopted Oral A, B and C. Parents do not understand the new system and prefer to have the teacher train the students for the entrance examinations (Nozawa 1992a; 1992b). In Gunma Prefecture where this study took place no school had chosen Oral Communication C by 1994. Only two textbooks were available, published by Kihara Shoten and Tokyo Shoseki (Izumi 1995). This illustrates the problematic nature of introducing some aspects of English communication, specifically debate, into the Japanese educational culture.

In Japan, curriculum design is based on the guidelines put forth by the Ministry of Education (Monbusho) based on the growing needs of trade and industry and the current emphasis on internationalization. Until 1993, these guidelines stressed skills most needed to pass university entrance examinations in addition to communication through team-taught lessons. Since 1993, these guidelines have stressed communication. The overall objectives are:

> To develop students' basic abilities to understand a foreign language and express themselves in it, to foster a positive attitude toward communicating in it, and to deepen interest in language and culture, cultivating international understanding.
>
> (Monbusho 1993)

However, in Japan, English university entrance examinations are still in place creating a paradox within the system. Students begin learning at age 12 and the subject is optional, although virtually every student takes it. Between the age of 12 and 19 they must learn English to pass their senior high school entrance exam at around age 16 and their university entrance exam three years later. These examinations generally do not emphasize communication and are often extremely difficult (Brown and Yamashita 1995a; 1995b; 1995c).

In Finland, local autonomy regarding textbooks and language planning was granted in 1993 to be implemented beginning with the school year 1994-1995 (National Board of Education 1994b). The main objective of foreign language study is that the student:

> * gets along in the language he is learning in everyday life communication;
> * knows ways to communicate that are characteristic of the target language and its culture;
> * receives information about the countries, people and cultures of the language area and has an open mind toward different cultures and its representatives;
> * develops his study skills alone and in groups;
> * develops his ability to evaluate himself, and learns to be responsible for his studies;
> * receives, through teaching and study, meaningful experiences and impressions, as well as intellectual challenges**[12];
> and
> * becomes interested in foreign languages and cultures.

Source: National Board of Education 1994b: 74
      ** National Board of Education 1994a: 70

In the educational culture studied, the new local autonomy had not abolished the old national curriculum. The only modification was some experimentation with streamlining classes according to level and ability. Despite the fact that it is no longer legally binding, teachers expressed that the former curriculum has a great influence on their current practices.

Stern (1967) emphasizes the importance of beginning foreign language education early. The previous public school curriculum required Finnish students to begin studying their first foreign language in grade three at age nine (Karppinen 1993: 74). Huhta (1996) suggests that despite new local autonomy, major changes have not generally taken place in the Finnish foreign language education system.

The Commission for the Development of Language Teaching in 1992 suggested that foreign language teaching should begin even earlier, in

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[12]   The junior high school objectives have been translated as 'experiences the teaching and study as meaningful, emotional and challenging'. There is a small problem in the translation of "elämyksellinen" which has been rendered as "emotional". What was meant was that language study would provide experiences that make an impact, are vivid, not dull and repetitive (Takala 1997). Therefore, the upper secondary school curriculum translation was included in this study.

kindergarten. They also recommended an emphasis on oral skills and content-based language teaching using mathematics, history, the sciences and geography in the foreign language classroom. These recommendations can now be freely implemented by the schools.

According to the teachers, the goals of the curriculum in the Finnish setting were compatible with the official goals put forth by the Finnish Ministry of Education. The teachers wanted to provide the students with English communication skills. Structure and vocabulary were also seen as important, but not as important as communication. There appeared to be somewhat of a balance of emphasis between reading, writing, speaking and listening skills. Textbooks, workbooks and tapes provided most of the material that was used in the lessons with some supplementary handouts. The examination of the textbooks will go into more detail on curriculum content.

The two countries' curriculum goals emphasize internationalization. The Finnish goals are more specific in defining exactly what aspects of foreign cultures should be sought for while the Japanese goals state merely that 'international understanding' should be attained. Cultivating learner autonomy is also mentioned in the Finnish document in addition to the stated communication goals.

In conclusion, the foreign language planning process in both countries is influenced by a variety of factors, including the cultures of the two countries which will be discussed in relation to the textbooks used in the setting studied. The policy concerning the diversification of language study in Finland was designed to reflect the needs of trade and industry and the new curriculum emphasizes the need for students to communicate in foreign languages in order to promote internationalization. Finnish learners are required to study two languages, one of which is the country's other official language: Finnish speakers must study Swedish and vice versa. The study of the first foreign language, usually English, typically begins at around age nine. The new guidelines in Finland grant curriculum design powers and a free hand in textbook selection to local administrations within general guidelines. However, the previously binding national curriculum still had a great deal of influence in the educational cultural setting studied. The new Course of Study in Japan gives local authorities the choice between three types of English courses each with its own emphasis and textbooks. Local authorities may choose textbooks from a set list prescribed by Monbusho.

These objectives are integrated into the textbooks which reflect the curriculum. The following section will deal with textbooks and analyze them in some detail through Hofstede's (1986, 1991) 4-D model.

4.3   Comprehensive School EFL Textbooks In Finland And Japan

About 30 years ago, Lado (1957: 2) stated that textbooks basically look the same on the surface, but closer inspection will tell if the books present language and culture forms in a pattern that can be studied. This section will examine the textbooks used in the educational cultures studied in terms of linguistic and pedagogic content and follow that analysis by an examination in terms of cultural comparisons put forth in Chapter Two. This two-fold analysis stems from my conviction that a purely linguistic description would be inadequate to explain the differences between the textbooks and curriculums in the two countries.

Sheldon's (1988) method and terminology for analyzing textbooks will serve as the model for this section of the study (see Chapter Two for more specific details and criteria).   Karppinen (1993) points out that 'good and relevant' textbooks for German, French and Russian are not available in Finland to the same extent as for English.   Therefore, the textbook discussion that follows only applies to the English books used in the setting.   The terms are discussed in detail in Chapter Two.   This section will discuss each term as it relates to Finnish textbooks, then discuss it in relation to Japanese textbooks.

Terms For Analyzing Textbooks

Rationale	Availability
User Definition	Layout and Graphics
Accessibility	Linkage
Selection and Grading	Physical Characteristics
Appropriacy	Authenticity
Sufficiency	Culture Bias
Stimulus and practice revision	Guidance
Educational value	Overall Value

Source: Sheldon (1988)

In regard to *availability*, which is concerned with whether the book is easy to obtain, textbooks are provided free to students in Japan and in the Finnish educational culture that was studied (Monbusho 1994b: 66-67). In Finland, local authorities can adopt any textbook they feel is compatible with their curriculum (National Board of Education 1994b). In Finland, the English department of the schools decided which textbook to adopt. So, the two schools I visited in the same school system in Finland were using different textbooks.

In Finland, I chose to focus on You Too 7, 8 and 9. The Japanese textbooks that were examined were Sunshine 1, 2 and 3 for junior high school. At the end of junior high school, most Finnish learners have studied English for six years, whereas their Japanese counterparts have studied for only three years (CLAIR 1991; 1992). Therefore, in addition to junior high school textbooks, I examined

some Finnish elementary school textbooks. However, the main focus of this section is on junior high school textbooks used in the settings studied.

Standard textbooks are recommended by the Ministry of Education in Japan where distribution networks are key in the adoption of textbooks by school systems throughout the country (Juppe 1992a). Salesmen visit the individual school systems and promote their product lines to the teachers. Local authorities in both countries decide which textbook, or books, to use in local schools. In Japan this was done on a school system basis so that all of the schools in the setting studied used the same book. Some of the teachers complained that the new textbook adopted in 1992 was not the one they preferred. They wondered who chose that particular book and why. Neither they, nor I, found the answer to this question.

User definition deals with the clear specification of who the books are intended for, their culture, precise entry/exit definitions and to what international standards the books conform, such as the American Council of the Teaching of Foreign Languages or the Council of Europe scales. In Finland, the intended users are Finnish junior high school students. Finnish textbooks are largely based on the approach promoted by the Council of Europe frameworks and recommendation (Takala 1993: 54). Entry and exit definitions for levels of proficiency are based on several criteria including overall skills, pronunciation, accuracy of structures and vocabulary, fluency and performance (Sheldon 1988).

The textbooks used in the Japanese setting were intended for Japanese junior high school students. Japanese textbooks do not appear to be based on any international standard. Instead, they are designed to pass Monbusho approval (Monbusho 1994b). Precise entry and exit definitions are based on grammar points in the Japanese textbooks specified in the Monbusho Course of Study which lists lexis and grammar the students are required to learn (see Appendix 10). Although new Oral Communication textbooks or workbooks which stress communication have been introduced (see Appendix 9).

Layout and graphics are concerned with the way texts and graphics interact on the page. Does the book look cluttered? Is the artwork appealing? This is one area in which good things can be said of both Finnish and Japanese English textbooks. They are colorful and interesting without appearing cluttered and have ample room for the learners to make notes in the margins. (see Appendix 8). In Finland, Karppinen (1993: 74) states that language textbooks for languages other than English, for example Russian and German, are not at the same high standard as the English language textbooks, which may be one reason why other languages are not as popular among learners. However, although textbook design may contribute to language choice, English is probably more popular because of its use as an international language and its prevalence in popular culture (Pennycook 1994).

In Japan, one senior Japanese English teacher remarked that the 1993 editions of the recommended junior high school English books looked more like comic books than textbooks which illustrates that there is some resistance to change in that educational culture. The students appeared to find the new

colorful appearance more appealing. The new textbooks also looked more familiar and appealing to this Western viewer.

Rationale is concerned with why the textbook was written and what gaps it intends to fill. It is also concerned with what needs analyses studies were conducted and what the book's objectives are. In both countries, the textbooks are written for elementary to junior high school level English education. In Finland, widespread needs analysis surveys have been conducted in trade and industry which may influence textbook writers (Karppinen 1993). The textbooks at this level concentrate on structures, vocabulary acquisition and communication. The communicative objectives are clearly seen in the number and variety of exercises that the textbooks and workbooks offer which make it necessary to negotiate meaning and verbalize responses. Each workbook section contains between 4 and 15 different activities including pair-work, fill in the blank, listening comprehension, puzzles, complete the sentence, elaborate on the theme or other exercises. For concrete examples please refer to Appendix 7.

The Finnish textbooks did not appear to incorporate specialized professional vocabulary. Instead, they presented intercultural information from the various countries where English is spoken and topics related to the students' lives such as rock music, sports, movies and other items from popular culture. The information the books provided appeared to be common conversation subjects for teenagers.

In Japan, needs analyses surveys have not been conducted to the extent that they have in Finland. The textbooks concentrate on structures and vocabulary acquisition. The following is an extract from the table of contents in the Japanese English textbook.

Contents

1   Kumi's Trip to London
    Pop Box (1) Where is My Friend?

2   What Does That Mean?   was, were

3   Interesting Things in Australia   be going to / May ~? There is
                                                             [are]

Source: Sunshine English 2 (1993): contents (See Appendix 9)

The topics of the chapters reflect international interests, for example, 'London' and 'Australia', and grammar, for example, the simple past in Chapter 2. Since the books are intended for beginners, they do not, naturally, include any specialized vocabulary. They present English as an international language through popular culture items such as rock music and sports as well as traditional folk tales so they also strive to provide teenagers the English they need to communicate at their own level.

Selection and grading is related to the previous point. However, it is more concerned with the level of the material. Is it too deep or too shallow for the

students? Is the book useful when taking into account the learners' mother tongue?

In the Finnish elementary textbooks that were examined, 5 to 12 new vocabulary items were introduced per section. The material was always in the present tense with no past tense (see Appendix 6). During the next three years in junior high school, additional vocabulary, usually over 20 new words per chapter, and more complex grammar points are introduced in the textbooks. The Finnish junior high school textbooks tended to offer much more text per page than the Japanese textbooks, apparently in an attempt to stimulate students. Samples will be listed in Appendix 7.

Selection and grading can also be related to the way in which learner autonomy is cultivated. Workbooks are required and are essential in classroom activities. The workbooks contain many activities and the teachers use them to do pair-work which builds learner autonomy. The workbooks were often used in class in the educational culture studied.

In Japanese textbooks, the major features for the first three years seem to contradict the curriculum which emphasizes communication (Knight 1995). The texts examined tended to focus primarily on grammar despite the expressed *rationale* of communication. Vocabulary acquisition was also emphasized. *Selection and grading* in the Japanese textbooks is mainly based on vocabulary, as demonstrated by the new vocabulary items presented per section. The textbooks basically concentrate on the 1000 words specified by the syllabus, usually presented 2 to 10 words per page or 15-25 words per chapter. In addition, selection is heavily based on grammar points which appear from the beginning of the course in the Japanese books, for example, see the contents pages in the Appendix. The combination of vocabulary and grammar tends to promote teacher-centered methods which limit communication in the classroom. Past tense is introduced in the first book of the Sunshine series. This is necessary because of the number of grammar points that are specified in the course of study.

Despite the new curriculum which emphasizes communication, the content of the Japanese English textbooks appears to be similar to the previous editions (see Appendix 8). However, the new textbooks do not present the relevant grammar point in terms of a 'key sentence' which the teachers are used to. This appears problematic for teachers because they must retrain in order to adapt to the new books. Still, considering the beginning level of the students and the demands of the syllabus, grammar appears to me to be an essential component. Removing clearly presented grammatical objectives from the textbooks while leaving them in the curriculum goals without large scale additional in-service training gave me the impression that the syllabus and the new textbooks in Japan were somewhat at odds with each other. In addition, simply not stating the grammatical objective in the textbook doesn't make the book less grammar-oriented or more communicative. Certainly, many teachers in the setting felt this way and expressed this publicly.

In addition to the core textbooks, there is a wide selection of supplemental and optional texts to support the oral skills curriculum which is an attempt at learner training related to grading and selection. However, workbooks are

used primarily for homework and/or written exercises in the setting studied. Since the full implementation of the new Oral Curriculum, the Oral A workbook which focuses on everyday conversation has been integrated into classroom activities in the educational culture that was studied. It contains activities such as the following:

Lesson 14
DESIRE

Ken: What do you want to do on Saturday?
Scott: I'd like to go to a basketball game.
Ken: Fine, Let's do that.

SAY IT YOURSELF

Ken: What do you want to do on Saturday?
You:
Ken: Fine, Let's do that.

Ken:
Scott: I'd like to go to a basketball game.
Ken:

Source: Expressways Oral Communication A (1993) (See Appendix 9)

This illustrates the kind of pair-work that is offered in the new oral communication textbooks which does not require the students to produce any new utterances, but simply repeat the dialogue from memory. In addition, listening, matching and other activities are included in the Oral A textbooks which appear similar to the Finnish workbooks but are smaller and contain fewer exercises and a more limited variety. The Oral B textbooks are similar to the Oral A ones but all of their activities relate to listening. Kairyudo, a major Japanese publisher, does not offer Oral C textbooks which would concentrate on speech making and debate so samples of this type of textbook do not appear in the appendix.

Linkage measures the manner in which the chapters of the book and the book series progress. In the Finnish textbooks, basic vocabulary is built in the first three years by the introduction of new words in every chapter with the help of contextual tools in the exercises such as pictures. For example a sentence like "this is a banana" is introduced next to a picture of a banana, followed by "this is a green banana" next to another picture, etc. The emphasis in the elementary textbooks is on vocabulary, not grammar. In fact, past tense constructions were not introduced to the students in the setting studied until they entered junior high school.

Junior high school textbooks present vocabulary and grammar together. In the textbook examined, the first lesson reviews previous material and the second lesson introduces the simple past of the verb 'be': I was. This is followed by a wide variety of activities, texts and exercises to introduce more

grammar and lexis. Vocabulary is given in longer lists containing around English 20 words a page along with their Finnish equivalents. Some pages contain no vocabulary and, instead, concentrate on recycling material. Grammar is usually integrated in the text rather than separated out. It is covered by classroom activities from the textbook and workbook. For an idea of exactly how items are linked in the Finnish textbooks refer to Appendix 7.

In Japanese textbooks, both vocabulary and grammar are addressed from the first lesson with simple past being addressed at the end of the first year or the beginning of the second. Unlike the Finnish elementary textbooks, the Japanese textbooks tended to present vocabulary and grammar items as separate entities rather than incorporating them into the text. Linkage in Japan can be measured by examining the course of study and table of contents. These are listed in the appendices and outline, point by point what is to be learned and when in an explicit manner. Because of the length of the course of study it will not me included in this chapter.

Accessibility rates how the material is organized. Is it possible to clearly rate when progress is made? Are there indexes, section headings, vocabulary lists? Can the learners monitor their own progress? Is the learner given clear advice on how the books should be utilized?

The textbooks from the two countries were clearly organized. The indexes, vocabulary lists and section headings make it possible for the students and teachers to monitor progress with ease. There are clear explanations in both Japanese and Finnish on how the books should be used.

The Finnish textbooks came with workbooks which are utilized in the classroom. They contained a variety of activities to support the particular lesson, so the teacher could teach them without a great deal of extra, time-consuming preparation. This makes the teaching of communication-focused activities less of a chore.

The Japanese textbooks, on the other hand, basically cover grammar and vocabulary together. Many of the chapters in the Japanese textbooks have short reading passages followed by a list of words and the key grammar point. There are usually not so many words per page and the sentence construction often appears stilted and unnatural giving the impression that little effort has been made to produce an authentic-sounding text. Instead, the text appears to have been written around the grammar point.

Chapters are often designed with five sentences per page so each student can read one sentence if they are sitting in the classroom with five people per row. In all of the junior high school English classrooms in the setting, the students sat five per row which suggested that the textbooks were made for the classrooms and vice versa.

Japanese textbooks have workbooks that come with them. However, I never saw the workbooks utilized in classroom activities during the two years that I lived in and studied the educational culture. In most cases, communicative activities are designed by the teachers themselves which is common in Japan. For example, Nozawa (1995) gives the example of a recently observed English class focusing on communication which included a buying and selling game and a popular song. These materials had to be prepared by

the teacher to supplement the textbook. So, teachers that are already very busy with their other activities, may not have the time to prepare them. Since that time, however, I understand that the Oral communication workbooks have been integrated into classroom activity, making the Japanese classroom setting more similar to what was observed in the Finnish setting.

In Finland, the workbook includes many communicative activities. This is not to say that Finnish teachers did not prepare supplemental material in the setting, because they did. The point is, there was a greater variety and selection in the textbook and workbook for them to choose from, making extra activities to teach communication an option rather than a necessity. The Japanese textbooks and oral communication books tended to offer a few short activities or one short text. The textbooks and workbooks are so different in the two settings that is difficult to make direct comparisons. The reader should, therefore, compare the samples in the appendices in order to get an idea of the teaching materials in the two educational cultures and how they differ in design and variety.

Despite the new communicative curriculum in Japan, an examination of the textbooks suggests that the schools basically use the old structure-based textbooks with a few color pictures. Teachers, who are already overworked, must prepare communicative activities on their own which they seldom have time for. This leads to a perpetuation of the old where linkage is based on grammar. On a positive note, the Japanese textbooks are *accessible* in the sense that they have built-in vocabulary lists, grammar points and reviews so the learners can monitor their progress.

Is the book easy to carry? Can it be re-used? Are spaces provided for the students to make notes? These questions determine the books' *physical characteristics. Appropriacy* is concerned with whether the material will hold the attention of the learners and if the learners can relate to the topics the book discusses.

The *physical characteristics* of the books in the two countries rate high. They can be used more than once and are easy to carry because they are not too large and cumbersome. Japanese students can purchase miniature copies of their textbooks which are pocket size.

The Finnish textbooks fared a bit better than their Japanese counterparts in regard to *appropriacy* which concerns how the students can relate to the material. This was indicated by student questionnaires. When asked in surveys what they liked in their English class, 12 percent of the Finnish students indicated their textbooks while 4 percent of the Japanese students chose that answer (see Appendix 1 and 2). The relatively low rating of the textbooks by the students in both countries suggests that there is room for improvement in the textbooks of each.

Culture bias incorporates social environment and religious topics, weaning preconceived notions, humor and philosophy, racial stereotypes and what Sheldon (1988) determines as presenting 'sanitized versions' of the United States and Britain regarding racism, unemployment, poverty and other types of social problems. Finnish textbooks do not tend to concentrate on the negative aspects of other cultures but do introduce topics on the Council of Europe list of goals

concerning closer European cooperation, protecting democracy and human rights and improving living conditions, in addition to addressing problems like acid rain and protecting whales, rain forests and wildlife. The Finnish English textbooks tend to focus on Europe, the United States, Canada, Ireland, India, Britain, New Zealand and Australia as well as Finland (Arnold, Haavisto, Kallela, Nikkanen and Suurpää 1992; 1988).

The Sunshine English Course 1, 2 and 3 (1993) examines cultural aspects of the United States, Britain, Canada, China, Singapore, Hong Kong, Australia, Brazil, Borneo, Portugal, Spain, Holland, Nepal and other countries, as well as Japan, where English is used, even if only by tourists. This is a common feature of all approved Japanese junior high school English textbooks (Okita 1995). The emphasis appears to be on English as an international language. The English textbooks do not go into great detail about poverty and inequality in the societies where the languages are spoken and one could argue that the textbooks are indeed 'sanitized versions' to some extent. They, like the Finnish English textbooks, also present human rights and environmental issues. However, one could also argue that the elementary English classroom is hardly the proper forum to discuss such complex issues.

The major difference in the way in which culture is portrayed in the two books is probably influenced by geographic and historical considerations. Finnish English textbooks tended to concentrate on English-speaking countries, in keeping with the curriculum goals of teaching the target culture along with the language. Japanese textbooks tended to put more emphasis on Asia and Japan's neighbors as well as countries with historical connections with the country such as Portugal, Spain and Holland. In the 1980s, large numbers of Brazilian-Japanese returned to Japan which probably explains the inclusion of Brazil in the textbooks that were examined. The presentation of so many countries in the textbooks gives an indication of how the Japanese see the concept of 'international understanding' that was put forth in the curriculum goal.

Guidance refers to how the teacher is instructed on how to use the textbook. In Finland, the textbooks are teacher-friendly and teachers had few complaints about how to use them. Teacher's books accompany the textbooks, providing extra direction on how to utilize the textbooks in the classroom.

The Japanese textbook companies also provide guidance in the form of special teacher's books. Even so, Japanese teachers state that the new Japanese curriculum along with the textbooks provided for it have created a need for more teacher training to promote the effective adoption of communication in the classroom (Kiguchi 1995; Nozawa 1992a, 1992b). Knight (1995:20) states that the Japanese textbooks offer no information as to how lessons should be structured or what methodology would be best employed.

As stated before, communicative classes require extra preparation in Japan which is related to the book's *sufficiency* or ability to stand on its own. Team-taught classes in Japan also require extra preparation. In Finland, the textbooks can stand on their own and the teacher need not make extra material, although some teachers were observed to prepare handouts and other supplemental material. Because of the workbook, it is possible to practice grammar through

pair-work which provides *stimulus, practice and revision*. 62% of the Finnish learners said that they liked pair-work exercises.

Takala (1987) rejects the premise that easy-to-teach textbooks should be available, to be taught without modification. He suggests that educational merit should be the main criterion for textbook selection. He also suggests that texts should be authentic without modification as far as it is feasible. This introduces *authenticity* into the study. Authentic songs, poems and article excerpts are included in Finnish textbooks from the 7th grade. In Japan, the use of authentic materials is more problematic because learners only begin learning the language in 7th grade. However, authentic songs with simple lyrics were included in the textbooks in all of the books. The Sunshine Reader (Kairyudo 1993) includes 'We Wish You a Merry Christmas' in book one, 'This Land is Your Land' in book two and 'The Sukiyaki Song' in book three among other songs.

In the Japanese senior high school, standard textbooks introduce more complicated grammar along with long word lists which help the students prepare for their entrance exams. There is a move toward authentic materials. Some authentic songs, poems and article excerpts are included.

The level of the Japanese junior high school textbooks is not very comparable to Finnish junior high school textbooks. This is because a Finnish eighth-grade student has usually studied English for five to six years. In Japan, students who have studied English for five to six years are usually in the eleventh grade.

4.3.1 Summary

Overall Value in Finland can be assessed by the way the textbooks effectively assist the teacher in teaching communication as well as assisting the teachers in accomplishing their goals. The Finnish textbooks are 'teacher-friendly' and require little outside preparation. Finnish textbooks mainly teach vocabulary with very little grammar for the first three years of study (elementary school grades 3-6). Complex grammar points tend to be introduced when the learners have already acquired the vocabulary to speak. The workbooks and the textbooks in Finland provide many different types of communicative activities for the teacher to use in the classroom.

In Japan, textbooks provide grammar and vocabulary together from the beginning. They generally require supplemental material to teach communication. Oral A and B books provide some additional communicative material. The junior high school textbooks usually cover what is on the senior high school entrance examination. The senior high school textbook may not cover what is on the university entrance exam (Brown and Yamashita 1995a; 1995b; 1995c). There is also a discrepancy between the textbook and the communicative curriculum dictated by Monbusho. Therefore, one may wish to question the textbooks' *educational value* because they do not seem to cover what they are supposed to cover. Informants in the setting studied and at professional conferences suggest that too much material must be covered in too little time with the textbooks and syllabus in Japan.

4.4   Culture And Textbook Design

One of the most striking findings in the previous section was that in Japan, the textbooks and the curriculum seem to be at odds with one another in terms of the new curriculum's emphasis on communicative language teaching. Using only applied linguistic and EFL concepts, such matters seem difficult to explain. Japanese language professionals tend to be familiar with virtually all of the concepts which went into planning the Finnish English language program in lower secondary schools as well as the problems they have with their own system (Koike, et. al. 1978; Brumby and Wada 1991; Wada and Cominos 1994). When the textbook data gathered in Finland and Japan is put through the 'filter' of Hofstede's (1986; 1991) '4-D Model of Cultural Difference' and other cultural factors are taken into account, it is possible to begin to explain this and other specific phenomena in both countries. The study suggests that explanations lie in cultural analysis as well as applied linguistics. A discussion of the specific criteria which will be applied to the data can be found in Chapter Two.

4.4.1   Individualism vs. Collectivism

4.4.1.1   Textbooks In Collectivist Societies

Collectivism is related to firm in-group and out-group boundaries and the emphasis on formal harmony, duty and collective welfare (Kim 1994: 32-33). It is related to Asian culture and associated with Confucian influences which stress morality based on traditional values (Kim, Triandis, Kagitcibasi, Choi and Yoon 1994).   This, in addition, corresponds with high-context cultural tendencies (Hall 1976; Devito 1995).

In the Japanese educational culture that was studied, collectivist traits could be seen in the way in which the curriculum is implemented throughout the textbooks.   The data gathered revealed an apparent resistance to the adoption of new teaching methods and textbooks in the educational culture studied, especially on the part of certain individual teachers. The tradition of English teaching in Japan can be traced to the 'Michigan Method' introduced in 1950's and pre-World War two influences discussed in Chapter Three (Shimaoka and Yashiro 1990: 8-22). They appear to have taken firm root and many teachers in the setting appeared to feel that they were the most effective methods for teaching English.

This tends to support Hofstede's supposition of respect to tradition in regard to textbooks. No teachers in the setting expressed that they had a positive association with the new textbooks which they discussed on several occasions. They commented that the new books were difficult to teach and that

they looked like comic books. This could be interpreted as a positive association with the traditional textbooks and a confirmation of Hofstede (1980; 1986; 1991; 1992).

A lack of *guidance,* especially in the form of the lack of additional teacher training to go along with the new curriculum, was apparent in the setting. Previous foreign teaching assistants from the setting relayed their thoughts that the textbooks were not compatible with team teaching and inadequate supplemental material and in-service training was provided. While I was teaching in the setting, it was often necessary to produce extra material in order to teach communicative lessons in the school. Some of the teachers in the setting were resistant to teacher training workshops which were offered to assist adaptation to the new textbooks and curriculum. It appeared that many teachers in the Japanese setting taught with the new textbooks using their old methods rather than assuming 'student roles' and enrolling in additional teacher training.

This tended to confirm Hofstede's (1980, 1986, 1991) classification in some cases in the setting. This may also suggest deference politeness: teachers who are used to being spoken "up to" may not wish to enter into a situation where they are required to speak "up to" someone else. This tendency also implies that there is a positive association with the traditional way of teaching English in the country. However, not all teachers are reluctant to enroll in continuing education. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six.

The textbook analysis also revealed a considerable amount of teacher-centered activities in the Japanese setting. For example, there were key sentences, vocabulary items and few pair-work exercises in the old textbooks, all of which results in the need of extensive explanations on the part of the teacher. The new editions contain more pair-work. However, interviews suggested that not all teachers feel comfortable using such exercises. More teacher-centered methods and textbooks that support this were preferred in the setting.

This confirms one of the tendencies Hofstede (1986; 1991) puts forth as an indication of a culture that tends to be collectivist. Devito (1995) also suggests that teacher-centered activity is a high-context cultural trait. One of the reasons for the teacher-centered design of the Japanese textbooks might be that in collectivist cultures, individual students tend to only speak up in class when called upon personally by the teacher (Hofstede 1986). Indeed, in the educational culture studied, students were expected not to speak up in class unless called upon. It seemed as though the learners felt that it was not the students' place to engage in, let alone initiate interaction. It may then be felt that designing more student-centered activities would lead to no activities at all in the classroom or that interaction, especially learner-initiated interaction, is not essential for getting a good education.

This also suggests that the educational culture that was studied in Japan was operating in the *deference politeness* mode in which the powerful speak 'downward' to the less powerful and the less powerful speak 'upward' to the more powerful (Scollon and Scollon 1983; 168-170; 1995). The textbooks appear

to be designed so that the more powerful can control the floor, in other words who speaks and when, during the lesson.

In the setting that was studied in Japan, communicative exercises appeared to introduce new and foreign ideas toward floor control and who has the right to initiate exchanges in the classroom, which is traditionally reserved for the teacher. The potential introduction of confrontation in learning situations which is characteristic of individualist cultures could be threatening to the Japanese and may explain why oral skills such as debating, speech-making and discussion are not included in the new textbook. For example, during one communicative activity in which the textbook was not used, a student who could not understand the instructions to an activity burst into tears. I interpret this as a result of disrupting the formal harmony of the learning situation: the student could not interpret the situation which resulted in a face-threatening act and tears.

This could be seen as confirming Hofstede in another cultural factor contributing to the design of textbooks in Japan which is related to formal harmony in learning situations. In collectivist societies, formal harmony is to be maintained at all times (Hofstede 1980; 1986; 1991; 1992).

In collectivist and high-context cultures neither the teacher nor any student should be faced with the threat of 'losing face'. 'Face' is the public self-image or role one has in society. 'Losing face' happens when one does not act within the role required by one's social position (Kim 1994, 37). This could happen in an English conversation if a student asked the teacher a question that he could not answer and may be another reason why communication seems to evade the Japanese textbook. This also suggests deference politeness (Scollon and Scollon 1983; 1995).

The concept of formal harmony in the educational culture that was studied suggests that behavioral codes were implicitly encoded and that there arc strict rules governing interaction and the language being used. The teacher was expected to always speak first. The student was expected to answer. Non-verbal signals were also used to give the student the signal to speak. This ensured the maintenance of formal harmony which is also promoted by the activities found in the textbook, for example:

Program 5
A story by Miyazawa Kenji

Two young men from the city were hunting in the mountains. Two big dogs and a guide were with them. Then their guide went out of sight, and it became very dark. The dogs howled for some time, and died from fear. "Oh, no!" said one of the men. "Let's get out of here." "Yes, let's," said the other.

(Vocabulary)
hunt (ing), dog (s), guide, sight, dark, howl (ed), die (d), fear, out of sight, for some time, die from, get out of

Source: Sunshine English Course 2 (1993), Program 5 (see Appendix 9)

Program 5 in the textbook is designed for a more teacher-centered approach for example, read and repeat drills followed by choral readings. The activities in the workbook rarely require the learners to negotiate meaning. Overall, the educational culture that was studied in Japan reveals high-context communication and cultural traits (Hall 1976; Hall and Hall 1987; Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey 1988; Samovar and Porter 1991).

4.4.1.2 Textbooks In Individualist Societies

The Finnish textbooks used in the educational culture that was studied, based on communicative methods, suggest the positive association in society with whatever is 'new'. "New communicative methods" move away from the structural approach and put more emphasis on pair-work and other communicative activities. The books are also colorful and contain more recent topics and current information. For example, 'You Too 9' contains topics including personal computers, smart card and office machines and supplies vocabulary using colorful, artistic pictures. The guidance provided for teachers in Finland is difficult to compare to the setting in Japan because new textbooks were not being introduced in Finland at the moment of this study, leaving no need for in-service training concerning textbooks. However, teachers did have meetings where they discussed the new curriculum.

In the educational culture studied, students were encouraged in many lessons to initiate interaction. This was also supported by the design of the textbook and is an indication of *solidarity politeness* where communication is more or less equal (Scollon and Scollon 1983; 168-170; 1995). For example, during pair-work activities, students were observed to initiate interaction with their teachers. This appeared to be taken into consideration in the design of the textbooks because the textbooks and workbooks contained many activities such as pair-work designed for this type of classroom management style. A sample chapter is included in Appendix 7.

This could be interpreted as a confirmation of traits ascribed to individualist cultures. According to Hofstede (1980; 1986; 1991; 1992) individual students will speak up in class in response to a general invitation by the teacher. This also suggests the tendency towards a low-context culture in the Finnish educational environment studied (Hall 1976; Devito 1995). Furthermore, the students are not afraid to speak up in large groups, which leaves more options in activity design for the textbooks. In individualist cultures, individual students are supposed to speak up in class in response to a general invitation by the teacher. The features observed in the Finnish educational setting reflect individualism in this manner (Hall 1976; Devito 1995).

In the Finnish setting, students often disrupted the formal harmony of the lesson by talking and walking around. Creative confrontation between the teacher and students and among the students themselves in the classroom appeared to be no problem suggesting individualist and low-context features within the educational culture (Hofstede 1986; 1991; Devito 1995). However, formal harmony is also appreciated in Finland, which can be highlighted when

comparing Finnish and American communication styles (Carbaugh 1995). During grammar teaching, students in the Finnish educational culture studied were expected to sit and listen. Still, the overall behavior in the setting in Finland suggested that as in other individualist cultures, face-consciousness appeared to be weak. This can be interpreted to support the claim that the Finnish cultural setting exhibited low-context and solidarity politeness features.

Certain incidences in the classroom situations that were observed revealed that it was perfectly acceptable for both the teacher and the students to admit that they could not perform a task or could not answer a question and needed to ask for advice. Therefore, face-consciousness seemed to be weak in this setting and textbook design gives no indication of this being otherwise anywhere else in the country. The concept of putting the teacher or the student in a face-threatening situation by promoting learner autonomy probably does not enter into the minds of the Finnish textbook writers.

The textbooks, which reinforce the communicative goals of the curriculum, indicate that in the educational culture, Finland also exhibits *low-context* cultural characteristics. In other words, little information is interpreted from the situation and verbal communication is necessary to convey meaning (Hall 1976: 79). These traits may not describe Finnish culture as a whole but appeared to be fairly standard in the educational culture studied.

Table 4.4 reflects the results of the research conducted in the two educational settings in relation to the individualism versus the collectivism dimension outlined by Hofstede (1980; 1986; 1991; 1992). In this table and subsequent tables throughout the present study, Hofstede's original tables discussed and listed in Chapter Two have been adapted to reflect the phenomena found in the specific educational cultures. Specific traits have been modified to reflect data, for example, in the case of textbooks, 'positive association with whatever is rooted in tradition' has been modified to 'positive association with traditional textbooks'. Tables have been written in order to provide the reader with an overview of the results of how Hofstede's tendencies are supported or disconfirmed in the data.

TABLE 4.4 Tendencies Related To Textbooks And The Individualism
Versus The Collectivism Dimension

Individualist Societies	Collectivist Societies
Finland	**Japan**
In the Finnish educational culture, teachers had meetings to discuss the new curriculum	Lack of teacher training to accompany new curriculum
Positive association with 'new' style textbooks	Positive association with traditional textbooks (Continued)

(Continued)

Textbook activities support individual students speaking up in class in response to a general invitation by the teacher	Textbook activities support individual students speaking up only when called upon by the teacher
Textbook activities make possible confrontation in learning situations	Textbook activities promote formal harmony in learning situations
Textbook suggests that face-consciousness is weak	Textbook is designed so that neither the teacher nor any student would face the possibility of losing face

TABLE 4.5 Similarities Related To Textbooks And The Individualism Versus The Collectivism Dimension

Teachers in both countries' educational cultures often enroll in continuing adult education including in-service training and further education courses

Formal harmony is sometimes emphasized in both educational cultures

4.4.2 Power Distance

4.4.2.1 Textbooks Related To Strong Power Distance

According to Hofstede's theory, power distance is defined as the 'extent to which the less powerful members of institutions and organizations accept that power is distributed unequally' (Hofstede and Bond 1984: 419). Individuals who live in a strong power distance society accept that unequal power distribution is part of culture. Teachers in this type of culture consider their students to be different from themselves and students think that teachers are superior to them (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey 1988: 47). This cultural trait corresponds roughly with concepts of deference politeness (Scollon and Scollon 1983; 1995). Strong power distance appears to be related to high-context culture in the sense that where clear power relations are present, non-verbal cues may be less problematic to interpret. However, Devito (1995: 32) has clear distinctions between leaders and members classified as a low-context cultural trait. Therefore, the concept of context related to power distance may be difficult to interpret. This section will present the findings of the present study in relation to the curriculum and textbooks and examine how these findings support or disconfirm Hofstede's findings on power distance.

In the Japanese setting that was studied, teachers tended to prefer to use the textbooks in a teacher-centered fashion. The textbooks in the setting reflected this. When the 'old' curriculum and textbooks were being used, the teachers tended to explain the 'key sentence' with its grammar point and the new vocabulary in every lesson. When the 'new' oral curriculum and textbooks

were adopted, I did not observe any noticeable change in teaching methods. However, one of the schools hired a special teacher to teach the communicative sections of the lessons, thus leaving the 'regular' teachers free to teach in the traditional manner. Grammar explanations are included in the Japanese textbooks for both teachers and students. However, the teacher explained them in great detail and the students tended to listen without asking questions.

This could be seen as an indication of large power distance, confirming Hofstede (1986), which suggests tendencies toward a stress on personal 'wisdom' which is transferred in the relationship with a particular teacher who is like a 'guru'. Japanese textbooks appear to be designed for teacher-centered classroom management. This supports a teaching process where teachers tend to maintain their position as a 'guru' or one who possesses all of the knowledge of the subject and can impart this knowledge to their loyal students. If the emphasis were switched to communication, it could jeopardize this role which is ingrained in the Japanese. This relationship is interrelated to deference politeness where respect is generally shown to those who have power (Scollon and Scollon 1983; 1995).

The present study found that the teachers in the Japanese setting were expected to show their knowledge to their students and, in doing so, not relinquish control of the floor during the lesson. The textbook supported this by its emphasis on grammar which the teachers can teach and thereby maintain control of the floor during the lesson.

This supports the tendency in strong power distance societies that 'teachers merit the respect of their students' (Hofstede 1986; 1991). The teacher-centered education which the textbook seems to promote stresses the 'premium on order' which is supposed to be held in high esteem in these types of cultures. Again, this suggests deference politeness. In this type of learning environment, non-verbal signals may be easier to interpret which would also suggest high-context culture in the educational setting studied.

This study found that the Japanese textbooks used in the educational culture tended to contain little information aside from the core sentences and forms, possibly because textbook writers assume that the teacher is the holder of knowledge and will 'hand down' the necessary extra information. In other words, textbook writers share a common view of the teacher's role in the society and promote the existing social order through textbook design. Promoting learner autonomy may be viewed to be wholly contrary to the popular concept of teacher as authority.

The above seems to confirm other tendencies in strong power distance societies where students expect teachers to initiate communication and outline paths for them to follow. Students in this type of society are expected to speak up in class only when invited by the teacher and the teacher should never be contradicted or publicly criticized, and the effectiveness of learning is related to the excellence of the teacher (Hofstede 1986; 1991). All of these tendencies manifested themselves in the Japanese setting that was studied and could be seen in the textbook design.

These characteristics support the proposition that Japanese culture reflects deference politeness where superiors talk downward to subordinates. Through

this examination, Japan emerges as a high-context culture in which nonverbal information is encoded and associated with certain modes of behavior (Scollon and Scollon 1983; 1995; Hall 1976). Because of the clear distinction as to who is allowed to initiate communication in particular settings, one may determine from non-verbal signals who is the boss or when to speak. Such distinctions may not be present, or necessary, in a low-context culture. Through their design, textbooks tend to reflect teacher-centered methods which reinforce these cultural tendencies.

4.4.2.2 Textbooks And Weak Power Distance

Hofstede (1986; 1991) puts forth that in weak or small power distance societies, power is distributed more or less equally and should only be exerted when it is legitimate. Associated with the way in which weak power distance manifests itself in the textbook is the promotion of learner autonomy reflecting solidarity politeness in which equality in the roles of the speaker and listener are valued (Scollon and Scollon 1983; 1995). The concept of low-context culture may be difficult to relate to weak power distance. Still, in environments where communication is more or less equal, it is more likely that all participants will be given the opportunity to use verbal signals rather than read cues from the environment. This may be interpreted as reflecting low-context culture.

The present study found that the activities in the Finnish textbook and workbook in the educational culture studied tended to contain a wide variety of different types of activities which the teacher could use to foster learner autonomy and encourage initiative. Learner training beginning in seventh grade taught students to choose their own activities from the workbook or textbook and complete them as individual work or pair-work with a partner. Once learner training was complete, teachers were observed to write lists of activities on the chalkboard which the learners could choose from and complete during the lessons while the teacher assumed a monitoring role and helped students when asked. These types of activities put the initiative in the hands of the student during the lessons.

These results support the concept that Finland is a weak power distance society, where 'teachers respect the independence of their students' and engage in 'student-centered education' where 'premium is on initiative' (Hofstede 1986; 1991).

The present study found that students were encouraged to communicate in the target language and gain competence by learning from each other and the textbook with the assistance of the teacher. This differed somewhat from the tendency observed in the Japanese setting of learning from the teacher and the textbook.

The emphasis on communication and learner-centered teaching reflected by the Finnish textbooks and workbooks can be seen in the variety and number of exercises per chapter. For example, the workbook sample in Appendix 7 contains activities such as Finnish-to-English translations, listening to a text that is provided, listening for specific information within a passage, talking about the passage, multiple-choice questions, and English-to-Finnish translations. In

addition, the material required pupils to negotiate meaning, for example in talk-with-your-partner exercises.

Finnish textbooks, based on these traits, could be classified as reflecting small power distance tendencies in which impersonal 'truth' is obtainable, in principal, from any competent person as opposed to the strong uncertainty avoidance tendency of relying on the teacher for instruction (Hofstede 1986; 1991). If one accepts that the truth, or the facts of the target language, for example the syntax, lexis and morphology, are the same no matter who or what delivers it, for example the textbook, one must also accept that the students can become their own teachers as put forth in the learner autonomy goals of the Finnish curriculum (National Board of Education 1994b). The presence of these characteristics could also be seen to confirm Hofstede's theories regarding this dimension.

This study found that the Finnish textbooks tended to put an emphasis on learner autonomy. Activities such as pair-work, which required little teacher control, were presented. In the classrooms of the educational culture studied, the students were free to introduce topics and to initiate two-way communication in the lesson. True, the textbook did not encourage the students to contradict or criticize the teacher. But, if the students were encouraged to speak English and initiate communication with the teacher and with each other, minor conflict might not severely disrupt what appeared to be the underlying social order.

Based on this information, Finnish textbooks can be said to reflect tendencies associated with small power distance societies. The teacher generally expects students to initiate communication and to find their own paths and the students may sometimes speak up spontaneously in class (Hofstede 1986; 1991). In these types of cultures, students are allowed to contradict or criticize the teacher and the effectiveness of learning is related to the amount of two-way communication in class. These traits in the textbook, it could also be argued, lend weight to Hofstede's claims.

Weak power distance cultural tendencies in regard to who is allowed to initiate interaction with teachers, students speaking up freely in class, the possibility to contradict and criticize the teacher during lessons and the emphasis on two-way communication in the teaching and learning process in Finland suggest that imposition is assumed to be low and equality is held in high esteem. These traits suggest that the textbooks and curriculum in the educational culture studied in Finland generally suggest *solidarity politeness* traits (Scollon and Scollon 1983; 1995). The stress on two-way communication presented in the goals of the curriculum and textbooks suggest value in the concept that verbal expression in needed to convey meaning as in a *low-context* society (Hall 1976).

Table 4.6 provides an overview of conclusions based on the findings of the present study as well as general observations related to textbooks. It is an adaptation of Hofstede's (1986) original list of differences related to the power distance dimension in Chapter Two.

TABLE 4.6 Tendencies In Textbooks Related To The Power Distance
           Dimension

Small Power Distance Societies	Large Power Distance Societies
Finland	Japan
Textbook puts stress on impersonal 'truth' which can in principle be obtained from textbooks alone	Textbook puts stress on personal 'wisdom' which is transferred in the relationship with particular teacher (guru)
Textbook encourages independence of students	Textbook encourages students to respect and listen to their teacher
Textbook supports student-centered education; premium on initiative	Textbook supports teacher-centered education; premium on order
Textbook helps students to initiate communication	Textbook fosters students to expect teacher to initiate communication
Textbook aids students to find their own paths	Lack of information in the textbook: teacher is required to outline paths to follow
Learner-centered classroom aided by the textbook makes it possible for, but does not encourage, the students to contradict or criticize teacher	Teacher-centered classroom supported by the textbook helps to ensure that the teacher is not subject to contradiction or public criticism
Textbook advocates the concept that the effectiveness of learning is related to the amount of two-way communication in class	Textbook advocates the concept that the effectiveness of learning is related to the excellence of the teacher

4.4.3 Uncertainty Avoidance

4.4.3.1 Textbooks Related To Strong Uncertainty Avoidance Dimension

Uncertainty avoidance is another one of the cultural classifications that emerged from Hofstede's (1980; 1986; 1991,1992) research. In cultures with strong uncertainty avoidance, students feel comfortable in structured learning situations with precise objectives, detailed assignments and strict timetables.
    This study found that Japanese textbooks appeared to be designed for activities which enable the teacher to maintain control of the classroom, such as do drills and other highly structured grammar-related activities. The story in program 5 included earlier in this chapter is conducive for this type of teaching. This reflects the structural method described in Chapter Three which is

common in Japan, as well as in other Asian countries. For a detailed description of how the textbooks are used in this manner in the classroom see Chapters Seven and Eight.

In the Japanese cultural setting that was studied, the new textbooks and other recent reforms put some of the teachers in a problematic situation, since they did not know all the material in the new textbook. Generally speaking, Japanese English teachers are insecure about their English ability (Garant 1992, Knight 1995). This appeared to affect the adoption of new textbooks and methods: some of the Japanese English teachers who were not confident in their English ability appeared to have memorized the old textbook, and a new textbook emphasizing communication created strong resentment among such teachers. This is known to the publishers who want to present manageable material to the teachers, since they have a say in whether or not the book is adopted in their particular school district through contact with their superiors. Therefore, any reforms that aim at introducing communicative activities are very difficult to institute.

This tends to support the claim that in strong uncertainty avoidance societies, teachers are expected to have all the answers, which means that teachers should know everything about the subject they are teaching. This attitude can be one reason for Japanese textbook construction being the way that it is.

The present study found that Japanese textbooks tended to emphasize grammatical points and vocabulary. Naturally the level of the students should be taken into consideration, since it must have an influence in textbook design. The Finnish junior high school textbooks are designed for students who have been studying English for 5-6 years, whereas the Japanese textbooks are designed for beginners. One might argue that beginners are not realistically at a level to, for example, answer open-response questions in English. However, one can introduce simple communicative activities from the very first lesson. Perhaps Japanese textbook writers feel that this is problematic. The Japanese teachers of English that I worked with prepared extra material in order to ask simple open-response questions during the special team-taught lessons I experienced while in the Japanese setting.

Hofstede (1980; 1986; 1991; 1992) puts forth that in strong uncertainty avoidance cultures, students are rewarded for accuracy in problem solving. An emphasis on grammar rather than communication could be interpreted to support this claim in regard to Japanese textbooks. The emphasis on accuracy is vital. The amount of communicative problem-solving exercises was minimal in the textbooks that I examined, although the new textbooks tended to present more of them than the previous editions. This could be argued to be a strong uncertainty avoidance cultural characteristic because it could be associated with the teacher-centered classroom and the backwash effect of testing which will be discussed in the next chapter.

The teacher-centered activities in the textbook related to strong uncertainty avoidance can also be interpreted as indications of deference politeness in Japanese culture since in such an environment students are required to speak-up to the teacher who, in turn, speaks-down to them (Scollon

and Scollon 1983; 1995). Structured learning situations could be indicative of a high-context culture where verbal and non-verbal information is governed by rules governing interaction (Hall 1976).

4.4.3.2 Textbooks Related To Weak Uncertainty Avoidance Dimension

In the Finnish educational culture that was observed, assignments in the textbooks tended to be concrete and they normally corresponded to timetables made by the local school teachers and administrators. However, within the lessons, there was variation in the time that was taken between the activities that were completed and how the sections and activities from the workbook and textbooks were executed.

Hofstede (1986; 1991) puts forth that in cultures where uncertainty avoidance is weak, students feel more comfortable in relatively unstructured learning situations with vague objectives and broad assignments with no timetables. Objectives and timetables were apparent in Finnish English lessons, but the textbook provided material which gave the teacher several activity options to attain the lesson objective. This study wishes to suggest that, instead of Hofstede's original wording, the characteristic should read 'broad range objectives and assignments with looser timetables'. This suggests that there may be some conflict in applying this tendency in its present form to Finnish English textbooks. However, it should be pointed out that Hofstede does not make any claims that his terminology and classifications should, as such, apply to all situations and data. If one were to modify the definition to include 'less structured learning situations', it would be more applicable to this set of data. A lesson has a structure by nature, but there was more variation and less structure in the Finnish classroom than was observed in Japan. (For a detailed description, see Chapter Seven).

This study found that in the Finnish setting, the textbooks presented material that encouraged the students to initiate interaction. The situation arose on one occasion where the teacher could not, or did not answer a question. She said, "I don't know, why don't you ask Mike", which was acceptable in Finland as shown in examples included in Chapter Seven. One can therefore claim that the Finnish educational culture exhibits the weak uncertainty avoidance society trait that teachers are allowed to say "I don't know". This means they are allowed not to know everything about the subject they are teaching.

The textbooks in the Finnish setting included problem-solving activities and negotiating meaning. Rather than reproduce forms and structures exactly as they are presented in the chapters, the Finnish textbooks, in accordance with curriculum goals, encourage the students to put English into their own words.

In weak uncertainty avoidance cultures, students are rewarded for innovative approaches to problem solving according to Hofstede and this tendency was found within the data, for example, the workbook requires the students to formulate sentences themselves instead of repeating memorized patterns.

Student-centered classroom activities included in the textbook and associated with weak uncertainty avoidance could also suggest *solidarity politeness* with more or less equal communication (Scollon and Scollon 1983; 1991). The textbook is designed to require the students to negotiate meaning to vocalize ideas which is considered a *low-context* cultural trait (Hall 1976).

TABLE 4.7 Tendencies In Textbooks Related To The Uncertainty Avoidance
Dimension

Weak Uncertainty Avoidance Societies	Strong Uncertainty Avoidance Societies
Finland	Japan
Textbook presents material for students who feel comfortable in less structured learning situations: varying objectives and assignments with looser timetables	Textbook presents material for students who feel comfortable in structured learning situations: precise objectives, detailed assignments, strict timetables
Textbook provides student-centered activities where teachers can be put in a position to have to say " I don't know"	Textbooks are generally designed for teacher-centered activities where the teacher has all the answers
The textbook activities foster innovative approaches to problem solving	The textbook activities foster accuracy in problem solving

Table 4.7 provides an overview of conclusions based on the findings of the present study and how uncertainty avoidance can be related to textbooks. It is an adaptation of Hofstede's (1986) original list of differences related to the uncertainty avoidance dimension which can be found in Chapter Two.

4.4.4 Textbooks Related To The Masculinity Versus Femininity Dimension

The Japanese textbooks were more conducive to teacher-centered teaching and required the student to be modest in class and to sit and listen. The Finnish textbooks, on the other hand, encouraged the learners to make themselves visible in class by encouraging learner autonomy. In the teacher-centered classroom of the Japanese setting, students seemed to have no choice but to behave modestly. To do otherwise would be looked upon by the teacher as a face-threatening act.

These traits were the only ones which the present study could relate to the masculinity and femininity dimension as suggested by Hofstede (1980, 1986; 1991; 1992) and textbook design in the Finnish and Japanese setting.

These cultural characteristics suggest, again, that Japan exhibit *deference politeness* characteristics and *high-context* cultural traits (Scollon and Scollon 1983; 1991; Hall 1976). In the learner-centered classroom, students can compete for the floor without committing a face-threatening act. Learner-centered activities in the textbook encourage and allow students to make themselves

visible in the classroom. These could be indicative of *solidarity politeness* and *low-context* culture (Scollon and Scollon 1983; 1991; Hall 1976).

TABLE 4.8 Tendencies In Textbooks Related To The Masculinity Versus Femininity Dimension

Feminine Societies	Masculine Societies
Finland	Japan
students try to make themselves visible	students try to behave modestly

Table 4.8 reflects the one trait that could be related to this set of data and Hofstede's (1986) differences related to the masculinity versus femininity dimension discussed in Chapter Two. The original list contains ten items.

4.5 Summary

Finnish and Japanese textbooks which demonstrate the heart of the curriculum in both countries show few similarities and several differences. The Finnish textbooks emphasize communication by providing the teacher with pair-work and other student-centered activities. The Japanese textbooks reflect an emphasis on grammar, which is traditional and based on structural methods adopted after the Second World War.

This section has sought to explain the differences and similarities in Finnish and Japanese textbooks in relation to cultural characteristics that influence their design. According to the analysis, my data tended to confirm many of the cultural dimensions put forth by Hofstede. Some of the tendencies that Hofstede (1986) lists were not applicable to textbooks which helps justify the inclusion of other types of data in the following chapters. It should be noted that Hofstede's (1986) tendencies associated with masculinity and femininity were least applicable to the textbooks with only one category which could be related.

Overall, Finnish textbooks tend to exhibit features associated with individualist societies with weak power distance and weak uncertainty avoidance in addition to solidarity politeness and a low-context culture. Japanese textbooks in turn appear to reflect a culture with strong power distance and strong uncertainty avoidance as well as deference politeness and high-context culture. The masculinity and femininity dimension appeared to be problematic and only one aspect of it could be applied to this set of data.

5   TESTING

5.1   Role Of Testing In Finland And Japan

This section will examine foreign language testing in Finland and Japan. There is now much evidence to support the inclusion of language testing in studies on English teaching and learning and its central role in curriculum development (Richards 1990: 15-17; Stern 1983: 439-40; Widdowson 1990; 139). It is also sometimes cited as a neglected area (Robinson 1991: 73-78). The subject of Japanese senior high school and university entrance examinations and the effect on of these on the language teaching process is often cited in the literature on the subject (Reischauer 1988; Brumby and Wada 1991; CLAIR 1992b; Yamazaki 1995; Koike, Matsuyama, Igarashi and Suzuki 1978). Testing is also discussed in literature related to Finnish foreign language education (Yli-Renko and Salo-Lee 1991; Sajavaara 1993). My literature search revealed nothing written directly comparing English as a foreign language testing in Finland and Japan which could be a justification for the inclusion of this chapter in the present study.

The study of testing entails a wide variety of topics including the role of testing within the two systems, the content of examinations which includes what is measured, how it is measured and how results are reported (North 1993). General aspects of testing in the two countries should also be examined including test objectives, the existence of quantifiable competency scales and the relation of testing to language policy (Spolsky 1993). In order to discuss how they are viewed in Finland and Japan the opinions of professors, classroom teachers, administrators and learners will be incorporated into this section in addition to primary and secondary source material on the subject.

Foreign language testing is important for the teacher and the learner because one of the main roles of the teacher is to assess what has been learned

and to ensure that the learners pass their tests (Harmer 1991:262). This attitude is generally accepted in both Finland and Japan. In fact, teachers in both countries were observed to change their lesson planning as examination time approached in order to concentrate on the tests, thus making sure their students would produce the best possible results. Teachers also openly stated such attitudes in both countries. However, the way they put their attitudes into practice in the two countries varied and will be further discussed throughout chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

In the Finnish setting, a change in classroom behavior around the time of locally planned and administered English tests to assess progress was observed to take the form of switching from a more learner-centered classroom to a more teacher-centered classroom so that test drilling could occur. When examinations were not looming over the students' heads, my observation in the setting revealed that Finnish teachers generally focused on communication-centered activities in the classroom.

The effect of the matriculation examination which is administered at the end of senior high school and contains foreign language components is widely discussed in Finland (Yli-Renko and Salo-Lee 1991). Articles and informal surveys suggest that senior high school English education tends to focus on preparation for the matriculation examination. The Finnish teachers in the junior high school educational culture studied stated that they liked the fact that they did not have an external examination to train the students for and could, therefore, focus on communication.

In the Japanese setting, I observed that special team-taught lessons focusing on communication were often canceled for the third-year junior high school students as high school entrance examination time approached. The reason cited by the Japanese teachers was that the Japanese teacher needed time to prepare the learners for their examinations. Indeed, this is not uncommon. Many Japanese English teachers feel that focusing on communicative activities does not help students pass entrance examinations and that communicative lessons are pointless until the examination system is reformed (Cominos 1990).

Because of the role of examinations in their determination of which students proceed to the university, their importance cannot be downgraded or belittled. Testing and competition are often portrayed as hallmarks of Japanese education (Takanashi 1996). Therefore, this section will address the topic of foreign language entrance tests as a means for determining who goes to the university because it is so often cited as one of the main goals of English language education in Japan (Brown and Yamashita 1995a; 1995b; 1995c). Junior high school English education, which is the focus of this study, will be discussed after university admission tests because of the influence exerted on the former by the latter.

5.2 Learners And Tests

Surveys that were conducted in the Finnish educational culture studied in 1994 and Japanese junior high school setting in 1993 questioned the learners about their attitudes toward their English tests and other issues. Respondents were students who were 14 or 15 years old at the time. The survey consisted of a number of questions related to how the learners felt about English, their goals, their study habits, their exposure to the language outside the classroom and their use of the language. The design of the questionnaires was discussed in chapter Two. This chapter will examine the survey questions related to testing.

Of the 129 Finnish students surveyed in the study, 78 indicated that they wanted to attend the upper secondary school which would lead to taking the matriculation examination. When asked 'why they took English', only 32 stated that their reason was the matriculation exam, which suggests that although 78 indicated that their goal was to attend the upper senior high school, only 32 saw the matriculation examination results as being so important that it was a primary reason for studying. 43 indicated that junior high school tests were the reason they studied, suggesting that more immediate test goals were at the forefront of the Finnish students' minds.

However, the most popular answers for these students were related to real life functions, such as 'to talk to foreigners' and 'to read'. This indicated that for most Finnish learners, the goals of studying were broader than studying only for the examination at the end of the course or for the exam which would help determine their entrance to the university.

Finnish teachers in the setting expressed their dedication to teaching the students who wished to go to the college-bound upper secondary school the skills necessary to gain admission. They also acknowledged that some of the learners did not have and were not gaining the necessary knowledge of English and other subjects and would go on to other, less academically oriented upper secondary schools, stay another year in junior high school or go to work. The Finnish teachers interviewed were proud of some of their students who excelled in their courses and mentioned them for special recognition while they were out of earshot so as not to cause them embarrassment. However, overall the teachers conveyed the message that they were preparing the students to communicate in English or other foreign languages rather than take tests although the importance of examinations within the system was acknowledged. The teachers did not have to prepare the learners for an external examination, which appeared to relieve them of the pressure to train students for tests.

In Japan, the attitude was somewhat different. Out of 100 Japanese junior high school students surveyed, 61 indicated that senior high school admission tests were important while 54 chose junior high school tests under the survey question, 'why do you study English?' (Garant 1992b). This indicates the importance of the entrance tests in the minds of the learners, because the survey results show that they were more concerned about an examination that was a year and a half in the future than their immediate tests in junior high school.

For the Japanese students, 'Speaking', 'understanding', 'traveling' and 'talking to foreign people' received responses in the 42-49 per cent range. This suggests that even though the motivation to communicate was there, it was somewhat less than the motivation to pass tests. Even though there was considerable interest in using the language practically, compared with Finnish learners, their interest in communicating in English was markedly less.

Japanese teachers expressed that the goal of English education was to see that the students passed their entrance tests and that communication was very important if it could be accomplished without interfering with the examination process. Tanigawa (1992) reports on a study which suggests that it is difficult for a few Japanese English teachers to teach communication in a school were most of the other teachers tell them it is pointless because it is not on the entrance examination. Such attitudes appeared to be prevalent in the Japanese educational culture that was studied, suggesting that entrance examinations exerted a backwash effect on classroom English teaching. Some of the teachers within the school system studied emphasized communication more than others but the entrance exams were generally seen as the most important factor that shapes language education.

Not only were the exams important, they are often associated with success in life in the mass media both in and out of Japan (Takanashi 1996). This attitude is common in Japan, not only among teachers, but among society in general (Cummings 1990: 206). In the Finnish setting, university entrance examinations appeared not to be seen so much as the key to success in life. Further, in both countries there is a good chance of building a respectable career with a vocational education or on-the-job training.

University admission was not seen in either educational culture as one of the most important steps in life according to the surveys made of the students. This suggests, in my analysis, that the characterization of university entrance exams and the pressure they exert on Japanese learners may be somewhat exaggerated when applied to the educational culture studied. A number of the learners in both settings indicated that they wished to pursue 'non-academic' careers. These included occupations such as cook, hair dresser and construction worker. If a learner's goal is to pursue a non-academic field, then not gaining admission to a university should not be looked upon as failure. It should, instead, be viewed as a choice. This is evidence that the Japanese educational culture was not marked solely by fierce competition at least in the setting studied. Other educational settings in Japan, such as a top ranked, college-track, private junior high school in Tokyo, would, in my opinion, yield different results. Virtually all of the students there would probably hold entrance exams in higher esteem.

5.3 Testing And University Admission

Gaining admittance into a university in Finland is competitive. Each year, about 30,000 students take the matriculation examination and of these, between 15,000 and 16,000 enter the university. Recently, the number of admissions have been on the increase. In 1991, 78,000 applications were filed, 40,600 applicants took part in the entrance examination and 21,000 students were accepted (Parviainen 1992: 64-65).

TABLE 5.1 Competition To Enter Certain Finnish University
Departments

University/Department	Applicants	Participants in Entrance	Admitted
University of Helsinki			
Law	2685	1976	287
Political Science	2920	2068	311
Medicine	697	628	122
Theology	542	436	177
Humanities	6222	4511	871
Math/Science	4701	2605	2364
Education	1444	925	392
University of Jyväskylä			
Education	1904	975	219
Humanities	2602	1948	494
Social Science	2338	1680	349
Math/Science	1297	604	825[13]
Forestry Science	1174	533	128
University of Tampere			
Medicine	721	585	183
Social Science	2704	2058	291
Humanities	3689	2932	417
Economics	2420	1817	510
Education	838	344	109
Helsinki School of Economics	2310	1748	431

Source: Patosalmi and Pakkanen 1996: 353-354

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[13] In cases where more study places are available than the number of participants in the entrance examination , the opportunity to enter the department is offered to prospective candidates based on matriculation examination scores.

This data suggests that in most cases, university admission is extremely competitive. Admission to certain faculties, for example, the Faculty of Law at the University of Helsinki, Social Science in Tampere, Faculties of Medicine and other specialized courses, is even more competitive than other faculties when comparing the number of applications with the number of students who are admitted. In addition, certain departments within faculties may be more competitive, for example, the English Translation Department of the University of Helsinki usually receives 8 or more applications for every one study place available.

Generally speaking, is not uncommon for students to attempt entrance tests two or more times before they gain admittance to a Finnish university. Some students may take more that one entrance test in order to increase their chance of gaining acceptance to at least one program. Students who do not gain admittance may spend a year working, traveling or taking a one-year or longer course at one of the many other institutions throughout the country.

Gaining admission to a university in Japan is also very competitive. As of 1991, there were 996 post-secondary institutions including 460 four-year colleges and 536 two-year colleges. Each year, about 45% of senior high school graduates attempt to gain admission (Shimohara 1991: 206). Of these, about a third are accepted into a university (Reischauer 1988: 190). Statistically, the Japanese selection process tends to be more competitive than in Finland (See Table 5.2).

In the Japanese system, universities have a strict hierarchy, with the former Imperial Universities at the top and private professional colleges (senmongakko) at the bottom. (Reischauer 1988: 191-195). The best companies recruit only from the best schools. This type of system does not exist in Finland where college graduates are generally on equal footing when competing for jobs. In Japan, the hierarchy is rigid: for example, in 1991, 16 out of 18 of the officials of Monbusho ranked above section chief graduated from Tokyo University (Thronson 1992: 52-54).

TABLE 5.2   Competition To Enter Japanese Universities

	Applications for admission	New students enrolled
National	495 497	105598
Public	115 311	15 378
Private	4 452 054	420 628
Total	5 062 862	541 604

Source: Statistics Bureau 1993/94

The preceding table indicates that for national universities, which are generally considered better and less expensive average odds for admission were about 1:5

overall. One should expect to find more well known national universities, such as Tokyo University, Kyoto University and Osaka University, much more competitive than the average. Public universities showed an approximate 1:7.5 ratio and private universities a 1:10.5 ratio of applications per admissions. Although Japanese applicants, like their Finnish counterparts, generally apply to more than one institution, the competition for admission based on statistics is more intense in Japan than in Finland. Of the roughly 5 million Japanese university admission test takers in 1992, 2.7 million had graduated from high school that year. The rest were students who had graduated in previous years, the majority of which had probably taken the test before and not passed.

In Finland, university entrance requirements vary from institution to institution (Patosalmi 1996). Each university department usually administers its own admission examination which is given in Finnish, unless the institution is one of the Swedish-speaking ones in the country. The departments give prospective candidates a reading list, from which the examination questions will come. Lists are also available, in some cases, from the employment office (Marttila 1996; Opetusministeriö/ Työministeriö 1993; 1994; 1995a; 1995b). Different departments have different requirements but they usually assign points for the matriculation examination, which Finnish students take at the end of upper secondary
school in addition to the points that are assigned for their own test (Patosalmi and Pakkanen 1996). Results are posted on bulletin boards and students can examine their grade and their results in comparison with all of the other students who took the test. No foreign language component is usually included on these tests. This is one reason for the backwash effect which allows the classroom teacher at the lower level to focus on communication rather than test training.

Japanese universities, like their Finnish counterparts, design entrance tests at the local level except for those which subscribe to the *daigaku nyuushi sentaa* (university entrance examination center) examination which is administered throughout the country similarly to the American SAT (Brown and Yamashita 1995a; 1995b; 1995c). In addition to subject tests given in Japanese for the various departments, the test includes a section for English which is the only foreign language which is universally taught in the country (Monbusho 1994b). The English tests include vocabulary and grammar. The national center exam does not include a listening component. There are plans to include a listening component in 1999. The center tests are administered in January. Most students taking it are also required to sit for another entrance examination at the university they wish to enter (Sasamoto 1995b). In addition to the ranking system of post-secondary institutions, senior high schools are also ranked according to the number of graduates they place in the top universities (Brown and Yamashita 1995a; 1995b; 1995c; Reischauer 1988:191-195). They also include English on their entrance examinations and this was already a concern for 61% of the students polled as to why they study English.

Because the tests do include English, a backwash effect occurs and virtually the entire primary and secondary foreign language education system in the country trains their students to pass entrance examinations. They have

been hailed in Japanese society as 'the root of all evil' because of the stagnating effect many feel the exams have on the English education system (Matsuyama 1978; Brown and Yamashita 1995a; 1995b; 1995c). Recently, some junior colleges have dropped English from their entrance tests in order to attract more students. However, this is the exception and not the rule. (Sasamoto 1995a).

Brown and Yamashita (1995a; 1995b, 1995c) analyzed the English sections of 20 institutions including the 10 most prestigious public and private universities and 10 other public and private universities located throughout Japan. Their study looked at empirical data related to the examination including a computer analysis of the lexis, types of questions and other relevant items. All of the examinations included in their study were selected from guide books published by Koukou-Eigo Kenkyuu (1993a and 1993b). These are not scholastic journals but written to help students study for and pass their exams. In addition to these study guides a wide range of others are available at most Japanese bookstores.

Japanese entrance tests tend not to be standard and have a great variety of questions and types of questions (Brown and Yamashita 1995a; 1995b; 1995c). This makes it difficult to determine exactly what is being measured and how. Brown and Yamashita (1995a; 1995b; 1995c) state that even within the sub-category of multiple choice items a great variety of types of questions occurred. The number of options ranged from 2 to 6. Questions were written in English and in Japanese. Some required choosing a phrase that best matched the one in question, others were fill-in-the-blank, while yet others posed straightforward questions. They state that any attempt to explain the types of questions on the examinations they analyzed would be an 'oversimplification'

Brown and Yamashita (1995a; 1995b; 1995c) also state that translations appeared on many of the test papers which were usually English-to-Japanese. Listening questions included fill-in-the-blank, multiple-choice, dictation, and true-false items.

Redfield (1992) states that in his study of the entrance tests of four universities, there were 'bad questions' in which the item wording was incorrect English from a grammatical, lexical or other perspective. Brown and Yamashita (1995a; 1995b; 1995c) state that they could not find any specific examples of 'bad questions' in their research. However, the following examples by Brock (1995) illustrate that such questions do exist.

Brock (1995) included these examples of questions he found on Japanese university entrance examinations.

1. "In a pluralistic society - where many different men form many different groups for pursuing man's ends by many means - it is inevitable that not all ends will be compatible one with another: as (   ) will prove inadequate for attaining the proposed ends."

Question: rearrange these word so that they correctly fill in the blank:
"as, inevitable, is, it, means, some, that"
2. "Or at (   ) she hides her pain pretty well"
Fill in the blank with one of these words (some must change forms):
"long, out, hide, all, little, lose"

* The answers to entrance examination question 1 is 'inevitable as it is that some means' and the answer to question 2 is 'least' which according to the test key is a form of 'lose'.

(Brock 1995: 17)

My feeling is that such questions should not be included on the entrance tests but the unfortunate truth is that they do exist.

Of course, not all of the questions on the Japanese entrance examinations are of the quality that Brock uses as examples. However, because of the effect the examinations have on the lives of the students, all of the questions should be as reliable and valid as possible. Entrance tests are usually made by the English department of the particular university. Each faculty member submits their own questions. Redfield (1992) points out that because of hierarchy in the educational culture, questions submitted by senior professors are not subject to review. In an interview, a Japanese university English professor stated:

"I have heard that some professors put very difficult or absurd questions on entrance tests of low-ranked institutions because they know that the students who apply to such school have limited English abilities. It is a kind of sick joke."

(Japanese Professor Informant 1)

This may explain some of the more exotic questions on some of the examinations. The informant also stated:

"By and large the entrance examinations are improving. I am familiar with a study which will come out next year and is not yet available for citation which examined Japanese entrance examinations. The results suggest that they are becoming more reliable, and puzzle-like questions are becoming a thing of the past. Matters seem to be changing for the better."

(Japanese Professor Informant 1)

This suggests that there is a trend to improve the tests that are so crucial for the students' lives.

Both the Redfield and the Brown and Yamashita studies point out that English entrance examinations in general are very short, averaging 93.50 minutes at private universities, 112.50 minutes at public institutions and 80 minutes for the national center examination. They state that the number of questions on the tests varied greatly from 8 at Keio University to 64 at Sophia University (Brown and Yamashita 1995a; 1995b; 1995c). This implies that the tests are not reliable, a fact not directly stated by Brown and Yamashita (1995a; 1995b; 1995c) but was stated by Redfield (1992). Brown (1996) suggests that the longer a test is, the more reliable it is generally. For example, the foreign language component of the Finnish matriculation exam takes 1 + 6 hours (Takala 1997).

Another factor affecting the Japanese entrance examination is irregular grading. Redfield (1992) stated that temporary staff were asked to grade tests at two of the schools in his study and great gaps were apparent between easy graders and hard graders. In other words, a test paper would get a lower grade from a hard grader than from an easy grader, thus affecting admissions.

Both Redfield (1992) and Brown and Yamashita (1995a; 1995b; 1995c) state that no statistics on fairness or inter-test reliability on Japanese college entrance exams are used in Japan thus calling into question the system as a whole.

Redfield suggests that the English component of the entrance examination should be banned because of the detrimental effect it has on the system as a whole. Most articles on the subject (Matsuyama 1978; Tsugiyoshi 1978; Brown and Yamashita 1995a; 1995b; 1995c) criticize the examination system but look at is as a 'necessary evil' or, at least, something that will never change.

Brown and Yamashita (1995a; 1995b; 1995c) state that the tests contained texts that were above the levels which could possibly be attained through the public school system. They analyzed the tests using the Flesch-Kincaid readability index which suggested that the passages in the questions are appropriate for native speakers who are between 11 to 21 years old. Public institutions' test level was one full grade higher than that of private institutions, and both public and private examinations were more difficult than the Center examination according to the Flesch-Kincaid readability scales. The Fog index confirmed the results from the Flesch-Kincaid scales but consistently put the language level about two grades higher (Brown and Yamashita 1995: 89). These indexes suggest that texts in the entrance examinations studied are too difficult.

Redfield (1992) says that because many of the questions take on the quality of puzzles, the only way to pass them is to attend private cram schools that train the learners on how to take such tests. In fact, there is a wide variety of special cram schools called *juku* or *yobiko* in Japan where students learn the skills needed to pass the examinations at great personal expense (Brown 1995; Frost 1991). The "English industry" in Japan is worth several billion dollars a year (Tanaka 1990).

The Center test is put together by a board and appears to be more reliable than the second test which the students are subjected to at the universities to which they wish to gain entrance. Not all universities require a 'second test' in English. As a Japanese English professor informant stated:

> "Usually institutions that do not include English on their entrance test
> are low ranked. The subject is not included in order to attract students.
> The most prestigious universities include English components without
> exception."

(Japanese Professor Informant 1)

In Finland, the exception to entrance examinations that are given in one of the country's native languages takes place in departments where foreign languages are taught. Those seeking admission to the English department must pass a test in English, prospective Russian majors must pass a test in Russian and German department applicants are tested for German language skills. These tests also

vary from year to year or from department to department within the same foreign language. For example, the English Translation Department would have a different exam from the English Philology Department. They may or may not include an interview in the foreign language. This is similar to Japan where foreign language majors must take a more detailed test in the target language.

In certain cases, for example in the Russian Translation Department of the University of Tampere, none of the students are at a high enough level at the time of admission. So, virtually all of the new students take one year of preparatory courses (podgotovitelnij kurs) before taking actual classes for university credit. In such cases, special non-credit certificates are issued so students will continue to receive their financial aid for the 'first year' of course work which is actually their second year in the university (Orpana 1988: 59).

Students who are not in foreign language programs, for example those who study law, technical subjects, humanities or social science are admitted without taking a foreign language test. While studying, they must pass a basic requirement, usually one of the country's official languages and one other foreign language, to graduate from the University. Some programs may require more than two foreign languages. These requirements are not very stringent, although virtually all of the students who pass their courses can communicate in the languages that they choose.

Students who have attained a sufficient level through studies abroad or the school system can test out of these required courses and receive credit without having to actually take the course. For English, tests can take the form of an interview with two native speaker faculty members or individual teachers may wave requirements based on a written test (Arffman and Marach 1995). The main point is that to enter Finnish tertiary education, no foreign language test occurs in order to gain admission for departments other than foreign language departments. Instead, graduation requirements are dictated which ensure foreign language proficiency.

The matriculation test that contributes toward the decision regarding university admission occurs at the end of upper senior high school (lukio). It tests the result of the student's foreign language education as well as other subjects included in the students' education.

The test is designed every year by a national testing board (Takala 1993) and used by university departments as part of criteria for admission. Every student in the country takes the same test on a given year. All marking of more subjective parts of the test such as essays is done by a carefully selected and continuously trained group of external assessors (Takala 1997). All of this contributes to the test's validity and reliability. Students who fail may attempt the test again on the following testing occasion.

Because the foreign language component of the tests are the same for the entire country, they are easily analyzed as to what is measured and how it is measured. The tests include reading passages followed by multiple-choice questions, open-ended questions or summary. They also test grammar and vocabulary with multiple-choice questions. A writing component is also included where the test taker has the choice to write an essay on one of 3 - 4

topics. And finally, the test contains a listening comprehension section assessed by multiple-choice and open-ended questions. Unlike in the Japanese entrance examinations, there is no translation component.

It is worth mentioning that since 1990 there exists a variety of approved test types for all testing domains. Schools do not know what test type will be applied at any one time. This procedure was adopted to avoid one-sided 'teaching-to-a-test' practice in schools. Multiple test types sought to promote meaningful practice at schools (Takala 1997).

The matriculation examination consists of:

> Mother Tongue
> > Swedish/Finnish (second official language)
> Second Language
>
> Choice of either:
> > Math
> > or
> > General Knowledge ('*Reaali*')
> Answer 10 questions from the following subjects:
> > History, Chemistry, Geography, Biology, Physics,
> > Philosophy, Religion and Psychology
>
> Optional Tests

The results of the Finnish matriculation examination are analyzed statistically and there is constant work towards improving the test itself (Takala 1993).

Previous tests are available for inspection for teachers, learners and whoever wants to examine them. This can provide the students and teachers with study guidelines and help them prepare. Results are published openly in order to establish accountability. After the test students can examine their grade and their results in comparison with the other students who take the test. The duration for the foreign language component is 1 + 6 hours which adds to the test's reliability.

An interesting proposal was introduced by a national work party which was set up to make recommendations regarding the matriculation examination (Committee Report 1993: 25). It suggested that students be given a choice on their matriculation exam to be tested on four out of five subjects. These would include mother tongue, mathematics, the other national language, a foreign language and general knowledge which includes history, geography, psychology, philosophy, physics, chemistry and religious knowledge. The tests would be given at two levels, advanced and basic. Oral proficiency was recommended as the focus of the new system and oral tests would be administered at the schools in the beginning but would be supported by centrally prepared tests. This system would make it possible to matriculate without taking a foreign language test examination (Takala 1993). The proposal was not adopted but suggests that in Finland as in Japan, educators see test reform as an option for improving their country's education system.

Students who do not gain admission to upper secondary school, or *lukio,* have other alternatives. About 4,000 students every year choose to spend another year in junior high schools brushing up their skills until they decide what to do (Parviainen 1992). Such students account for Finnish attendance statistics which exceed 100% (Kurian 1985).

Other non-college bound options include technical high schools/colleges (teknillinen oppilaitos) which teach engineering to the level roughly equivalent to the American Associate of Arts or Bachelor of Arts, vocational high schools (ammattioppilaitos) which teach carpentry, metal work, baking, hairdressing and other practical trades, commercial schools/colleges (kauppaoppilaitos) which teach economic and business subjects up to the American Associate of Arts or Bachelor of Arts level. Foreign language education in these institutions varies. Basic guidelines are provided by the Ministry of Education regarding course content. Actual testing is planned at the local level by the faculty of the individual institution. In addition, some of these offer standard foreign tests such as the Oxford Business English Test (Riihimäen Kauppaoppilaitos 1992). Again students are assessed on their foreign language abilities at the end of their courses.

At the junior high school level, no mandatory external tests are given. Smaller tests are given at regular intervals throughout the education process. One Finnish teacher informant stated:

> "Our local tests are usually designed by one of the teachers here in the school, then agreed to by all of the other teachers. So, one test is given to all of the students."

(Finnish Teacher Informant 1)

In the schools observed, individual teachers did not give their own tests to their own students, instead, they gave one general test to everyone at the same level. These tests are designed and administered locally and are the basis for progress assessment. Their importance is that they determine the grades which in turn determine whether or not students are allowed to enter the college-bound upper high school, or *lukio*.

In Finland and Japan, foreign language tests given during the school term tended to come directly from the textbooks studied in class and were observed to test the students over the materials that are covered in their lessons, which contributes to their validity. It should be noted that in Japan, questions even at this level could be tricky and puzzle-like in order to prepare the learners for the upcoming entrance tests (Duke 1986).

5.4 Summary

An understanding of a nation's system of testing, because of the backwash effect it has on foreign language education as a whole, is an essential factor

when discussing foreign language teaching and learning. This section has sought to show that testing takes on a different role in Japan than in Finland. It has also suggested that the Finnish testing system is generally reliable and valid. In addition, the absence of external examinations at the junior high school level in Finland suggests that one cannot claim that the testing system has a negative backwash on the system. The Japanese entrance examination system at the university and senior high school level appears to produce a negative backwash effect throughout the language education system. This study found a number of major differences in English language testing within the two systems.

TABLE 5.3 Tendencies In Language Testing For College Bound Students In Finland And Japan

Finland	Japan
Uniform Matriculation Test at the end of senior high school (lukio)	Center test is administered at the end of senior high school, but not for everybody
No external testing in the comprehensive school (grades 1-9)	Senior high school entrance test is administered at the end of junior high school
University entrance tests in L1 except for foreign language departments	Most university entrance tests have an English language component, counting 10-50% of the grade
Standard matriculation exam	Standard center test
	University-specific English tests vary greatly
One test - one difficulty level	Center test - one difficulty level Other tests - vary greatly in difficulty
Test includes no translation component	Many tests include translation components
Listening component	Most tests do not contain listening components
Straight-forward grammar and vocabulary questions based on fully authentic or slightly adapted source texts	Great variety in grammar questions, some like puzzles; Puzzle questions are decreasing
	(Continued)

(Continued)

Reading followed by multiple-choice questions with 3-4 choices, summary or open-ended questions	Reading passages at many levels with various means of assessment questions
Essay writing component	Most tests do not include essay component
National Board creates matriculation test; Board studies reliability and validity	Center test is created by a Board; Board studies reliability and validity
	Most university-specific tests created locally with no research on validity or reliability
Positive backwash effect	Negative backwash effect in many cases which promotes test taking at the expense of practical skills

The great differences in the testing systems indicate that there is a pronounced difference in the attitudes of those designing the tests and the systems. There are many ways in which to analyze these differences. Throughout the present study, the effects of testing on the educational settings will be discussed either directly or indirectly. It is hoped that this chapter's sketch of the subject can be useful in contributing to the reader's understanding of English teaching and learning in the two countries' settings.

6   LEARNER AND TEACHER ATTITUDES

6.1 Learner Attitudes

This section will examine the way English language education is perceived by the students of a junior high school in a small town in Japan. The data in this section consists of questionnaires that were completed in the fall of 1992. It will also examine the attitudes of Finnish learners, approximately the same age as their Japanese counterparts, who completed similar questionnaires in the spring of 1994 in a small Finnish town. The perspectives of Finnish and Japanese English teachers will be incorporated in the second section of this chapter. It is important to examine how students perceive language education in order to arrive at a deeper understanding of an education system.

In Japan, 100 third-year junior high school students were polled in the town that was studied as to their attitudes toward English and in Finland, 129 second-year junior high school students were surveyed. The English language questionnaires were distributed during class and the students were asked to complete them. The teachers provided clarifications and translations of difficult sections. It should be noted that not all of the students responded to all of the questions. It is difficult to explain why this is so except to say that perhaps some students did not understand the questions, perhaps some were too bored to answer them or perhaps some thought it funny not to complete the form.

It should also be noted that in Japanese culture, there is a distinction between what is said, *'tatemae'*, or the polite linguistic formulas used to promote harmony within the group and the real meaning, *'honne'*. This may be reflected in the answering of questionnaires (CLAIR 1991: 34). For example, a student may have answered what he or she perceived to be the expected answer instead of what was really felt. This may have led to some bias in the results. Even so, the questionnaires were determined to be the most effective

way to gather responses because of the number of participants in the survey and because anonymity may have reduced the need to be polite.

Before administering the survey, I taught, played sports with and knew the Japanese students for over a year. This should contribute to the students' willingness to provide honest answers and my ability to interpret them. In Finland, I visited the school many times before the surveys were conducted so the students were familiar with the project and who was conducting it. It is my feeling that this kind of research produces more valid results than 'one-shot' research (Sloss 1995) in which a stranger visits a school where he is not familiar with the learners, teachers or the system, observes it for a day or two and then draws conclusions and presents results.

Many elements contributed to the formulation of the questions, including interviews with Japanese and Finnish teachers, assistant language teachers and students, a classroom observation diary which had been kept for over two terms, and extensive reading. In many of the questions, several choices were provided and students were instructed to mark as many answers as they liked. In such cases, results indicate the percentage of students that chose each answer. For example, in response to 'Why do you study English?', 61% indicated senior high school entrance examinations and 54% indicated junior high school tests.

Since the survey was given in Japan first[14], certain modifications were necessary in order to administer it to the Finnish learners. In the question 'why do you study English?', the Finnish junior high school students were asked about their matriculation examinations while the Japanese were asked about their senior high school entrance examinations.

Also, questions related to the educational institutions were slightly different because the systems are not the same. In addition, questions related to team-teaching were omitted from the Finnish questionnaire because foreign assistant language teachers do not teach in the country's schools.

6.1.1 Why Do You Study English?

For this question, students were requested to choose as many answers as they liked from a list of alternatives. In Japan, 61% of the students responded that the main reason they studied English was to pass their senior high school entrance examinations. This was the highest response followed by 'to pass their junior high school tests' (54%). This indicates that academic achievement was the most important aspect of language education to these students. This is echoed in the literature on the subject (Tanigawa 1991; Cominos 1992a; 1992b; Wada 1991) and should come as no surprise to anyone familiar with English language teaching in Japan.

Only 21 (16%) of the Finnish learners rated their matriculation examinations as a reason for studying English. On the surface, this seems to provide an argument against the current testing system of Japan. And, one

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[14]   I originally designed the questionnaires in the hopes of improving my own teaching and understanding my students.

must indeed consider the profound effect the entrance examination has on English education in the minds of the Japanese learners. Practically all (98%) of the Japanese students in the town studied go to senior high school and faced their entrance examinations soon after the survey was administered (Yakuba 1990). Of all the Finns surveyed, only 60% indicated that they wished to attend the upper high school (lukio) where the matriculation examination would be given some three years in the future. It was therefore probably too far in the future for the Finnish learners to consider it at the time of this survey. This may better explain the rather low showing of the Finnish examination in the survey compared with the Japanese view of the senior high school entrance examination.

TABLE 6.1 Reasons For Studying English (%)[15]

	Japan	Finland
Why do you study English?		
High school entrance tests	61%	
Matriculation examination		16%
junior high school tests	54%	33%
To speak	49%	84%
To understand	48%	85%
To travel to foreign countries	42%	66%
To talk to foreigners	46%	66%
To listen to English music	26%	51%
To watch English movies	26%	56%
To read books, magazines	19%	40%
Other:		
I like English	1%	
Use computer		1 student
Pen pals		1 student
Talk to English father		1 student
Because I have to		1 student

The high school entrance test in Japan determines to a great extent which university one will attend and subsequently one's position in life. They are, therefore, portrayed by the mass media and perceived by many in the country as being crucial in a Japanese citizen's development to a degree that those outside Japan may find difficult to comprehend (Reischauer 1988; Cummings 1980). The Japanese students were not asked in the survey if university entrance examinations were a concern to them because I was concerned at the time with senior high school entrance examinations. 38%[16] of the Japanese students were planning to pursue their education to the college or university level. In retrospect, asking about the importance of university entrance

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[15]   All answers were given on the questionnaire then checked off by the learners except for those which are listed after other. These were written in by the students themselves on the questionnaire form.
[16]   38% reflects the 25% who plan to apply to university and the 13% who hope to attend 2-year colleges.

examination would have provided additional insight into the learners' perceptions of their English education.

33% of the Finnish students indicated that their junior high school tests were one reason why they studied English which is much closer to the 54% in Japan. However, a difference of 21 percentage points further indicates that the Japanese learners see academic reasons for studying English, such as test taking, as far more important than the Finnish learners do.

The Japanese learners' next most popular responses were 'to speak' (49%), 'to understand' (48%) and 'to talk to foreign people' (46%) which indicated a desire to communicate with foreigners. The ability to speak English is highly regarded in Japanese popular culture and having foreign friends and acquaintances is seen by many to boost one's social standing. This, in addition to what could be a sincere desire to get to know foreign people and thus become 'more international', is reflected in the attitudes of the junior high school students surveyed.

In contrast, the Finnish students' top responses were 'to understand' (85%) and 'to speak' (84%). This suggests that communicating in the target language is the priority for the Finnish learners, as opposed to doing well on examinations. Although one could suggest that the examination system in Japan is the cause for the low level of communicative skills compared with the Finnish students, it is only one factor and a realistic evaluation of the situation should also cite other reasons.

For example, 'to travel' (66%) and 'to talk to foreigners' (66%) rated high in the Finnish survey as it did in the Japanese survey where 'to talk to foreigners' was chosen by 46% and 'to travel outside of Japan' was chosen by (42%). In contrast, 92% of the Finnish respondents had traveled abroad whereas only one of the Japanese respondents had been to a foreign country. Also, over half of the Finnish respondents had spoken with several foreign people, but the majority of the Japanese learners polled had spoken to only two or three foreigners, all of whom had probably been foreign assistant language teachers in their school. This indicates that for the Japanese students in the survey, travel abroad and contact with foreign people was an abstract concept. In contrast, for the Finnish learner it was a reality. This could be argued to have a great effect on why the Japanese learners see English more as an academic subject than a tool to communicate.

The lack of contact with foreign people has more to do with geography than attitudes because the majority of the Japanese students (79%) indicated that they wanted to go abroad to visit an English-speaking country. This would entail a substantial expense for them. Only one of the Japanese students had been abroad, to Guam. This indicates that the Japanese learners had very little exposure to English speakers or foreigners at all. It also suggested the value of having native speaker assistant language teachers for internationalization at the local level. Robert Juppe, lecturer at Tsukuba University and former Monbusho Assistant Language Teacher Advisor, states that 'internationalization in the context of the JET Program really refers to humanization which can be broken down into internal internationalization and external internationalization'

(Kaneko 1997: 3). This appears to be succeeding in the setting that was studied. The Jet Program is discussed in more detail in Chapter Three.

The response to the question, "Why do you study English?" was followed in the Japanese survey by 'watching movies', 'listening to music' and 'reading books and magazines' at 6-19%. The Finnish learners rated 'watching movies', 'listening to music' and 'reading books and magazines' much higher than their Japanese counterparts at between 40% and 56%. The Japanese learners had not studied the language as long as their Finnish counterparts which may also contribute to the results of this question. This again must be seen as evidence that more of the Finnish learners see English as something real and usable than their Japanese counterparts because they indicated that they were already using the language outside of class while they were still in junior high school.

Only 13% of the Japanese students indicated that they read English books, magazines or comics. The limited access to these types of items in rural Japan may have a heavy influence on the answer. In the town that was studied, there were practically no English language books, newspapers or other periodicals available, aside from one shelf-full in the local public library. In contrast, about 40% of the Finnish learners indicated that they read English periodicals. This is probably because of greater access to books, magazines and other English language materials in the public libraries and local bookstores.

Video rental stores near the town that was studied in Japan were numerous and 76% of the learners indicated that they watched English movies. However, 56% indicated that they did so only 2-4 hours a month. This is minimal considering that the average Japanese teenager spends 60 hours a month in front of the television (Fox 1992). Foreign television shows and movies in Japan are, with rare exceptions, dubbed. Bilingual televisions are available which allow foreign programs to be viewed in their original language. However, they were not common among the rural Japanese.

Finland, on the other hand, offers a variety of English language movies, dramas and other programs on television. The Finnish students took full advantage of this, watching a substantial number of English programs. 21% indicated that they watched between 1 and 5 hours weekly, 40% indicated that they watched between 6 and 10 hours a week, 18% indicated that they watched between 10 and 20 hours a week and 15% indicated that they watched over 20 hours of English programming a week. This must have a positive effect on their language skills because of the extra exposure that the students get to the target language (Sajavaara 1993). Whether or not watching that much television is unhealthy, is not a question this study will address.

Even though this study did not focus on the effects of television programs on foreign language education, the way in which popular English language television shows were discussed among the learners in the study suggests the positive effect on the attitudes and language skills of the learners. The Japanese could easily take advantage of this by offering more subtitled English language broadcasts.

In Japan, virtually all forms of mass media, with the exception of music, are in Japanese. 52% of the Japanese students indicated that they listened to foreign music in English for an average of 4 hours per week which was

substantial in comparison to their other out-of-classroom exposure to English. In Finland, again, the results of the survey indicated that the Finnish students had more exposure to English language music outside of the classroom. 89% indicated that they listened to English music outside of class. Of these, 34% indicated that they listened 5 hours or less while the rest listened substantially more, including 19% that listened over 20 hours a week. This indicates that the Finnish learners have substantially more exposure to English outside the classroom in the form of music than their Japanese counterparts.

Foreign music was available in the Japanese countryside from compact disc stores in the area. Japanese bands who sing in quasi-English are also popular. Radio programming was primarily in Japanese in the countryside. However, one teacher suggested that:

> "Although the (Japanese) students may listen to English music, they are more interested in the melodies than the words"

> (Japanese Professor Informant 1)

This is understandable, taking into account the low level of the students and the often muddling effect music has on understanding the lyrics of a song. In Finland, there was substantially more radio programming in English which probably contributed to generating interest in English music and, subsequently, listening skills.

This section of the survey suggested that the Japanese students' primary goal for learning the target language was test taking, while some practical and recreational uses were also seen as important. The Finnish students on the other hand indicated that practical use of English was their primary goal for learning the language. However, it has been noted that if the college-bound Finnish students were polled before their matriculation examinations, academic goals might receive greater emphasis than practical goals.

6.1.2 How Many Foreigners Have You Talked To?

The responses to this question indicate the real impact of having foreign assistant language teachers in the community and the lack of exposure to foreign people which is common in rural Japan. 78% of the Japanese respondents had talked to four or less foreigners in their lives. Three assistant language teachers had taught in the town with occasional visits from other assistant language teachers suggesting that for many of the learners the only direct contact with foreigners had been in the schools. This indicates that the presence of the assistant language teachers in the local community was beneficial in order to expose the students to a foreigner.

The Finns, on the other hand, had no foreign assistants in their schools, yet they had a great deal more contact with foreign people than their Japanese counterparts. 79% of the Finnish students indicated that they had spoken with a foreigner which was only slightly less than in Japan where 82% stated that they had spoken English with a foreigner. This is especially interesting because all of

the Japanese learners had been forced to do so at one time or another in their English classes. This leads to the obvious question: why the disparity?

There were students with learning disabilities who did not fill in the questionnaires. However, that still leaves 7 students who responded that they had not spoken with a foreigner and 6 other students who did not respond to this question at all. One could cite the reasons previously listed on responding to questionnaires. It is certain that the students would consider the assistant language teacher foreign. Perhaps many thought the questions meant foreigners other than the assistant language teacher, although they had been instructed to consider the assistant language teacher a foreigner.

46% of the Finnish learners had spoken with 1-5 foreigners and 19% indicated that they had spoken to more than 5. None of the Japanese learners indicated that they had spoken to more than 5 foreigners with 77% indicating that they had spoken to 4 or less. This shows how much contact the Finnish students had with foreigners compared with the Japanese students.

It becomes obvious that contact with foreigners inspires interest in learning a foreign language. One could also cite these statistics as evidence supporting the argument that the reason Japanese learners choose more theoretical and academic reasons for studying English is because they have very little practical use for the language. The Finnish learners indicated practical reasons for studying English, perhaps because they have come across more situations where the target language is useful.

6.1.3 How Far Do You Wish To Pursue Your Education?

Of the learners that responded, 88% indicated that they intended to go to high school. The Japanese teacher indicated that all of the students wished to attend high school and town statistics indicated that 97% would attend (Yakuba 1990). 3% indicated they wished to go to an agricultural high school, 6% indicated they would go to work and 2% chose the self defense force, which is what the Japanese call their armed forces. This accounted for 99% of the respondents.

The Finnish learners' answers to the question produced interesting results. 161 responses were recorded from 129 students for their plans immediately following junior high school. This indicates that the learners were planning to apply to more than one institution and to decide after gaining admission which one to attend.

Interestingly enough, less than 5% of the Finnish students marked that they were planning to attend university, suggesting that they had not thought that far in advance. My theory is that the Finnish learners had not made concrete long-term plans regarding their education. A career choice, especially as early as junior high school, is usually not stressed in Finland. The upper secondary school is a time for learning about one's abilities and about one's preferences concerning a great many options. These include trying to enter the university or other forms of tertiary education or pursuing vocational education. Delaying one's career choice is acceptable in Finland and taking a break after the matriculation examination in order to decide which path to follow is a fairly common practice (Takala 1997). This stands in sharp contrast

to the Japanese learners who appeared from the questionnaire to have made clear, definite plans which included university education (25%). This is because of the rigidity of the Japanese education system in regard to employment; getting a good education is drilled into most children from an early age (Reischauer 1977; 1990).

59% of the Finnish students indicated that they wished to attend *lukio*, the upper high school for college-bound students, 47% indicated that they wanted to attend technical high school (*ammattikoulu*), 10% indicated that they wanted to attend economic high school (*kauppaoppilaitos*) and 6% indicated that they planned to go to work. One student wrote she wanted to attend horse economy high school. Three students did not answer. This suggests that students in Finland consider vocational education a viable option for a prosperous future, a view which appeared to not be as prevalent among their Japanese counterparts.

Questions regarding intentions to continue education beyond high school were relevant for the Japanese because English would be needed in order to pass the university entrance examination (Tanigawa 1992). 13% responded that they wanted to go to a two-year college and 25% responded that they wanted to attend a four-year university or beyond. Interestingly enough, the percentage of the students surveyed who indicated they wished to pursue higher education corresponded almost exactly with the national average of students who actually do. In 1991 of 37.7% of Japanese high school students advanced into two- or four-year universities (Ueda 1993: 224).

6.1.4 Do You Like English?

In Japan, there is a wide-spread belief that the examination system and other factors lead to 'well over half' of the students hating English as a subject in school. As one teacher reported:

> "The anxiety over the entrance examination leads to the majority of students hating English. There is a special word for this in Japanese, 'Eigo Kirai'."

> (Japanese Teacher Informant 2)

In the town surveyed, the number of students with an *'Eigo Kirai'* attitude was substantially less than perceived by 'experts'. 36% the third-year students indicated that they hated English which is remarkable because 100% of the first year students indicated that they liked English. Interestingly enough, the number of students who hate English (36%) roughly corresponds to the number of students who do not wish or will not be able to pursue their education past high school (31%).

The examination system is often blamed for the dislike (Tanigawa 1992: 45-46). However, although the examination system may be a factor, one Japanese teacher suggested that perhaps a 'sour grapes' complex develops when students who want to speak English realize that in order to do so, they must study. Another contributing factor could be that at the time of the study, English was practically a mandatory subject in the town. Furthermore, the

boring nature of the structural methods that appeared in the regular Japanese English lessons is not likely to create interest in studying. Some practicing teachers go so far as to suggest that the dislike for boring English classes may even cause wider social problems such as teenage alcoholism and smoking (Kiguchi 1995). Without a doubt, weak performance in school can lead to low self-esteem.

Of the Finnish learners, 78% indicated that they liked English and 7% stated that they did not like English. 15% were undecided. In contrast, 42% of the Japanese learners indicated that they liked English and 17% stated that they neither liked nor hated English.

The difference between the learners' attitudes toward the subject of English itself suggests that the learner-centered classrooms that were observed in Finland were better liked by the students than the teacher-centered classes observed in Japan.

The survey also suggested that the situation in Japan is not as bad as many perceive it to be. As previously stated, there is a perception that over half of the students hate English and this is often cited as a reason to overhaul the system. This small study shows that only about a third of the students suffer from the '*Eigo-kirai*' or Hate-English syndrome. Although the percentage is quite high when compared to Finnish learners, it is not as threatening as it is generally claimed to be.

6.1.5 Do You Take Private English Lessons?

70% of the Japanese learners indicated that they took private English lessons at 'cram schools'. According to Thronson (1992), this indicates that the public system is deficient and therefore the private supplementary system exists. About the same number of Japanese students indicated that they studied the subject at home 1-4 hours a week. This, together with what has been said previously, suggests that the students had very little contact with the language outside of school with the exception of their grammar-based cram school lessons.

Only 6 out of 129 Finnish students took private English lessons outside of class which, compared with the Japanese, was minimal to say the least. Interviews suggest that some students take cram courses shortly before taking their matriculation examinations and still others take cram courses in order to pass university entrance tests for particularly competitive programs. However, the percentage of students who take such classes is small.

Thronson (1992) and Brown and Yamashita (1995a; 1995b; 1995c) suggest that in the Japanese case, private supplemental schools for primary and secondary school students exist because of the disparity between what is expected on university entrance examinations and what is taught in the public and private primary and secondary schools. However, it must be kept in mind that the Japanese as a people tend to take lessons. It is in their culture. An average Japanese student may be taking a variety of academic subjects and, in addition, classes such as tea ceremony, *ikebana* or Japanese flower arranging or cooking.

English, in addition to many other subjects, is for many a 'hobby' long after the threat of examinations or school failure is over. This also accounts for the large numbers of private language schools catering to students in Japan. The Japanese spend about five billion US dollars a year on this industry (Tanaka 1990: 131). This means that there is a tremendous market for educational services. Thus, the large number of schools. Therefore, I would argue that the 'English Industry' is brought about both by Japanese cultural factors and by disparities between what is taught in the schools and what is expected on examinations.

On the other hand, Finns do not usually take lessons as a hobby and those that do can find very low-cost lessons offered at schools and other public or semi-public institutions. In addition, the Finnish education system generally provides instruction which enables hard-working students to enter universities without extensive additional training. The virtual non-existence of private English schools catering to elementary and secondary school students in Finland can be attributed to these factors.

6.1.6 How Good is Your English?

Students in both countries were asked to rate their English ability. The students were explained that they should not rate themselves compared to a native speaker of the language, but, instead, rate themselves in relation to the amount of time they had been studying the language.

TABLE 6.2 Self-Assessment Of English Proficiency (%)

	Japan	Finland
Very good	4%	16%
Good	3%	21%
OK	41%	40%
Not Good	15%	11%
Bad	11%	4%
Very Bad	7%	3%(all boys)
zen zen wakaranai	6%	
I understand nothing		
(not included on Finnish survey)		
No response	13%	5%

7% of the Japanese students, rated themselves as being good or very good. 41% rated their ability as OK. These three categories add up to almost 50% of the respondents, including all of the university-bound students. However, more than 7% of these learners were rated by their teachers as being better than OK in their English ability. This can be explained by the Japanese form of politeness which requires one to not emphasize his or her own strong points (Kobayashi 1995).

15% of the Japanese learners rated themselves as not good, 11% rated themselves as bad indicating that they did not see themselves as effective

communicators in English. In addition, 7% rated themselves as being very bad and 6% rated themselves as 'I know nothing'. This 24% added to the 13% who did not respond to this question constitutes approximately the 39% of the students who say they hate English.

The Finns, based on this survey, have a positive view of their ability to use English. 37% of those polled rated themselves as good or very good in their target language ability. In addition, 40% rate their own language ability as being OK. In other words, 77% of the Finnish students rated their skills as being OK or better. This is a sharp contrast to the Japanese students. The results also provide an interesting contrast to studies which suggest that Finnish adults rate themselves as poor communicators (Sajavaara 1993). However, it may well be that the language education reform in the 1970's has increased language skills and rendered students more confident.

11% of the Finnish learners rate their English skills as not good and a mere 5% rated their skills as bad or very bad. These two categories only add up to 16% of learners which is a small percentage. This indicates that overall, the Finnish learners polled had a positive view of their English language skills.

6.1.7 How Many Hours A Week Do You Study English At Home?

The answers to this question show a cultural difference between Japan in Finland. On the surface, it appears that the Japanese students spend more time studying than the Finnish students, and this is probably so. However, there is a cultural factor that affects how one considers the results of this question. For the Japanese, putting effort into what one does is held in high esteem: trying very hard is almost as important as the results of a project. In Finland, on the other hand, results are generally considered more important than the effort that goes into achieving them.

TABLE 6.3 Self-Estimate Of Hours Spent Studying English At Home (%)

	Japan	Finland
How many hours a week do you study English at home?		
1 hr/wk	10%	44%
2-4 hrs/wk	56%	44%
more than 8 hrs	7%	2%

Ellis (1983) states that the amount of time spent studying seems to be an important factor in second language acquisition. Takala (1997) further states that the quality of the work on English is a major factor. Therefore, one could argue that the amount of time the Japanese study should contribute to their having better skills than their Finnish counterparts. However, when one factors in the amount of time the Finnish learners spend listening to English music, watching English television programs and videos and other exposure they have

to the L2 in comparison with their Japanese counterparts, it becomes clear that Finns spend more time working with the language compared to the Japanese. This must have a contributing effect to their higher level of proficiency.

6.1.8 Will You Use English In Your Life?

This variable shows that the students of both countries perceive that they will use English in their lives. This is especially interesting because the survey indicates that the Japanese learners have limited contact with foreign people, yet they expect to have such contact later in their lives.

Table 6.4   Likelihood Of Using English Later In Life (%)

	Japan	Finland
Will you use English in your life?		
Yes often	9%	22%
Yes sometime	39%	37%
Maybe	32%	29%
No	8%	3%
I don't know	6%	9%
No response		6%

This survey has shown that the Finnish students already have more contact with foreign people and this section confirms that they expect to maintain such contact throughout their lives.

6.1.9 Summary

This section has sought to look at the attitudes of the students in a town in rural Japan and a town in Finland. It has discussed and contrasted these attitudes and sought to explain them.

The results of the survey indicate that the Japanese learners surveyed tend to view English as a subject to study in order to pass school examinations and see communication as secondary while the Finnish learners seem to see the language as something to learn in order to use in communication. However, the timing of the questionnaires probably influenced the results. Had Finnish students been polled as their senior high school final examinations were approaching, tests would almost certainly have been an important reason for studying English. The Japanese learners had spoken to very few foreign people while the Finnish students had spoken to substantially more. Virtually all of the Finns had been abroad while only one of the Japanese had. This is probably due to the relatively low cost and ease of travel from Finland to neighboring countries and the high cost of travel abroad from Japan. Be as it may, the immediate need for English for the Finns appears to serve somewhat as a motivating factor, and the lack of exposure to English through traveling could be seen as a factor reducing learning motivation among the Japanese students.

Still, the thought that they may travel some day and need English probably serves as some kind of motivation for many of the learners from both countries.

TABLE 6.5 Summary Of Learner Attitudes

	Japan	Finland
Why do you study English? (Percentages of the total learners surveyed; Students could mark as many answers as they like)	SHS Tests 61% JHS Tests 54% to Speak 49% to understand 48%	SHS Test 16% JHS Tests 33% to Speak 84% to understand 85%
How many foreigners have you talked to?	4 or less 77%	more than 5 30% 1 to 5 46%
Have you traveled abroad?	Yes 1%	Yes 92%
Do you like English?	Yes 42% Yes and no 17% No (I hate it) 36%	Yes 78% No 7% Don't know 16%
Do you take private lessons?	Yes 70%	No 95%
How many hours a week do you study English at home?	1 hr/wk 10% 2-4 hrs/wk 56% more than 8 hrs 7%	1 hr/wk 44% 2-4 hrs/wk 44% more than 8 hrs/wk 2%
Do you watch English videos or TV programs?	Yes 76% usually 2-4 hours a month 51%	Yes 96% 6-10 hrs/wk 40% 10-20 hrs/wk 18% 20+ hrs/wk 15%
Do you listen to English music?	Yes 52% usually less than 4 hours a week	Yes 89% usually more than 5 hours a week
Will you use English in your life?	Yes 48%	Yes 60%

The Finns overwhelmingly liked to study English while 42% of the Japanese liked English, 17% neither liked or hated English and 36% hated the subject. Although a higher percentage of the Japanese students than of the Finns disliked English, the number of Japanese who hated the target language was substantially lower than generally thought.

The Japanese learners studied a bit more than the Finnish learners, which reflects the notion that study is more highly valued in Japan than in Finland. The Finns watched substantially more television and listened to more music in English than their Japanese counterparts which increases their exposure to English. This was due to the broadcasting policy in Finland where subtitled

foreign movies on television and foreign music on the radio are very common. All in all, the Finnish students were exposed to the English language considerably more than the Japanese students were. Students from both countries thought that they would use English in their later life.

This section has highlighted some of the intercultural differences in the attitudes of the learners in Finnish and Japanese junior high schools. The most significant differences are the ways in which the students view testing, their contact with foreign people, their experience traveling abroad, their exposure to the target language outside of the school environment and their attitudes toward the usefulness of English in their lives after their education. The varying attitudes expressed by the students can be used as a barometer of the successes and failures within the two countries' language education systems.

The way in which the students themselves rate their English language ability suggests that those surveyed do not necessarily see themselves as failing as communicators in either country. Furthermore, the students of both countries seem to be 'outward-looking' in their desires to travel abroad and interact with foreign people. The benefits of broadcasting subtitled programs on television in order to promote increased foreign language proficiency are seen when comparing the amount of exposure students from the two countries have to English.

The way in which teachers view the learners is an essential component of understanding the cultural factors which determine the student attitudes in the two countries studied. The following section will discuss teachers' attitudes in relation to Hofstede's (1986) 4-D Model.

6.2 Teacher Attitudes

6.2.1.1   Teacher Attitudes Related To Individualism

As explained in Chapters One and Two, individualist cultures reflect a positive association in society with whatever is 'new' according to Hofstede (1986; 1991). The Finnish teachers that participated in this study exhibited this cultural trait in their teaching methods. As some of the teachers indicated, many of the methods used in the classroom now, such as the extensive use of pair-work, are relatively new within the system. Some of the teachers had experience with grammar-translation or structural methods when they began studying English. As one informant stated:

> "When I studied English in school the teachers used grammar-translation methods almost exclusively."

> (Finnish Teacher Informant 1)

The Finnish teachers appeared to have assimilated 'new' teaching methods emphasizing communication to the extent that I did not encounter a foreign

language teacher who saw exclusive grammar-translation methods as being effective except when tests were approaching or when they were training the students on new grammar points. So, grammar-based lessons were taught in an integrated manner in addition to lessons concentrating on speaking and listening skills. The Finnish English teachers expressed that this was the most effective way to teach. This could be interpreted as reflecting a positive attitude toward 'new' methods.

It should be noted that the Finnish junior high school students I observed had studied English three years longer than their Japanese counterparts and they did not have senior high school entrance tests to face in the near future which probably affected the teachers' attitudes toward different teaching methods. I did observe more emphasis on grammar-translation methods and test training techniques when I visited the schools as tests approached. The tests were produced locally by the teachers themselves. They were, none the less, held in high esteem. Lessons tended to become more teacher-centered and stressed vocabulary and grammar acquisition through drilling and translation exercises. As a Finnish teacher stated:

> "The students will be having tests next week so the lessons that you will be observing today will be review lessons. With tests coming up, I want to do everything possible to help the students attain positive results"

> (Finnish Teacher Informant 2)

In Finnish senior high schools, because of a pending external examination at the end of study, backwash effects are perhaps more pronounced. Yli-Renko and Salo-Lee (1991) surveyed 236 senior secondary school third-year students in central and southern Finland. The students stated that they were content with their grammar, pronunciation and writing skills. However, the results indicated that they were not satisfied with their oral proficiency. They cited as their reasons large class size, emphasis on structure and forms in the target language and the backwash effect of the matriculation examination. This is similar to the complaints about the English teaching process in Japan.

Some of the Finnish teachers, after viewing the video tapes that were shot in Japan for this study, commented on the way that classes began and ended in Japan. Some stated that when they had been students, classes had had formal beginnings and endings. An informant stated:

> "When I was in school, some 30 years ago, we waited in the classroom for the teacher to enter. When the teacher arrived, we all stood, greeted the teacher, then sat, much the same as on the Japanese video tape."

> (Finnish Teacher Informant 1)

According to the teachers interviewed, most classes had these formal sections until perhaps the early 1970's. Another informant stated that in some locations in Finland, formal beginnings and endings of classes are still the rule. In the setting studied, this type of beginning and end of classes appeared to have

disappeared by 1994. This also suggests the teachers had accepted *new ideas* of smaller power distance between themselves and the students. It is also an indication that Finland is changing.

Teachers were observed to meet their students in the hall, open the locked door to the classroom and enter together with them to begin the class. Students were observed to arrive late and not go through the apologies and excuses that the Japanese students produced.

The fact that the lessons began in this manner reflects the cultural trait of individualist societies that confrontation in learning situations can be salutary as opposed to an emphasis on group harmony (Hofstede 1986). Clocks were not present in the Finnish classrooms which, along with the afore-mentioned characteristics suggests that the teachers' attitudes toward promptness was not as strict as in Japan. As the teachers began talking, the students settled down and began studying. This, in Japan, would be considered confrontational and can be seen as reflecting the individualist culture of Finland.

The Finnish teachers who participated in the study were involved in various forms of in-service and further education. This is another point that fits into Hofstede's (1986) classification of individualist societies: one is never too old to learn. For the Finnish English teachers, this took many forms. Some of the teachers were enrolled in graduate studies. Others saw travel abroad as a way to practice and enhance their language skills. Some were involved in friendship societies with English-speaking countries.

Hofstede (1986) states that in individualist cultures, face-consciousness is weak while in collectivist cultures face-consciousness is strong. This could be seen in the way in which the Finnish teachers would open the floor during the lessons and allow free talking and learner-centered activities. Students could clarify instructions by asking the teacher questions without committing a face-threatening act. It could also be seen in the teachers' attitude toward the late students who did not appear to commit any social gaffe by not being on time. However, the teachers were careful not to commit face-threatening acts which could damage learner confidence. An example: when I videotaped a lesson, there were two students in one of the classes who expressed concern to the teacher that they could not speak English well and were apprehensive about being videotaped.

After the lesson the teacher remarked:

> "Those two girls in the traditional costumes, they are gypsies. They were nervous about you videotaping today because they can't speak English so well. I told them to pretend that they can speak while doing pair-work and you (the researcher) wouldn't know the difference and it wouldn't show on the tape."

(Finnish Teacher Informant 2)

The Finnish English teacher told them to pretend they could speak while doing pair-work to protect their 'face'. So, although face-consciousness was markedly weaker in Finland, nobody wanted to be made a fool of in either country and steps were taken in the English classes of both countries to ensure this.

In individualist societies, education is a way of improving one's economic worth and self-respect based on ability and competence-importance (Hofstede 1986). The Finnish teachers did not talk in terms of which schools they hoped their learners would study in after they finished junior high school, a topic embraced by the teachers in Japan. Instead, they normally talked in terms of ability and competence. The Finnish informants remarked:

> "That student is good in English and also good in music. Perhaps there is a correlation between the two subjects in terms of being gifted."

> (Finnish Teacher Informant 2)

Or,

> "The student that was in the front row, her dad is American and she can speak fluent English."

> (Finnish Teacher Informant 2)

The teacher mentioned fluent without mentioning test performance or future possibilities. This suggests an attitude that competence and ability are held in high esteem and that traits can be found in the setting that could be seen to correspond to the classifications Hofstede relates to individualist societies.

The Finnish teachers did not display graduation certificates and the training that they received was more important in their minds than the certificate that they received. They were proud to have completed their university Master's degrees, so, in this sense, what the certificate represented was important.

All in all, the afore-mentioned traits contribute to the perception that the educational culture in Finland has many traits that are associated with those of an individualist culture.

6.2.1.2 Teacher Attitudes Related To Collectivism

The Japanese setting tended to yield traits which could be interpreted as collectivism within the educational culture. To begin with, the collectivist feature of positive connotations in society with whatever is rooted in tradition (Hofstede 1980; 1986; 1991) could be inferred from the Japanese teachers' comments. They expressed explicitly and implicitly conservative opinions about the upbringing of their pupils. Virtually all of the teachers interviewed articulated that if their teaching methods moved toward more communication in the classroom, the students' performance on the critical entrance tests might suffer. One could further argue that the Japanese English teachers exhibit a general feature of collectivist societies when they prefer traditional Japanese grammar-translation and structural methods which concentrate on vocabulary and syntax over newer methods which stress communication and the real-life use of the language forms. However, there is another reason why grammar drilling is a primary method in the Japanese classroom: the entrance test which

plays such an important part in the students' lives is very important and the curriculum and classroom teaching should support the goal of passing the examination (Yalden 1987; Redfield 1992). This suggests that there may be conflicting goals between the new communicative curriculum and the entrance tests at the moment in the Japanese schools and one should not ascribe tradition alone as the reason Japanese English teachers teach the way they do. As one Japanese teacher informant put it:

> "On the one hand the grammar forms and vocabulary that are on the entrance test must be covered and on the other hand the new curriculum emphasizes communication. There is only so much class time. It is a paradox."

> (Japanese English Professor Informant 1)

This illustrates how the curriculum puts pressure on the teachers to pursue two not necessarily compatible goals at the same time. This, in many cases, leads Japanese English teachers to feel as if they 'have the weight of the world' or at least the curriculum on their shoulders. Since they are members of a collective society, the importance of tradition weighs heavy and renders many of the teachers unwilling to embrace the newer methods and communicative requirements.

When the Japanese English teacher enters the classroom, the waiting students stand, bow and greet the teacher in a formal, traditional greeting which the teachers expect and encourage among the students. This establishes the role of the teacher and the role of the student from the time the class begins. Class ends in the same manner, with a formal greeting based on tradition. Thus, the strict attitude toward time and formal beginnings and endings are conveyed to the students. This may be a reason the clocks were located in the front of the classroom in every Japanese school that I visited in the country.

The traditional emphasis on time is important throughout Japanese history. Originally adopted from China, hours lasted 120 minutes and were carefully measured in the Imperial court by a water clock. During the Edo Period (1603-1867), non-standard time was measured by common people from sunrise till sunset (Miner, Odagiri and Morrell 1985: 399-405). Respect for time is an attitude which the teachers instill in the students both directly and indirectly. During the two years that I taught in Japan, on very rare occasions did I observe students who were late for class and when this occurred, they always had a good reason. Because of the teachers' attitude toward promptness, students were required to be in class on time. It also reflected the collective cultural trait that formal harmony should be maintained at all times (Hofstede 1986).

In Japanese schools, virtually all teachers supervise extra-curricular activities. As one Japanese informant said:

> "Club activities take time from my lesson planning and classroom duties and I often work during weekends and vacation. It is unavoidable"

> (Japanese Teacher Informant 2)

The concept of uncompensated overtime is accepted because it is tradition. Another tradition the teachers observe is that they rarely take the 20-day vacation they are due each year by contract. CLAIR (1992) puts forth the explanation that the reason they do not take so much time off is because 'nobody else does'. In response to the question, "Why don't you take more than a few days off a year". One teacher responded:

> "I can't take so much time off because I must be at school to supervise club activities."
>
> (Japanese Teacher Informant 3)

This attitude again is rooted in tradition and demonstrates that maintaining formal harmony by not insisting on a lot of vacation plays a role in the amount of unpaid work that teachers do in Japan. In the Finnish educational culture, the teachers expected to have vacations and be compensated for overtime and extra work. Naturally, this attitude is also rooted in Finnish tradition which suggests that in some aspects they are also traditional.

The Japanese teachers wanted to maintain their traditions but they were also interested in new innovations. One teacher used popular movies on video in class to motivate the students. He stated:

> "I think using videos is interesting for the students"
>
> (Japanese Teacher Informant 1)

This illustrates that Japanese teachers did not rely entirely on tradition but were willing to adopt new methods and technologies within the educational culture that was studied.

According to Hofstede (1980; 1986;1991), in collectivist societies, the young should learn and adults cannot accept student roles. Of the Japanese teachers that participated in the study, many were pursuing additional certification through distance learning. This was done because teachers are required to have multiple certification in elementary and secondary education in order to be eligible to be promoted to higher administrative positions such as principal. Others did various forms of classroom research that were presented at local research meetings or *happyokai* (Kitazume 1992). However, some teachers refused to go to in-service training meetings where communication techniques through team-teaching were taught. Wada (1992) states that teachers cannot be required to attend in-service training and must want to participate. The fact that some teachers indeed will not accept the role of students is an indication that Japan is a collectivist society in Hofstede's (1980; 1986; 1991) classification.

It seemed, however, that both the Japanese and the Finnish teachers were involved in various forms of in-service and further education. In addition to pursuing outside education, Japanese teachers were occupied with a multitude of work-related responsibilities. It has already been stated that taking lessons is a characteristic of Japanese culture. So, this category of Hofstede's is, in my

mind, problematic in regard to assessing teacher attitudes for the present study. Of course, the classifications are put forth as tendencies rather that cut-and-dry categories and should not be expected to fit all phenomena in all settings. This suggests that establishing mutually exclusive categories and classifying human behaviors should not be approached from a black and white perspective where all factors must fit into neat pre-determined categories. Instead, they should approached by identifying general tendencies, cycles or dimensions which appear to form patterns within the data.

Another collectivist feature which Hofstede (1980;1986; 1991) suggests is that individual students usually only speak up in class when called upon personally by the teacher. This is a relevant point for this study because whether the teacher allows students to speak up in class or not could indicate tendencies toward individualist or collectivist attitudes. Japanese teachers generally maintained a high degree of control in the classrooms of the educational culture studied. So, they could be seen as having collectivist attitudes in this regard, whereas Finns, as already stated, tended to usually exhibit individualist traits by often relinquishing or not maintaining tight control of the floor during their lessons.

In a collectivist society, individuals have a tendency to only speak up in small groups (Hofstede 1986). This could be seen at times in the Japanese teacher's way of commenting or complaining about aspects of the system. In small groups they would sometimes make comments or criticize various aspects of the system or factors within the specific educational culture, for example, students, other teachers, bosses, the textbooks or the testing system. However, in larger groups they tended to be more reserved in their statements. Of course, most individuals would be careful in making negative comments about colleagues or bosses in large groups, but in some cultures, individuals may tend to loudly criticize the 'system' in larger groups. Again, this tendency could suggests that the Japanese educational culture tended to reflect collectivist society traits.

Hofstede (1986) states that a feature of collectivist societies is that neither the teacher nor any student should ever be made to lose face. This could be seen in the Japanese teachers' attitude toward classroom management. English lessons were structured in such a manner that the students could not ask the teacher questions without first being called upon. This meant that it would be difficult for them to ask the teacher a question which the teacher could not answer, which would be a face-threatening act. The classrooms were managed so that the students' and teacher's face would be protected. When the traditional classroom management style was changed for team-taught lessons, this sometimes led to disaster. On one occasion, a student did not understand the instructions for a communication game and caused his team to break down because of his failure to understand and failure to know how to ask for clarifications in the new situation. This caused the student to lose face and start crying. This caused both of the teachers to feel bad because they had caused the learner to lose face, which, I suppose, made the teachers feel as if they had lost face because they had not explained the new activity properly. The point is that in lessons with regular structured classroom management techniques, such a

situation is less likely to occur and all of the participants' faces will be protected.

In Japan, education tends to be a way of gaining prestige in one's social environment and of joining a higher status group. This is characteristic of a collectivist society (Hofstede 1986). This could be seen in the Japanese teachers' attitudes toward the importance of the senior high school entrance test and pride in getting students into the 'best high school'. As one teacher stated:

"Midori is a very good student. She got into Takasaki Girl's High School."

(Japanese Teacher Informant 4)

It could also be seen in the concern they demonstrated for students who were not doing so well. They would most often talk of poor students in terms of concern over which high school they would attend. As one teacher stated:

"He has not been studying. I don't know what high school he'll get into."

(Japanese Teacher Informant 2)

Japanese teachers put great emphasis on which schools students get into and used it as a way of ranking the students in society. This is common in Japan and the students who attend the best schools are more or less assured of getting the best jobs (Reischauer 1978; van Wolferen 1989). This aspect of society in Japan is virtually unquestioned and it is perpetuated by the mass media and many aspects of the society.

According to Hofstede, diploma certificates are important and often displayed on walls in collectivist cultures and have little or no symbolic value in individualist cultures (Hofstede 1986). In Japan, there are certificates for everything from sporting events and speech contests to scholarships given out at school ceremonies in Japan. Therefore, it is safe to say that this aspect of collectivist societies applies to the educational culture in Japan.

In collectivist societies, acquiring certificates, even through illegal means, such as cheating or corruption, is more important than acquiring competence (Hofstede 1986). Generally speaking, the Japanese teachers had negative attitudes toward corruption and anything illegal, but they clearly valued the acquisition of certificates. It can be said, therefore, that this tendency applied to some extent, although not fully, to the educational culture studied.

Hofstede (1986) states that teachers in collectivist societies are expected to give preferential treatment to some students based on ethnic affiliation or on recommendation by an influential person, whereas in individualist societies, teachers are expected to be strictly impartial. Teachers in both Finland and Japan were expected to be impartial. In Finland, this did not seem to be a problem, but in Japan, where gift giving is an integral part of social interaction, this sometimes presents a dilemma. Gifts from students may be perceived as bribes. So, in the schools that were studied, teachers were expected to refuse

gifts from parents and they expressed this attitude explicitly as well as demonstrating it in their practices.

The last category associated with collectivist and individualist features according to Hofstede (1980; 1986; 1990) is whether large classes split socially into smaller, cohesive subgroups based on particular criteria, for example ethnic affiliation as they should in collectivist societies or whether they break into sub-groupings which vary from one situation to the next based on one universalist criteria, for example, the task at hand. This classification was difficult to apply to the attitudes of the teachers in this study because both settings that were studied had basically homogeneous classrooms. The Japanese teachers did encourage the students to form groups but ethnic affiliation had little to do with the criteria for selection because there were no ethnic groups in the setting studied, all of the students being Japanese. There were no Korean, Chinese, Burakumin or other ethnic minorities or sub-groups present. Groups were divided according to classes (first year first group, second year second group, etc.), hobby clubs (baseball, brass band, tennis, etc.), lunch group (six students whose desks were located close to each other) and other sub-groupings. Still, the absence of ethnic groups makes it difficult for me to assign meaning to this trait based on Hofstede's classifications.

As a conclusion, it seems safe to say that the attitudes of teachers in Japan exhibited many collectivist tendencies in the educational culture that was chosen as the setting for this study.

6.2.2.1 Teacher Attitudes Related To The Weak Power Distance Dimension

Power distance in societies pertains to the degree in which the less powerful in a society accept inequality as being normal within their social situations. In societies with small or weak power distance, there is less acceptance of inequality in power than in societies with large power distance tendencies. The teachers' attitudes in the educational culture that was examined in Finland showed evidence of weak power distance tendencies.

In small power distance societies, there is a stress on impersonal 'truth' which can, in principle, be obtained from any competent person, while in large power distance societies, the stress is on personal 'wisdom' which is handed down in the relationship with a particular teacher who acts as a 'guru' (Hofstede 1980, 1986; 1991). The Finnish teachers' attitudes toward cultivating learner autonomy suggests their emphasis on the principle that any person can achieve competence by themselves through more or less independent study. As one informant stated:

> "When the students begin here (at junior high school), they don't usually work by themselves very well. We train them to work in pairs or by themselves. By the third year, we can tell them to pick activities from the book with their partner and they do it."

(Finnish Teacher Informant 4)

This type of attitude in the teachers suggests that they feel that students can act as their own 'teachers' which can be interpreted as a clear indication of weak power distance in the society.

The preceding example can also be put forth as an illustration of the fact that in the Finnish setting studied, as a weak power distance educational culture, teachers respect the independence of learners while in a strong power distance society a teacher merits the respect of learners (Hofstede 1980; 1986; 1991). Finnish teachers demonstrated their attitudes toward this by encouraging their students to work independently. Students were observed in some lessons to select which exercises to do from the workbooks or from handouts that were prepared and placed on a table in the back of the classroom. In the language laboratory, teachers encouraged independence by letting the students select their own activities. In Hofstede's (1980; 1986; 1991) words, teachers 'encourage and expect students to find their own paths'. The promotion of learner autonomy in Finnish English classes is associated with weak power distance societies which emphasize student-centered education and place a premium on initiative (Hofstede 1980; 1986; 1991). The Finnish teachers encouraged and expected their students to initiate communication. Students were observed to speak up spontaneously in class and introduce topics such as jokes or comments without being recognized by the teacher.

The learner-centered classroom and the attitudes of the teachers also reflected the weak power distance characteristic that the effectiveness of learning is related to the amount of two-way communication in class. Finnish English teachers would make comments while going to classes that I was observing about whether the class was talkative, which was seen as good, or quiet, which was seen as a negative factor. Sometimes the teacher would comment that a class that was usually quiet had been talkative because of my presence or, conversely, they had become quiet because of an outside observer.

The weak power distance feature that younger teachers are more liked than older teachers was not clearly exhibited by the Finns or put forth in the opinions of the Finnish teachers. In a different school system, a junior high school boy said to a young teacher trainee acting as a substitute:

"Pity the other one (older teacher) isn't here. She is so much better than you."

(Finnish Professor Informant 1)

This illustrates the before-mentioned assumption that no culture fits completely into the categories put forth. This incident also suggests that in some circumstances the students are allowed, or at least feel free to criticize teachers - the kind of behavior that would not be tolerated by cultures with tendencies toward large power distance such as Japan. I did observe examples in Japan of students speaking out and talking while the teacher was talking. Such behavior was always met by a strict reprimand from the teacher suggesting a different perception of such actions on the part of the teacher.

In weak power distance societies, teachers are treated as equals outside of class. In the cafeteria during lunch, Finnish junior high school students were

observed to joke with their teachers. To assign the term 'equal' to the interaction is problematic because there seems to be some distance between students and teachers, whether caused by differences in age or experience. However, the students did have a relaxed interaction style with their teachers, which leads one to the conclusion that this category applies to the educational culture in Finland.

The weak power distance characteristic that in teacher/student conflicts parents are expected to side with the student was not clearly exhibited in the Finnish schools studied nor was it discussed by the teachers. The teachers' involvement in the personal lives of the students in Finland was markedly less than in Japan, suggesting that they had less responsibility for their students outside school hours.

6.2.2.2 Teacher Attitudes Related To The Strong Power Distance Dimension

In contrast to the Finnish teachers, the Japanese teachers tended to foster learner dependence in their classroom management techniques. They directed the activities of their students almost without exception, thus meriting the respect of their students. Teacher-centered classrooms can be cited as reflecting the collectivist tendency toward the attitude that order is important. Japanese students expected their teachers to initiate communication and teachers did not generally encourage their students to speak up in class. Students could usually speak up in class only when invited by the teacher. Learner autonomy was not generally promoted in English class and students expected teachers to outline paths for them to follow. This suggests that teacher attitudes reflected many strong power distance characteristics.

In Japan, the effectiveness of learning appeared to be associated with the excellence of the teacher which is a strong power distance characteristic (Hofstede 1980; 1986; 1991). When one of my students who I had coached won a speech contest, a Japanese teacher colleague said to me:

> "She won the contest. You are a very good teacher."

> (Japanese Teacher Informant 4)

This suggested that the effectiveness of learning was associated with the teacher rather than the hard work of the student.

In Japan, respect for teachers was observed also to be shown outside class. This suggests strong power distance within the educational culture. An example of this happened in a restaurant where I was sitting with some Japanese friends one evening. One of my colleagues, an English teacher who had taught my friends 10-15 years earlier, entered the establishment. My friends, former students now in their 30's, stood and bowed very low to the teacher and thanked him for teaching them English and bought the teacher drinks and told him repeatedly how great he was. Of course, this particular teacher was older, spoke excellent English and was a really good teacher. But I

have never seen Finns show so much respect to a teacher outside of, or even in, the classroom.

This also relates to the strong power distance trait that older teachers are more respected than younger teachers (Hofstede 1980; 1986; 1991). In Japan, I observed that older teachers were generally more respected than younger ones so this classification seems to apply there.

In strong power distance societies, in teacher/student conflicts, parents are expected to side with the teacher and teachers are seen as experts. In Japan, this could be seen in the responsibility for discipline the teachers assumed for their students. However, teachers stated that parents did not want communication taught in English classes because of the negative effect it might have on their success in entrance examinations. So, in this incidence, parents did not necessarily subscribe to the views of the teachers or, at least, parents did have some influence on expert teachers. Another case of parents not siding with the 'expert' teachers was seen when some of the students needed special education because of learning disabilities. In several cases, parents refused to admit that their child had a problem and refused to put the child in a special class despite teacher recommendations. So, even though Japan tended to exhibit many strong power distance tendencies in regard to disciplinary conflicts, it was apparent that parents did not always side with the teachers or see them completely as experts who are always right.

Students are generally not supposed to criticize their teachers in Japan. However, some of the students used indirect criticism toward certain teachers. For example, while I was helping a group of students clean as is the tradition in Japan, one of the students asked me if I liked one of the Japanese teachers. I said that I did and the students replied, "really?" and the group started laughing, indicating that they took my answer as a joke or that they wished to express their own dislike for the teacher. However, this kind of criticism was mild compared with the Finnish student's direct outburst at his teacher.

In conclusion, the Finnish teachers tended to exhibit and state attitudes that suggested that they held many weak power distance values in high esteem. Japanese teachers, by contrast, generally reflected more strong power distance tendencies.

6.2.3.1 Teacher Attitudes Related To Weak Uncertainty Avoidance

According to Hofstede (1980; 1986; 1991), in weak uncertainty avoidance societies, students tend to feel comfortable in unstructured learning situations with vague objectives and appreciate broad assignments with no timetables. The Finnish teachers who were interviewed were much more comfortable in lessons where they relinquished control of the floor to the learners who did various activities with limited direct supervision from the teacher. Students and teachers both, much more than in Japan, appeared to feel comfortable in less structured learning situations. However, the Finnish teachers conveyed that they did have particular goals for their lessons and their learners. Therefore, Hofstede's classification tended to correspond to only certain aspects of the Finnish educational culture that was studied.

Teachers are allowed to say "I don't know" in weak uncertainty avoidance societies. The teachers in the Finnish setting structured their lessons in a more open format which could have led to the situation where a student could ask a question which the teacher could not answer. Once while I was observing a lesson, a student asked the teacher a question and the teacher replied:

"I don't know. Why don't you ask Mike?"

(Finnish Teacher Informant 5)

Clearly, the teacher was not embarrassed to acknowledge that she did not know the answer, which is an indication of weak uncertainty avoidance.

In weak uncertainty avoidance cultures, a good teacher uses plain language and in strong uncertainty avoidance societies a good teacher uses academic language. In both Finland and Japan, junior high school English teachers tended to use native language technical terms to teach new grammatical points. Otherwise, they used regular spoken language when interacting with their students. Teachers in the two countries seemed to fall into the plain language category, unless discussing academic topics for which they used academic language.

Students are rewarded for innovative approaches to problem solving in weak uncertainty avoidance societies while students are rewarded for accuracy in problem solving in strong uncertainty avoidance societies. This cultural factor has a major influence on teaching and learning languages across cultures. In Finland, the emphasis on communication in English lessons with pair-work and problem solving activities reflects the teachers' orientation toward problem solving rather than accuracy. The absence of major external tests from the beginning of study until the end of senior secondary school, or *lukio,* must influence this attitude.

In weak uncertainty avoidance societies, teachers are expected to suppress emotions and so are students. In Finland, I did not see an emotional outburst on the part of the teachers or the students. This suggests that they were expected to control their emotions. Intellectual disagreement was expressed while I was interviewing the teachers about various aspects of the Finnish foreign language education system. It was not uncommon for the teachers to clarify, politely, the vague points in each other's opinions regarding the education system.

6.2.3.2 Teacher Attitudes Related To Strong Uncertainty Avoidance

In strong uncertainty avoidance societies, students feel comfortable in structured learning situations with precise objectives, detailed assignments and strict timetables. This classification can be applied to Japan. Japanese teachers in the setting kept their lessons very structured. The objectives of the lessons, the assignments and the timetables which the Japanese teachers kept to demonstrated this attitude among them. In fact, in some cases, team-taught

classes focusing on communication were canceled so that the third-year students could stick to their timetables and not get behind.

In Japan, lessons were structured to stick close to the textbook so that teachers would not be put in a situation where they did not know an answer. This factor is influential in foreign language education because if the society expects teachers to 'know all the answers', as is the case in Japan, relinquishing control of the floor and opening oneself up for questions which one might not be able to answer must seem daunting for the Japanese English teacher.

Unlike in Finland, the Japanese English educational culture studied tended to emphasize accuracy much more than problem solving. Students learned grammar points from the beginning of their course of study. Grammar took precedence over communication because of the senior high school and university entrance examinations where accuracy is by nature the most important factor (Shimaoka and Yashiro 1990: 10-12). The teachers' attitudes had a tendency to reflect this.

In weak uncertainty avoidance cultures, teachers listen to parents' ideas. In contrast, strong uncertainty avoidance societies have teachers that consider themselves experts who cannot learn anything from lay parents and parents agree' (Hofstede 1986: 314). Generally, Finnish teachers did not consider themselves above 'lay parents'. In Japan, teachers to some extent held the opinion that they were the experts in education. However, parent participation regarding pertinent issues such as the entrance examination and the curriculum showed that parents' views were listened to and accommodated as needed. Parent-Teacher Associations were also active in all of the Japanese schools that were studied. Therefore, I found this category problematic. Japanese teachers leaned more toward the strong uncertainty avoidance trait, but did not fit completely into it.

In strong uncertainty avoidance societies, teachers are allowed to behave emotionally and so are students. When I left Japan after teaching for two years, some of my Japanese colleagues and students were at the point of tears. Some cried. It was acceptable and perhaps even expected. They were allowed to show their emotions in public, much more so than their Finnish counterparts. Another incidence where this was apparent was at the junior high school graduation ceremony where many a tear was shed because it marked the transition from the carefree life of the junior high school into the stressful life of the high school or life. This could be interpreted as basically the true end of childhood in Japanese culture. The ceremony was quite emotional and the teachers and students showed this openly. This suggests that Japan could be classified as a strong uncertainty avoidance society in this regard.

Teachers interpret intellectual disagreement as stimulating exercise in weak uncertainty avoidance societies while in strong uncertainty avoidance societies, teachers interpret intellectual disagreement as personal disloyalty. In Japanese classrooms, students did not challenge the ideas of the teacher, which indicates strong uncertainty avoidance.

In conclusion, although both strong and weak uncertainty avoidance traits were found in both educational cultures studied, the Finnish teachers tended to exhibit more weak uncertainty avoidance characteristics, whereas their

Japanese counterparts tended to reflect more strong uncertainty avoidance characteristics.

6.2.4.1 Teacher Attitudes Related To The Femininity Dimension

Finland and Japan both exhibited femininity in their culture through the attitudes of the teachers interviewed. Concrete classification based on tendencies put forth in Hofstede's (1980; 1986; 1991) model is more problematic with this aspect than with the other three previously discussed.

Teachers use average students as the norm in feminine societies and use the best students as the norm in masculine societies. In Japan, the average was what governed the class, not the exceptional student. In English classes in the educational culture that was studied in Japan, activities were designed for the 'normal' student and not the best or worst student in the class. Classes were not streamlined according to ability. By the third year, there were some students in the class that had a good grasp of the subject, while others knew absolutely nothing. Still others may have had a the potential to learn more of the language and were being held back by slower learning students. In Finland, the situation was more or less the same. Although there was some experimentation with streamlining one of the schools in the educational culture that was studied, the classes were generally structured so that students were in a class together regardless of their ability.

In societies with a feminine culture, the system rewards students' social adaptation while in masculine cultures the system rewards students' academic performance. This is a bit problematic when examining teacher attitudes in Finland and Japan in the two specific educational cultures. In Japanese junior high schools, social adaptation was held in high esteem and was basically enforced through dress codes which dictated what the students wore, how they cut their hair and what kinds of socks and T-shirt the students wore. Depending on the attitudes of the teachers, these codes were enforced more in some schools than in others. In one of the schools where I taught in Japan, students who did not wear a plain white T-shirt under their school uniforms had to run laps around the athletic field of the school as punishment. Problems also arose when some of the students wore 'Frankenstein socks' which were banned in favor of plain white socks. This forced adaptation was normal and the students knew the rules. When they went against them it was a form of rebellion.

The Finnish teachers did not express a great deal of concern about the students who study for an extra year in junior high school in order to improve their grades or wait until they decide what to do as their next step in life. This indicated that failure in school was not looked upon by the teachers as such a negative manifestation. On this point, Finland showed more feminine cultural characteristics while Japan, where failure in school amounts to failure in life, had a tendency to reflect more masculine cultural characteristics.

In feminine societies, students practice mutual solidarity and in masculine cultures students compete with each other in class (Hofstede 1980; 1986; 1991). The Japanese students were extremely cohesive and the attitudes of the teachers

encouraged this. Students wore the number of their class or *kumi* on their uniforms. For example, students in the second year class third group would wear a '2-3' on their name tag which was either pinned or sewn onto their uniform. This identified them with their group in and out of school. This also promoted mutual solidarity among the students. Teachers often gave the students group tasks such as cleaning the school or organizing parts of school events. Finnish students are divided into groups in similar fashion, although they do not wear any visible markings.

This ties into the feminine characteristic of students trying to behave modestly and the masculine characteristic of students trying to make themselves visible in class. Because of the Japanese teachers' attitudes which they strongly conveyed to the students, they behaved modestly in class. On this aspect, the Japanese setting seemed to have more feminine cultural tendencies.

In both Finland and Japan, corporal punishment was illegal. The Finnish teachers severely rejected it. I have heard that corporal punishment is sometimes used in Japan, despite the ban. This suggests that Finland exhibits more feminine characteristics in this regard, since, according to Hofstede's classifications, feminine cultures reject corporal punishment.

6.2.4.2 Teacher Attitudes Related To The Masculinity Dimension

In feminine societies, teachers avoid openly praising students while in masculine societies, teachers praise good students (Hofstede 1986). In both Finland and Japan, teachers pointed out good students to me in and out of the classroom. In Garant (1995b), I point to classroom discourse examples of Finnish teachers exhibiting this feature. However, Japanese teachers were also keen to praise good students. Therefore, in regard to this category, both Japan and Finland would be classified as masculine societies.

The Finnish teachers did not seem to enforce any kind of social adaptation on the students that they taught. Students were allowed to dress the way they wanted, even to wear hats inside the classroom, which suggested the teachers were tolerant of diversity in the students. Of course, wearing hats inside the classroom is a form of social adaptation on the part of the students: they were conforming to their own dress codes. However, I found that the attitudes of the teachers reflected a higher esteem for academic performance than social adaptation. Therefore, teacher attitudes in Finland in regard to this point suggested that the country was more masculine than Japan.

A student's failure in school is a relatively minor accident in feminine societies while in masculine societies a student's failure in school is a severe blow to his or her self-image and may in extreme cases lead to suicide (Hofstede 1986). Recent trends have linked bullying in the schools to suicide in Japan (Japan Times 1996). However, failure in school, especially failure on entrance examinations is believed by many Japanese teachers to be a factor in the high suicide rate of the country. In Finland, the suicide rate is high but it is not

prevalent in the 15-24 age bracket (Passin 1965: 112, Ueno 1993)[17]. In Japan, the word *ronin* is used to describe students who have failed their university entrance examination to university. Traditionally, the word applied to samurai warriors who did not have a lord. It is not uncommon for Japanese learners attempting to gain entrance into the more prestigious universities to fail several times. Thus the term one-time failure or *ichi ro,* two-time failure or *ni ro* and so on have been incorporated into the language according to the teachers interviewed. The existence of this terminology suggests that although failure is regarded as something to be ashamed of, it is a common enough occurrence to have words coined to describe it. No such terms regarding exam failure exist in Finnish which suggests that failing academically is not such a severe blow to the student's self-image. Therefore, these traits could suggest that the Finnish educational culture reflected a more feminine tendencies and the Japanese culture reflected more masculine traits.

Japanese students competed for the best grades. In Finland, students would compete openly for the floor during the English lessons by calling attention to themselves by talking loud, standing up and fidgeting. This was in part because of the student-centered methods the teachers employed. This ties into the feminine characteristic of students trying to behave modestly and the masculine characteristic of students trying to make themselves visible in class. Because the Japanese teachers generally would not tolerate disturbances, students behaved modestly in class. In contrast, the Finnish teachers encouraged their students to be more visible in class. So, on these two points, Finland would be classified as a more masculine culture while Japan would be classified as a more feminine culture. Grade competition was the opposite. If considering this aspect, the two countries would yield opposite results.

The Chinese Culture Connection (1987) found a great deal of overlap in regard to the masculinity and femininity dimensions in their study. The present study appears to have found similar results. Perhaps a certain degree of overlap should be expected regarding this dimension when applying it to East Asian cultures. Unlike the other dimensions put forth in Chapter Two, the data yields no evidence that either the Finnish or Japanese educational cultures studied can be classified as strictly masculine or feminine.

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[17] Fortunately, no student or teacher in either setting committed suicide so this study will not address the subject. Interestingly, Finland and Japan have been known for their high suicide rates. They will be mentioned here for the reader's information. In 1994, 27.1 out of every 100,000 inhabitants (1387 people: 1080 men and 307 women) committed suicide in Finland making it the 7th leading cause of death (Statistics Finland 1996). In 1991, 16.1 out of every 100,000 inhabitants (19875 people: 12477 men and 7398 men) committed suicide in Japan making it the 6th leading cause of death. In addition, suicide broken down according to age in Japan follows: 5-14 year-olds 22 Males 14 Females; 15-24 year-olds 891 Males Females; 25-34 year-olds 1419 Males 637 Females; 25-44 year-olds 2146 Males 876 Females; 45-54 year-olds 2789 Males 1163 Females; 55-64 year-olds 2500 Males 1277 Females; 65-74 year-olds 1279 Males 1284 Females; Over 75 year-olds 1354 Males 1687 Females (Statistics Bureau 1993/94: 663). Suicide rates of under 25 year olds are only about 11% of the total cases in 1991. Incidentally, the suicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants for the US was 12.4 in 1991, 8.0 for the UK in 1992 and 17.5 for Germany and 20.2 for France in 1991 (Keizaikoho 1996: 106).

6.3 Summary

This chapter has discussed teacher and learner attitudes in the specific Japanese and Finnish educational cultures that were studied with a special emphasis on perceptions of English as a foreign language teaching and learning.

The following tables focus on examples from this chapter which illustrate items from adapted from Hofstede's list in the context of Finnish and Japanese learner and teacher attitudes.

TABLE 6.6 Differences In Finnish And Japanese Learner And Teacher Attitudes Related To The Individualism Versus Collectivism Dimension Suggesting Differences

Individualist Societies	Collectivist Societies
Finland	Japan
Teachers fully integrate 'new' teaching methods	Teachers basically use traditional teaching methods
Teachers and students enter the lessons together and begin and lessons in an informal manner that is not traditional	Teachers and students begin and end lessons with traditional formal openings and closings
Teachers participate in various forms of adult education	Some teachers refuse in-service training
Learner-centered methods open the door to confrontation in learning situations	Teacher-centered teaching methods stress formal harmony in learning situations
Face-consciousness is weak; learner-centered methods made face-threatening acts more likely	Neither the teacher nor any student should ever be made to lose face; teacher-centered methods promote this
Diploma certificates are not given at ceremonies as often as in Japan	Diploma certificates are important and given at ceremonies

TABLE 6.7 Tendencies In Finnish And Japanese Learner And Teacher Attitudes Related To The Individualism Versus Collectivism Dimension Suggesting Similarities

Teachers are expected to be strictly impartial in both settings

Finnish and Japanese teachers expressed concern over their students' 'face'

Teachers enroll in various forms of education in both settings

Finnish teachers use some traditional methods; Japanese teachers use some new methods

The following is a summary of learner and teacher attitudes as they apply to the power distance dimension.

TABLE 6.8 Tendencies In Learner And Teacher Attitudes Related To The Power Distance Dimension Suggesting Differences

Small Power Distance Societies	Large Power Distance Societies
Finland	**Japan**
Most teachers think students should learn to learn by themselves	Mostly teacher-centered methodology
Promotion of learner-autonomy	Promotion of learner-dependence
Students usually work independently	Teacher usually directs student activity
Teachers expect students to initiate communication	Students expect teachers to initiate communication
Students sometimes choose their own activities	Teachers tell the students what activities to complete
Student can initiate interaction	Students speak up in class only when invited by the teacher
Two-way communication is seen as effective	Effectiveness of learning is related to the excellence of the teacher

TABLE 6.9 Tendencies In Finnish And Japanese Learner And Teacher Attitudes Related To The Power Distance Dimension Suggesting Similarities

Students sometimes criticized teachers; teachers were rarely contradicted or publicly criticized

Respect for teachers is related to the personal characteristics of the individual teacher

In addition, the uncertainty avoidance factor within cultures were applied to the attitudes of the learners and teachers. The following are specific examples of tendencies that were present in the educational culture related to this aspect.

TABLE 6.10 Tendencies In Learner And Teacher Attitudes Related To The Uncertainty Avoidance Dimension

Weak Uncertainty Avoidance Societies	Strong Uncertainty Avoidance Societies
Finland	Japan
Lessons are less structured	Lessons are very structured
Teachers sometimes say, "I don't know"	Teachers are expected to have all the answers
Teachers usually emphasize communication	Teachers usually emphasize grammar
Teachers and students show little emotion	Students and teachers are sometimes very emotional
Some intellectual disagreements are witnessed	No intellectual disagreements are witnessed

The final classification that was applied to the data related to masculinity and femininity within societies. The following are some examples that surfaced in the data. In the Japanese and Finnish educational cultures that were studied, a considerable amount of overlap related to masculinity and femininity was observed.

TABLE 6.11 Tendencies In Learner And Teacher Attitudes Related To The Masculinity Versus Femininity Dimension Suggesting Differences

Finland	Japan
Corporal punishment was severely rejected (Femininity)	Corporal punishment is sometimes used (Masculinity)
A student's failure in school is a relatively minor accident (Femininity)	A student's failure in school was more likely to be viewed as a severe blow to both the teachers' and students' self image (Masculinity)
Students made themselves visible during the lessons (Masculinity)	Students try to behave modestly during lessons (Femininity)
Students behaved as individuals; little emphasis on social adaptation (Masculinity)	Emphasis on social adaptation (Femininity)

TABLE 6.12 Tendencies In Learner And Teacher Attitudes Related To The Masculinity Versus Femininity Dimension Suggesting Similarities

Teachers use average students as the norm (Femininity), grades and ranking are important (Masculinity)

Students practice mutual solidarity (Femininity) and compete with each other in class (Masculinity)

It should be stressed that these categories, when reflecting group values, are only applicable to a point. When interviewing Finnish and Japanese teachers and learners, I did discover general characteristics related to Hofstede's (1986) classifications of cultural tendencies put for in the 4-D cultural model could be applied to many of the features found in the data.

However, the masculine and feminine classifications of culture are the most problematic when classifying teacher attitudes in Japan and Finland. My interpretation of the data suggests that in the junior high school environment, Japan has a number of feminine cultural tendencies which is similar to Finland. This is similar to other findings related to China (The Chinese Culture Connection 1987).

Cultural tendencies related to collectivism and individuality, power distance and uncertainty avoidance can be applied to the data in a more predictable manner. The Japanese teachers generally exhibited attitudes which reflect a collectivist society with strong power distance and uncertainty avoidance. Finnish teachers generally showed attitudes reflecting an individualist society with weak power distance and uncertainty avoidance. Some overlap was present also in the data which generally corresponds to Hofstede's (1980; 1986; 1991) claims.

7   CLASSROOM METHODS, ACTIVITIES AND TIMING

This chapter will examine differences and similarities between methods, activities and timing in the classrooms during regular and team-taught English lessons in Japan and English lessons in Finland. First, I will examine regular Japanese lessons and Japanese team-taught lessons, then Finnish grammar-oriented lessons and finally I will discuss Finnish communicative lessons. The purpose of this chapter is to present a picture of what actually takes place and what the teachers and learners do during English lessons in the two countries studied. Neither the Japanese nor the Finnish curriculum specify what methods teachers should use. It is therefore interesting to compare the classroom methods chosen by the teachers in the two settings. I believe that this form of examination will provide useful insights into English teaching and learning in the two countries. Timing was included to demonstrate how the lessons flow. It is essential for the study of classroom teaching methods in the two settings to be aware of what type and how many activities are used per lesson, and how long each section takes. Overall, first-hand knowledge of what takes place in the English language classrooms in the schools studied should provide important insights concerning the study of culture and language teaching.

7.1 Regular Japanese English Lessons

This section will examine regular Japanese English lessons that were videotaped at Kanra Number Three Junior High School. First, the actual content will be discussed from the participant observer's perspective. This will be followed by an analysis of the lessons in which the views of the Japanese English Teacher and the assistant English teacher will be incorporated.

Three regular English lessons in Japan were videotaped in the spring of 1993. The camera was aimed at the teacher and not at the students because there was only one camera available for the lesson. Unfortunately, no observed or model regular lessons were available for evaluation by this study as was the case with team-taught lessons. No special instructions were given for the taping or the lesson plans. The Japanese English teacher was told that the tapes were to be used to compare team-taught lessons and regular lessons. Afterwards, both the Japanese teacher and the assistant language teacher participated in the evaluation of the tapes.

Regular Lesson 1

The lesson plans for the regular lessons were determined by watching the video and noting what activities took place. The first lesson plan was:

> **Regular Lesson 1: Plan**
> Grade 8

Section 1	Greeting
Section 2	Review of material from previous lesson
Section 3	Textbooks
	-read-repeat
	-new words
	-read-repeat
	-translation
	Questions and Answers on textbook material
	Homework assignment
Section 4	Review of interrogatives
	-when, where, who, what, whose, which, how, why

Section 1
11:40-11:43

Greetings were basically the same in all of the regular lessons that were observed. The students were seated. The door opened and the teacher entered and said: "Who is on duty?". The on-duty student said: "Please stand up". The students stood up, bowed and said in unison: "Good morning, Mr. Kitazume." The teacher bowed and responded with: "Good morning, Class. How are you today?" The students bowed and responded: "Fine, thank you. And you?" The teacher responded, "Fine, thank you." Then, the on-duty student said: "Please sit down", and the class sat.

This was followed by questions from the teacher such as "How do you feel today?" to which the students responded with, for example, "I feel sleepy", "I feel happy". This appeared to give the students a choice in the way they answered and was not the same as some of the other Japanese English teachers' greetings, "How are you?", "I'm fine, thank you. And you?" The greeting

section closed with the Japanese English teacher eliciting responses in English from the students as to the day, date and weather.

Section 2
11:44-11:49

The review section consisted of the Japanese English teacher saying a sentence in Japanese and calling on students to translate it into English. The activity moved rather slowly as the Japanese English teacher only asked four questions. The Japanese English teacher then wrote 'Is there a TV?' on the blackboard and asked the question. There was a television in the front of the room near the blackboard. Students responded with either "Yes, there is" or "No, there isn't". This was followed by listen-and-repeat drills and then the question, "Are there any apples?" to which the students responded "yes" or "no". Then the students were asked to translate "There are not any apples" into Japanese.

Section 3
11:50-12:20

The textbook section of the lesson consisted of read-and-repeat drills, explanation of the key grammatical point, new vocabulary and translations from English into Japanese. What is striking is the amount of Japanese that was used during this part of the lesson: it was substantially more than in any of the team-taught lessons that were observed. Japanese was used to give explanations and instructions and for the translation exercises.

Another interesting observation was made during the 'question and answer' section which was used to reinforce the language and key grammatical points of the lesson. The Japanese English teacher elicited responses from the students with questions containing the names of local places and things. For example, he asked:

> "Are there two schools in Akihata?"
> "How many junior high schools are there?"
> "How many junior high schools are there in Kanra town?"

This provided a local context for the language that was being studied which was intended to make the lesson more 'communicative'. In addition, this information is not included in the textbook. So, the teacher was adding supplemental material. This was then followed by the Japanese English teacher giving sentences in English and having the students translate them into Japanese.

Section 4
12:20-12:25

The last five minutes of the lesson contained a review of Wh- question words. This, again, was done primarily in Japanese. The teacher would ask the students a question in Japanese and have them translate it into English.

When the lesson was over, the teacher said: "Who is on duty?" The on-duty student said: "Please stand up", and the class stood up. Then they bowed and said in unison, "Good-bye, Mr. Kitazume." The teacher bowed and responded: "Good-bye, class." The on-duty student said: "Please sit down", and the class sat. The teacher left the classroom while the students sat in perfect order.

Regular Lesson 2

The outline for the second videotaped lesson plan follows:

> **Regular Lesson 2: Plan**
> Grade 8
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Section 1 | Greeting |
> | Section 2 | Review |
> | | -translate from Japanese into English |
> | | -questions and answers in English |
> | Section 3 | Textbook |
> | | -model reading |
> | | -new words |
> | | -read-repeat |
> | | -translate |
> | | -key sentence |
> | | -read-repeat |

Section 1
8:40-8:43

The greeting consisted of the same 'rituals' that were observed in the other lessons.

Section 2
8:43-9:05

Following the greeting, the Japanese English teacher began to review the previous lesson by instructing the students to close their books and notebooks and giving them directions in Japanese to translate sentences. He then called on students to translate sentences from Japanese into English. Example sentences were, "There is a desk", "There is a desk in this room", "There are three desks in this room" and "Is there a desk in this room?" The teacher then tried to elicit English sentences from the students using Japanese. This met with limited success because the students appeared to be sleepy. Then the teacher

began to review "How many?" He gave an explanation in Japanese and then began to ask questions about the room using the construction, for example: "How many desks are in the room?" The question was repeated five times because the students would not respond to it. Then the Japanese English teacher began to elicit answers using English from the students who eventually answered with some coaching.

Section 3
9:05-9:25

The textbook was then covered in the traditional manner. During the new vocabulary section the Japanese English teacher went into critical pair drills for "word-world", the pronunciation of which is difficult for the Japanese speaker of English (Shimaoka and Yashiro, 1990:34-39). In addition, he provided cultural information by explaining the differences between the way Americans and Australians pronounce the letter 'a'. This material was not in the book which meant that the Japanese English teacher was providing supplemental material and cultural information. After that, read-repeat drills were introduced, followed by English-into-Japanese translation drills. The class ended with read-repeat drills. Takala (1997) suggests that this approach is heavily influenced by the Michigan method which was popular in the 1940s and 1950s in many Western countries.

When the lesson was over, the class performed the ritual closing described in the previous lesson.

Regular Lesson 3

The plan for the third videotaped lesson follows:

Regular lesson 3: Plan
Grade 8

Section 1	Greeting
Section 2	Review
	-translate from Japanese to English
	-read and translate previous lesson
Section 3	Textbook
	-model reading
	-new words
	-read-repeat-translate
	-read-repeat
	-questions and answers on the text
	-Japanese translation of the text

Section 1
10:40-10:43

The lesson contained the same ritual greeting as in the previously described lessons.

Section 2
10:44-11:01

The greeting was followed by a review of the material covered in the previous lesson and before. This was done in the form of Japanese-into-English translations. The Japanese English teacher covered the textbook material from team-taught lesson 3 in the form of read-repeat-translate drills.

Section 3
11:02-11:25

New material was covered in the usual manner through a model reading and explanation of new vocabulary, mostly in Japanese. Then, read-repeat-translate exercises were introduced. There were five sentences in the textbook. Of these, four were translated by the Japanese English teacher and one was translated by a student. This was done in the form of written translations on the blackboard. This was followed by more read-repeat exercises and questions and answers on the text.

When the lesson was over, the class did the same ritual closing as always.

7.1.1 Discussion

The observations made in this study, like any study based on observation, are clouded by the view of the observer. This is the paradoxical nature of the field of classroom observation (Fanslow 1977; Allwright 1988; Rees, 1992). Even so, I have attempted to concentrate on broad features that appeared in the lessons which any observer would take notice of when examining the methods, activities and timing. The lessons that are included in this section were also videotaped and can be viewed by others who wish to replicate this study.

The Japanese teacher commented that the videotapes might contain 'bad examples'. He probably meant that the lessons were not full of happy, smiling students speaking English in a cheerful manner. This would be an example of 'deference politeness', in other words, the teacher wishing to indicate a minimum of imposition should the tapes not be what I had in mind for the research project. This could also refer to the fact that they did not contain model lessons which may have been perceived as 'good examples'. 'Good examples' in this sense could mean '*tatemae*' or examples which are meant to be shown to outside observers. If that is the case, which it seems to be, the videos contain average, everyday English lessons which is what this paper sought to study.

TABLE 7.1 Summary Of Japanese Regular English Lessons

	Lesson 1	Lesson 2	Lesson 3
Section 1 Greeting	same	same	same
Section 2 Review	same	same	same
Section 3 Textbook	same*	same*	same*
Section 4	Review of Wh- words	N/A	N/A

*small variations in the order in which items were presented.

Basically, all of the lesson plans and activities corresponded to the traditional Japanese teaching procedure issued by Monbusho and discussed in the following section. This method is basically the traditional audio-lingual method of the 1980s.

Traditional Japanese Teaching Procedure (Example)

A. Greeting and Roll Call
B. Review
    1. Pattern Practice
    2. Reading
        a. Chorus Reading
        b. Individual Reading
C. Presentation of New Materials and Pattern Practice
D. Oral Introduction of the Story
E. Test Questions
F. Reading
    1. Reading new words (using flash cards)
    2. Reading the text
        a. Listening to tape-recorded text
        b. Chorus reading after the tape
        c. Chorus reading after the teacher
        d. Individual reading
G. Explanation in Japanese
H. Assignment of Homework

Source: CLAIR 1991: 5-6

One of the most striking points about all of the regular lessons that were observed was the similarity of the activities that were offered. In fact, the regular Japanese lessons that were observed were almost identical. When asked about this, the Japanese English teacher who planned and executed these lessons replied that he felt the textbook needed to be covered in order for the

students to pass their entrance examinations and to keep up with the syllabus that the school system used. This is the general feeling among the Japanese English teachers and is addressed in Cominos (1990), Tanigawa (1992), and Wada (1991). This feeling is difficult for the foreign professionals and some assistant language teachers working within the system to accept. However, it appeared to be the genuine feeling *(honne)* of not only the teacher who participated in the study but virtually all of the Japanese English teachers in the town.

Overall, the lessons moved slowly. When asked what he thought about the lessons, the Japanese English teacher commented:

> "The students looked bored. This could be because of the flu season or their mood."

> (Japanese Teacher Informant 1)

During 'flu season' it was not uncommon for most of the class to be sick on the same day. During the time I was conducting research in Japan, school was canceled or days were cut short on several occasions since more than fifty percent of the students were at home because of the flu.

Another reason for the 'bored-looking students' could be the redundancy of the activities on a day-to-day basis and an emphasis on translating within the lesson. The same basic lesson plan was repeated day after day, which could indeed become quite boring. In this particular school there was only one English teacher. In the other schools in the setting, Japanese English teachers indicated that they used the same methods as the teacher who was observed on the video tapes.

Wada (1991) cited Reischauer's (1988) criticism that the main stumbling block for change is the 50,000 Japanese English teachers who cannot speak English themselves. This was not the case in the school studied because the teacher was able to communicate in the language that was to be taught. The result of the discussions with the teacher and others in the town indicated that they preferred the method described in their normal lessons because they felt that it was effective for helping the students pass their senior high school and university entrance examinations.

The Japanese English teacher also commented that he thought he talked too much during the lesson. In fact, the instructions given during the lesson were quite long and often in Japanese.

Another comment made by the Japanese English teacher was that he thought he should have moved around more in the regular classroom. This indicated a perception that the classroom was too teacher-centered. By moving around the Japanese English teacher felt that he could keep the students more interested and keep the class going. However, in my mind, simply moving around the classroom does not make the lesson more learner-centered.

Ellis (1992), in the series he wrote for a major Japanese newspaper on English teaching, states that one form of classroom research is to tape several lessons and to measure the amount of the first language and second language

used in the classroom. His article suggested that this was an "easy form" of classroom research. However, timing the use of Japanese and English on the tapes in this study proved to be quite difficult. There were six hours of tapes with pauses, turn-taking between the teacher and students and other factors. Let it suffice to say that observing the videos made it clear that there was substantially more Japanese than English used in these classes. This was because of the number of grammar and translation exercises present which relates to the design of the textbooks discussed in Chapter Four. In the regular classroom, Japanese appeared to be the dominant language with English being used to answer questions or translate from Japanese.

These lessons do not contain games or game-like activities as did the team-taught lessons. The reason for this, according to the Japanese English teacher informant, is that the regular lessons are intended to cover the textbook while the team-taught lessons, which will be covered in the next section, are intended more to teach international topics and communication. The regular lessons are intended to teach the grammatical points that are in the textbook so the students can pass their examinations and move forward within the educational system. The Japanese English teacher acknowledged that covering only the textbook tended to *'be boring'*, but this did not appear to effect the plans of the regular lessons.

The comments on the non-team-taught lessons by the Japanese teacher informant were incomplete at best. In fact, the only direct comment made by the teacher was:

> "I tried to make a lot of activities but there were too many explanations."

> (Japanese Teacher Informant 1)

After viewing the videotapes and interviewing the Japanese teacher informant, several common characteristics of the regular Japanese English lesson clearly emerged.

These were:
(1) the lessons were very similar on a day-to-day basis;
(2) the main activities in the lessons were grammar and translation exercises;
(3) this was because the Japanese English teacher felt grammar and translation was an effective, if boring, method for covering the textbook;
(4) the amount of Japanese used in the classroom far exceeded the amount of English;
(5) the Japanese English teacher did not move around during the class; and
(6) the teacher talked most of the time during the class.

The points raised in this section of the study are worth investigating in relation to the team-taught lessons which will be addressed in the following section.

7.2 Japanese Team-Taught Lessons

Having discussed three regular Japanese English lessons in detail in the preceding section, the focus of this chapter will now shift to an examination of team-taught English lessons with a native-speaker assistant language teacher. The junior high school, the students and the Japanese English teacher were the same as those discussed in the previous section. This was intended to provide continuity.

Theoretically, lesson planning should be done by both the assistant language teacher and the Japanese English teacher on an equally-shared basis with both contributing to 50% of the content and 50% of the execution of the lesson (Wada 1990; Shimaoka and Yashiro 1990; Garant 1992b). The Japanese English teacher informant used in this study was selected in part because he consistently used this philosophy when planning team-taught lessons.

Teachers throughout the world tend to dislike being observed while they are teaching. It should come as no surprise that many Japanese teachers of English are not very pleased when they find they must work with a native speaker assistant language teacher. The fear of being judged can develop into an acute problem in working relationships between the two and can lead to a breakdown (Garant 1992a; Garant 1992b; Bay 1992). Fortunately, such problems did not arise during the course of my research.

This study deals with what may be deemed an ideal situation or at least one in which there is good cooperation between the Japanese English teacher and the native-speaker assistant language teacher. In the neighboring town, the assistant language teacher criticized the Japanese English teachers directly because of their teaching methods and English ability. This led to a breakdown in communication, and subsequently where the Japanese teachers of English would bring the assistant language teacher to class and let her stand there without participating in the lesson. In yet other situations where breakdowns occurred, assistant language teachers found that their team-taught lessons had been canceled and they sat alone all day, or they taught by themselves which was not legal because they did not have teaching licenses for Japan.

Because of the Japanese English teacher's positive attitude, team-taught lessons in the school studied consistently incorporated varied approaches. The informant stated:

> "... Because each of the classes in my school are able to have team-taught lessons twice in one week, I preferred to use one lesson to teach the book and one lesson to teach about cultural information using slide shows or other activities. "

(Japanese Informant 1)

Based on my research findings, this was an effective use of the assistant language teacher and team-teaching. Students in the school in question appeared to be able to produce and understand more English than in the other schools where I taught. In order to try and understand what was taking place within the school, this study will examine a team-taught model lesson and the comments made about it. Then it will examine three other videotaped classes, one of which was especially prepared for outside observers.

Model Lesson For School Inspectors

The two model lessons were given in the fall trimesters of 1991 and 1992. The lesson plans were almost identical. The reason for including them in this study is twofold. Firstly, they represent what the ideal team-taught lesson should be in the mind of the Japanese English teacher because they were presented to colleagues and administrators for evaluation, and secondly, feedback on the lessons was provided by Japanese language teaching professionals who observed them. This broadened the perspective. The videotaped lesson will be analyzed in the following section.

Model Lesson: Plan
Grade 7

Section 1	Greeting
Section 2	'Bingo' using vocabulary from the textbook.
Section 3	Dialogue Practice (Pairwork)

A:	Hi, look at these pictures.
B:	Oh, beautiful pictures. Which is yours?
A:	The red one is mine. (referring to a red picture)
B:	OK, Please give me. *
A:	Thank you, one dollar.
B:	Really!?

Money Game: After the dialogue was practiced a few times through drilling, photocopied dollar bills were distributed in the class and students simulated buying and selling.

Closing

*note: Correcting a sentence such as 'Please give me' might be considered a face threatening act in Japan. Therefore, I did not mention it to the teacher or anyone else at the time. The Japanese teacher caught the mistake himself and mentioned it after the lesson to me.

Following the lesson, the students were asked to respond to five short questions about the lesson. These were:

Student Response To Team-Taught Lesson

Scale:	1 = least, 5 = best				
1.	Was the lesson fun?				
	1	2	3	4	5
Response			*1*	*4*	*15*
2.	Do you understand how to use the language?				
	1	2	3	4	5
Response			*2*	*7*	*11*
3.	Did you and your friend understand each other in English?				
	1	2	3	4	5
Response		*1*	*4*	*8*	*7*
4.	Did you talk to Mike?				
(How many times?)					
	1	2	3	4	5
Response	*6*	*2*	*2*	*4*	*6*
5.	Do you think the lesson went very well?				
		Yes		No	
Response		16		4	

Comments by students:
My conversations went well with the assistant language teacher without reading the dialogue from the board.
Good for pronunciation.

The lesson was viewed by several teachers, the vice-principal, principal and two experts from the school inspector's office. The Japanese English teacher explained in a review and evaluation meeting that the lesson was meant to emphasize conversation. He commented that listening, speaking, reading and writing were important, but in classes with the assistant language teacher, speaking and listening should be emphasized. Because the class was a first-year class, he explained, the learners did not hate English yet; instead, they liked it. Classes should be fun so they continue to like the subject. The informant stated that greetings should not be:

> A: How are you?
> B: I'm fine, thank you. And you?
> A: I'm fine, too. Thank you.

> (Kairyudo, 1987: introduction)

This is the 'formula' commonly taught in English class. The teacher suggested that greetings in class should be more natural and varied.

The Japanese English teacher commented that the 'Bingo' section of the lesson went about five minutes too long. It lasted about 15 minutes. He stated that the pairwork with the dialogue should have been given more time so that more interaction between the assistant language teacher and the students could have taken place.

Following this opening statement the vice-principal asked if there were any questions. One of the other teachers asked what questions were asked during the greeting. The Japanese English teacher responded that the students were asked the day, date, weather and how they felt. Then each of the teachers commented on the lesson. The comments were not critical and consisted of statements like 'wonderful', 'good team-work', 'fun', 'interesting' and 'good'. This demonstrated the Japanese tendency not to criticize each other publicly.

This was followed by the evaluations of the teaching experts. They commented that perhaps the bingo went on too long, that the lesson appeared fun for the students and that the games were good. They praised the money game because they said that buying and selling was near the students' life and they could relate to it on an individual basis. They also liked the photocopied dollars because the bills exposed the students to one aspect of foreign culture.

They pointed out that buying and selling pictures was not something that the students normally do and suggested that it might be better to set the location in a department or grocery store, because it would be more real to the students. They further suggested that the next time the activity was tried, there should be a rule that would make students talk to both boys and girls, for example, boy-boy, boy-girl, boy-boy, boy-girl and vice versa. Otherwise, the boys might only talk to the boys and the girls only talk to the girls. The students were, after all, twelve-year-olds. Still, this tendency was seen to vary between classes in the educational culture studied. In a different setting, even the boys and girls in this particular group would talk to each other voluntarily

From my perspective, a few aspects of the lesson deserve comments. Many aspects of the lesson and its evaluation were worthy of praise. Because the lesson was under scrutiny by outside observers, it was not as 'natural' as regular lessons because the teachers and the students were nervous. Furthermore, the teachers dressed more nicely than they normally did and the atmosphere in the class changed as a result. In fact, the Japanese English teacher, who was normally dressed in a track suit, wore a sportcoat on the day of the lesson. In addition, the lesson was presented in the library instead of the regular classroom. All in all it was a very unnatural affair, but despite a little nervousness, the lesson went as it normally did.

The learners were observed to enjoy playing 'Bingo' and because it was used to reinforce vocabulary, it was supportive of the curriculum as well as fun for the students. Smith (1992: 19) suggests that in team-taught classes, the pre-communicative practice stage during which the students are made to repeat a dialogue using mechanical drills is not without value. In this situation also, without such practice the students would not have been able to proceed with the dialogue. Compared with other lessons that were experienced in the setting

studied, this type of lesson represented an effective use of the assistant language teacher through team-teaching. Listening and speaking skills were concentrated on during the lesson as recommended (Wada 1992) and the students enjoyed themselves so they responded enthusiastically to the lesson. The use of dollars in the classroom tended to add excitement to the lesson. Basically, the inspectors said this type of lesson was what teachers in Japan should strive for when planning team-taught activities.

The biggest criticism that presents itself is that the preparations that were made for the lesson including printing the money, writing the dialogues on prepared posters instead of on the blackboard, dressing up, and moving the lesson into the library were more than was usually done for team-taught lessons. This caused the lesson to improve but presented a different picture than that which is found in everyday lessons. Smith (1992), Kitazume (1992) and others evaluate and describe model lessons or lessons especially prepared for viewing by outsiders. This picture is the only one that is presented at training sessions. This is significant because it may show a distorted view of team-teaching and the English classroom in Japan. Native speaker assistants, of whom only about 11% have TEFL training (CLAIR 1992: 58), usually perceive themselves either as being in very good or very bad situations as a result. It should be stressed that model lessons are not what one usually encounters in the classroom.

This study will attempt to present a realistic picture of day-to-day lessons in the setting studied. The second half of this section will be concerned with two lessons that were not specially prepared for outside observers and one lesson that was prepared for outside observers but not for evaluation by school inspectors.

Analysis Of Videotaped Team-Taught Lessons

Two of the 55-minute classes that were videotaped were selected to represent normal, day-to-day lessons. No special planning or preparation went into them. The third one was a 55-minute model lesson similar to the lesson previously discussed.

The tapes will be analyzed on two levels. First, the lessons will be examined as a whole by me as participant researcher. Because of time constraints, it was not possible to get the Japanese teacher informant's feedback on the entire two and a half hours of tape. Therefore, an edited version focusing on the instruction-giving sections of the lessons was presented to the informant for his comments. The Japanese teacher's opinions presented here will be based largely on after-lesson comments, general comments made at teacher meetings and written comments about the edited video.

The discussion of the Japanese team-taught lessons will be divided into the *pre-lesson* phase, addressing planning, the *in-lesson* phase, which will talk about what happened in the classroom, and the *after-lesson* phase, which will discuss the comments and evaluations made after teaching.

The lesson plans that were used in this study were typical of those used in the classes that I taught at three schools with eight different Japanese teachers of English over two years. The following is the plan for lesson A.

Team-Taught Lesson A: Plan
Grade 8

Section 1	Greeting
Section 2	Random Questions and Answers
Section 3	'Bingo'
	-using vocabulary from the textbook
Section 4	Tongue Twisters

-She sells sea shells by the sea shore,
If she sells sea shells by the sea shore,
I'm sure the shells that she sells are sea shore
shells.

Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers.
If Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled peppers
How many pickled peppers did Peter Piper
pick?

Pre-Lesson

The planning of the lesson was a group effort on the part of the Japanese English teacher and the foreign assistant language teacher. The random question-and-answer session was deemed beneficial because every student would be called on to answer a question during the class. Bingo was decided on because the students liked to play the game and had not played it for some time. In planning the lesson, the Japanese English teacher suggested that something should be done outside of the material in the book that had some kind of foreign cultural emphasis. Japanese people, including the students, love onomatopoeic words and word games (CLAIR 1991: 201). Therefore, the assistant language teacher suggested that tongue twisters be introduced because they are somewhat similar and they were thought to be of interest to the learners. The Japanese English teacher concurred and they were incorporated into the lesson.

In-Lesson

Section 1
11:42-11:45

Greetings were basically the same in all of the team-taught lessons. The students were seated. The door opened and the teachers entered. The Japanese teacher said, "Who is on duty?" The on-duty student said, "Please stand up".

The students stood up, bowed and said in unison, "Good morning, Mr. Kitazume and Mr. Garant. How are you?" The Japanese teacher and assistant language teacher bowed and responded, "Fine, thank you. And you?" The students responded, "Fine, thank you". Then, the on-duty student said, "Please sit down", and the class sat. The greeting also included asking the students questions.

ALT:	How do you feel today?
Student 1:	I feel sleepy.
JTE:	You feel sleepy. Who feels sleepy?
Students:	{sleepy students raise hands}
ALT:	How do you feel today?
Student 2:	I feel happy.

ALT = assistant language teacher
JTE = Japanese teacher of English

The greeting continued until all of the students had answered a question or raised their hands. It ended with the assistant language teacher asking the day, date and weather.

Section 2
11:45-11:55

Following this, instructions were given by the assistant language teacher in English as to the question-and-answer activity. These were then clarified in Japanese by the Japanese English teacher. Here an interesting phenomenon was observed. In classroom settings, the discourse structure usually follows the pattern of initiation, response, feedback (Coulthard 1977: 1-49; Sinclair and Brazil 1982: 36-55). During this part of the lesson, the assistant language teacher was observed to initiate responses from the learners. The students would respond, and then, more often than not, the Japanese English teacher would provide feedback. In some cases both teachers would provide feedback together and in a few cases, the assistant language teacher provided feedback by himself. This is a significant finding because it indicates that the real power of assessment in the team-teaching classroom was in the hands of the Japanese teacher of English. It is also significant because if assistant language teachers in Japan in general are aware of this, they can listen for it and avoid overlap which may be perceived by the Japanese teacher of English as a *face-threatening act* (Brown and Levinson, 1978: 60; Scollon and Scollon 1995).

Section 3
11:55-12:12

Next, the assistant language teacher read vocabulary while the students filled in the words on their bingo cards. The Japanese English teacher checked their work as they did it. The game acted as a vocabulary review and a listening drill for the students. Then, the students were instructed to listen for the words that

they had written and mark them when the assistant language teacher said them. When the students 'got Bingo', they were told to stand up. The Japanese English teacher wrote their names on the board as they stood and said "bingo". The students enjoyed the activity which did have its merits as a warm-up activity.

Section 4
12:12-12:25

Following 'Bingo' there was a transition phase during which Japanese was used to explain the next activity. During this time the tongue twisters were written on the blackboard. This was followed by practice and production: the losers of a scissors - paper - rock game had to say the tongue twisters in front of the class. The students enjoyed this activity and it familiarized them with this aspect of the English language.

When the lesson was over, the Japanese teacher said, "Who is on duty?" The on-duty student said, "Please stand up", and the class stood up. Then they bowed and said in unison, "Good-bye, Mr. Kitazume and Mr. Garant." The Japanese teacher and assistant language teacher bowed and responded with, "Good-bye, class." The on-duty student said, "Please sit down", and the class sat. The teacher left the classroom while the students sat in perfect order.

After-Lesson

After the lesson the Japanese English teacher commented that the students really enjoyed the tongue twisters. So much so, in fact, that they began to try and teach the assistant language teacher Japanese tongue twisters. This sort of enthusiasm was what was sought after in team-taught lessons. Also, the Japanese English teacher commented, it was good for the students to see that aspect of English. He also said the tongue twisters were difficult.

Team-Taught Lesson B

The next lesson that will be examined was videotaped in November 1991. The lesson was presented as a part of the yearly Kanra Town Teachers' Research Project. Because the lesson was presented to the research committee and a written report was produced, a clear picture emerges of the Japanese teacher's attitude toward the team-taught lesson. The lesson plan was as follows:

Team-Taught Lesson B: Plan
Grade 7

Section 1	Greeting
Section 2	Review of old material (questions and answers)
	-What is this?
	Kenji's notebook.
Section 3	New material from the textbook

Dialogue
A: Look at the picture <u>No. 1</u> .
        What's that?
B: It's a _____. (Cola, apple or tape)
A: Whose _____ is that?
B: It's my <u>brother's.</u>
        Do you want it?
A: Yes, I do.
        How much?
B: 1 dollar
A: Good. (hands the dollar)
B: Thank you.

Buying and selling game

Section 4   Textbook
               -model reading
               -new words
               -read-repeat
               Pattern practice using "Whose
               _____ is this?

Pre-Lesson

Before the lesson the Japanese English teacher and assistant language teacher agreed to have a review session of the material from the previous lesson because it was useful and needed practicing. The dialogue was constructed by the assistant language teacher and Japanese English teacher to be used in a buying-and-selling game. Following this it was decided that material from the book would be covered. This plan was formulated by the assistant language teacher and by the Japanese English teacher who made the props and posters for the lesson in a joint effort.

In-Lesson

Section 1
9:40-9:45

The greeting was about the same as in the other lessons that were observed.

Section 2
9:45-10:00

Following this was an activity that reviewed the material covered in the previous lesson. The explanation for the activity was given in English by the assistant language teacher and then in Japanese by the Japanese English teacher. The students were a bit hesitant in responding at first which could have been caused by the presence of observers in the classroom.

Section 3
10:00-10:18

The new material was presented by placing posters on the blackboard with the dialogue, instead of writing in chalk as was normally the custom. This was followed by 'modeling' the dialogue and practicing it with the students. Interestingly enough, instructions were given through modeling instead of by giving explicit directions. This was quite effective and cut down the amount of Japanese used. Copies of dollars were distributed in the class and the students were shown that they should play 'scissors - paper - rock' with the winner assuming the part in the dialogue that received money. At the end of the game, the student with the most money was declared the winner.

Section 4
10:19-10:25

The last activity in the lesson consisted of covering the textbook material through a model reading, new vocabulary and reading and repeating the text. The assistant language teacher read through the chapter in the textbook. Then the new vocabulary was covered using flash cards. The assistant language teacher would hold up the card and say the word. The students would repeat it. Then, the Japanese English teacher would translate it into Japanese. Normally, these words were written on the blackboard. Because this was an observed class, flash cards were prepared for covering the vocabulary. This was followed by read-repeat drills. What was unique about this class was that it was conducted almost entirely in English.

After-Lesson

Overall, the lesson went well and the students appeared to enjoy themselves. They were surveyed before and after the lesson as to what their impressions were of the lesson, and the results follow. One of the main reasons for the presence of native-speaker assistant language teachers is to inspire interest in English (Kitazume 1992: 55; Brumby and Wada 1990). These tapes suggest that team-teaching accomplishes this goal and makes the lessons more enjoyable.

Students' Response To Team-Taught Lesson

		Yes	No	No opinion
1.	Are the lessons with the assistant language teacher fun?			
Before the lesson		10	0	14
After the lesson		19	0	5
2.	Does everybody speak to the assistant language teacher during the class?			
Before the lesson		9	3	12
After the lesson		13	0	11

The results of the lesson as indicated by the students' responses were quite positive. The students indicated that the lesson was fun and this was one of the primary goals of the lesson. Not all of the students were able to talk to the assistant language teacher during the class. This was a major concern of the Japanese English teacher. Perhaps time and class size made it difficult for the assistant language teacher to speak with each student. Other Japanese English teachers suggest that the reason students do not talk to the assistant language teacher is 'shyness'. Murray (1995) dismisses this as a cop-out and, instead, classifies the reason as laziness. I think 'shyness' is inaccurate to describe the situation. A lack of confidence in English is probably a big factor. In a sense, not forcing students to speak is a cop-out, because if the students know that there is no alternative, they will speak English. The use of 'shyness' instead of 'laziness' when describing the students could be an example of deference politeness, which preserves the student's personal space and does not 'impose on' them by the use of negative terminology.

Lesson C

Finally, a third videotaped lesson will be examined. The plan for it was as follows:

Team-Taught Lesson C: Plan
Grade 7

Section 1	Greeting
Section 2	Random questions and answers
Section 3	Pronunciation *'Shiritori'* *
	-critical pairs
Section 4	Textbook
	-model reading
	-new words
	-key sentence
	-read-repeat
	Questions and answers based on the textbook

*'*Shiritori'* is a traditional Japanese game where word chains are formed using the last syllable of the previous word to form the first syllable of the next word. In English, this is done using letter, for example, more-egg-go-out-take-etc.

Pre-Lesson

The assistant language teacher and Japanese English teacher decided to do an activity in which the native speaker would ask each student one question. This would give each student the opportunity to speak to the native speaker English teacher. The idea for *'shiritori'* came from the Japanese teacher of English and the idea for the critical pairs came from the assistant language teacher, which indicates that the activity was more or less equally planned. This was followed

by covering the textbook in order to keep up with the syllabus. The Japanese English teacher suggested that it be covered in the traditional manner: model reading, new words, key grammar point sentence, read-repeat and questions and answers based on the textbook. This was done because it was seen as effective. It was probably also done because of the time it would take to design supplemental materials to cover the grammar point in the book.

In-Lesson

Section 1
9:40-9:42

The greeting in this lesson opened with a pause because none of the learners volunteered to speak. The Japanese English teacher called on a student as a result. The assistant language teacher called on the next student. There was a volunteer to answer "How is the weather?" The lack of volunteers indicated that the class was tired or not really ready for an English class on the day in question.

Section 2
9:42-9:50

The second activity was explained by the assistant language teacher in English followed by an explanation in Japanese by the Japanese teacher of English. This sort of instruction pattern had been mentioned at workshops as being counter-productive. However, it does expedite the instruction process and makes sure all the students understand what they are supposed to do in the activity. The question-and-answer part of the activity went slowly, but the questions were not translated by the Japanese English teacher. This class was videotaped during flu season, which accounted for the absences and could account for the lethargic behavior on the part of the students. Some of the students were coached by the Japanese teacher of English to come up with the correct English response during this activity, which could have been an attempt to help the students and to avoid committing a face threatening act.

Section 3
9:50-10:02

The next activity, 'Pronunciation Shiritori', is a popular team-teaching activity (CLAIR 1991: 160) which emphasizes pronunciation, production of verbal English and listening comprehension. It incorporates English into a popular Japanese game. In the game, the last syllable of a word is used to form the first syllable of the next word. This creates a word chain. In English, it is played using the last letter of the previous word to form the first letter of the following word (for example, apple-exit-Tom-milk-kite-etc.). Content- or culture-specific schemata was activated because the students already knew how to play the game in Japanese. This gave the learners a framework within which to fit the

English instructions: as they listened to the instructions for the new activity, they realized that they already knew it. So, the explanations for the activity had a reference point in the minds of the learners and were more easy for them to understand (Carrell and Eisterhold 1988). Like in the other activities, English instructions given by the assistant language teacher were followed in Japanese by the Japanese English teacher.

Then the Japanese English teacher began calling on students to produce words for the game. The reason for this was that the assistant language teacher taught in three schools and had approximately six hundred students. This made learning all of the students' names in every school next to impossible. It was also a demonstration of *deference politeness* in the sense that the assistant language teacher was not 'imposed on' to know the names. By avoiding the situation in which I would have to call on students by name, a face-threatening situation was avoided.

After the students were called on, they were to say a word in English to add it to the word chain. The activity moved slowly so the Japanese teacher urged the students to increase their speed in answering by saying "faster, faster".

Section 4
10:02-10:10

The assistant language teacher corrected the students' pronunciation and directed pronunciation drills. This was followed by working on critical pairs for phonetic items that are difficult for the Japanese to pronounce. Learners were supposed to signal with hand gestures as they heard differences in words like "see-she, love-rub, lice-rice, etc.". This activity was included to utilize the native speaker in class and to point out subtle pronunciation differences which the vast majority of Japanese speakers of English cannot hear, much less produce.

Section 5
10:10-10:25

The last activity consisted of covering the new material from the book. This consisted of a model reading done by the assistant language teacher, followed by the presentation of new words with pronunciation by the assistant language teacher and then the key grammatical point from the textbook which was explained in Japanese. This was followed by the assistant language teacher reading the textbook and the students repeating after him. The text was:

'Look at that man. He is smiling. His name is Tenzing. He is from Nepal. He climbs many mountains every year. He is climbing Mt. Everest now. He is looking at the top. The top is all rock and snow.'

Key Point   I play the piano every day.
                I **am playing** the piano now.
(Kairyudo 1987: 71)

Then the assistant language teacher asked questions based on the text that had been covered and the learners had to produce the answers in English. Sample questions were "Who is smiling?", "Where is he from?", "What does he do every year?" etc. This was to get the students to extract the meaning from the text based on oral initiations.

After-Lesson

Overall, the teachers agreed that the lesson went well although the students seemed sleepy. The last activity was done, the Japanese teacher explained, to cover the material from the book with the assistant language teacher so the class would not get behind in the syllabus. Since this lesson was in a first-year class, a focus on structures was deemed necessary. This approach is accepted by many advocates of communicative language teaching (Yalden 1987). The model reading and read-repeat segments of the lesson are what is referred to as the 'human tape recorder effect', which means using the assistant language teacher to do the same job that a tape recorder would usually do in a regular Japanese English lesson (Yokose 1989: 7). This was not necessarily a bad point since the lesson did include other activities in which the assistant language teacher took an active role.

7.2.1   Summary

Having described the videotaped team-taught lessons and the one model lesson that was not recorded, it is possible to summarize the contents of each and compare them with each other.

TABLE 7.2   Summary Of Japanese Team-Taught Lessons

	Lesson A	Lesson B (model)	Lesson C	Model Lesson (not taped)
Section 1	Greeting	Greeting	Greeting	Greeting
Section 2	Random Q and A	Random Q and A	Random Q and A	Bingo
Section 3	Bingo	Money Game	Shiritori	Money Game
Section 4	Tongue Twisters	Textbook	Critical Pairs	
Section 5			Textbook	

The previous activity chart from the regular Japanese English lessons differs from the team-teaching activity chart in several respects. First, there is the variety of activities that are present in the team-taught classroom compared with the regular classroom. Here one can see a variety of activities, many of which emphasize communication instead of grammar and translation.

The question-and-answer activities in lessons A, B and C were done in the same basic format. In each lesson, random questions were asked that varied greatly so the students were forced to listen carefully in order to answer the question correctly. The review question-and-answer sections were also quite random. These activities concentrated on speaking and listening. 'Bingo' was played in lessons A and the model lesson that was not taped. It reinforced the vocabulary that was in the textbook and exercised listening skills. Dialogue practice in the money game reinforced the textbook. Therefore, every lesson with the possible exception of A, in which tongue twisters were done, covered the textbook using non-structural methods that were designed, by the Japanese English teacher and assistant English teacher, to be enjoyable for the students.

Japanese English Teacher's Comments

The comments made by the Japanese English teacher and the observations made by the assistant language teacher will be incorporated into this section. The comments made by the Japanese teacher tended to be fairly specific and should be addressed as such.

The greeting sections in each of the lessons were, as noted previously, basically the same. The teacher commented that the greeting was good because "we asked them for their feelings. They answered the real feelings that they had." This reflects that the emphasis in this section was not on form but was moving toward meaning. One of the goals of Monbusho's new guidelines is to promote spontaneous communication (Goold, Madeley and Carter 1993: 3-5). The classes studied appeared to have the same goal. This was a good point within the lessons.

The Japanese English teacher commented that the 'Shiritori' section (lesson C, section 3) would have been better if "the students had been more active". Another variation of this game was played in the form of a 'chalk race' in which the students would run to the blackboard and write the words in order. The way the game was played in the class that was videotaped was that the students sat and pronounced the words which were then written on the board. The Japanese teacher felt that there was not enough activity in this type of exercise and perhaps the other format was better. In team-taught lessons, active and fun exercises were preferred because they "make the lessons more fun".

The good point that the Japanese teacher cited was that the students could "understand the assistant language teacher's native English". He stated that the goal was for the students to "practice communication with the native speaker teacher". This was both the stated goal of the JET Program and the stated goal of the Japanese teacher in the study. This should not be surprising because many Japanese English teachers feel that because of what they perceive as their deficient English abilities, it is impossible for them to teach communicative

lessons. This was the case within the school studied, and the teacher in question felt that the best use of the assistant language teacher was in communicative classes.

The Japanese English teacher also stated that it was "good practice for the students to listen to the assistant language teacher's pronunciation. This was also good practice for listening". Speaking and listening are cited by Wada (Cominos 1992a: 5) as skills that should be emphasized in team-taught lessons. With the difficulties Japanese English teachers often face in speaking, the native speaker is useful in this capacity.

In two out of four of the team-taught lessons that were studied, the textbook was covered. The Japanese teacher's comments concerning the textbook sections were:

> "It was difficult to use the text because I worried that Mike would become just a reader. The text always occurred in the same pattern. The text is important but boring when it is used alone. We should take new things out of the text and use them in other activities. For example, we could demonstrate dialogues to each other so the students could understand them. The team-taught lessons were good.   The students heard native English. This was best! "

(Japanese English Teacher Informant 1)

This statement reflected interesting aspects of the Japanese English teacher's attitude toward activities related to team-teaching and the incorporation of the book into these. He expressed a willingness to improvise and be flexible enough to develop materials for the team-taught classes. His team-taught lessons usually incorporated dialogues or other materials to teach the grammar points in the textbooks. The biggest constraint on doing this for every lesson was time. There simply was not enough time for him to teach his classes, supervise extra-curricular activities, pursue his distance learning course and produce original materials for English class.

Overall, the Japanese English teacher stated that it was very good for the students to have contact with the assistant language teacher for several reasons. These were (1) to help the students with listening and speaking, (2) to help the students understand foreign places, people and customs, (3) to give the students a chance to hear native English, and (4) to help the students with the textbook.

Comments From The Assistant Language Teacher

Because of the limited comments from the Japanese English teacher, this section will analyze the lesson from the perspective of the assistant language teacher who conducted the study. The most striking element of the lessons that were taped was the disparity between team-taught lessons and regular lessons as to content and activities. The first native speaker assistant language teacher arrived in the town five years before this study was begun. She stated that when she taught, all of the lessons used the traditional Japanese English teaching method described in the previous chapter. This has changed to the

point where, in the school studied and in all of the other schools in the town, no team-taught lessons followed the traditional Japanese English lesson format all of the time.

The persistence of the traditional Japanese English teaching method in the regular lessons is probably due to a combination of insecurity about their English speaking ability on the part of the Japanese teachers of English and the feeling that the textbook needs to be covered in order to keep up with the syllabus. The Japanese teachers observed were also extremely busy with duties other than teaching, such as club activities and administrative work. This may have also limited the time available to plan lessons.

Edge (1988) suggests that an effective use for a native speaker is in the form of modeling the target language in front of the students. This is what occurred in the team-taught lessons that were observed and it appeared to be effective. In a country school, the foreign assistant language teacher will generate interest by their very presence. When the students see their Japanese teachers and native-speaker teachers communicating, they may want to imitate them. So, team-teaching was effective in providing this positive role model.

From the lessons that were taped, another key point surfaced. The regular lessons tended to focus on traditional Japanese English teaching methods and, by the admission of the Japanese teachers, were quite boring. Wada (Cominos 1992a: 5) has stated that team-teaching is no longer a novelty. The presence of a foreign assistant language teacher is no longer enough to inspire interest in the language. Assistant language teachers must improve their teaching methods when working together with Japanese teachers of English. When the students were surveyed, a wide majority expressed a preference for team-taught lessons over their regular lessons. Perhaps the activities that were presented in the lessons had as much to do with creating interest as the presence of the assistant English teacher. Therefore, it would be of interest to experiment with the regular English lessons by varying them in format and content on a day-to-day basis. This could, perhaps, produce the results sought after by Monbusho of more communication in the classroom.

7.3 Finnish Grammar-Oriented Lessons

This section will discuss Finnish grammar-oriented English lessons that were videotaped at Nokia's Emäkoski Junior High School. First, the lessons will be discussed from the researcher's perspective. This will be followed by an analysis of the lessons in which the views of the Finnish English teachers and the researcher will be incorporated.

In comparing the structures of the Finnish and Japanese language lessons, the most notable difference was the greater variety in classroom activities observed in the former. It should be noted that the following lessons are roughly the same as other lessons I observed but did not videotape in Finland. I have chosen to divide the lessons that were videotaped into two categories:

The Finnish grammar lesson and the Finnish communicative lesson, the former emphasizing vocabulary and new grammar forms, and the latter emphasizing communicative use of the target language. Language laboratory lessons that were observed will not be included in this study. It should be mentioned, however, that the students enjoyed such lessons and they followed a learner autonomy model in which the students were allowed to choose from a variety of activities.

Three Finnish grammar-oriented lessons were taped in the spring of 1994 by the researcher. Because I was able to hold and control the camera, a variety of angles and camera shots were possible. No special instructions were given to the teachers before the lessons were taped and, according to the teachers, no special lesson plans were prepared. I informed the teachers who participated that I would use the lessons in my research to compare them with the Japanese lessons they had already seen on videotape. Time constraints did not allow the Finnish teachers to view the tapes in detail. They did, however, make general comments about the lessons.

When comparing lesson segmentation, one finds that the Finnish lessons generally had more sections than their Japanese counterparts. I have used the same basic format which was used to describe the lessons in Japan. However, because the Finnish lessons were structured differently, their appearance, when my observations are transcribed, is also different. The Japanese lessons tended to move much slower with fewer phenomena to note than in Finland, where the lessons that I observed and videotaped were full of activity. This led to what appears to be a different way of description than was seen in the Japanese section. The description seems different, mainly, because the lessons are different.

In Finland, four different teachers allowed me to videotape their lessons. So, a greater variety of lessons are included, influencing activity selection, methods and timing. I also observed 20 additional lessons that were not videotaped, and they are similar in content and structure to the videotaped lessons.

Finnish Grammar-Oriented Lesson 1:   **Plan**
Grade 7

Section 1	Greeting
Section 2	Workbook puzzles
Section 3	Lesson 5 from the book
	-tape
	-read-repeat
	-questions and answers
	-translate new vocabulary
Section 4	Workbook- answer questions

Section 1
:00-:02

The door is unlocked by the teacher who enters with the students. There is lots of chatter as the students walk about. The teacher greets the students with, "Hello everyone, please sit down, please. Someone in Japan may watch this to see what happens in Finnish classrooms." Then the teacher explained to the students in Finnish that I was there to observe the lessons in order to write a research report comparing TEFL culture in Japan and Finland.

Section 2
:02-:10

The teacher instructs the students to start doing puzzles in their workbooks. The students do individual work quietly with not much chatter. The teacher walks around the classroom and helps the students. Some of the students look at the camera. One boy gets up and walks over to talk to another student. The students initiate question-and-answer sequences with the teacher in English and Finnish. A student gets up to throw something away.

Section 3
:10-26

The teacher says that the class is going to do lesson 5 in the book. The teacher tells the students to turn to page 47 in English. One of the students says in English, "I want to go home and go to sleep." The teacher plays the tape first and tells the students to follow along. The tape plays read-and-repeat drills with the new vocabulary. The teacher gives instructions for the students to listen the first time. Then, the tape is played. Jaana, the Finnish character on the tape speaks with a Finnish accent. The other character speaks with a British accent.

The second time the tape is played, the students are told in English by the teacher to look at the questions and answer questions 1, 2 and 3. The tape tells the students to answer questions 1,2 and 3 and study question 4.

After this, the tape is played in sections and the students answer the questions in their workbooks. The teacher asks the students for answers to the questions. The students raise their hands to be recognized before answering. This section of the lesson follows the traditional I-R-F pattern (Sinclair and Brazil 1982). The section was conducted in Finnish. The students answer in Finnish. The tapes were entirely in English.

Section 4
:26-:36

The teacher writes vocabulary on the board and the students write down the words and the teacher monitors their work. The teacher then points to words on the board as the students translate them into Finnish.

Section 5
:36-:42

The students write in their workbooks and the teacher monitors and helps. The teacher dismisses the class in Finnish and says, "See you later", in English. The students pack up. The door opens and they leave at random. The desks are left in disorder.

Finnish Grammar-Oriented Lesson 2: Plan
Grade 9

Section 1	Greeting
Section 2	Go over homework
Section 3	Lesson from the book -students underline grammar forms
Section 4	Handouts - students do individual work

Section 1
:00-:12

Hallway, students enter with the teacher in an irregular manner and make noise. A student says *"terve"*, which means 'hello' in Finnish, to the camera. The teacher says "Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen." The students give various responses. The teacher gives out papers and tells the students in English to take out their books.

Section 2
:12-:17

The teacher says, "Yesterday we looked at the text and you answered these questions". The students answer questions about the text. Some of the students ask for translations of the text.

Section 3
:17-:32

The teacher tells the students to underline grammatical forms in the text. The teacher wanders around the class and monitors the students. The teacher gives directions in Finnish and distributes photocopies which contain supplemental materials. The teacher explains the activities in Finnish. Students talk when the teacher is talking. The students do their pairwork in English. While the teacher is explaining to one student, another taps the teacher on the shoulder to get her attention and asks a question.

The public announcement system plays a message that lasts two minutes. The students listen. Virtually all of the students look at the camera at the same time after the announcement. One of the students asks the teacher a question and the teacher tells the student to "ask Mike." The student asks me about a vocabulary item and I answer.

Section 4
:32-:46

The teacher hands out papers and tells the students to write answers on the paper, which is individual work. The students ask the teacher questions while she walks around the room and monitors the students. The room is very quiet while the students are working. At other times it is noisy with the chatter of the students. The students start packing their books before the bell rings. The students are given homework. The bell rings and the students leave.

Finnish Grammar-Oriented Lesson 3: Plan
Grade 7

Section 1	Greeting
Section 2	Pairwork from textbook
Section 3	Lesson from the textbook
	-tape
	-students fill in answers to
	questions
Section 4	Overhead projector drill
	-student translate sentences from
	Finnish into English

Section 1
:00-04

Students enter the classroom with the teacher. The teacher tells the students, "We have a guest." The teacher tells the students why I am taping and then asks me to explain why I am there. I give the camera to a student and then explain to them why I am there. I open the floor for questions but there are none.

Section 2
:04-:10

The teacher tells the students to do exercise 11 on page 31. The teacher writes the exercise numbers from the textbook on the board and the students form pairs. The teacher tells the students to write the sentences they have produced on the blackboard. Then the teacher corrects the sentences.

Section 3
:10-:15

The teacher gives the students instructions to follow in the book and listen to the tape. Then she plays the tape. Students follow in the book while the tape is being played. The teacher tells the students to fill in the blanks. The students are quiet while they complete the exercise.

Section 4
:15-:23

The teacher goes to the overhead projector and says a sentence in Finnish and asks the students to say the sentence in English. The lesson is more teacher-centered and there is less chatter than in the more communicative lessons. Students raise their hands and are recognized before they answer. The teacher uses the overhead projector and follows the more traditional I-R-F sequences associated with teacher talk (Sinclair and Brazil 1983). The teacher gives grammatical explanations in Finnish.

Section 5
:23-:44

The teacher changes the overhead projector slide and tells the students to write out their answers to the questions on it. The teacher wanders around the room and monitors the students. The teacher puts on another overhead slide. The students write while the teacher talks about the slide. The teacher goes over 'cannot and can't'.

The teacher puts on a new slide. The teacher has the students translate from Finnish into English. The teacher checks the students' work and makes comments. The teacher puts on another slide and does more grammar and translation drills.

The teacher puts on a new slide. The teacher has the students translate from Finnish into English. The teacher checks the students' work and makes comments.

The teacher assigns homework in Finnish and writes the assignment on the board. The bell rings and the teacher says, "Bye-bye, see you tomorrow". The students pack up and leave the classroom in random order. The teacher says that they are tired because they just ate lunch.

7.3.1 Summary

Overall, the Finnish grammar-oriented lessons can be summarized as follows:

TABLE 7.3 Summary Of Finnish Grammar-Oriented English Lessons

	Lesson 1	Lesson 2	Lesson 3
Section 1 Greeting	"Hello everyone. Please sit down."	"Good afternoon, ladies and gentlemen	"We have a guest." The students took turns asking me questions in English.
Section 2	Puzzles from workbook	Students answer questions about the previous day's text	Workbook Students write sentences on blackboard. Teacher corrects
Section 3	Tape	Underline grammar forms in the text	OHP Grammar translation drills
Section 4	Vocabulary drills, Translate English into Finnish	Handouts - students write answers individually	New OHP slide, students write answers
Section 5	Workbook		

These lessons have been classified as 'Finnish grammar-oriented lessons' because the Finnish teacher informants who taught these lessons said, themselves, that the lessons were oriented toward grammar. My results show that they were more teacher-centered than the other Finnish lessons that I observed. Still, they were less teacher-centered than their Japanese counterparts.

The contrast between the Finnish grammar-oriented lesson and the Japanese regular lesson is great. The Finnish lessons had a greater variety of activities than the regular Japanese lessons I observed. In the first lesson in this section, there were five sections and in the other two there were four sections, as opposed to the traditional Japanese three-section lesson. The activities for covering the book were not the same in every lesson. Pairwork, tapes, group and individual work were all incorporated into the lessons. Translation was also included, suggesting that it is not without merit in the eyes of the Finnish teachers. However, the amount of translation observed in the Finnish setting was considerably less than in the Japanese setting.

The constant introduction of new activities contributes to the students maintaining interest in the lesson. The monitoring role assumed by the Finnish teacher during several of the activities does not appear in the Japanese regular lessons.

The introduction and closing sections of the lesson are very different from those observed in Japan. In Finland, the teacher and the students enter the classroom at the same time. The students speak up in a random manner, as opposed to their Japanese counterparts who stand, bow and greet their teacher in unison. This illustrates the emphasis on formal harmony in Japan as discussed in the previous chapters. In Finland, the teacher talks to the students more or less as 'equals', which exhibits 'solidarity politeness'. The formalized greeting in every lesson in the Japanese section showed 'deference politeness': the teachers spoke 'downward' toward the students and the students spoke 'upward' to the teachers.

In lesson 2, the teacher told one of the students to ask me, the native speaker researcher, an English question during section 3 suggesting that the teacher perceived that she was allowed to say "I don't know". Another interesting aspect is the use of the public address system in the Finnish school. In Japan, messages were usually relayed via teachers suggesting the emphasis in Japan on personal, face-to-face contact. Finns, using the public address system, showed more willingness to accept information from non-personal sources.

7.4 Finnish Communication-Oriented Lessons

The following types of lessons were the most common in the schools studied, according to the participating teachers and my own observations.

Finnish Communication-Oriented Lesson 1: Plan
7th Grade

Section 1	Greeting
	-question and answers in English
Section 2	Vocabulary from workbook
Section 3	Pairwork from book
Section 4	More pairwork from book

Section 1
:01-:12

Students and teacher enter the room together. Students sit down. Lots of commotion. I speak and tell the students why I am making videotapes. The students understand my English. I open the floor for questions and the

students ask about my new baby. They also ask questions such as what is my wife's name, where I live and whether I have any pets. Students film this section and take turns using the camera.

Section 2
:12-:17

The teacher gives the students instructions to do vocabulary exercises from the workbook. Three students are wearing their hats in the classroom.

Section 3
:17-:24:

The teacher gives instructions in English for the students to do pairwork. The students are quite loud while doing their pairwork exercises. Some walk around during the lesson.

Section 4
:24-32

The teacher gives the students instructions to do different pairwork exercises. Lots of talking. Students get up and move around. When they finish their work they seem to go and talk to other students. The teacher writes the numbers of more exercises to choose from the workbook on the blackboard so the students can do different pairwork activities. Students ask the teacher questions. Generally, they ask without raising their hands. They work until the bell rings.

Bell rings. The teacher assigns homework. The students leave. Some leave immediately. Others leave slowly. They leave the desks in disarray.

Finnish Communication-Oriented Lesson 2: Plan
10th Grade

Section 1	Greeting
Section 2	Poster activity
Section 3	Workbook activity
Section 4	More assignments in the workbook

Section 1
:00-:02

Teacher and students enter. Students sit down. The teacher says good morning. One student asks what I am doing there and the teacher and I explain about my videotaping.

Section 2
:02-:12

The teacher hands out posters made in the last class to be finished, saying "Whose is this one?" in English. The teacher gives instructions in English to the students to finish their posters using material from page 154 in the textbook. The posters include a picture cut from a magazine and a self-introduction of the person in the picture in English. There is constant chatter. The students talk to each other, mostly in English.

A student asks me what I am doing and I tell him. One poster, the teacher points out, says "I drink beer."

Section 3
:12-:30

The teacher tells the students that after the posters are finished they should do their workbooks. The teacher writes workbook exercises on the chalkboard for the students to choose from. Public address system announcement. Students are quiet because they are working. The teacher walks around the class and monitors the activities of the students.

Section 4
:30-:35

The teacher gives the students more assignments in Finnish. Students are quiet and stay busy. Students initiate interaction with the teacher and me. They begin packing up. The class is dismissed. One student plays the piano for the video while the others watch and cheer him on. The students file out of the lesson.

Finnish Communication-Oriented Lesson 3
Grade 9

Section 1	Greeting
Section 2	Homework review
Section 3	OHP grammar drills
Section 4	Pairwork
Section 5	Tape
Section 6	Workbook

Section 1
:00-:02

The students file in with the teacher after she opens the door. The teacher says, "Would you like to say a few words?" to me. I introduce myself in English and tell what I am doing and why I am taping. Two girls arrive late. I ask if the

students have any questions but they are silent. The teacher says, "I have a question. Do you have your homework?".

Section 2
:02-:08

The students get out their homework. One student asks me why I don't like techno music. The teacher puts a slide on the overhead projector. The teacher explains in Finnish. There is a knock on the door. It is opened and a student enters. The teacher asks, "Why are you late? Where have you been?" The student answers, "Home." The teacher replies, "You're always late." The students sit in pairs. The teacher goes over grammar, mostly in Finnish, using the overhead projector.

Section 3
: 08-: 14

The teacher puts on a new slide and instructs the students to do pairwork. The students talk while doing pairwork.

Section 4
:14-:30

The teacher introduces the tape and plays the tape repeatedly as in the activity described in Finnish grammar-oriented lesson 1, section 3.

Section 5
:30-: 35

The teacher hands out supplemental material for pairwork. The students talk in pairs.

Section 6
:35-:41

The teacher writes assignments in the workbook on the board and explains the activity in Finnish. The students are quiet while writing. The teacher tells them to do the assignment in three minutes.

: 36

The bell rings and the students continue working until after the bell. Then music starts on the PA system. The teacher gives a homework assignment. The student file out of the classroom.

7.4.1 Analysis

The Finnish communicative lessons are summarized in the following chart:

TABLE 7.4 Summary Of Finnish Communication-Oriented Lessons

	Lesson 1 (1F)	Lesson 2 (10)	Lesson 3 (9A)
Section 1	I tell why I am taping	I explain why I am taping	"Hello everyone, would you like to say a few words?" I explain why I am taping
Section 2	Vocabulary from book	Posters	Homework
Section 3	Pairwork	Workbook	OHP grammar drills
Section 4	More pairwork	More workbook	Pairwork
Section 5			Tape
Section 6			Workbook

Interviews with the teachers as well as my own observations suggest that the videotaped lessons are representative of lessons in the schools that participated in the study. Generally, there were at least four activities per lesson and sometimes more. Compared with Japan, there was a greater variety in the methods employed and tasks used, supported both by the textbook and the supplemental materials in the classroom. This contributed to more interest and participation on the part of the students.

Lesson 1 in this section demonstrated the difference in the English proficiency of the Finnish seventh graders that were studied and the Japanese seventh graders who participated in the study. The Finnish learners were able to listen, understand and respond to my normal speed American English. In addition, they were able to formulate and ask questions in the target language. They did not appear to put an emphasis of form. Often, they asked questions using grammatically incorrect sentences that were perfectly understandable. This shows that they were more interested in communicating than in constructing perfect sentences.

My results support the common belief in Japan that grammar is emphasized during the English instruction process to the degree that individuals spend so much time thinking about how to say an English sentence correctly that they end up saying nothing. This study suggests that the teaching methods used in Finland are more conducive to producing learners who can communicate in English than the methods used in Japan. This also

demonstrated the benefits of beginning foreign language learning early (Stern 1967).

The pairwork used in this and other similar lessons promoted the use of language for communication. In the previous chapter on learner attitudes, the learners themselves indicated that they enjoyed pairwork activities. They seem to be effective in promoting communication in the real life as well as in the classroom setting.

The Finnish communication-oriented lesson 2 is important for this study not only for its content but also for the fact that a remedial class exists in Finland for students who want to spend another year in comprehensive school. This is very different from Japan, where students who do not do well in junior high school are generally viewed as failures. After students graduate from junior high school in Japan, they are only allowed to return as guests. A remedial class was not offered in the Japanese setting studied.

In Finland, the students who are in the remedial class did not appear to be concerned about their being in junior high school for another year. Their poor school performance which got them there seemed to be a relatively minor accident.

In Japan, the choice for students finishing junior high school is go to high school or to go to work. In today's affluent society, virtually all of them choose high school. As stated elsewhere in this study, in 1991, 94.6 percent of all Japanese junior high school students advanced to the upper secondary school. This underscores the importance of the entrance examinations to enter high school.

While in Japan, I witnessed the behavior of a junior high school student who did not gain admittance to senior high school. He became disruptive in class and it was obvious that the individual's self-image had been dealt a severe blow.

Some other features in the Finnish lessons that were observed to be different from the Japanese lessons were that the teacher had no problem with the students getting up and walking around during the lesson, and that different classes had different personalities. For example, one group of 7th graders were able to listen and follow what I was saying and ask questions in English, while other groups there did not ask questions when they were elicited.

In two of the classes, references were made to characters in popular English language television programs. This helps confirm results in other sections of the study as to the Finnish students' exposure to English outside of the classroom.

Students entered the classroom at random and left the classroom either at their own pace indicating that the emphasis on formal harmony was not as strong as in Japan. Students exercised their individualism by slouching in their chairs. This was not observed in Japan where students sat straight and lessons began and ended with formal ritual openings and closings.

In addition, in all of the Finnish classrooms there were some boys who wore their hats during the lesson. Wearing a hat in the classroom in Japan would be totally unacceptable behavior.

In all of the Finnish lessons that were observed, students were allowed to initiate interaction with their teachers as opposed to Japan where lessons appeared to be much more teacher-centered.

Noise-Cycle Pattern

One pattern that emerged in the tapes that were observed was a pattern of 'instructions-disorder-calm down-do work-get loud again'. During the 'instruction phase' the teacher told the students what their task was to be. This was usually followed by a phase of 'disorder' in which the students fidgeted, made noise and walked around. This was usually followed by a 'calm down' phase in which the students began to do the assigned task. This was followed by a 'get loud again' phase after the students finished the task. The degree of noise in the classroom indicated that at least in the English classroom environment, the 'silent Finn' is not very silent at all (Lehtonen and Sajavaara 1985).

The learner-centered approach used by the teachers lead to commotion in the classroom including jittering, walking around and talking when not recognized by the teacher. This behavior was not stopped by the teachers indicating that they were supporting learner autonomy as suggested by the curriculum (Hirvi 1994: 74-75). The 'instructions-disorder-calm down-do work-get loud again' pattern that emerged in many of the classrooms may be universal in learner-centered instruction environments and warrants further investigation.

The Finnish communicative lessons were more learner-centered than the Finnish grammar lessons and emphasized practical communication skills rather than new grammar points. Therefore, they were used for recycling previously learned materials. This corresponds with Kita (1994) and his 'Practice Cycle' and 'Communication Cycle' model. The Finnish lessons that were videotaped tended to balance between the two models while the Japanese lessons tended to concentrate on the 'Practice Cycle' without moving into the 'Communication Cycle'

Overall, the analyses of the segmentation of Finnish and Japanese English lessons shows that there are great differences in the content and the variety of activities offered. As discussed in other sections of the present study, this is caused by cultural tendencies as well as differences in the curriculum, testing and textbook design in the two countries.

8   ANALYSIS OF CLASSROOM DISCOURSE

This chapter will present a discussion of how features within the classroom discourse relate to the filter of Hofstede's 4-D Model of Cultural Difference (1986) in addition to an analysis of classroom discourse based on Sinclair an Coulthard's (1975) model.   A complete sample analysis of the transcribed discourse can be seen in Appendix 3, 4 and 5. This chapter will focus only on the occurrence of the initiation-response-follow-up (I-R-F) pattern in classroom discourse because these features are most relevant when considering the roles of teachers and students in regard to power and authority   within the educational cultural settings studied.

Takala (1997), Hofstede (1986), Sinclair and Brazil (1982) and other researchers put forth that the institutional structure of the educational environment is established by society to carry out specific functions and teachers are entrusted and expected by parents and society to perform certain duties which they cannot neglect. Students are also expected to fulfill particular functions within the educational culture.   These include developing certain social skills as well as learning certain bodies of knowledge.   Their communication patterns reflect this.

One important aspect to keep in mind is that the only adult in the typical educational setting is the teacher who cannot be considered a peer of the pupils. Instead, the teacher assumes the role of an authority figure within the classroom. The aim of this chapter is to show how this manifests itself within the two educational cultures studied. This chapter will examine the roles of teacher and learners within the settings as well as ground claims put forth in other chapters of the present study by citing concrete examples from transcribed communication in the educational cultures that were studied in Finland and Japan.

8.1 Classroom Discourse: Discussion

The samples of classroom discourse used in this study generally validate the I-R-F interaction pattern proposed by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and further investigated by Sinclair and Brazil (1982). According to them, since the classroom is essentially teacher-centered, most exchanges would consist of initiations by the teacher and responses by the students. Furthermore, since the use of follow-ups is an indication of power, these would only be uttered by the teacher. This pattern is clear in the regular Japanese lesson sample as well as the Finnish lesson sample. It also serves to underline the roles of the participants.

In the Japanese team-taught lesson, an interesting feature appears in the form of cooperative sentence building between the Japanese English teacher and the assistant language teacher. This is evident in the I and F moves of team-taught exchanges 7, 8, 10, and 15. For example:

Team-Taught Lesson Exchange 7

ALT:	How do you feel?	eliciting	
<to different student>			
S5:	I feel *coord.*	informing	R
ALT:	You feel good?	eliciting	I
S5:	Cool.	informing	R
ALT:	Cool?	eliciting	I
<positive non-verbal signal (nod) from S6>		informing	R
	Everybody feels [cool].	acknowledging	F
JTE:	[Me too]		
	[Cool] Uh! [Me too].		
Class:	[laughter]		
ALT:	[Heh, heh]. Yea, me too. OK.		Organizational

This aspect of the transcribed discourse suggests that when two teachers are in the classroom, modifications in the communication system are necessary, due to the changes in their roles. Rather than assuming the role of the sole teacher in the classroom, they must share the power associated with their role. Floor control and turn-taking issues between the Japanese teacher of English and the assistant language teacher were carefully managed in order to protect the face of the two instructors, even in this limited sample.

In exchange 7, the foreign assistant language teacher, ALT, initiates the exchange, probably because he is a native speaker and the students are practicing their listening skills. This is followed by the students' response, then a clarification by the ALT, hence the I-R-I-R pattern. The ALT begins the follow-up, is joined by the Japanese teacher of English, JTE, who makes a

comment and then finishes the follow-up. This illustrates cooperative overlap in speaking between the two teachers who share the role of the authority figure in the classroom. Further, the final follow-up by the Japanese English teacher suggests that his role is that of a final authority within the setting studied. After all, the assistant language teacher's role is that of an 'assistant' and guest in the setting. The responsibility for attaining the goals of the lesson ultimately lies with the JTE. Students answer the teacher's question as they are expected to do, considering their role in the setting.

In Finnish pseudo-exchange 4 there are several examples of incomplete exchanges that deviate from the I-R-F norm in the Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) system. For example:

Finnish Lesson Pseudo-Exchange 4

T:	and now I want you to explain these words.	informing	I
<puts word list on overhead projector>			
	Work with your pair and find some English explanations.		
Ss:	[Chatter]	acknowledging	R
<students form pairs or groups of three, boys with boys, girls with girls, two students initially sit by themselves but then go into groups. Teacher walks around the class to monitor the students.>			
<door opens, two students enter, girl first, boy second, boy pushes girl as she comes through the door, leaves door open>			
T:	All right, you're late	eliciting	I
S5:	(unintelligible response)	acknowledging	R
T:	Will you take your coat off?	eliciting	I
Ss:	[Chatter (unintelligible)]	????	R
S6:	If you are Ridge Forrester?	eliciting	I
S7:	I'm Ridge. (from TV show)	informing	R
Ss:	Chatter (unintelligible)		
<one student leaves the room, then reenters with book bag, several students get up to blow their noses>			
<Teacher approaches one group>			
T:	You're supposed to keep your book closed and explain.	informing	I
<Teacher closes the book>			
	The terms are there.		
<points to overhead projector>			
S8:	What kind of questions?	eliciting	I

This study has classified the discourse from the time the teacher relinquishes the floor till the time she regains it as one exchange. Technically, several incomplete exchanges are contained in this section, and at least four appear in the transcribed discourse. Students' moves which are not part of teacher-student interaction and are not meant to be heard by the whole class were also

transcribed to illustrate that they did occur in the classroom that was observed. More utterances are present on the video tape that blended together into 'chatter' and were unintelligible for transcription.

Identifying the speaker with the most power in the classroom is often associated with who controls the discourse. The person in control of the discourse has the right to produce organizational moves, introduce new topics, initiate and close exchanges by asking questions and evaluating what has been said in the follow-up or F element. This can be seen as a form of social control within a linguistic framework. The teachers in the two countries' settings exhibited these characteristics throughout the text, thus indicating their role as authorities. The traditional I-R-F pattern can also be interpreted as indicative of a more teacher-centered learning environment. The differences in interactive styles between the Japanese and the Finnish classrooms reveal that the more learner-centered the classroom, the more the communication system deviates from the I-R-F norm, as was evident in the Finnish discourse sample.

However, since the I-R-F pattern does emerge in classroom interaction in both countries, it could be considered an educational cultural similarity. However, the classroom is a special environment where the teacher is responsible for flow of the discourse. The teacher is always responsible for the flow of discourse within the setting, even where the guidance tends to be more indirect as in pseudo-exchange 4 in the Finnish discourse sample. The transcript suggests that the teacher remains in control of the discourse even during learner-centered activities which are designed to achieve the goals of the lesson. For example, the teacher asserts her authority by asking one student to take off his coat and by telling others to close their books in the example. This suggests that teachers are bound to fulfill their responsibilities as dictated by parents, school administrators and society in general. Their role in the educational culture is heavily influenced by the expectations of the various actors who are involved, either directly or indirectly, in the teaching and learning process (Takala 1997).

The following section will examine how the cultural characteristics discussed throughout this study and outlined in Chapter Two apply to the discourse.

8.2 Discourse And Culture

In this section, this study will cite specific examples within the transcribed discourse to highlight phenomena which correspond to Hofstede's '4-D Model of Cultural Difference' (1980; 1986; 1990; 1993). Aspects and features within the transcribed discourse will be matched with characteristics found in the model. By matching concrete features in the discourse with the previously mentioned criteria, this study hopes to avoid stereotyping and provide empirical evidence and specific examples of cultural differences and similarities that exist in the two countries' English classrooms.

The classroom discourse examined tends to exhibit features which correspond to traits associated with collectivism and individualism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, and masculinity and femininity within cultures. In addition, traits associated with context in culture (Hall 1976; Samovar and Porter 1991) and solidarity and deference politeness (1995) can be found within the discourse. These features will also be examined in the following discussion.

8.2.1.1 Collectivist Characteristics In Classroom Discourse

In both the team-taught and the regular Japanese English lessons, the teachers and students begin with a formal openings and standard greetings. For example:

Regular Japanese Lesson Exchange 1

<teacher enters>			
JTE:	*(Unintelligible) masu,*	informing	I
	Hey, who is on duty?		
S1:	Please stand up.	acknowledging	R/I
		eliciting	
	<students stand up>	acknowledging	R
S1:	Please bow.	eliciting	I
	<students bow, teacher bows>	acknowledging	
	R		
All:	Good morning,		
	Mr. Kitazume.	informing	I
JTE:	Hey, good morning		
	everybody.	acknowledging	R
S1:	Please sit down.	eliciting	I
	<students sit down>	acknowledging	R
JTE:	OK	acknowledging	F

This could be interpreted as respect for traditional values such as highly structured beginnings and endings which supports a tendency associated with collectivism according to Hofstede (1980; 1986; 1991; 1992). Further, the respect shown for the teacher tends to confirm deference politeness characteristics in which the more powerful speaker, the teacher, speaks 'downward' to the less powerful, the student (Scollon and Scollon 1995). The use of ritual greetings as opposed to more informal ones creates distance between the parties which can also be related to deference politeness. It also establishes the roles of the participants from the very beginning of the lesson.

In the setting, all of the students know the proper response to the teacher, how to bow and when to stand and sit. They also demonstrate that they should not speak out, walk around the room or exhibit other forms of behavior which would not be acceptable in the situation. All of the students are doing the same thing, as opposed to each student doing their own thing. These traits suggest

high context cultural features of reading non-verbal information and interpreting messages from the situation rather than relying on verbal cues. The context of the situation tells the students how to behave, not the coded verbal signal of the teacher (Hall 1976; Samovar and Porter 1991).

Students speak when called upon personally by the teacher in collectivist societies according to the criteria put forth in this study. This was found in team-taught lesson exchanges 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and regular Japanese lesson exchanges 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 17 and 18. For example:

Team-Taught Lesson Exchange 12

ALT:	How's the weather today?	eliciting	I
	How's the weather?		
	\<points to student\>		
S11:	It's cloudy.	informing	R
JTE:	OK. [It's cloudy].	acknowledging	F
ALT:	[It's cloudy].		

This feature was also found in Finnish lesson exchanges 2, 3, 5, 6, 7b, 8, 9 and 10. In the Japanese classroom discourse sample, there were no examples of students speaking up spontaneously which is also a collectivist characteristic.

In collectivist societies, formal harmony in learning situations should be maintained at all times (Hofstede 1986; 1991). This trait appeared in other data used in this study and is evident throughout the team-taught lesson discourse and the regular Japanese lesson discourse. There are no examples in the texts of students calling out to the teacher or behaving in other ways which might disrupt the harmony of the lesson. This also supports the collectivist characteristic that neither the teacher nor any student should ever be made to lose face. This is also evident throughout the discourse.

The emphasis on lexis and grammatical forms which appears in all of the team-taught and regular Japanese lesson discourse suggests that language is taught more to emphasize accuracy in test taking than communication skills. As mentioned previously, emphasis on passing examinations is an important collectivist feature. However, one must keep in mind the level of the learners: when teaching elementary level language learners in large groups, many teachers may opt for an emphasis on forms, lexis and grammar.

Be that as it may, the discourse analyzed in this section suggests that the Japanese junior high school English classrooms studied exhibited many of the collectivist features set forth by Hofstede in the '4-D Model of Cultural Difference' (1980; 1986; 1991).

Teacher control of the floor was also found in Finland corresponding with the teacher's role in the classroom. The nature of educational contact requires that the teacher maintain control of the discourse. Still, the traditional, formal manner in which this is done in the Japanese setting could be seen to confirm some collectivist tendencies. The teacher or teachers tend to train pupils in the class to behave according to the norms and expectations of the educational culture which is influenced by society at large. These norms include means of

control which are highly valued by society and appear to emphasize more traditional approaches in the Japanese educational cultural setting.

8.2.1.2 Individualist Characteristics In Classroom Discourse

In the Finnish English lesson, the teacher and students begin the lesson in an informal manner with the students responding individually to a general greeting.

Finnish Lesson Exchange 1

T:	So, hello everybody.	informing	I
S1:	Hello	acknowledging	R
S2:	Hello		
Ss:	Hello (not in unison)		
T:	Are you all here?	eliciting	I
S1:	No	informing	R
T:	No?	acknowledging eliciting	R/I
S3:	*(unintelligible)* *pois nyt* (not here)	informing	R
T:	*(unintelligible) pois nyt,* I see.	acknowledging informing	R/I
Ss:	[Chatter] *Olli on pois* (Olli isn't here)	acknowledging	R
T:	All right,	acknowledging	F

In addition, constant chatter is present and the students introduce new topics when responding to the teacher. The traditional formal openings for lessons in Finland[18] which informants stated were similar to those in Japan were no longer present in this setting, suggesting that trends change faster in Finland, and that there is a trend toward less formality. This is, of course, a matter of degrees in interpretation. Traditions are not completely rejected in the Finnish educational culture. There is, however, more of a tendency to have a positive association with what is 'new', supporting Hofstede's theories concerning individualist cultures (1980; 1986; 1991; 1992).

It could also be argued that the features in this sample of classroom discourse suggest that Finland has a low-context culture because of the wide reliance on verbal communication. Because the situation is no longer a set routine, students are required to verbalize more in order to negotiate meaning and complete the tasks assigned to them by the teacher (Takala 1997). Students

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[18]   Some of the teacher informants in the setting stated that when they were in school, their classes began in much the same manner as they had seen on the videotapes of the Japanese educational setting. I informally interviewed about 100 Finnish university students from 1993-1997 and found that many experienced this type of formal lesson beginning during the first two or three years of elementary school. By junior high school, a few students (less than 5%) reported that some of the older teachers in their schools required this type of formal beginning in their lessons.

and teachers tended to vocalize their thoughts rather than rely on contextual cues such as non-verbal signals or established patterns of interaction. Solidarity is exhibited in the fact that the students respond to the teacher in a more or less equal manner rather than adapting conventions to relegate most of the power during the interaction to the teacher (Scollon and Scollon 1995).

Exchange 1 also tends to confirm another of Hofstede's (1980; 1986; 1991) theories regarding individualist societies in that learners speak up in response to a general invitation. This was evident in exchange 1 of the Finnish lesson where students call out different responses to the teacher's general initiation.

This feature also occurs in pseudo-exchange 4 where there are many examples of students calling out answers and in exchange 7a where S6 yells out the answer. In Finnish lesson exchange 1 and pseudo-exchange 4, some of the students tended to vocalize their answers out in the open, sometimes without being recognized by the teacher. This tends to support another theory put forth by Hofstede which suggests that students speak up in large groups in individualist cultures.

Confrontation in learning situations can be seen as salutary in Finnish lesson exchange 1 and pseudo-exchange 4. In exchange 1, the chatter and the students calling out responses randomly could be interpreted as confrontation in the learning situation. Yet it is not interpreted as a face-threatening act by the teacher suggesting that face consciousness is weak, which is another trait of individualist societies. Another example of this trait appears in pseudo-exchange 4.

Finnish Lesson Pseudo-Exchange 4

T:	and now I want you to explain these words	informing	I
	<puts word list on overhead projector>		
	Work with your pair and find some English explanations.		
Ss:	[Chatter]	acknowledging	R
	<students form pairs or groups of three, boys with boys, girls with girls, two students initially sit by themselves but then go to groups. Teacher walks around the class to monitor the students.>		
	<door opens, two students enter, girl first, boy second, boy pushes girl as she come through the door, leaves door open>		
T:	All right, you're late	eliciting	I
S5:	(unintelligible response)	acknowledging	R
T:	Will you take your coat off?	eliciting	I
Ss:	[Chatter (unintelligible)]		R
S6:	If you are Ridge Forrester?	eliciting	I
S7:	I'm Ridge. (from TV show)	informing	R
Ss:	Chatter (unintelligible)		
	<one student leaves the room, then reenters with book bag, several students get up to blow their noses>		
	<Teacher approaches one group>		
T:	You're supposed to keep		

your books closed and explain.	informing	I
<Teacher closes the book> The terms are there.		
<points to overhead projector>		
S8: What kind of questions?	eliciting	I

Students arrive late for the lesson, wear their coats until the teacher tells them to take them off, get up to blow their noses and constantly chatter in the sample. These features within the classroom interaction could be seen as additional confirmation of the above-mentioned weak face-consciousness and the acceptability of confrontation that Hofstede reports as being present in individualist cultures.

The classroom discourse when matched to Hofstede's '4-D Model of Cultural Difference' (1980; 1986; 1991) suggests that the Finnish environment exhibits many traits associated with individualist societies, whereas the Japanese one tends to fall in the collectivist category.

TABLE 8.1 Tendencies In Teacher-Student And Student-Student Interaction Related To Individualism And Collectivism In Transcribed Classroom   Discourse

Individualist Societies	Collectivist Societies
Teachers and students begin lessons in an informal manner that is not traditional: Finnish lesson exchange 1	Teacher and students begin lessons with traditional formal openings: Team-taught exchange 1 Regular Japanese lesson exchange 1
Individuals speak up in response to a general invitation: Finnish lesson exchange 1, pseudo-exchange 4 (many examples), 7a (students yell answers)	Students speak when called upon personally by the teacher: Team-taught exchanges 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 Regular Japanese lesson exchanges 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18 *Finnish lesson exchanges 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7b, 8, 9, 10*
Students speak up in large groups: Finnish lesson exchange 1, pseudo-exchange 4, 7a	No examples of students speaking up in Japanese setting
Confrontation in learning situations can be seen as salutary: Finnish lesson exchange 1, pseudo-exchange 4	Formal harmony in learning situations should be maintained at all times: Team-taught exchanges (all) Regular Japanese lesson exchanges (all)
Face-consciousness is weak: Finnish lesson exchange 1, pseudo-exchange 4	Neither the teacher nor any student should ever be made to lose face: Team-taught exchanges (all) Regular Japanese exchanges (all)

It should be noted that overlapping occurs in the specific category related to the 'students speaking when called upon personally by the teacher' category, which applies to both the Japanese and Finnish settings. This reflects the universal role of the teacher as the 'controller' of the flow of discourse, regardless of individualist or collectivist tendencies otherwise present in the situation. However, although some similarities do exist, classroom behavior and interaction are markedly different in the two countries, reflecting each of the countries' educational cultures.

8.2.2.1 Large Power Distance

In strong power distance societies, Hofstede (1980; 1986; 1991) found that teacher-centered education and a premium on order was held in high esteem. The classroom discourse studied here contains examples of this trait in all of the team-taught and regular Japanese lesson discourse. Finnish lesson exchanges 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7b, 8, 9, and 10 also show a great degree of teacher control which was similar to Japan.

Students expect teachers to initiate communication in large power distance cultures. There are no examples of student-initiated exchanges in any of the team-taught or regular Japanese lesson discourse. Instead, students speak only when invited by the teacher, suggesting that the teacher 'outlines paths for students to follow' which is a strong power distance trait (Hofstede 1986). Evidence suggests that the Finnish teacher also valued teacher-initiated discourse in certain situations. For example:

Finnish Lesson Exchange 6

T:	What about bury? <chatter> shh.... <hands raised> How about bury?... Kaisa.	eliciting	I
Kaisa:	Something you do to a dead body.	acknowledging	R
T:	Yes, very nicely explained. Something you do with a dead body.	acknowledging	F

Here the Finnish teacher interrupts the chatter with 'shh' indicating the she still had control of the floor and expected to initiate communication. During this activity, the teacher was outlining the path that the students should follow which was consistent with her role as teacher. Other examples in the text suggest that this trait was not always in force in the Finnish classroom. This implies that cultural characteristics rarely apply universally and are more a matter of degrees or tendencies than mutually exclusive categories and that stereotyping should be avoided. To further illustrate this, in some team-taught lessons the teachers relinquished the floor. This suggests that there are some similar tendencies in the countries studied.

Hofstede (1986) points out that another collectivist feature is that the effectiveness of learning is related to the excellence of the teacher. If teacher-centered classrooms are an indication of this, the discourse in the team-taught and Japanese regular lessons indicates that this value is indeed held in high esteem in Japan.

In conclusion, the discourse suggests that the Japanese classroom tends to exhibit characteristics associated with strong power distance. Some of these characteristics were also present in the Finnish discourse.

8.2.2.2 Small Power Distance

Learner-centered education is held in high esteem in small power distance societies, according to Hofstede's (1986) model. In Finnish pseudo-exchange 4, the teacher relinquishes the floor giving the learners complete control of the classroom. This also occurs in the Japanese setting in team-taught exchange 19:

Japanese Team-Taught Exchange 19

ALT:	Keep your own scores. OK?		Organizational
JTE:	*Explains in Japanese.* (Keep score)		
ALT:	OK. Here we go. Go!	informing	I
JTE:	OK. First person, first person.		
S11:	*Jan Ken Pon*	acknowledging	R

In this example, the ALT and JTE initiate the exchange by relinquishing the floor to the students. There is no follow-up because the students have been given control of the floor. This type of activity occurred in the Japanese setting only in the team-taught lessons suggesting that they may differ somewhat from the regular Japanese English lessons.

The teacher expects the students to initiate communication in Finnish lesson exchange 1 and pseudo-exchange 4. This relates to the learner-centered nature of classroom discourse in Finland. It could also be used to suggest that the teacher expects students to find their own paths.

Other small power distance features are present as well. Students speak up spontaneously in Finnish lesson exchanges 1, 7a, and 8 and in pseudo-exchange 4. For example:

Finnish Lesson Exchange 7a

T:	All right,		Organizational
	How about mask?	eliciting	I
	What's a mask?......... Well,		
	uh, perhaps you could explain		
	it by saying where you put it.		
	Where do you put a mask?		
S6:	On the face.	informing	R
T:	Oh yes, and	acknowledging	F

Finnish Lesson Exchange 7b

	when do you use a mask, Kirsi, you had an idea, on your face.	eliciting	I
Kirsi:	On your face.	informing	R
T:	On your face, That's right.	acknowledging	F

In exchange 7a, the teacher elicits a response and is answered by a student who is not recognized. The teacher gives an acknowledging follow-up. Then, in exchange 7b, asks what appears to be 'when do you use a mask'. She recognizes a different student who provides the same response as the first student. The teacher acknowledges the answer with a positive follow-up. Perhaps the teacher meant to ask the same question as she did in exchange 7a. Otherwise, it would not make sense. I have chosen to classify the two exchanges as 7a and 7b because they are so closely interrelated.

The students who called out the answer, did so in a manner that was not present in the Japanese discourse sample. This suggests that the 'effectiveness of learning is related to the amount of two-way communication in class' was held as a value for the Finnish teacher (Hofstede 1986). Perhaps a better example of this trait can be found in exchange 10:

Finnish Lesson Exchange 10

T:	What's a neck or where?	eliciting	I
Ss:	Under your skin {chatter}	informing	R/I
T:	Mika, what is your neck? Can you explain it? Maybe you need the word 'below' however, below	eliciting	I
Mika:	the head	informing	R
T:	And of course, above your shoulders.	acknowledging	F

Here, the teacher responds to the class and provides more vocabulary so the students can provide the sought-after response. She then elicits a response. The class chatters, which indicates that perhaps they are not clear on what the teacher is after. The teacher initiates another exchange to provide more information. A student responds and the teacher provides a positive follow-up. This pattern of interaction between the teacher and the students occurs frequently in the sample lessons, which suggests that two-way communication is the norm in this environment.

All of these factors give an indication that the discourse in the Finnish classroom generally reflects small power distance characteristics.

TABLE 8.2 Tendencies Related To Power Distance Characteristics

Small Power Distance	Large Power Distance
Learner-centered education: Finnish pseudo-exchange 4 (Teacher relinquishes the floor) *Japanese Team-taught lesson exchange 19* *(Teacher relinquishes the floor)*	Teacher-centered education (premium on order): Team-taught exchanges (all) Regular Japanese lesson exchanges (all)
Teacher expects students to initiate communication: Finnish lesson exchange 1, pseudo-exchange 4	Students expect the teacher to initiate communication: Team-taught exchanges (all) Regular Japanese lesson exchanges (all)
Teacher expects students to find their own paths: Finnish lesson exchange 1, pseudo-exchange 4	Teacher outlines paths for students to follow: Team-taught exchanges (all) Regular Japanese lesson exchanges (all) *Finnish exchanges 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10*
Students may speak spontaneously in class: Finnish lesson exchanges 1, 7a, 8 and pseudo-exchange 4 **But: Finnish lesson exchange 6** **(shh = teacher controls the floor)**	Students speak only when invited by the teacher: Team-taught exchanges (all) Regular Japanese lesson exchanges (all)
Effectiveness of learning is related to the amount of two-way communication in class: Finnish lesson exchanges 1, 7a, 8, 10 and pseudo-exchange 4	Effectiveness of learning is related to the excellence of the teacher = teacher-centered classroom: Team-taught exchanges (all) Regular Japanese lesson exchanges (all)

The reader should note that the Finnish classroom discourse exhibits both strong and weak power distance traits to a large extent, which indicates that classroom discourse in Finland may be undergoing a change. In the Finnish setting, the discourse suggests that both the traditional and the new are held in high esteem. This is perhaps most clearly visible in the teacher's approach to classroom management: at times there is a greater emphasis on order and floor control, for example, regaining control of the floor with "shh" in exchange 6, and at other times there is more of an emphasis on student-initiated discourse. This reflects the nature of the educational environment in the leaner-centered classroom.

The teacher needs to remain in control of the situation and even during the more learner-centered activities one could safely assume that the teacher, although relinquishing control of the floor, remains in psychological control. Otherwise, the teacher would not be discharging the duties inherent in the teacher's role. If the activities are not serving the goals of the lesson, the teacher must take charge and get the lesson back on-track, thus, the use of "shh". A more appropriate interpretation of the interaction might be to suggest that there is a move toward less power distance within the Finnish classroom. However, one should always keep in mind that power distance can never completely vanish within educational culture because of the reasons previously mentioned (Takala 1997).

8.2.3.1 Strong Uncertainty Avoidance

In cultures with strong uncertainty avoidance, students feel comfortable in structured learning situations with precise objectives, detailed assignments and strict timetables (Hofstede 1986). These tendencies were often present in team-taught exchanges 1-13. For example:

Team-Taught Exchange 10

JTE:	OK.		Organizational
ALT:	OK.		Organizational
	What day was yesterday?	eliciting	I
	What day was yesterday?		
	What day was yesterday?		
<Pick students>			
S9:	It was Thursday.	informing	R
	{barely audible}		
JTE:	OK. It was Thursday.	acknowledging	F
ALT:	It was [Thursday].		
JTE:	[Thursday]		

This exchange has a precise objective: the teacher is looking for an answer to a specific question, and there is only one correct response. When the student responds, the teacher acknowledges the proper response in the follow-up and then repeats it in order to reinforce it in the students' minds. The assignment is clear as is the timetable: answer the question now!

Other examples are also found in regular Japanese lesson exchanges 1-20. For example:

Regular Japanese Lesson Exchange 10

JTE:	What day of the week is it today? What day? Hey, Sakiko, what day?	eliciting	I

| Sakiko: | Monday. | informing | R |
| JTE: | OK. It's Monday. {while writing on the board} It's Monday, today. OK. | acknowledging | F |

Here again, the exchange has a precise objective. The initiation commands a specific answer. The follow-up acknowledges and reinforces the proper response. The assignment and the timetable are clear.

The Finnish lesson discourse also indicated some emphasis on these traits. Examples can be found in Finnish exchanges 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10. For example:

Finnish Lesson Exchange 2

T:	Well, uh, since you haven't got your books again, I will ask and you can ask each other. What do you call a dead body from Egypt? <a girl raises hand, teacher points>	eliciting	I
S4:	A mummy.	informing	R
T:	Yes, a mummy,	acknowledging	F

In this example, the Finnish teacher elicits a response with a precise objective with a specific idea of when the answer should be given. The teacher in this exchange is conducting a vocabulary exercise. There is only one specific answer to the question being asked. This might be related to Hofstede's (1986) theory that in strong uncertainty avoidance societies, students are rewarded for accuracy in problem solving. However, in my opinion this particular example has more to do with the nature of education and teacher and student roles than uncertainty avoidance.

According to Hofstede, in strong uncertainty avoidance societies, a good teacher uses academic language. No examples of this sort of language were found in either the Japanese or Finnish classroom discourse. Based on these limited samples, it seems that junior high school teachers are not prone to use academic language in either country. However, this is not to say that academic language is not used in other settings, such as universities. In the educational cultures that were studied, the teachers were there to teach English. If the began speaking in unintelligible jargon the student did not understand, it would defeat the goals of the system.

Another indication of strong uncertainty avoidance is the emphasis on accuracy. This seemed to be the focus in all of the team-taught and regular

Japanese lesson exchanges as exhibited by the large amount of listen-and-repeat drills and by exchanges such as the following:

Japanese English Lesson Exchange 17

JTE:	*kono heya ni* *kono heya ni wa hitotsu* *tsukue ga arimasu hai (hoka no* *kotoba) o hitotsu arimasu* *tsukete naihai,* Hisanori.	eliciting	I
Hisanori:	There is a	informing	R
JTE:	There is a..*nani ga aru n* *da*	eliciting	I
Hisanori:	There is a desk in this room. (slowly)	informing	R
JTE:	mm in this room *da yo na* OK *mo ichido.*	acknowledging eliciting	R/I
Hisanori:	There is a desk in this room.	acknowledging	R
JTE:	OK	acknowledging	F

This example suggests an emphasis on accuracy as the teacher is concentrating on covering specific grammar structures with the students. The emphasis on grammar could be seen as an indication of strong uncertainty avoidance in this educational culture. Here again, however, the goals of the lesson may override cultural classifications. This particular exchange was part of an activity to review the material covered in the previous lesson. The goal was not to produce a conversation. Perhaps this exchange cannot realistically be applied to Hofstede's (1986) model related to uncertainty avoidance.

The examples in this section from both Finland and Japan suggest that the Finnish and Japanese settings overlap somewhat in regard to uncertainty avoidance. However, as the following discussion shows, there are also marked differences between the two settings in this respect.

8.2.3.2 Weak Uncertainty Avoidance

In weak uncertainty avoidance cultures, students feel comfortable in unstructured learning situations with vague objectives, broad assignments and no timetables. Finnish pseudo-exchange 4 is an example of this. For example:

Finnish Lesson Pseudo-Exchange 4

T:	and now I want you to explain these words	informing	I

<puts word list on overhead projector>

	Work with your pair and find some English explanations.		
Ss:	[Chatter]	acknowledging	R

<students form pairs or groups of three, boys with boys, girls with girls, two students initially sit by themselves but then go to groups. Teacher walks around the class to monitor the students.>

<door opens, two students enter, girl first, boy second, boy pushes girl as she comes through the door, leaves door open>

T:	All right, you're late	eliciting	I
S5:	(unintelligible response)	?	R
T:	Will you take your coat off?		I
Ss:	[Chatter (unintelligible)]		R
S6:	If you are Ridge Forrester?	eliciting	I
S7:	I'm Ridge. (from TV show)	informing	R
Ss:	[Chatter (unintelligible)]		

<one student leaves the room, then re-enters with book bag, several students get up to blow their noses>

<Teacher approaches one group>

T:	You're supposed to keep your book closed and explain.	informing	I

<Teacher closes the book>

	The terms are there.		

<points to overhead projector>

S8:	What kind of questions?	eliciting	R/I

<incomplete>

In this exercise, students are not given a time limit. When the floor is relinquished, one could argue that the learning situation becomes 'unstructured' in Hofstede's (1986) sense.

In weak uncertainty avoidance societies, a good teacher also uses plain language. This was clear in all of the team-taught and regular Japanese exchanges as well as all of the Finnish lesson exchanges. There were no examples of the teachers using difficult words or grammatical terms to explain new language.

Students are rewarded for problem solving in a weak uncertainty avoidance society. This trait was present in Finnish lesson exchanges 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10. For example:

Finnish Lesson Exchange 3

T:	what do you call a yellow metal?	eliciting	I
	Very expensive?		

<several hands raised, teacher recognizes a girl>

	Jenni		
Jenni:	Gold.	informing	R
T:	That's right,	acknowledging	F

In this exchange, the initiation consists of an elicitation using vocabulary and structure which require a certain degree of problem solving ability in order to decode the message and give a proper response. This type of elicitation is different from a read-and-repeat drill or patterned elicitation which commands a patterned response. The students are not sure what is coming next and must listen carefully in order to respond. If the goal was to alleviate uncertainty, the teacher might opt for pattern drills as part of classroom discourse. Clearly this is not the case here.

In conclusion, although the settings shared some similar traits, it seems clear that the Japanese classroom discourse exhibited more strong uncertainty traits, whereas the Finnish setting exhibited more traits associated with a weak uncertainty avoidance culture.

TABLE 8.3 Tendencies Related To Uncertainty Avoidance

Weak Uncertainty Avoidance	Strong Uncertainty Avoidance
Students feel comfortable in unstructured learning situations: vague objectives, broad assignments, no timetables: Finnish pseudo-exchange 4	Students feel comfortable in structured learning situations: precise objectives, detailed assignments, strict timetables: Team-taught exchanges (all) Regular Japanese lesson exchanges (all) *Finnish exchanges 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10*
A good teacher uses plain language: *Team-taught exchanges (all)* Finnish lesson exchanges (all) *Regular Japanese lesson exchanges (all)*	A good teacher uses academic language: no examples in the text
Students are rewarded for problem solving: Finnish lesson exchanges 2 - 10	Students are rewarded for accuracy: Team-taught exchanges (all) Regular Japanese lesson exchanges (all)

8.2.4.1 Masculine Society

Masculine societies tend to make a pronounced distinction in acceptable roles for men and women. Men are expected to assume certain occupations and women others. In addition, in this type of society competition is a highly esteemed, work-related value. This section will match the criteria set forth in previous sections with features found in the discourse.

Hofstede (1986) found that one trait of a masculine society is that teachers openly praise good students. For example:

Finnish Lesson Exchange 6

T:	What about bury? (chatter) shh.... \<hands raise\> How about bury?... Kaisa.	eliciting	I
Kaisa:	Something you do to a dead body.	acknowledging	R
T:	Yes, very nicely explained. Something you do with a dead body.	acknowledging	F

In the follow-up, the Finnish teacher complements the student on her response, exhibiting what Hofstede (1986) classifies as a masculine society characteristic. This is the only example of a teacher complementing a student in the follow-up of an exchange suggesting that teacher praise is sparse in the two countries studied. Still, the samples used in this study are very small and the reader should not jump to conclusions based on such a small sampling.

In exchanges 1, 6, 7a, 8 and pseudo-exchange 4 of the Finnish lesson, students try to make themselves visible either by chattering or calling out answers without being invited, as in the following examples:

Finnish Lesson Exchange 7a

T:	All right, How about mask? What's a mask?......... Well, uh, perhaps you could explain it by saying where you put it. Where do you put a mask?	eliciting	I
S6:	On the face.	informing	R
T:	Oh yes, and	acknowledging	F

Finnish Lesson Exchange 8

T: Ah, how about skeletons?		eliciting	I
What's a skeleton?			
{Pause}			
	Jenni?		
{Pause}			
	Any idea?		

Ss:	Chatter	informing	R
S7:	Inside the body.		
T:	What?	eliciting	R/I
S8:	Inside the body.	informing	R
T:	That's right.	acknowledging	F

In exchange 7a of the Finnish lesson S6 responds to the teacher's initiation with 'on the face' without raising his hand and being recognized. In exchange 8 of the Finnish lesson, the students chatter and S7 calls out a response without being recognized. These are both examples of students trying to make themselves visible in class which, according to Hofstede, is a masculine characteristic.

Based on the analysis of discourse alone, the Finnish setting reflected traits associated with masculine societies. The Japanese setting, on the other hand, exhibited some masculine characteristics in the other data gathered for this study, but no examples could be found in the discourse.

8.2.4.2 Feminine Society

Femininity in society reflects values in which men and women's roles may overlap. Men may choose to pursue what many would consider as traditionally female roles such as homemaker or primary caregiver to children and women may choose non-traditional occupations such as business careers. Competition in feminine societies is not as keen and members may opt for 'quality of life' rather than 'king of the hill' lifestyles.

In a feminine society individual students are not openly praised in the classroom. There are no examples of praise in the Japanese discourse samples and only one example in the Finnish discourse sample. This suggests that the countries share this particular feminine characteristic.

Modesty is also a feminine society characteristic. The Japanese discourse reflects modesty in the way in which the students do not compete for the floor during the lesson and wait to be called on rather than 'make themselves visible'. For example:

Team-Taught Exchange 11

ALT:	What day is tomorrow? What day is tomorrow? <picks student>	eliciting	I
S10:	It's Saturday.	informing	R
ALT:	OK.	acknowledging	F
JTE:	OK. It's Saturday.		

In this example, the students do not call out the answer as in the Finnish discourse. Instead, they wait to be called on, exhibiting what could be interpreted as modesty.

Modesty can also be exhibited in the following way:

Team-Taught Lesson Exchange 18

ALT: So, if he says, "Yes, I can". Then, his team gets to ask the next question. OK? So, the first question, this person asks (points). So, she says, "Can you cook dinner?". He says, "Yes, I can". So then, she (points) gets to ask the next question. But, if he says, "No, I can't". Then, this team (points) gets to stay-ask the next question. Understand?	informing	I

Class: [slight laughter]	acknowledging	R
ALT: Difficult.	informing	I
JTE: Difficult.		
Class: [chatter in Japanese]	acknowledging	R
JTE: (explanation in Japanese)	informing	I
Class: <explain to each other in Japanese>		
ALT: [Do you understand?]	informing	I
Class: Yes.	acknowledging	R
ALT: OK.	acknowledging	F

The ALT initiates exchange 18 by explaining the next activity to the students in English. When asked if they understood, none of the students respond individually as they perhaps would in the Finnish setting. Instead, they laugh which could indicate nervousness in Japan. It is possible that some of the students understood but were silent in order to be modest. After the JTE's explanation in Japanese, all of the students indicate that they understand, together in chorus. This could also suggest modesty in the setting.

The examples found in the discourse suggest that in the junior high school setting, Finland exhibited more masculine society traits whereas Japan portrayed traits associated with feminine societies.

TABLE 8.4 Tendencies Related To Masculine And Feminine Societies

Feminine Society	Masculine Society
No praise in Japanese discourse samples; One example in Finnish discourse sample	Teachers openly praise good students: Finnish lesson exchange 6
Students behave modestly: Team-taught exchanges (all) Regular Japanese lesson exchanges (all)	Students try to make themselves visible: Finnish lesson exchanges 1, 6, 7a, 8 and pseudo-exchange 4

The present study found Hofstede's (1986) characteristics associated with this aspects of the '4-D Model of Cultural Difference' difficult to relate to classroom discourse. Only two of the ten traits put forth could be realistically applied to the data (Hofstede 1986: 315). Perhaps a larger study incorporating more discourse would yield better results. Or, perhaps, the criteria established cannot be applied to this type of data. Overall, the topic of masculinity and femininity appears to be problematic.

8.3 Summary

This chapter has presented an analysis based on Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), Sinclair and Brazil (1982) and then Hofstede (1980; 1986; 1991) of short samples of classroom discourse from junior high school English lessons in Japan and Finland. The analysis of the discourse suggests that the videotaped lessons in the two countries generally followed the I-R-F pattern except during more learner-centered exchanges from the Finnish educational setting during which the I-R-F pattern broke down.

The transcribed classroom discourse further suggests that authority may be more negotiable in some cultures than in others. Particular features related to the roles of student and teacher within classroom discourse appear to vary between the Japanese and Finnish educational cultures. Still, even when considering cultural variation, the educational context more or less specifies the role of the participants in the setting. Teacher and student roles may appear more similar than other roles because education everywhere basically performs the same function. Educational discourse through the basic I-R-F pattern tends to reflect this. Takala (1997) claims that education can not be organized in just anyway because then it would not be considered education. However, how teaching and learning is carried out depends on the norms, values and expectations of the society. There is, therefore, room for variation within certain limits and the short samples analyzed here show some ways in which this variation takes place.

The variations within the transcribed discourse suggest that many of Hofstede's (1980; 1986; 1991; 1992) work-related values can be identified within the Japanese setting studied. It tends to exhibit features associated with collectivist cultures with large power distance and strong uncertainty avoidance. The Finnish setting, on the other hand, tends to reveal features associated with individualist cultures with small power distance and weak uncertainty avoidance. Masculinity and femininity in the discourse appeared to be problematic since the two countries showed overlapping features, and since only two out of ten of the characteristics put forth could be applied to the discourse.

Although it was only touched on briefly, the classroom discourse also suggests that deference politeness and high-context cultural characteristics were more at play in the Japanese classroom, while examples of solidarity politeness and low-context culture were present in the Finnish discourse.

This chapter has examined a small amount of classroom discourse in order to give an indication of what takes place in the two settings studied. A wider study a with a larger sample is needed in order to make more concrete general conclusions about the classroom discourse of the educational cultural settings studied or the two countries as a whole.

9   CONCLUSIONS

Those involved in the English language teaching and learning process are faced with a myriad of decisions related to language planning and textbooks, testing, teaching methods, lesson activities and timing, classroom interaction and teacher and student attitudes. This study has sought to deal with these aspects of English education using methods focusing on language teaching and learning (Stern 1983) and culture (Hofstede 1980; 1986; 1991; Hall 1976; Scollon and Scollon 1983; 1995), described in Chapters One and Two. In this chapter, I will discuss the main findings of the present study in three sections. The method of research used in this study is meant to contribute to the field of intercultural studies and will be discussed first in section 9.1. Next, this chapter will summarize basic findings on the level of applied linguistics in section 9.2.1. The study has sought to present the first examination comparing English language teaching and learning in Japan and Finland. Then, a summary of the cultural similarities and differences found will be briefly discussed in section 9.2.2. Finally, section 9.3 will offer a conclusion related to the overall findings of the study.

9.1   Research Method For Studying Educational Culture

As pointed out in Chapter One, the present study has sought to explain how culture is reflected in aspects of English teaching and learning in the specific educational cultures studied in Japan and Finland. In addition, this study has sought to produce a method for explaining educational phenomena in the two countries, using an interdisciplinary approach drawing mainly from applied linguistic (Stern 1983; Widdowson 1990; 1978), anthropology (Befu 1989; Kondo 1990), ethnography of communication (Hymes 1972; Erickson 1986) and cross-

cultural communication theory. The reason for this inter-disciplinary approach is that I found that no one discipline was adequate to explain the educational cultures studied. The present study also strives to extend the previous research by Hofstede (1980; 1986; 1986). In addition, context in culture (Hall 1976) and politeness (Scollon and Scollon 1983; 1996; Brown and Levinson 1978) were briefly discussed throughout the work.

Data gathered in the two settings was first analyzed using applied linguistics methods at the following levels:

Levels Of Investigation

1. the *theoretical level* of defining categories (for example, Hofstede's '4-D Model of Cultural Difference' (1980; 1986; 1991); the 5th Dimension of Cultural Difference (Chinese Culture Connection 1987) and Hall (1959; 1966; 1976; Scollon and Scollon 1983; 1995))
2. the *historical development level* (for example, Stern (1983), Richards and Rogers (1986) and Shimaoka and Yashiro (1990))
3. the *curriculum and syllabus level* of selection for language teaching purposes
4. the *materials development level*
5. the *learner and teacher attitudes level*
6. the *descriptive level* of gathering language data on the sociolinguistics and pragmatics of a particular language (a few discourse studies exist but these commonly combine aspects of (1) and (2), for example, Sinclair and Coulthard (1975)
7. the *level of teaching methodology*.

Much of this information was gathered and analyzed using methods provided by the ethnography of communication (Geertz 1973; Erickson 1986) and anthropology (Befu 1989; Kondo 1990). The data was then examined in relation to cross-cultural categories put forth by Hofstede (1980; 1986; 1991) related to individualism and collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, and masculinity and femininity. The lists of characteristics as well as the method of analysis is explained in detail in Chapters One and Two in addition to variations of Hofstede's (1980; 1986; 1991) original lists which appear throughout the present work. My hope was that identifying specific listed phenomena in the educational cultures might lead to a greater understanding of English teaching in the two countries and how cultural factors influence it.

These characteristics were matched to specific features in the educational cultures studied in order to outline cultural similarities and differences for two major reasons. The first reason for limiting cultural analysis to the categories on the lists was to attempt to stick to the point rather than disappear into a cloud of vagueness. The second reason was to ease replication, should it be attempted. Future research may find similar or different results in the two countries depending on the settings chosen. By relating features of a specific educational culture to concrete cultural categories as I have done, future researchers may better confirm or invalidate my results in the two countries or in other settings based on their own perceptions of their own data.

The goal of this study was not to offer suggestions for policy or teaching reform in the educational cultures of the two countries. That would fall within the responsibilities of the language professionals in the respective countries. Instead, this study has sought to provide an outline for explaining some key concepts of the foreign language teaching and learning process in Japan and Finland by comparing two specific settings. The information presented in this study suggests that there are such cultural similarities and differences between at least one Asian country, Japan, and at least one Western country, Finland, that contribute to explaining the similarities and differences in English teaching and learning in the educational cultures studied. It is my hope that language professionals can use this book and the system with which it was done to better understand the educational culture in their own setting as well as to gain insights into what takes place in the English classrooms studied in Finland and Japan.

The methodological approach presented in this study may prove useful when comparing other Asian and Western educational cultures in relation to language teaching. My experience teaching and studying with people from various parts of the world suggests that this method may also yield fruitful information when comparing educational cultures in countries within the same region.

My visits to other educational cultures, for example, private and public junior and senior high schools as well as specialized night high schools in villages, towns, cities and megalopolises in different regions in Japan, lead me to believe that there may be differences within the educational culture of Japan depending on the setting. The same could be said of Finland. However, Finland has pursued a strong egalitarian education policy in practice, not just in rhetoric, as shown in international studies and the small numbers of private schools throughout the country. To a lesser extent, the same could be said of Japan, especially outside of major metropolitan areas. Still, small differences between schools may be an interesting line of future investigation. The method that has been used in the present study may be useful in identifying specific similarities and differences within various setting located even within the same country.

9.2 Results Of The Study

This section will summarize findings related to the two main research questions. The two lines of inquiry are, in the author's mind, interrelated in explaining English language teaching and learning in the two educational cultures studied.

1. What factors contribute to the perceived differences in English proficiency in the two countries?

2. To what extent are there cultural similarities and differences between Japan and Finland in regard to the educational cultures of specific junior high school settings?

The factors involved in the perceived differences in English proficiency in Japan and Finland will be addressed first. This will be followed by a discussion of findings on the cultural level of the study.

9.2.1 What Factors Contribute To The Perceived Differences In English Proficiency In The Two Countries?

As put forth in Chapter One, standard English examinations such as the TOEFL test as well as professional writings suggest a general perception that Finnish learners are more proficient in English than their Japanese counterparts. What factors in the English education system in the two countries, as well as in the specific settings studied, contribute to this difference? In order to explain this, features of English teaching and learning in the two countries will be summarized in this section.

The *historical development level*, society and background information on the two countries and English language education reform in Japan, specifically the recruitment of foreign English teaching assistants, were addressed in Chapter Three. It was found that there are many differences between Finland, which is a bi-lingual country with a small population, and Japan which is a mono-lingual country with a large population. Naturally there are regional differences, sub-cultures and minorities, but all in all, both countries have relatively few foreign residents and basically homogeneous populations especially when compared with countries like the United States where the multi-racial make-up of society is one of its main features. There are too many historical differences between the two countries to even begin to address them, which should be expected. Even so, Japan and Finland have borrowed many of the concepts that influenced the formation of their educational institutions from abroad. For example, most of the schools in the two countries divide their schedule into 6 years for primary or elementary school followed by 3 years for junior high school and 3 years for senior high school. Chapter Three also discussed the introduction of thousands of foreign teaching assistants into Japan's public school system. It was suggested that this is a radical move that is hoped to improve communication in the classroom. In Finland, such a move appears unnecessary because teachers are expected to be fluent in the language that they teach. The Finnish setting studied was not found to be undergoing such radical reform during the time of the present study.

The *curriculum and syllabus level* of analysis for English language teaching and learning and the *materials development level* and textbooks were addressed in Chapter Four. Results show that although Finland had recently granted complete local autonomy in language planning, no radical changes had taken place in the setting which is in keeping with Finland as a whole (Huhta 1996). Language planning in the country has until recently been based, in part, on widespread needs analysis. There is an emphasis in the official goals of the

curriculum on 'open-mindedness toward different cultures', learner autonomy and communicative competence. The textbooks were found to generally support these goals through their tendency to provide different types of communicative activities and interesting international topics.

Much of the Japanese language policy was found to be centrally planned. Local authorities in Japan could choose one of three Oral curriculums to follow. Language policy in Japan was found to be planned by a series of committees who base their decisions on research in the field. Needs analysis studies seemed not to have been carried out in Japan to the extent that they have been conducted in Finland. The stated Japanese curriculum goals stress creating an interest in language and culture, cultivating international understanding and communication as in Finland but did not explicitly include the promotion of learner autonomy. The textbooks, especially the new oral communication books, in Japan appeared to support these goals to a point, but a tendency towards an emphasis on grammar was found in the textbooks. This suggested that the stated communicative goals are not necessarily reinforced by the official textbooks to the extent that they are in Finland. Teacher informants stated that they often feel that there are too many grammar points to cover in too little time which leads to the tendency to teach structures and forms rather than communication.

Chapter Five examined testing. The present study found that Finnish learners surveyed in the educational culture studied tended not to see their English tests as a major reason for studying the language. Instead, the results showed that they indicated communication as their goal. This suggested that the externally prepared matriculation examination administered at the end of high school did not exert an undue amount of negative influence on English education in the Finnish junior high school setting studied. A description of the test was included in the chapter. It was found that university entrance examinations in Finland do not include English unless the student is seeking admission to an English department. This is because every student is expected to have been taught English in school therefore leaving no reason to use it as a factor in entrance examinations determining admission. English proficiency is taken for granted. This appeared to relieve both students and teachers in the setting studied of the pressure to train for impending external examinations.

The Japanese students that were surveyed in the setting studied indicated that they saw senior high school entrance examinations as the number one reason for studying English. This suggests that entrance examinations in Japan had a negative backwash effect on the system. It was found that Japanese entrance examinations containing English are administered at the beginning of high school and, again, at the beginning of university to decide who enters. Results indicated that the tests are extremely important in the minds of both the students and teachers and appear, at least in the setting studied, to lead to the promotion of test training, rather than communication, in the classroom. Results also showed that in the setting studied, the strategy of training learners to pass entrance examinations could be seen as successful because 97 per cent of the learners passed them and entered senior high school.

Chapter Five addressed the *learner and teacher attitudes level.* This section sought to explain the attitudes of the students in the educational cultures studied. Results showed that Finnish learners tended to put little emphasis on their tests, instead stressing communication. Most of the Finnish students had talked with several foreigners. 92 per cent of the Finnish learners had traveled abroad. This could be seen as one reason why the Finnish learners see communication as more important than their Japanese counterparts. Results also showed that they have had more experience in situations where English can be used practically. It was found that most liked studying English. Few took private lessons. Most indicated that they studied at home for one to four hours a week.

A major finding of the present study was that Finnish learners tended to watch a great amount of English language programming on television. Results showed that 40 per cent of the respondents indicated they watched 6-10 hours a week, 18 per cent stated they watched 10-20 hours and 15 per cent marked that they watched over 20 hours a week. This is possible in Finland because the Finnish national broadcasting company offers a variety of English language programs each week in addition to cable channels which offer more programming. Dubbing is rare in Finland. This provides the learners, as well as anyone in Finland, with constant exposure to spoken English. In addition, 89 per cent of the Finnish learners indicated that they listened to more than 5 hours of English music each week. The amount of exposure to English the learners have in their daily lives through the mass media must contribute to their higher proficiency in general.

As stated in the summary on testing, the senior high school entrance examination appeared to be the primary reason why many of the Japanese learners studied English. The Japanese learners also indicated that communication was important but not as important as the entrance examination. Most of the Japanese learners indicated that the only foreigners they had talked with were the assistant English teachers in their schools. Only one student in the Japanese setting had been abroad. The lack of experience abroad and the lack of contact with foreign people could be seen as a major contributing factor to the fact that they did not consider communication as important as their Finnish counterparts. It could also be seen as a justification for expenditures on the JET Program and assistant language teachers.

Surprisingly, only 36 per cent indicated that they 'hated English' which may, however, seem a bit high for those not familiar with Japan. However, it was a lower figure than I had expected and lower than that normally portrayed in the Japanese mass media and in popular discussions on the phenomenon. 63 per cent of Japanese learners indicated that they wished to pursue college, university or vocational or technical school. The 37 per cent of students who did not wish to pursue formal post-secondary education seemed to correspond with the number of learners who hate English. Most of the Japanese learners took private English lessons, which is common in the country. The Japanese tended to study at home for about the same amount of time each week as their Finnish counterparts.

The Japanese learners also watched English language television or videos but usually only 2 to 4 hours a month. This is probably because virtually all English language programming in Japan is dubbed or must be received through a hi-fi television in order to pick up the English signal. Japanese learners also listened to English music but to a much lesser extent than their Finnish counterparts. An overwhelming majority of both Finnish and Japanese junior high school students in the settings indicated that they will use English in their lives suggesting that both have a motivation to learn the language.

The *level of teaching methodology* was addressed in Chapter Seven by describing the methods, timing and activities used in particular lessons. The timing of the lessons was included in the descriptions in the chapter so that the reader can get an idea of how long each activity took which could be useful for practicing English teachers and others interested in the English teaching and learning process. Results suggest that the Finnish English lessons that were videotaped could be loosely classified into two categories. The lessons tended to show a great deal of variety when compared with the lessons observed in the Japanese setting, and the term 'loosely' should therefore be emphasized in the classification system that I have assigned to the Finnish educational culture studied.

Finnish 'grammar-oriented lessons' contained 4 or 5 sections or activities which were more or less teacher-centered and focused on new, or recycled previously learned, grammar points. The Finnish teachers themselves stated that this was the goal of these lessons. Results showed that the study of grammar took various forms including the use of tapes with the textbook or workbook, translating vocabulary from English into Finnish and vice versa, underlining the grammar forms in the text, fill-in-the-blank drills and other activities. Results suggested that these types of lessons tended to constantly introduce new activities which contributed to keeping the students interested in the lessons. In addition, the Finnish teachers sometimes assumed a monitoring role while the students worked through their grammar exercises, which was a more student-centered technique. As locally planned and administered tests were pending, there was a propensity toward teaching more grammar-oriented lessons.

The Finnish 'communication-oriented lessons' that were videotaped contained 4 to 6 activities which were more or less student-centered and focused on the use of English for communication. Again, the teachers stated that this was the goal of this type of lesson. Some of the teachers in the setting studied explained that there was a difference in the two types of lessons because of the goals they tried to achieve. Communication-oriented activities in the videotaped lessons included poster making, pairwork, communicative workbook activities and others.

Results suggested that a noise-cycle pattern emerged during this type of lesson which could be important in explaining the commotion that takes place in the learner-centered classroom. The 'instructions-disorder-calm down-do work-get loud again' pattern appeared constantly in both the videotaped lessons and the other communication-oriented lessons that were observed. The results of this study suggest that 'order' in the learner-centered classroom

tended not to be present or, perhaps, could not be present because of the nature of the activities. In the Finnish educational setting, in general, there appeared to be a great emphasis on communication in English.

Japanese regular lessons in the educational culture studied had 3 or 4 teacher-centered activities based on language structure and vocabulary acquisition. Segmentation was more or less the same in every lesson and consisted of a greeting, review of the last lesson, new material from the textbook and, in one case, a review of previously learned material. The Japanese English teachers in the setting indicated that this was the standard way of teaching their regular English lessons. They indicated that it may have led to boredom on the part of the students but was necessary for the students to master the grammar that would be necessary to pass entrance examinations.

The Japanese team-taught lessons consisted of 3 to 5 activities, many of which concentrated on communicative activities. These tended to vary and included such tasks as question-and-answer sessions and games. The textbook was also often included in this type of lesson. In the educational setting studied, Japanese English teachers stated that team-taught lessons were special lessons for the students to practice their communication skills and learn about foreign cultures and people. Their opinions reflected that they saw these as different from regular English lessons which should cover the grammar points needed for the entrance examinations.

In the Japanese educational setting that was studied, each student in two of the schools had two team-taught lessons per month, and in one of the schools each student had four team-taught lessons per month. These were seen as 'special lessons' with more of a 'fun value' than pedagogic purpose. A greater emphasis on communication as a whole, based where applicable on the Finnish model, would, in my opinion, greatly improve the communicative competence of the Japanese learners.

The *descriptive level* of transcribing and analyzing sequences of classroom interaction based on discourse analysis theory was discussed in Chapter Eight. Results suggest that classroom interaction in both countries tended to correspond generally to the Initiation - Response - Follow-up (I-R-F) pattern often present in classroom settings (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; Sinclair and Brazil 1982). When activities became more learner-centered, this pattern began to break down in the Finnish classroom. The small amount of classroom interaction that was transcribed for this study may not be sufficient to make general conclusions, but even so, it shows clear tendencies of interaction and, as such, warrants further investigation into classroom discourse in both countries.

Lesson segmentation and classroom interaction in Finland and Japan reflect the way in which language planning, textbooks, testing and participant attitudes affect the English language teaching and learning process. Results showed that the educational culture studied in Finland appeared to be effective in executing the goals of the syllabus and promoting communication in English among the students. The textbooks and testing system seemed to reinforce these general goals.

Although the Japanese teachers, students, mass media and society in general had a tendency to criticize the entrance examination system, classroom

methods, activities and timing in addition to classroom interaction were shown to be influenced by many of the other factors including curriculum design, textbooks and learner attitudes discussed in this study. Results suggested great differences in the team-taught and regular English lessons observed in Japan. The former tended to concentrate on communication and the latter tended to emphasize grammar. This suggests that there appears to be some sort of a gap between the new goals of promoting communication in the classroom and the reality of the educational culture studied. The English education system in Japan is currently undergoing reform and further study is necessary to explain how these reforms will effect the classroom and English teaching as a whole.

Summary

The overall results of my analysis of English as a foreign language teaching and learning in the two countries suggests that the Finnish setting was, in my opinion, generally effective in promoting communicative competence among the learners. Promoting communication in the Japanese setting, on the other hand, appeared to be somewhat problematic. Many Japanese English teachers appear to feel that an emphasis on grammar is the most practical way to teach the language for a variety of reasons as discussed throughout the present study. These findings, based on specific educational cultures, may begin to explain the apparent differences in Finnish and Japanese English proficiency described in Chapter One.

Having said all this, an analysis of English language teaching in the two countries based purely on the level of applied linguistics appears to be inadequate. Of course, teacher training affects the way teachers teach but it was too broad a topic to be adequately addressed by this study. The question still arises, why does English teaching and learning take place in such a different manner in the two settings? This question was addressed by proposing a method which attempts to explain how cultural factors figure into the teaching and learning process.

9.2.2 To What Extent Are There Cultural Similarities And Differences Between Japan And Finland In Regard To The Educational Culture Of Specific Junior High School Settings?

The results of this study suggest many differences as well as similarities in English language education in the two educational cultures studied. In the author's opinion, an examination of cultural similarities and differences which influence the systems in the two countries is, perhaps, the only way to explain many aspects of the phenomena that take place within those systems. This study tends to confirm several of the categories that appear on the lists of traits associated with Hofstede's (1980; 1986; 1991) '4-D Model of Cultural Difference' when they were applied to the data. The model set forth characteristics concerning individualism and collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, and masculinity and femininity in culture. In addition, context in culture (Hall 1976) and politeness (Scollon and Scollon 1983; 1995) were

discussed by the present study in relation to the data gathered in the two specific settings studied. These models are discussed in Chapters One and Two and will not be explained in great detail here, except in relation to the results produced by this study in Japan and Finland.

Individualist And Collectivist Cultural Traits

Characteristics related to individualist and collectivist cultures that tended to confirm Hofstede's classifications appeared throughout the data. An analysis of textbooks, which reflect language planning and curriculum goals in Finland revealed that there seemed to be a positive association with 'new' style textbooks and workbooks. The amount of communicative activities in them encouraged students to talk and initiate conversations. Finnish teachers stated that methods had shifted from more structural techniques when they were students to more communicative lessons now. Lessons began and ended in an informal manner with teachers and students entering the classroom at the same time. This was also cited as a more or less recent development. An examination of classroom teaching methods and interaction revealed situations in the setting when students spoke up in response to a general invitation by the teacher and examples of students speaking up in large groups. Confrontations in the classroom discourse also appeared to be salutary or at least acceptable in some situations. There appears to have been a shift in the Finnish educational cultural setting studied towards what Hofstede (1980; 1986; 1991; 1992) puts forth as individualist cultural traits. This could also be associated with a 'new' view of learning which stresses learners taking an active responsibility for learning, and teachers strive to cultivate this in their classrooms.

In the setting studied in Japan, on the other hand, results suggested that the traditional structural approach seemed to be held in high esteem. The observed lack of additional teacher training to accompany the new curriculum could be viewed as a deliberate choice, designed not to force experienced teachers to accept student roles. Indeed, some of the Japanese English teachers that I encountered while in the country appeared reluctant to participate in in-service training sessions. In Finland, life-long learning appeared to be held in higher esteem by more individuals. As to textbooks, the results of this study indicated that activities in them appeared, in many cases, to support a learning environment where the students should only speak when called upon by the teacher. This would promote formal harmony in the learning situation so that neither the teacher nor the student should ever be made to lose face. Many of the Japanese English teachers in the setting seemed to uphold 'traditional' values and all began and ended their lessons with formal openings and closings. Diplomas, awards and certificates in Japan were held in high esteem and given out at special ceremonies and sometimes displayed on walls. In addition, the examination of videotaped classroom discourse yielded no examples of Japanese students speaking up without being recognized, again suggesting that a premium was put on formal harmony in the learning situation which is indicative of strong face-consciousness. All of these characteristics

which seemed to be prevalent in Japan are put forth by Hofstede (1980; 1983; 1991) as collectivist cultural characteristics.

There was also overlap and common characteristics between the two educational settings examined, which could be seen as similarities. Results showed that many of the teachers in both countries where enrolled in various forms of adult and continuing education which suggests that teachers in both countries participate in life-long education. Teachers in the settings in both countries were, as far as my observations could tell, strictly impartial in dealing with students. English teachers in Japan, like their Finnish counterparts, sometimes used 'new' communicative methods. These similarities are classified by Hofstede (1980; 1986; 1991) as individualist cultural characteristics.

In addition, both educational cultures studied exhibited some collectivist traits probably because of traits which can be associated with educational settings in general. Finnish teachers, like their Japanese counterparts, sometimes used 'traditional' structural methods during their lessons, especially in the lessons classified as Finnish grammar-oriented lessons. Finnish teachers were also concerned about the 'face' or public self-image of their students and made every effort to ensure that no one would be humiliated during the lesson. Formal harmony was also held in high esteem during more teacher-centered activities in Finland and the transcribed classroom discourse reveals that in many situations, Finnish students spoke only when called upon by the teacher.

Hofstede's (1986) classification that large classes split into smaller groups based on ethnic affiliation in collectivist societies and on the task at hand in individualist cultures did not surface in the data, probably because of the absence of ethnic groups within the settings in the two countries studied.

Power Distance

Many of the traits that emerged in the data from the specific junior high school educational cultures studied tended to confirm the weak and strong power distance characteristics set forth by Hofstede (1980; 1986; 1991).

Weak power distance traits tended to be prevalent in the data gathered from Finland. Textbooks which have been put forth as the 'visible heart of the curriculum' seem to stress that English can be learned by any competent person and encourage the independence of students through the variety of activities and explanations presented. Results suggested that they tended to support student-centered education and a premium on initiative by enabling the learners to initiate conversations. Activities tended to encourage students to 'find their own paths', reinforcing the learner autonomy goals present in the curriculum. Textbooks and workbooks tended to provide activities that enabled the students to speak up in class, making it possible for a contradiction of the teacher to occur and placing an emphasis on two-way communication in the classroom.

Teachers in Finland expressed that they encouraged learner autonomy and thought that students could learn by themselves. Teachers often expected students to initiate interaction and in some cases allowed them to choose their own activities during the lesson. This encouraged students to work

independently. The amount of two-way communication during lessons was seen as beneficial. Respect for teachers was not necessarily tied to age. All of these traits, which were prevalent in the Finnish educational cultural setting studied, suggest weak power distance according to Hofstede (1980; 1983; 1991).

The Japanese educational culture studied tended to reflect strong power distance characteristics. Textbooks, for example, promoted teachers transferring their knowledge of the English language to their students by handing it down. In other words, teachers are expected to speak and students to listen. This fostered a more teacher-centered learning process and put a premium on order. The textbooks tended to be structured for the teacher to initiate communication and outline the paths that the students should follow. The activities were conducive for the students to only speak up in class when called upon by the teacher, thus creating a learning situation where the teacher could not easily be publicly contradicted. The textbooks appear to be designed to be taught rather than to initiate two-way communication between the teacher and the students.

Teachers in the Japanese setting seemed to prefer a teacher-centered methodology which promoted learner dependence. Teachers tended to direct student activity and tell the students what to do. Students only spoke up in class when invited by the teacher. Students and teachers in the Japanese setting tended to relate learning to the excellence of the teacher and in teacher/student conflicts, parents were observed to side with the teacher. These characteristics suggest that Japan has many features which Hofstede (1980; 1986; 1991) classifies as indicative of strong power distance within society.

Similarities did exist between the two educational settings studied, including the observation that teachers were rarely publicly criticized in either Japan or Finland which is a strong power distance trait. Still, in both educational cultures, students did sometimes criticize or contradict their teachers. Usually this was done when the teacher in question was not present. This is a weak power distance characteristic. Respect in both countries tended to be tied to the individual teacher, but age and experience may have influence in both settings. This is a strong power distance trait.

Uncertainty Avoidance

Uncertainty avoidance relates to the way in which individuals within a culture feel in uncertain situations. Individuals in weak uncertainty avoidance cultures tend to feel more comfortable in uncertain situations than members of strong uncertainty avoidance cultures.

The Finnish textbooks and workbooks that were used in the educational culture studied presented material that could be taught with varying objectives and looser timetables. In fact, students were sometimes allowed to choose their own activities which they carried out with a partner. Officially, schools could choose any textbook they liked, even textbooks produced abroad which could lead to quite varied objectives. However, the schools in the setting studied chose to use the same domestically produced textbooks they had been using before. The student-centered activities made it possible for the students to ask

questions which the teacher might not be able to answer. The activities in the textbooks and workbooks also sometimes required innovative approaches to problem solving. These traits suggest that the Finnish setting reflected weak uncertainty avoidance cultural characteristics.

Teachers in the Finnish setting expressed views that suggested that lessons should be free-flowing and not always explicitly structured by the teacher. They sometimes said 'I don't know' in the lessons observed. The emphasis in their lessons was usually on communication. Teachers tended to show little or no emotion in the setting and some minor intellectual disagreements between teachers were witnessed while I conducted my research. The chapters on lesson segmentation and classroom interaction tended to reinforce what had been revealed in the other sections. Students and teachers in Finland seemed to feel comfortable in less structured learning situations, teachers tended to use plain language and students were rewarded for problem solving. These traits seem to confirm Hofstede's (1980; 1986; 1991) theories on weak uncertainty avoidance.

The textbooks and workbooks in the Japanese setting tended to present material that was designed to be taught with precise objectives, detailed assignments and strict timetables. The textbooks that were used were first approved by the Ministry of Education (Monbusho) who set forth fairly strict guidelines for the textbooks. These books are generally designed for teacher-centered classrooms where the teacher 'has all the answers' and tend to foster accuracy in problem solving. These features are put forth by Hofstede (1980; 1986; 1991) as strong uncertainty avoidance cultural traits.

Japanese English lessons in the setting studied appeared to be quite structured when compared to their Finnish counterparts. Teachers seemed to be expected to know all the answers and emphasized grammar in many of their lessons. Students and teachers were sometimes observed to become very emotional, for example during a graduation ceremony. This type of behavior was not observed in the Finnish setting. Intellectual disagreements tended not to surface in the Japanese setting. Analysis of teaching methods and classroom interaction in the setting suggested that Japanese students and teachers felt more comfortable in structured learning situations and that students were rewarded for accuracy. These correspond with theories about strong uncertainty avoidance societies.

Masculinity And Femininity

Masculinity and femininity deal with competition in society. According to Hofstede (1980, 1986, 1991, 1993), masculine cultures tend to be more competitive and have clear definitions as to what is expected of men, while in feminine cultures male and female roles may overlap and men may regard quality of life as a viable option over material success.

The Finnish textbooks, through the promotion of learner autonomy and communicative activities, exhibited features which encouraged learners to make themselves visible in the classrooms. Students had a tendency to compete for attention during the lessons and behaved as individuals, revealing little

emphasis on social adaptation. The transcribed classroom discourse provides concrete examples of the students attempting to make themselves visible during the lesson. One example of praise is present in the Finnish classroom interaction sample. These traits are classified as features of a masculine society.

In addition, teachers used average students as the norm by not, generally speaking, streamlining their classes according to level. Students and teachers alike tended to view failure as a relatively minor incident in the Finnish setting and even set up special lessons for students who chose to study an additional year in junior high school. Students in Finland practiced mutual solidarity and teachers severely rejected corporal punishment, thus exhibiting what has been suggested as feminine characteristics. Classroom interaction and teaching methods reveal only one example of praise in the Finnish discourse. The lack of praise is also classified as a feminine trait.

Japanese textbooks used in the setting tend to encourage modesty in students by encouraging more teacher-centered methods. Grades and rank in the Japanese class were seen as important by most teachers and students. Good grades were rewarded with good recommendations and praise. Failure was often seen in the Japanese setting as a severe blow to the student's self image. Corporal punishment was sometimes used[19]. These traits are characterized in Chapter Two as masculine society features.

The Japanese educational culture also exhibited a number of feminine characteristics. Teachers used the average student as the norm in all of the schools where I taught by not streamlining the classes according to ability. Social adaptation was rewarded as students were expected to operate as members of the school and various sub-groups within the educational culture. Students in Japan, like their Finnish counterparts, practiced mutual solidarity. Japanese students also showed a tendency in most situations to behave modestly. Classroom interaction and teaching methods tended to exhibit feminine features by not revealing praise and presenting learners as behaving modestly, in other words not speaking up of their own accord and not competing for the floor.

The overlap between masculine and feminine cultural characteristics should not be surprising. Michael Bond organized a study at the Chinese University of Hong Kong and found a great deal of overlap regarding this dimension among their respondents (The Chinese Culture Connection 1987). They go on to argue that the dimension can be combined to form a new dimension related to task-related and human heartedness-related values (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey 1988: 50). Hofstede's (1986) characteristics related to the masculinity and femininity dimension which addressed 'brilliance' as opposed to 'friendliness' in teachers was not addressed in the present study because I determined 'brilliance' to be an intangible concept too difficult to analyze. This classification was, therefore, omitted. Students in the Japanese and Finnish settings had little choice in their course of study so the

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[19] Informants stated that in rare cases, students who disrupted lessons were sometime slapped on the back of the head, usually by older teachers.

categories related to males choosing or not choosing traditionally feminine subjects were not addressed by the present study either.

Hofstede's (1980; 1986; 1991; 1992) dimensions suggest for example that a group of male teachers who are friendly to their students are exhibiting 'feminine' tendencies while a group of female teachers who are brilliant are exhibiting 'masculine' tendencies. These terms are problematic. The terminology presented in the Chinese Culture Connection (1987) is, in my mind, better when describing human work-related values than terms which may be associated with preconceived notions on gender roles.

Summary

Overall, the present study tends to confirm many of the traits put forth in Hofstede's (1980; 1986; 1991) '4-D Model of Cultural Difference'. The Finnish junior high school educational culture setting studied yielded results that suggest more individualist, weak power distance and weak uncertainty avoidance cultural traits while the Japanese setting produced data which suggests that the educational culture tends to be collectivist with strong power distance and strong uncertainty avoidance. There were also instances of overlap which could be looked upon as similarities in regard to the femininity and masculinity dimension and, to a lesser extent the other dimensions, which underlines the presupposition stated in Chapter One that all cultures have all features and the study and classification of culture is not a black-and-white issue. Even so, the results shed light on aspects of English teaching and learning in the Finnish and Japanese settings that seem to evade an applied linguistic approach which does not factor in cultural aspects.

Context In Culture

As stated in Chapter One, Hall (1976) suggests that what he termed 'context' differentiates one culture from another. Results suggested that the educational culture of the Finnish junior high school studied exhibited many low-context cultural characteristics. Students and teachers alike tended to verbalize virtually all information using the explicit code of language because of the 'openness' of the activities and the consequent need to negotiate meaning. Little ritualized, formal behavior appeared in the setting studied which may suggest that the physical context of the situation yielded communicative information for the participants. According to Widen (1985: 158), Finnish communicators in non-educational settings 'do not verbalize the whole communication process' and Finnish communication strategies 'strongly resemble those in Japanese society'. The results of the present study do not confirm this assumption in the educational culture that was studied. Instead, profound differences between the Finnish and Japanese communication styles were found in the setting studied. Results suggested that Finnish learners tended to make themselves visible during the lessons by speaking out and using other strategies which I have classified as being indicative of low-context in the educational culture studied because the situation allows and encourages

the learners to verbally code their messages rather that rely on the context of the situation.

On the other hand, the educational culture of the Japanese junior high school setting studied tended to reflect a number of high-context cultural characteristics. The formal beginnings and endings could be interpreted as contextual features which participants can interpret from the 'physical context'. Everyone in the setting appeared to have clearly defined roles and routines. Examples of this can be found in Chapter Eight, for instance, where I have related what goes on during the formal 'opening' of the lessons: the teacher enters the room and signals the 'on-duty' student to tell the others to stand. The transcribed discourse suggested that the participants in the Japanese setting had 'internalized' rules of interaction - much more so than their Finnish counterparts - which they rarely if ever broke while I was conducting my research. The silence and order during the Japanese English lessons also suggest a high-context educational culture in the setting studied.

The results are largely expected. Hall (1976) suggests that Asian cultures such as China, Korea and Japan tend to exhibit high-context cultural features while Western cultures such as Germany, Scandinavia and Switzerland tend to reflect lower context features.

Politeness

Features of solidarity and deference politeness were also examined in relation to the data in the present study (Scollon and Scollon 1983; 1995). They are discussed in Chapter One and will be discussed here only in relation to the results of the study. The Finnish setting exhibited solidarity politeness strategies by the more or less equal manner in which communication took place between teachers and students. This was encouraged by the activities that were presented in the textbooks and the methods used by the teachers in the classroom. The transcribed classroom discourse also revealed many examples of relative equality in interaction by the way in which students were allowed to ask questions and speak to the teacher, often on more or less equal terms.

The politeness strategies in the Finnish educational culture reflect recent changes in the society. In the Finnish family, parents and children interact fairly equally and children are quite independent. In the world of work, managers are more democratic often referring to their subordinates as the 'team' and themselves as 'team leaders'. Most subordinates refer to their managers by their first name unless there is a marked age gap. The Finnish educational culture tended to reflect these broader societal changes.

The Japanese setting tended to reflect more deference politeness communication strategies where superiors - the teachers - usually 'talked down' to inferiors, the students. This was reinforced by the design of the textbooks which tended to foster more teacher-centered approaches and by the methods that were found to be used in the classroom. Transcribed discourse revealed that the teachers always controlled the floor during the lesson and students only spoke when they were called upon personally. The formality of the lesson ritual (openings and closings) also reinforced the deference politeness mode by

creating distance between the participants and clearly indicating the roles of teachers and learners.

Scollon and Scollon (1983; 1995) suggest that Asian cultures tend to reflect deference politeness strategies while Western societies tend to reflect solidarity politeness characteristics. This appeared to hold true in the data that was gathered in settings addressed by this study.

9.3 Implications

Crystal (1997) reports that English has become the language of the world by repeatedly finding itself 'in the right place at the right time'. Hundreds of millions of people, perhaps as high as a billion, learn English as a foreign language around the world. Understanding the relationship between the English teaching and learning process and culture will contribute to the broadening of perspectives and continuing professional development necessary to cope with the challenges that will arise over the following decades.

The most important contribution of this study is the pilot testing of the research model for analyzing the English as a foreign language teaching and learning process in two countries. The cultural features of individualism and collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance and masculinity and femininity as well as context in culture (Hall 1976) and politeness strategies (Scollon and Scollon 1983; 1995) that were included in the model do appear to explain many aspects of the educational cultures in the specific junior high school settings studied which a mere applied linguistic approach would have failed to address. The method hopes to extend the cross-cultural work of Hofstede (1980; 1986; 1991) and, to a lesser extent, of Hall (1976) and Scollon and Scollon (1983; 1995). The method has proven feasible in this study and might be feasible for other studies that attempt to examine teaching and learning from an intercultural perspective.

Having completed this project, my impression is that Hofstede's dimensions can be utilized in many ways and are subject to interpretation. If this project had attempted to 'prove' or 'disprove' them, an approach insisting on a strict, literal interpretation could have been adopted. Then this work could have proceeded to argue that the categories are invalid. Instead, observable features in the physical work of the two educational settings were described, then corresponding phenomena were matched with Hofstede's tendencies. This free interpretation suggested that many of Hofstede's observations are valid and could be found in the settings studied. My feeling is that cultural features are observable and can be classified. However, they are better approached as tendencies rather than mutually exclusive categories.

In addition, it is my feeling that many aspects of the Finnish English as a foreign language education system could be incorporated into the Japanese educational culture, most notably the lowering of the age in which pupils begin studying the language and the adoption of Finnish style text and workbooks

accompanied by in-service teacher training. Following in-service teacher training, learner training could be used to train pupils to behave in a more autonomous manner. My feeling is that although an English language classroom which promoted more individualism, lower power distance and weaker uncertainty avoidance may run contrary to the prevailing educational culture in other classrooms, it would not necessarily disrupt the harmony of the school as a whole. Teachers and learners could adopt the attitude that the English classroom is a unique learning environment were 'English' communication patterns could be promoted.

True, cultural factors such as the tendency for older persons (teachers) not to assume student roles may inhibit the further in-service teacher training needed to initiate such a change. However, if such training was viewed as 'hobby lessons', such as golf or flower arranging, rather than vocational training dictated by the central government, it may be more readily accepted. Further, the Japanese are 'famous' for adopting useful western technology while maintaining their own national identity. This could be applied to the adoption of Finnish 'technology' of effective English as a foreign language education.

Another major implication of this study is that researchers must be wary of making claims about English language teaching in various countries without taking into account cultural factors which may influence teaching and learning within those countries. One must be aware that cultural factors such as individualism and collectivism, power distance, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity and femininity, context and politeness may influence educational cultures and affect the design and implementation of educational policy.

Further, research in applied linguistics should, in my mind, not lose sight of the practicing classroom teacher. In an educational cultural setting, it is often more useful to analyze several factors which contribute to the teaching and learning process on the surface to gain a picture of English education as whole. For the practicing teacher, broad perspectives and a greater understanding of the whole as provided by studies such as this should be easier to relate to the entire language teaching process.

More detailed cultural analysis studies within the framework of English teaching and learning are needed to understand the educational processes around the world in addition to further investigations into teacher training. These may lead to new breakthroughs in the field of English as a foreign language education and intercultural communication which contribute to providing the skills needed for interaction and cooperation in the emerging global community.

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Appendix 1

Students Survey Results

100 third year students were surveyed in Ms. Junko Moridaira's Kanra Number one Junior High School classes. The highest number of responses for any one question was 103 and occurred in question 8 because some students checked both answers.

1. Why do you study English? Choose as many answers as you like from the following list.

high school entrance tests	61	junior high school tests	54
to speak it	49	to understand it	48
to travel outside of Japan	42	to talk to foreign people	46
to listen to music in English	26	to watch movies in English	23
to read books, magazines, etc..	19	Other-'I like English"	1

2. How many foreigners have you talked to?
3 31   2 26   4 20   5 14   1 1

3. Did you speak with the foreigner?   Yes   82   No   7

4. Have you ever been to a foreign country?   Yes (Guam) 1
                                                No   93

5. After junior high school, what school do you want to attend?
high school   88
(Japanese teacher indicated they all wished to attend high school)
4 year university   25
technical or vocational school   21
2 year college   13
work   6
advanced education (MA or Ph.d.)   4
agricultural high school   3
self defence force (Army)   2

6. Do you like English?
Yes   42   No   37   Yes and No 17

7. Do you hate English?
Yes   36   No   42   Yes and No 17

8. Do you go to 'juku'(private cram school) for English?
Yes 70   No 33
How many hours?
1-4 hours   60   more than 4 hours   7

9. How many hours do you study English at home in a week?
1 hour   10   2-4 hours   56   more than 8 hours 7

10. Do you ever watch English movies?
Yes 76   No 13
If yes, how many hours in a month?
2-4 hours   51   5-8 hours   14   more than 8 hours 5

11. In English class, what do you like?
the AET   63   games   60   classes with the AET   44
speaking   29   listening   19   writing   17
reading   16   classes with the Japanese teacher 13
the Japanese teacher   8   tests   6   the textbook   4
other-'nothing'   1

12. Do you want to visit an English speaking country? Yes 79   No 21

13. Do you listen to foreign music in English?
Yes (usually less than 4 hours a week)   52   No 21

14. Do you read English books, magazines or comics?
Yes (usually less than 2 hours a month) 13   No 80

15. Will you use English in your life?
Yes sometime   39   Maybe   32   Yes often   9
No   8   I don't know 6

16. How good is your English?
OK 41   not good   15   bad 11   very bad   7
zen zen wakaranai (I understand nothing)   6   very good 4   good 3

17. What does team-teaching do? Choose as many answers as you like.
makes English more fun   48
helps with entrance tests   37
makes English more interesting   36
makes students want to speak English   30
other-'to understand'   1

18. What does team-teaching make you learn? Choose as many answers as you like.

speaking	37	
it is possible to speak English	36	
listening	31	
about foreign people	26	
reading	23	
about foreign places		23
writing	23	
grammar	11	
the JTE can speak English with the AET	12	
No response	14	

19. What do you want to be when you grow up?

don't know	14	cook 10	office worker		10
computer programer 7		engineer 7	teacher	6	
nurse	6	kindergarten teacher	4	TV star	2
hair dresser 2		painter 2	mechanic	2	

hotel manager, baseball player, domestic servant, dietician, florist, clothes designer, civil servant, graphic designer, doctor, writer   1

Appendix 2

Students Survey Results - Finland

129 eigth grade students were surveyed in Emäkoski Junior High School classes.

1. Why do you study English? Choose as many answers as you like from the following list.

matriculation examination	21	junior high school tests	43
to speak it	108	to understand it	110
to travel	85	to talk to foreign people	85
to listen to music in English	66	to watch movies in English	72
to read books, magazines, etc..	51		

Other

Penpals	3	Talk to English Father	1
Because I have to	1	Use computers	1

2. How many foreigners have you talked to?

O	15	1-5	58	6-10	12	11-15	1
16-20	6	20+	10	many	9	some	5
no answer	11						

3. Did you speak English with the foreigner?   Yes 95   No   25   na 2

4. Have you ever been to a foreign country?   Yes   119   No   9

5. After junior high school, what school do you want to attend?

Lukio	76	ammattikoulu	60	kauppaoppilaitos	13
work	8	university	6	NA	3

Other: horse economy opisto   1

6. Do you like English?

Yes	100	No	9	I don't know	20

7. Do take private English lessons?   Yes   6   No   83

8. How many hours of English TV shows do you watch in a week?

O	5	1-5	28	6-10	51	11-15	10
16-20	13	20+	19				
no answer	6	I don't know	1				

9. How many hours do you study English at home in a week?
1 hour 57   2-4 hours   57   4-8 hours   8   More than 8 hours 2

10. Do you ever watch movies that are in English?   Yes   61   No   3
If yes, how many hours in a month?
2-4 hours   38   5-8 hours   36   9-12 hours   18
More than 13 hours 26   NA 1

11. In English class, what do you like?
games   57   speaking   62   listening   56   writing
        32
reading   46   tests   14   language lab 41   textbook   16
pair work   81
other: video   12   group work 2

12. Do you want to visit an English speaking country?
Yes   104   No   10   NA   4
If yes, where: mostly US, Canada, UK

13. Do you listen to foreign music in English?
Yes   115   No   2   NA 1
If yes, how many hours a week?
1-5   44   6-10   23   11-15 13   16-20 5   20+   25   often 7
don't know   9

14. Do you read English books, magazines or comics? Yes   53   No   65
If yes, how many hours a week?
1   27   2   16   3   3   5   1
8   1   sometimes   2

15. Will you use English in your life?
Yes often   29   Yes sometimes   48   Maybe   37   No   4
I don't know 12

16. How good is your English?
very good 21   good   27   OK   51   not good   14
bad   4   very bad   3

Appendix 3

Team-taught lesson (Japan)

Place: Kanra Number 3 Junior High School, Gunma Prefecture
Level: Second Year (eighth grade); Students were between the ages of 14 and 15.

Key

JTE   Japanese English Teacher
ALT   Assistant Language Teacher (Native Speaker)
S1 - S11   Individual students
Class   All or almost all students

( )   Translation of Japanese or Finnish
[]   Overlap
<>   Non-verbal response or other factors in the class
{}   Comment

Text		move	exchange

Exchange 1

	Text	move	exchange
JTE:	Hey, OK. Let's begin.	informing	I
S1:	Please stand up.	acknowledging eliciting	R/I
<class stands up>		acknowledging	R
S1:	Please bow.	eliciting	I
<class bows>		acknowledging	R
Class:	Good morning Mr. Kitazume and Mikel. {in chorus}	acknowledging informing	R/I
JTE:	Hey, good morning everybody.	acknowledging	R
ALT:	Good morning everybody.		
S1:	Please sit down.	eliciting	I
<class sits>		acknowledging	R
JTE:	OK.	acknowledging	F

Exchange 2

ALT:	OK,		Organizational
	how do you feel today?	eliciting	I
	How do you feel?		
	How do you feel?		
<points to student>			
S2:	I'm sleepy.	informing	R
ALT:	Sleepy.	acknowledging	F

Exchange 3

ALT:	Who's sleepy?	eliciting	I
<Sleepy people raise their hands>		informing	R
ALT:	Almost everybody.	acknowledging	F

Exchange 4

ALT:	How do you feel?	eliciting	I
<indicates student who didn't raise his hand>			
S3:	I'm cool.	informing	R
ALT:	Cool?	acknowledging	F

Exchange 5

ALT:	Who's cool?	eliciting	I
<People who are cool raise their hands>		informing	R
JTE:	Almost everybody.	acknowledging	F

Exchange 6

ALT:	How do you feel?	eliciting	I
<to student who didn't raise his hand>			
S4:	I'm sleepy.	informing	R
ALT:	Sleepy.	acknowledging	F

Exchange 7

ALT:	How do you feel?	eliciting	I
<points to different student>			
S5:	I feel *coord*.	informing	R
ALT:	You feel good?	eliciting	I
S6:	Cool.	informing	R
ALT:	Cool?	eliciting	I
<positive non-verbal signal from S6 - a nod>		informing	R
	Everybody feels		
	[cool].	acknowledging	F
JTE:	[Me too]		
	[Cool] Uh! [Me too].		
Class:	[laughter]		
ALT:	[Heh, heh]. Yea, me too.		
	OK.		Organizational

Exchange 8

ALT:	What day is it today?	eliciting	I
	What day is it today?		
<picks student>			
S7:	It's Friday.	informing	R
ALT:	It's [Friday].	acknowledging	F
JTE:	[It's] Friday.		
<click x 20 from chalk on the board>			
	OK.		Organizational

Exchange 9

ALT:	OK.		Organizational
	What is the date today?	eliciting	I
	What is today's date ...		
	What is today's date?		
<picks a student>			
S8:	It's November ... twent	informing	R
	[cough, cough, cough]		
JTE:	[It's November ... twent, uhm?	eliciting	I
	Repeat it.		
S8:	It's November twentieth.	informing	R

JTE:	Twentieth.	acknowledging	F
	OK.		
ALT:	OK.		F

[click x 27 from chalk on the board]

Exchange 10

JTE:	OK.		Organizational
ALT:	OK.		Organizational
	What day was yesterday?	eliciting	I
	What day was yesterday?		
	What day was yesterday?		

<Pick students>

S9:	It was Thursday.	informing	R
	{barely audible}		
JTE:	OK. It was Thursday.	acknowledging	F
ALT:	It was [Thursday].		
JTE:	[Thursday]		

Exchange 11

| ALT: | What day is tomorrow? | eliciting | I |
| | What day is tomorrow? | | |

<picks student>

S10:	It's Saturday.	informing	R
ALT:	OK.	acknowledging	F
JTE:	OK. It's Saturday.		

Exchange 12

| ALT: | How's the weather today? | eliciting | I |
| | How's the weather? | | |

<picks student>

S11:	It's cloudy.	informing	R
JTE:	OK. [It's cloudy].	acknowledging	F
ALT:	[It's cloudy].		

[click x 16 from chalk on the board]

| | OK. | | Organizational |

Exchange 13

ALT:	So, everybody together.		
	Organizational		
	It's Friday.	informing	I
Class:	It's Friday.	acknowledging	R
ALT:	It's November 20th.	informing	I
Class:	It's November 20th.	acknowledging	R
ALT:	It's cloudy.	informing	I
Class:	It's cloudy.	acknowledging	R
JTE:	OK.	acknowledging	F

Exchange 14

{one second pause from previous "OK"}

JTE:	OK. Let's begin a game.		
	Organizational		
	OK.		
	Could you explain?	eliciting	I
ALT:	OK.	acknowledging	R
	Today we're going to play	informing	I
	"Can you Game". So, you		
	have to think of questions.		
	Can you?		

[clicks from chalk on board]

	OK. Can you nani nani?		
Class:	\<Laughter\>	acknowledging	R

\<clicks from chalk on the board\>

ALT:	Yes, I can.		
JTE:	Yes, I can.		
ALT:	No, I can't.		
JTE:	No		
ALT:	OK.	acknowledging	F

Exchange 15

ALT:	So, first turn your desks to face each other. OK?	eliciting	I
JTE:	Turn your desks.		
ALT:	Turn your desks.		
JTE:	[Turn your desk] to face each other. {Students turn their desks}	acknowledging	R
	OK.	acknowledging	F

Exchange 16

JTE:	So, teams, OK?	eliciting	I
ALT:	This is team one <points>, team two <points>.	acknowledging	R
JTE:	OK.	acknowledging	F

Exchange 17

ALT:	Team one <points>, team two <points>. Team one <points>, team two <points>. OK.	Organizational	
	So, you have to think of questions. Can you? The first person says-hum-asks <points> this person <points> on the other team, "Can you cook dinner?" He says, "Yes, I can". Then, no point. If he says no I can't, then one point. OK? So, if she says, "Can you cook dinner?", he says, "Yes, I can", then there is no point. But if she says, "Can you fly?" Fly	informing	I
Class:	[slight laughter]	acknowledging	R
ALT:	[like a bird]. Ok? If he says, "No I can't." Then this team	informing	I

	<points> gets one point. OK?		
JTE:	Impossible questions.		
ALT:	Yea, impossible questions.		
JTE:	Impossible. You know? Impossible-		
ALT:	OK?		
Class:	[chatter]	acknowledging	R
ALT:	Do you understand?	eliciting	I
Class:	Yes. {in chorus}	informing	R
JTE:	Difficult, difficult questions.	acknowledging	F
ALT:	OK.		

Exchange 18

ALT:	So, if he says, "Yes, I can". Then, his team gets to ask the next question. OK? So, the first question, this person asks (points). So, she says, "Can you cook dinner?". He says, "Yes, I can". So then, she (points) gets to ask the next question. But, if he says, "No, I can't". Then, this team (points) gets to say-ask the next question. Understand?	informing	I
Class:	slight laughter	acknowledging	R
ALT:	Difficult.	informing	I
JTE:	Difficult.		
Class:	[chatter in Japanese]	acknowledging	R
JTE:	(explanation in Japanese)	informing	I
Class:	<explain to each other in Japanese>		
ALT:	[Do you understand?]	informing	I
Class:	Yes.	acknowledging	R
ALT:	OK.	acknowledging	F

Exchange 19

ALT:	Keep your own scores. OK?	Organizational	
JTE:	Explains in Japanese. (Keep score)		
ALT:	OK. Here we go. Go!	informing	I
JTE:	OK. First person, first person.		
S11:	Jan Ken Pon	acknowledging	R

Appendix 4

Regular English lesson (Japan)

Place: Kanra Number 3 Junior High School, Gunma Prefecture
Level: Second Year (eighth grade); Students were between the ages
of 14 and 15.

Exchange 1

<teacher enters>

JTE:	Hai, soredewa hajimemasu,	informing	I
	Hey, who is on duty?		
S1:	Please stand up.	acknowledging	R/I
		eliciting	
<students stand up>		acknowledging	R
S1:	Please bow.	eliciting	I
<students bow, teacher bows>		acknowledging	R
All:	Good morning, Mr. Kitazume.	informing	I
JTE:	Hey, good morning everybody.	acknowledging	R
S1:	Please sit down.	eliciting	I
<students sit down>		acknowledging	R
JTE:	OK.	acknowledging	F

Exchange 2

JTE:	How are you today, Koji.	eliciting	I
Koji:	I have cold.	informing	R
JTE:	You have a cold? OK.	acknowledging	F

Exchange 3

JTE:	Who has cold?	eliciting	I
	Who has cold?		
<teacher raises hand, students		informing	R
with a cold raise hands also>			
JTE:	Me too, me too. OK, take care.	acknowledging	F

Exchange 4

JTE:	Hey, Kenji, how do you feel?	eliciting	I
Kenji:	I feel sleepy.	informing	R
JTE:	You're sleepy. OK.	acknowledging	F

Exchange 5

JTE:	Who's sleepy? Who's sleepy?	eliciting	I
\<two students raise their hands\>		informing	R
JTE:	Two people. OK, I see.	acknowledging	F

Exchange 6

JTE:	Hey, Ko, Masukatsu, how are you?	eliciting	I
Masukatsu:	I feel sleepy.	informing	R
JTE:	Sleepy? OK.	acknowledging	F

Exchange 7

JTE:	Hey, Mariko, how do you feel?	eliciting	I
Mariko:	I have cold.	informing	R
JTE:	You have cold.	acknowledging	F

Exchange 8

JTE:	Hey Makiko, how do you feel?	eliciting	I
Makiko:	I have cold.	informing	R
JTE:	Cold.	acknowledging	F

Exchange 9

JTE:	Chieko, how are you today?	eliciting	I
Chieko:	I feel OK.	informing	R
JTE:	You feel OK, *hai*,	acknowledging	F
	Who is OK?	eliciting	I
	Who's OK?		
<Students who feel OK raise hands>		informing	R
JTE:	Fine. I see.	acknowledging	F

Exchange 10

JTE:	What day of the week is it today? What day? Hey, Sakiko, what day?	eliciting	I
Sakiko:	Monday.	informing	R
JTE:	OK. It's Monday. {while writing on the board} It's Monday, today. OK.	acknowledging	F

Exchange 11

JTE:	What's the date? What is the date? Hey, Katsunomi.	eliciting	I
Katsunomi:			
	It's March 22nd.	informing	R
JTE:	OK, it's March 22nd. {while writing on the board} Today, March 22nd.	acknowledging	F

Exchange 12

JTE:	OK,		Organizational	
	How's the weather?	eliciting	I	
	Yuko, how's the weather?			
Yuko:	It's sunny.	informing	R	
JTE:	OK, It's sunny. {while writing}. It's sunny.	acknowledging	F	

Exchange 13

JTE:	K, hey, everybody now together.	Organizational	
	It's Monday today.	informing	I
All:	It's Monday today.	acknowledging	R
JTE:	It's March 22nd.	informing	I
All:	It's March 22nd.	acknowledging	R
JTE:	It's sunny.	informing	I
All:	It's sunny.	acknowledging	R
JTE:	Hey, OK.	**acknowledging**	F

Exchange 14

JTE:	ai, ja kona aida no fukushu suru	informing	I
	Close your books.		
	Close your books.		
	Close your books,		
<students close their books>		acknowledging	R
	and close your notebooks.	informing	I
<students close their notebooks>		acknowledging	R

close books. *ah nani ga nani nani ga aru nantoka nani ga iru ga to iu kata kimatta ii kata osowatte kima shita ga yo ne gimonbun, hiteibun to nani nani ga aru datoka nani nani ga iru to iu ii kata kotae kata ne wakarimashita hai ja mo ichido, na hai to hitotsu tsukue ga arimasu, hitotsu no tsukue ga arimasu. Hai, Kenji Tamura, hitotsu no tsukue ga arimasu.*

Kenji: *Wasure chatta.*

Exchange 15

JTE:	*Wasure chatta. (?)*	eliciting	I
Kenji:	There is a... desk	informing	R
JTE:	OK, *tsukue ga arimasu*	acknowledging	F
	hai hitotsu dakara na		
	'there is' *o tsukau.*		

Exchange 16

JTE:	Hai, there is a desk.	eliciting	I
<teacher signals for the students to repeat>			
All:	There is a desk.	acknowledging	R
JTE:	OK, hai.	acknowledging	F

Exchange 17

JTE:	*kono heya ni* *kono heya ni wa hitotsu* *tsukue ga arimasu hai omake no* *kotoba o tsuketa wake dayona,* *Hisanori.*	eliciting	I
Hisanori:	There is a	informing	R
JTE:	There is a..*nani ga aru n da*	eliciting	I
Hisanori:	There is a desk in this room. {slowly}	informing	R
JTE:	mm in this room *da yo na* OK *mo ichido.*	acknowledging eliciting	R/I
Hisanori:	There is a desk in this room.	acknowledging	R
JTE:	OK	acknowledging	F

Exchange 18

JTE:	*hai bero o kande na, shikkarina* teacher points {to mouth and indicates how to pronounce the dental fricative 'th'} the, the, *nan da yo, kande na, shikkari na* the the there is a desk in this room, *hai.*	informing	I
All:	There is a desk in this room.	acknowledging	R
JTE:	*Hitotsu dakara* 'a' *o kanarazu tsukena.* *Hai,* There is a desk in this room. *Hai.*	eliciting	I
All:	There is a desk in this room.	informing	R
JTE:	Jyaa,	acknowledging	F

Exchange 19

JTE:	*tsukue ga mittu arimasu, Kono heya niwa.* There are three desks in this room. Hai.	eliciting	I
All:	There are three desks in this room.	acknowledging	R
JTE:	*Ja tsukue ga mittsu arimasu kono heya ni wa na tsukue ga mittsu arimasu yo kono heya ni, hai, Ayano.*	eliciting	I
Ayano:	There are three desks in this room.	informing	R
JTE:	OK.	acknowledging	F

Appendix 5

Finnish English Lesson

Place: Emäkoski Junior High School, Nokia
Level: Eighth grade; students were between the ages of 14 and 15.

Finnish Lesson Exchange 1

T:	So, hello everybody.	informing	I
S1:	Hello.	acknowledging	R
S2:	Hello.		
Ss:	Hello {not in unison}		
T:	Are you all here?	eliciting	I
S1:	No	informing	R
T:	No?	acknowledging eliciting	R/I
S3:	(unintelligible) pois nyt.	informing	R
T:	(unintelligible) pois nyt. I see.	acknowledging	
Ss:	[Chatter] 'Olli on pois'	informing	I
T:	All right.	acknowledging	F

Finnish Lesson Exchange 2

T:	Well, uh, since you haven't got your book again, I will ask and you can ask each other. What do you call a dead body from Egypt?	eliciting	I
<a girl raises hand, teacher points>			
S4:	A mummy.	informing	R
T:	Yes, a mummy, And, uh,	acknowledging Organizational	F

Finnish Lesson Exchange 3

| T: | what do you call a yellow metal? Very expensive? | eliciting | I |

<several hands raised, teacher recognizes a girl>

	Jenni		
Jenni:	Gold.	informing	R
T:	That's right,	acknowledging	F

Finnish Lesson Pseudo-Exchange 4
*Note: This is not really an exchange. Several things are going on at the same time. It will be discussed in later sections.

| T: | and now I want you to explain these words | informing | I |

<puts word list on overhead projector>

| | Work with your pair and find some English explanations. | | |
| Ss: | [Chatter] | acknowledging | R |

<students form pairs or groups of three, boys with boys, girls with girls, two students initially sit by themselves but then go to groups. Teacher walks around the class to monitor the students.>
<door opens, two students enter, girl first, boy second, boy pushes girl as she come through the door, leaves door open>

T:	All right, you're late	eliciting	I
S5:	(unintelligible response)	?	R
T:	Will you take your coat off?		I
Ss:	[Chatter (unintelligible)] R		
S6:	If you are Ridge Forrester?	eliciting	I
S7:	I'm Ridge. (from TV show)	informing	R
Ss:	Chatter (unintelligible)		

<one student leaves the room, then reenters with book bag, several students get up to blow their noses>
<Teacher approaches one group>

| T: | You're suppose to keep your book closed and explain. | informing | I |

<Teacher closes the book>

| | The terms are there. | | |

<points to Overhead Projector>

| S8: | What kind of questions? | eliciting | R/I |

<incomplete>

Finnish Lesson Exchange 5

T:	All right, you are more or less ready.		Organizational
	We can start explaining the words. Would you like to explain the word "rich"? What is "rich"? Raise your hand.	eliciting	I
<students raise hands>			
	OK, Jaana (girl).		
Jaana:	You have lots of money.	informing	R
T:	Yes, you have lots of money. You're rich.	acknowledging	F

Finnish Lesson Exchange 6

T:	What about bury?	eliciting	I
Ss:	(chatter)	acknowledging	R
T:	shh....	informing	F
<hands raised>			
	How about bury?... Kaisa.		
Kaisa:	Something you do to a dead body.	acknowledging	R
T:	Yes, very nicely explained. Something you do with a dead body.	acknowledging	F

Finnish Lesson Exchange 7a

T:	All right,		Organizational
	How about mask?	eliciting	I
	What's a mask?......... Well, uh, perhaps you could explain it by saying where you put it. Where do you put a mask?		
S6:	On the face.	informing	R
T:	Oh yes, and...	acknowledging	F

Finnish Lesson Exchange 7b

T:	...when do you use a mask, Kirsi, you had an idea, on your face.	eliciting	I
Kirsi:	On your face.	informing	R
T:	On your face, That's right.	acknowledging	F

Finnish Lesson Exchange 8

T:	Ah, how about skeletons? What's a skeleton?	eliciting	I
{Pause}			
	Jenni?		
{Pause}			
	Any idea?		
Ss:	Chatter	informing	R
S7:	Inside the body.		
T:	What?	eliciting	R/I
S8:	Inside the body.	informing	R
T:	That's right.	acknowledging	F

Finnish Lesson Exchange 9

T:	A skeleton usually has many parts, smaller parts. What are they called?	eliciting	I
<students' hands go up>			
	Ilona.		
Ilona:	Bones.	informing	R
T:	Bones, yes, your skeleton is all the bones of your body and, uh,	acknowledging	F

Finnish Lesson Exchange 10

T:	What's a neck or where?	eliciting	I
Ss:	Under your skin {chatter}	informing	R
T:	Mika, What is your neck? Can you explain it? Maybe you need the word 'below' however, below	eliciting	I
Mika:	the head	informing	R
T:	And of course, above your shoulders.	acknowledging	F

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Appendix 6

Sisällys

Source: OK English (1992), published by WSOY
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Appendix 6

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Source: OK English (1992), published by WSOY: Contents

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Source: OK English (1992), published by WSOY: Elementary Contents

Appendix 6

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READ

At Yoriko's House

Yoriko takes Wendy to her home. She lives in a large wooden house. She lives there with her parents and little brother. The girls put on special indoor shoes.

Later Yoriko's family and Wendy sit down on the floor and have a lovely dinner. They have rice and vegetables and lots of green tea.

After dinner Wendy goes to the bathroom. She looks at her watch.
"Oh, dear. It's ten o'clock. I have to go home."

Round and round
And to and fro.
Magic headband,
Please let's go.

Source: OK English (1992), published by WSOY
            Study book

Appendix 7

UNIT 3   When tomorrow comes

12	Heather here ***	70	• puhelimella asioiminen • tapaamisesta sopiminen	• kertaus: – ajanilmauksia
12 A	Hello! * DO!	71	• viestin vastaanottaminen	– paikanilmauksia – jälkikysymyksiä • konsonanttiäänteitä
12 B	That's life *	72		
12 C	Ring, Ring (Song) *	73		
13	Shopping (L) ***	74	• ostosten teko • nuorten rahankäyttö • ehdotusten teko	• kertaus: – raha – lukusanat • futuurikysymys • konsonanttiäänteitä
13 A	Can I help you? * DO!	77		
PICTURE 3	In a department store *	78	• kuvasanakirja-aukeama	• tavaratalosanastoa
14	Looking ahead ***	80	• tulevaisuuden keksintöjä, kuvitelmia ja suunnitelmia	• futuuri • ajanilmauksia
15	What's your sign? **	82	• leikillistä luonnekuvausta	• kertaus: kysyviä pronomineja
15 A	Feelings *	86	• tunnelmakuva	• kertaus: adjektiiveja
16	The shape of things to come? *	88	• tulevaisuuden ennustusta ja muita hauskoja perinteitä	• kertaus: epämääräisen ajan adverbit lauseessa
17	Halloween (L) **	91	• pyhäinpäivän aaton riemuja	• used to (do) -rakenne
17 A	The future in your hand *	92	• tulevaisuudesta ennustamista	
Extra: The Strange Story of Doctor Jekyll and Mr Hyde, Episode 3 *		94	• jatkokertomus	

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Source: You Too 8 (1989), published by Weilin+Göös: Contents

Appendix 7

UNIT 4 Five days a week

18	School news ***	98	• mitä koulussa tapahtuu • ehto ja seuraus	• kouluaineet • lukujärjestys ja todistus • tulevaisuuteen viittaavat if-lauseet
18 A	Wonderful World (Song) *	101		
19	Rules **	102	• koulun säännöistä	• must/must not • be (not) allowed • of-genetiivi
19 A	School rules. OK? * DO!	104	• mielipiteitä säännöistä • myöhästyminen ja anteeksipyyntö	• diftongiäänteitä
19 B	Feelings *	105	• tunnelmakuva	• kertaus: adjektiiveja
PICTURE 4	In school +	106	• kuvasanakirja-aukeama	• koulusanastoa
20	Breaking the rules (L) **	108	• keskustelua rangaistuksista	• kertaus: s-genetiivi
20 A	That's life *	109		
21	Making a class magazine ***	110	• luokkalehden suunnittelua	
21 A	Let's do it! ***	112	• ryhmätyö: luokkalehden valmistaminen	
22	Helping hands *	115	• kutsu avustamaan UNICEFia • ystävyyttä yli maailman	
23	Do they know it's Christmas? (Song) *	116	• laulullakin voi avustaa	• kertaus: lukusanoja
Extra:	The Strange Story of Doctor Jekyll and Mr Hyde. Episode 4 *	118	• jatkokertomus	

Source: You Too 8 (1989), published by Weilin+Göös: Contents

Appendix 7

UNIT 5 Discover Britain

24	London here we come! (L) ***	122	• tutustuminen Lontoon karttaan	• kertaus: verbi + prepositio
24 A	Feelings *	126	• tunnelmakuva	• kertaus: adjektiiveja
25	A look at London ***	128	• Lontoon nähtävyyksiä • ehdon ilmaiseminen • kohtelias pyyntö • toiveen ilmaiseminen	• ajanilmaisuja • kertaus: prepositioita • 1. konditionaali ja vastaava if-lause
25 A	Any suggestions? * DO!	132	• ehdotusten tekeminen ja niihin reagoiminen	
26 B	Underground rally (L) *	134	• tutustuminen Lontoon maanalaiseen	
26	You belong to the city (Song) *	136	• suurkaupungin tunnelmia	
PICTURE 5	The history of Britain *	138	• historian puu: Britannian historiaa	• historian sanastoa
27	Treasures of the British Museum (L) *	140	• kiinnostavia museonähtävyyksiä • neuvottelua ja päätöksen tekoa	
28	A man called Wah ***	142	• Egyptin muinaishistoriaa • lauseiden liitäntä	• kertaus: konjunktioita • relatiivipronominit: who, which ja whose • sanojen painottuminen lauseessa merkityksen mukaan
28 A	That's life *	144	• yksinpuhelu	
29	Great Britons **	145	• kuuluisia brittiläisiä tiedemiehiä	• sananjohto-opin alkeita
30	Mysterious Stonehenge *	148	• Britannian varhaishistoriaa • muistiinpanojen tekemistä	• kertaus: lukusanarakenteita
	Extra: The Strange Story of Doctor Jekyll and Mr Hyde, Episode 5 *	150	• jatkokertomus	

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Source: You Too 8 (1989), published by Weilin+Göös
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Appendix 7

UNIT 6   Destination Finland

31	Welcome to Finland (L.) ★★★	154	• ulkomaalaisia Suomessa • haastattelun laadintaa	• could, should
31 A	That's life ★	156	• yksinpuhelu	
32	Visiting Finns ★★★	157	• suomalaisia tapoja ulkomaalaisen silmin • lehtiartikkeli	• kertaus: indefiniittipronomineja • all, both, each, every: yksikkö vai monikko
32 A	Table manners ★ DO!	159	• pöytäkeskustelua	
	PICTURE 6 In winter ★	160	• kuva-aukeama	• talvisanastoa
33	Lapland in winter ★★	162	• talvisia ajanviettotapoja Suomessa • mainostyyli	• kertaus: there is -rakenne • ääntämisharjoituksia
33 A	Feelings ★	164	• talvinen kokemus	• kertaus: adjektiiveja
33 B	Two winter poems ★	166	• talvisia tunnelmia	
34	This is Finland (Group work) ★★★	167	• Suomen esittelyä ulkomaalaisille ryhmätyönä	
35	Make yourselves at home (L.) ★	170	• eri maiden tapoja ja tottumuksia	
36	A year in Finland ★	170	• kokemuksia Suomesta eri vuodenaikoina • päiväkirjatyyli	• ennakoivasti: it muodollisena subjektina
36 A	The Four Seasons ★	172	• vuodenaikojen kuvausta sanoin ja sävelin	
	Extra: The Strange Story of Doctor Jekyll and Mr Hyde, Episode 6 ★	174	• jatkokertomus	

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Source: You Too 8 (1989), published by Weilin+Göös
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Source: You Too 8 (1989), published by Weilin+Göös
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UNIT 8   No problem

43	Man to man ***	201	• 60-luvun nuorista	• kertaus: kysymyssanoja • tukisana one • must, have to • intonaatio kysymyksissä
44	The generation gap (L) **	203	• vanhempien ja nuorte... näkemyseroista	• kohteliaita fraaseja
44 A	Don't interrupt! (Poem) *	204	• käskyjä ja kieltoja nuoren elämässä	
45	She's leaving home (Song) *	204	• itsenäistymisen vaikeuksia	
46	Dear Clare **	206	• ongelmia ja ratkaisuehdotuksia	• kertaus: prepositioita, konjunktioita
46 A	Any advice? * DO!	208	• neuvojen kysymistä ja antamista	
46 B	That's life *	209	• yksinpuhelu	
PICTURE 8	Girls only? Boys only? *	210	• kuvasanakirja-aukeama	• kylpyhuonesanastoa • autosanastoa
47	Born in the USA – the story of jeans ***	213	• farkkujen historiaa	• kertaus: artikkelit • itsenäiset possessiivipronominit
48	Awophupaloobop alopbamboom **	216	• rock-musiikin voittokulku	• kertaus: genetiivi
49	Fan or fanatic? *	2...19	• ihanteiden palv ota ja itsenäistyminen	
Extra: The Strange Story of Doctor Jekyll and Mr Hyde. Episode 8 *		224	• jatkokertomus	

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Source: You Too 8 (1989), published by Weilin+Göös
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TEXTBANK

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Source: You Too 8 (1989) Textbook, published by Weilin+Göös
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Appendix 7

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What's your sign? ★★

THE SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC Eläinradan merkit
[ðə ˌsainz əv ðə ˈzəudiæk]

CAPRICORN [kæprikɔːn]	Kauris
AQUARIUS [əkweəriəs]	Vesimies
PISCES [paisiz]	Kalat
ARIES [eəriz]	Oinas
TAURUS [tɔːrəs]	Härkä
GEMINI [dʒemini]	Kaksoset
CANCER [kænsə]	Rapu
LEO [liːəu]	Leijona
VIRGO [vəːgəu]	Neitsyt
LIBRA [liːbrə]	Vaaka
SCORPIO [skɔːpiəu]	Skorpioni
SAGITTARIUS [ˌsædʒiteəriəs]	Jousimies

Horoscopes are based on the Signs of the Zodiac, which have a
long history. Your sign tells you what kind of character you
have.
You can now find out if this is true or not.

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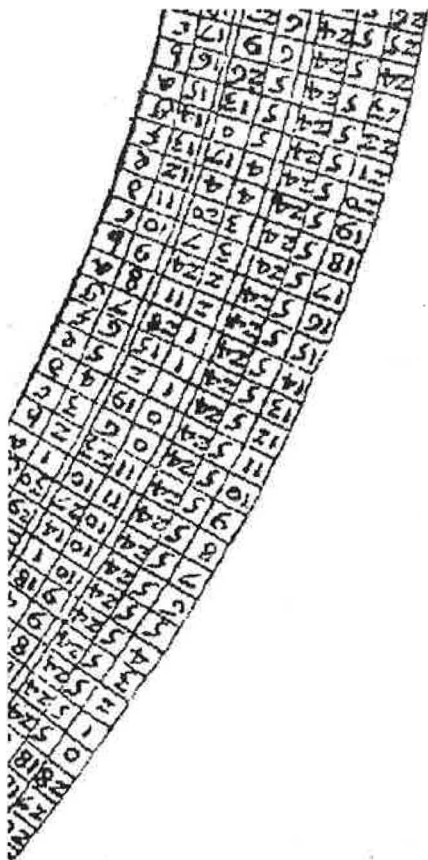
CAPRICORN

December 23 to January 19
Planet: Saturn
Motto: I climb

Like a mountain goat you try to climb to the top in life. You work hard, and you never stop trying. You are faithful to your friends and always keep your promises.

Famous people: Isaac Newton, Martin Luther King, Elvis Presley, David Bowie.

PISCES

February 20 to March 21
Planets: Jupiter, Neptune
Motto: I dream

You are romantic and a bit of a dreamer. You are sympathetic and kind and you try to please everyone. You have a good sense of humour.

Famous people: Michelangelo, George Washington, Albert Einstein, Elizabeth Taylor.

TAURUS

April 21 to May 21
Planet: Venus
Motto: I have

You can be quite bull-headed and nobody can make you do something if you don't want to do it. You like having lots of money – and spending it. You are very close to your family and friends.

Famous people: Shakespeare, Karl Marx, Adolf Hitler.

AQUARIUS

January 20 to February 19
Planets: Saturn, Uranus
Motto: I know

You like being with people and you have lots of friends. You have a good imagination and you are always full of ideas. You like to be different.

Famous people: Mozart, Charles Dickens, Charles Darwin, Princess Stephanie.

ARIES

March 22 to April 20
Planet: Mars
Motto: I dare

You like being independent and free. You lose your temper easily, but you also forgive and forget easily. You are very lively and you like a lot of change in your life.

Famous people: Vincent Van Gogh, Houdini, Charlie Chaplin.

GEMINI

May 22 to June 22
Planet: Mercury
Motto: I think

You like having lots of change and excitement in your life. You are very active and have many interests. You are talkative and probably good at languages.

Famous people: Queen Victoria, Marilyn Monroe, John F. Kennedy, Paul McCartney.

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Appendix 7

The Strange Story of ★
Doctor Jekyll and Mr Hyde,
Episode 1

1 This is an adapted story. It comes from a book by R. L. Stevenson.

The story of Doctor Jekyll and Mr Hyde is very strange, and perhaps I am the only man alive who can tell it. I was Jekyll's
5 lawyer and his friend, and I also had the bad luck to know the unspeakably evil Mr Hyde.

I will never forget the first time I heard Mr Hyde's name.
I was out walking one Sunday afternoon with my cousin, Richard Enfield, when he pointed to a strange house that had no
10 windows. It was an old house, and one that nobody seemed to care for. The door was dirty and it looked as though no one had used it in years.
"That house reminds me of a strange story," he said to me.
"What story?" I asked.
15 "One dark evening in winter I was coming home along this street. I saw a small man walking quickly towards the corner of that street over there, and a little girl going the other way. She was carrying a little bottle of medicine home for her mother – that was why she was out so late. Both the man and the girl came
20 to the corner at the same time – and the man knocked the girl down and walked over her, as thoughtlessly as if she was not there. It was a terrible thing to see. The girl was badly hurt. The broken bottle of medicine had cut her.
Soon a crowd of people gathered, and they would have killed
25 him if he hadn't promised to pay for a doctor. He went into that house and got the money." Enfield looked at the door and shivered. "He was the ugliest, most evil-looking man I had ever seen."
"And what was his name?"
30 "Edward Hyde."
I looked at the house. I did not tell Enfield, but I knew whose house it was. It belonged to my good friend, Dr Jekyll.

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I knew Jekyll was a good and kind man. I wondered how he knew the evil Mr Hyde, and how the little man had taken money
35 from him. And something else worried me even more – I remembered the will that Jekyll had given me years before, when I became his lawyer.

Later, at my home, I took out the envelope that Jekyll had given me. And I shivered; in the envelope was Jekyll's will. When he
40 died, all his money would go to Mr Hyde.

→ Go to the Textbank for episode one of a story called 'Sherlock Holmes and the case of the invisible spy' (Card 6).

English	Finnish
Jekyll [dʒekl]	
Hyde [haid]	
adapted [əˈdæptid]	mukailtu
a lawyer [bjə"]	lakimies, asianajaja
unspeakably [ʌnˈspiːkəbli]	sanoinkuvaamattoman
evil [iːvl]	paha
a cousin [kʌzn]	serkku
point [paint] to	osoittaa jtk
remind [rimaind] sb of	muistuttaa jtk jstk, tuoda mieleen jllek jtk
towards [təˈwoːdz]	kohti
a corner [kɔːnə"]	(kadun)kulma; nurkka
carry [kæri]	kantaa
medicine [medsin]	lääke
thoughtlessly [θɔːtləsli]	välinpitämättömästi, ajattelemattomasti
badly hurt	pahasti loukkaantunut
a crowd [kraud]	joukko, vakijoukko
gather [gæðə"]	kokoontua
promise [promis]	luvata
shiver [ʃivə"]	väristä
ugly [ʌgli]	ruma
evil-looking [iːvl lukiŋ]	pahan-, ilkeännäköinen
belong [biˈlɒŋ] to	kuulua jllek
kind [kaind]	ystävällinen
an envelope [envisup]	kirjekuori
a will [wil]	testamentti

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DO! 1 Kuuntele äänitteen alkuosa ja mieti missä tytöt mahtavat olla parhaillaan. Rasti oikea vaihtoehto.

1 Where are the girls? Do you think they're:

(a) at a pop concert?
(b) in a ballet class?
(c) in an aerobics class?
(d) in a maths lesson?

◆ Kuuntele äänitteen toinen osa ja vastaa lyhyesti kysymyksiin suomeksi. Kirjoita vastausten avainsanat vihkoon.

2 Millaiselta tytöistä tunnin jälkeen tuntuu?
3 Mitä mieltä Sandy on seuraavista tunneista?
4 Miksi tytöt käyvät näillä tunneilla?
5 Mitä mieltä he ovat itsensä "rääkkäämisestä"?
6 Miten he aikovat lohduttaa itseään?

DO! 2 Kuuntele nauhoite vielä toisen kerran. Kirjoita puuttuvat sanat taukojen aikana.

Kick, kick
Three ... _____   _____
Harder

_____   ___

• • Seven ... _____   _____

Stay in _____   _____

• • Watch me
Okay, other __   _____

One ... __   _____

• • Higher, ..   _____   ___

Five ...   _____   ___
Keep going
Almost there

• •   _____   ___ ... ten

Okay, _____   _____ relax
That's enough for

___   _____   . • •

Source: You Too 8 (1989), published by Weilin+Göös
            Workbook

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Sandy	Michael Jackson's killing ____ ____ .
Mandy	Me ____ ____ .I thought that ____ ____ would never end.
Sandy	I ____ ____ want to go through another ____ like that as ____ as I live.
Mandy	You say that ____ ____ week.
Sandy	It gets ____ every week.
Mandy	You do want ____ ____ ____ as hard as a rock, don't you?
Sandy	Yes, but there ____ ____ be easier ____ ____ of getting one.
Mandy	We're ____ ____ to ache all over tomorrow.
Sandy	If we ____ ____ that long.
Mandy	This ____ ____ fitness, it's ...
Sandy	____ ____ .
Mandy	Fancy ____ diet Pepsi?
Sandy	I ____ two. And a big, cream ____ .
Mandy	I'll race you ____ the snack bar.
Sandy	____ ____ you kidding? Let's walk. ____ ____ .
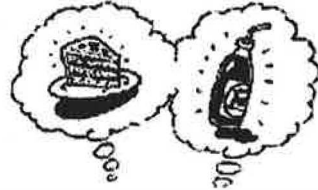
work out [,wɔːk 'aut]	harjoitella, treenata	**go through**	kokea, kestää
high [hai]	korkea; korkealle	**another**	toinen
would never end	ei koskaan päättyisi	**that long**	niin kauan

DO! 3

Muistathan vielä seuraavat adjektiivit englanniksi? Kirjoita ne suomalaisten viereen. Lisää sitten komparatiivimuodot.

1 kova, vaikea	____	kovempi, vaikeampi	____ ____
2 nopea	____	nopeampi	____
3 korkea	____	korkeampi	____
4 helppo	____	helpompi	____
5 iso	____	isompi	____
6 hidas	____	hitaampi	____
7 huono, paha	____	huonompi, pahempi	____
8 hyvä	____	parempi	____ ____

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Source: You Too 8 (1989), published by Weilin+Göös
           Workbook

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DO! 4

Laadi parisi kanssa seuraavanlaisia kysymyksiä ja vastauksia.

- Don't you think this exercise is **hard**?
- I think it could be **harder**.

- Don't you think this car is **fast**?
- I think it could be **faster**.

could be [kud bi]
voisi olla

Käyttäkää hyväksenne edellisen harjoituksen adjektiiveja ja laatikosta löytyviä substantiiveja. Voitte keksiä itsekin muita sopivia adjektiiveja ja substantiiveja

an essay	a dolphin	a computer	a beach	a flat
a game	a summer cottage	a towel	a wetsuit
a rock	a snack bar	a bench	an airport

Keksimienne lauseiden tulee olla mielekkäitä. Vastaajan on oltava nopea repliikeissään.

♦ Lopuksi valitkaa pari mieleisintänne dialogia ja kirjoittakaa ne vihkoon.

DO! 5

Kirjoita seuraavat adverbit englanniksi suomennosten viereen.

1 kovasti, kovaa _____

2 nopeasti _____

3 korkealle _____

Tehtävän numero 2 tekstistä löydät komparatiivimuodot näille adverbeille. Etsi ne ja kirjoita suomennosten viereen.

4 kovempaa _____

5 nopeammin _____

6 korkeammalle _____

♦ Kirjoita vihkoosi vastaukset näihin kysymyksiin. Käytä kokonaisia lauseita.

7 Which swims faster, a dolphin or you?
8 Which flies higher, a jet plane or a bird?
9 Who works harder, you or Garfield?

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Source: You Too 8 (1989), published by Weilin+Göös
Workbook

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6 Match the right instruction with the right picture.
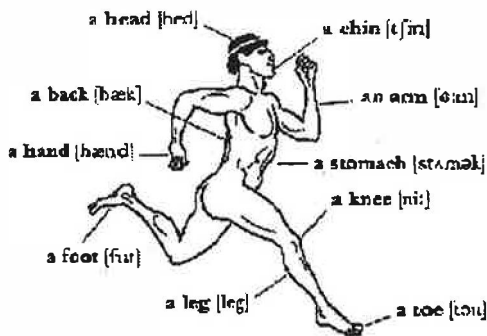

1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐

4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐

A Touch your toes without bending your knees.
B Lie on your back and kick your left leg in the air.
C Raise your right knee up to your chin.
D Sit on the floor with your hands by your sides. Raise both legs as high as you can.
E Lie on your back with your hands behind your head. Sit up slowly.
F Raise your left arm in the air and lean to the right.

a head [hed]
a chin [tʃin]
a back [bæk]
an arm [ɑːm]
a hand [hænd]
a stomach [stʌmək]
a knee [niː]
a foot [fut]
a leg [leg]
a toe [təu]

match [mætʃ]	sovittaa yhteen
an instruction [inˈstrʌkʃn]	ohje
touch [tʌtʃ]	koskettaa
'bend, bent, bent [bend, bent, bent]	taivuttaa
'lie, lay, lain [lai, lei, lein]	maata, olla
air [eəˀ]	ilma
raise [reiz]	nostaa
'sit, sat, sat up [sit, sæt, sæt]	nousta istumaan
lean [liːn]	kallistua; nojata

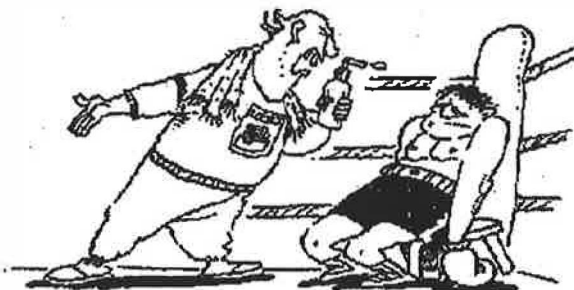Source: You Too 8 (1989), published by Weilin+Göös
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Appendix 7

7 **In the ring**
Tony Macaroni is fighting Fisty Cuffs in the World Championships. Tony's trainer is giving him a few words of advice before the final round.
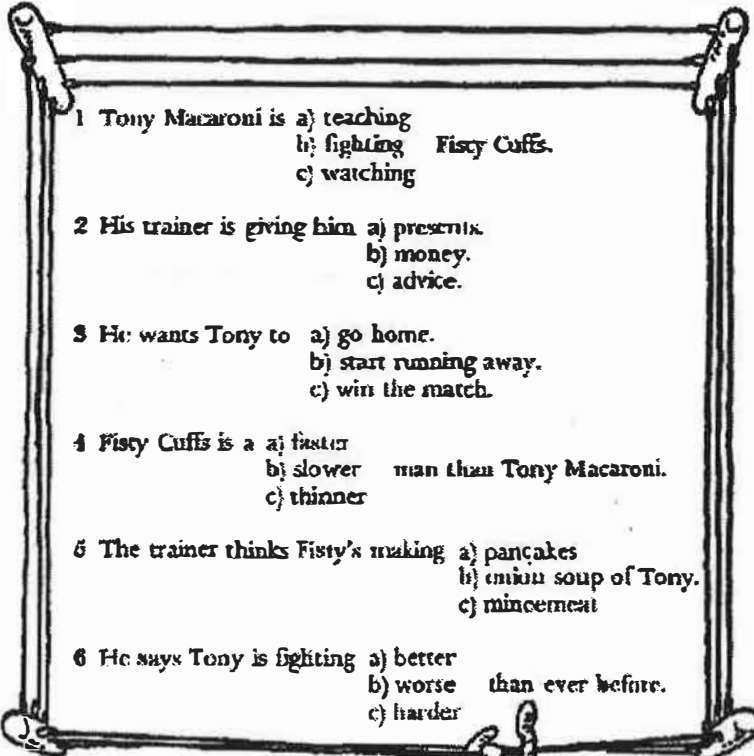

– You'll have to try a lot harder if we're going to win this match, Tony. I know you can fight much better than this if you want to. The other guy is thinking more quickly and moving faster than you. He's making mincemeat of you. You're fighting worse than I've ever seen you fight before. What's got into you? Sooner or later you'll have to stop running away and start fighting back. D'you hear me?

– Yes, boss. But could you yell a bit more quietly . . . . . .?

a ring [riŋ]	kehä
Tony Macaroni [ˌtəuni mækə'rəuni]	
*fight, fought, fought [fait, fɔːt, fɔːt]	taistella; nyrkkeillä
Fisty Cuffs [ˌfisti 'kʌfs]	
the World Championships	maailmanmestaruusottelu
[tʃæmpiənʃips]	
a trainer [treinə]	valmentaja
*give a few words of advice [əd'vais]	antaa muutamia neuvoja
final [fainəl]	lopullinen, loppu-, viimeinen
a round [raund]	kierros, erä
you'll have to	sinun täytyy
*win, won, won [win, wʌn, wʌn]	voittaa
a guy [gai]	kaveri
more quickly [kwikli]	nopeammin
move [muːv]	liikkua
mincemeat [minsmiːt]	jauheliha, "hakkelus"
What's got into you?	Mikä sinun on mennyt?
sooner or later	ennemmin tai myöhemmin
*run away	juosta karkuun
*fight back	taistella vastaan, antaa vastaiskuja
a boss [bɔs]	pomo
yell [jel]	karjua, käljua
more quietly [kwaiətli]	hiljemmin

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Source: You Too 8 (1989), published by Weilin+Göös
             Workbook

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◆ Valitse oikea vaihtoehto tekstin mukaan.

1 Tony Macaroni is a) teaching
                  b) fighting   Fisty Cuffs.
                  c) watching

2 His trainer is giving him a) presents.
                      b) money.
                      c) advice.

3 He wants Tony to a) go home.
                b) start running away.
                c) win the match.

4 Fisty Cuffs is a a) faster
                b) slower   man than Tony Macaroni.
                c) thinner

5 The trainer thinks Fisty's making a) pancakes
                                b) onion soup of Tony.
                                c) mincemeat

6 He says Tony is fighting a) better
                    b) worse   than ever before.
                    c) harder

8

Kirjoita suomeksi nämä Tonyn valmentajan kehotukset.

1 Try harder! _____

2 Fight better! _____ _____

3 Think more quickly! _____ _____

4 Move faster! _____

Kirjoita vielä suomeksi Tonyn pyyntö.

5 Please yell more quietly. _____ _____

Source: You Too 8 (1989), published by Weilin+Göös
Workbook

Appendix 7

9 Translate these sentences into English. Write them in your notebook. ●

1 – Mikä sinuun on mennyt? Et yritä parastasi.
2 – En voi. Minua särkee joka paikasta.
3 – Niin, mutta meidän täytyy voittaa. Yritä kovemmin.
4 – Minähän yritän, mutta sinä liikut nopeammin ja nopeammin kaiken aikaa.
5 – Enhän. Tämähän on hidas tanssi.
6 – Ennemmin tai myöhemmin sinun täytyy lopettaa.
7 – En aio lopettaa ennen kuin olemme rikkoneet vanhan ennätyksen. (ennätys = a record [rekɔːd])
8 – Ja mikä se on?
9 – 24 tuntia. Olen varma, että teemme sen.
10 – Jos me elämme niin kauan ...

Waiter, waiter, there's a fly in my soup!
No, sir, I'm afraid you're wrong. I can see two.

Source: You Too 8 (1989), published by Weilin+Göös
Workbook

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DO! 1 Choose the words from the list which show how a) **Jim** and b) **Ricky** are feeling. Write the words on the lines.

Jim   **Ricky**

afraid
angry
unhappy
disappointed
worried
helpful
bored
sympathetic
interested
hungry
childish
sad

◆ Talk about your choices with your partner.

Model
— I think Jim is disappointed.
— You're right. And I think Ricky's bored.
— I don't think so. I think he's ...

choose, chose, chosen [ˌtʃuːz, tʃəuz, tʃəuzn]	valita
show, showed, shown [ʃəu, ʃəud, ʃəun]	näyttää, osoittaa
feel, felt, felt [fiːl, felt, felt]	tuntea, tuntua
a line [lain]	viiva
disappointed [ˌdisə'pointid]	pettynyt
worried [wʌrid]	huolestunut, huolissaan
helpful [helpfl]	avulias, auttavainen
bored [bɔːd]	kävystynyt, kyllästynyt
sympathetic [ˌsimpə'θetik]	myötätuntoinen
childish [tʃaildiʃ]	lapsellinen
sad [sæd]	surullinen

Source: You Too 8 (1989), published by Weilin+Göös: Workbook

目次

LESSON 4 A Birthday Present

Bill Green had a girl friend. He loved her very much. She had deep blue eyes.

"I'm going to marry her," he said to his friends. But one day a car hit her, and she died.

"I'm not going to marry anyone," he said to himself. Every day he worked at his store from nine to six. He had dinner by himself and then went home.

I _____ play tennis every afternoon.
I am going to play tennis this afternoon.

① had [hæd] ② deep [diːp] ③ eyes [aiz] ④ marry [mǽri]
⑤ hit [hit] (<hit [hit]) ⑥ die(d) [daid] ⑦ anyone [éniwʌn]
⑧ himself [himsélf] {Bill Green [bil griːn] ◆ one day / by himself

---

Five years went by. One day a little girl came into Bill's store. Her eyes were deep blue.

"Hello," said the girl. "I want that blouse in the window."

"O.K.," said Bill. "Are you going to buy it for your mother?"

"No," said the girl. "My mother died two years ago. I'm going to give it to my big sister. Tomorrow is her birthday."

You are going to watch TV.
Are you going to watch TV?
Yes, I am. / No, I'm not.

① into [intu, intə] ② want [wɑnt / wɔnt] ③ blouse [blaus / blauz]
④ buy [bai] ⑤ ago [əgóu] ⑥ give [giv] ⑦ tomorrow [təmɔ́rou]
◆ go by

5—1

LESSON 5 Colors Talk.

Kenji: Look at that boy crossing the street at the red light. He shouldn't do that.

Nancy: No, he shouldn't. But some people do.

Kenji: The light has turned blue now. Let's go.

Nancy: It's green, Kenji, not blue.

Kenji: Oh, that's right. We sometimes say 'blue' for 'green.'

Nancy: I know. You say 'aoba' for green leaves and 'aoringo' for green apples.
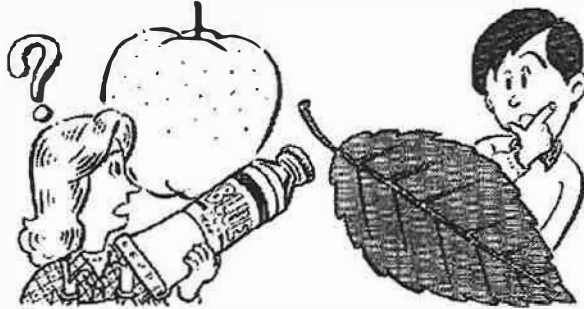
> I know the girl. She is playing tennis.
> I know the girl   playing tennis.

② cross(ing) [krɔ́ːs(iŋ)] ③ leaf, leaves [líːf, líːvz] (should-n't [ʃúdnt])

5—2

Nancy: I feel blue today.

Kenji: You don't look blue.

Nancy: No, no. We use the word 'blue' when we are sad. Check it in your dictionary.

Kenji: O.K. But what's the matter with you?

Nancy: I can't do the math homework given to us yesterday.

Kenji: Don't worry. I'll help you.

Nancy: Oh, Kenji! Thank you so much.

Kenji: That's quite all right. *A friend in need is a friend indeed.*

> This is a car. It was made in Japan.
> This is a car   made in Japan.

① feel [fíːl] ② sad [sæd] v check [tʃek] ④ dic-tion-ar-y [díkʃəneri/díkʃənəri] ⑤ giv-en [gívn] ⑥ wor-ry [wə́ːri/wʌ́ri] ⑦ quite [kwait] ⑧ in-deed [indíd] ♣ in need ⟨give—gave [geiv]—given⟩

5　3

Nancy : The meaning of colors is different in each culture.

Kenji : And it's sometimes difficult for us to understand foreign cultures.

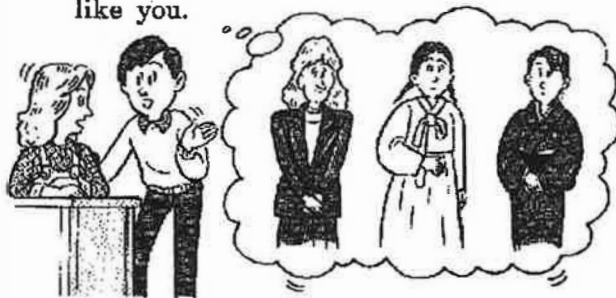**Nancy :** You are right, Kenji. For example, ₅ we wear black to show our sad feelings for dead people. But I read in a newspaper that people wear white in some Asian countries.

Kenji : Really? We wear black in Japan just ₁₀ like you.

> I like to swim. It is fun.
> It is fun (for me) to swim.

① mean·ing [míːniŋ]　② wear [weər]　③ feel·ing(s) [fíːliŋ(z)]　④ dead [ded]　⑤ read [red]　⑥ news·pa·per [njúːzpeipər/njúːspeipə]　⑦ A·sian [éiʒən/éiʃən]　〈read—read　read〉

5 — 4

Kenji : Why is the sun yellow in your picture?

Nancy : Because it's shining. My father says that 'yellow' originally meant 'to shine.'

Kenji : In our pictures the sun is red.

Nancy : Really? Aha, the sun doesn't shine ₅ in Japan because of the smog. Right, Kenji?

Kenji : Of course it does!

Nancy : Now you are red. We say people turn red when they are angry or embarrassed. ₁₀

① o·rig·i·nal·ly [əríʒinəli]　② meant [ment]　③ a·ha [ɑːháː, əhɑ́ː]　④ smog [smɔg/smɔg]　⑤ an·gry [ǽŋgri]　⑥ em·bar·rass(ed) [imbǽrəst]　◆ because of　〈mean—meant—meant〉

Appendix 9

CONTENTS 目次

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Source: Sunshine English Course 2 (1993), published by Kairyudo
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Appendix 9

本文中のマークについて：■■は「聞く」、●は「話す」、✎は「書く」、■■は「読む」ための力をつけることを中心に構成された教材です。

Source:　　Sunshine English Course 2 (1993), published by Kairyudo
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Appendix 9

PROGRAM **5** A Story by Miyazawa Kenji

都会から来た身勝手な二人の若者が，大自然の中でさんざんな目に会います。

Two young men from the city were hunting in the **5-1** mountains. Two big dogs and a guide were with them.

Then their guide went out of sight, and it became very dark. The dogs howled for some time, and died from fear.

"Oh, no!" said one of the men. "Let's get out of here."

"Yes, let's," said the other.

① hunt(ing) [hʌnt(iŋ)] ② dog(s) [dɔ(ː)g(z)] ③ guide [gaid]
④ sight [sait] ⑤ dark [dɑːrk] ⑥ howl(ed) [haul(d)]
⑦ die(d) [dai(d)] ⑧ fear [fiər] ▶ out of sight /
for some time / die from ~ / get out of ~

●宮沢賢治(1896~1933)は日本を
代表する童話作家のひとりで，「自
由な空想の世界に人を遊ばせる」の
が彼の作風です。

twenty-five **25**

Source: Sunshine English Course 2 (1993), published by Kairyudo Textbook

Appendix 9

◄ woRK⊕SHoP►

D 左右を結びつけて，正しい文を作りましょう。

(例) Pat gave me	your passport.
1. Bob asked me	a question.
2. You must show me	the story.
3. Please tell me	a birthday present.

---

1. n と th [ð] は続けて発音しましょう。
   in the city   in that area   in the rain
2. ①質問するとき②同意を求めるときの音調に注意しましょう。
   ① Mary is from America, isn't she? (↗)
   ② She is living in Osaka now, isn't she? (↘)
3. アクセントに注意しましょう。
   órange + júice → órange juice
   ténnis + práctice → ténnis práctice
   kangaróo + bár → kángaroo bar

Q. 下線部の発音が a～c と同じ語を選びましょう。
   a. hope [ou]   b. stop [ɒ]   c. bus [ʌ]

   1. young   2. soccer   3. ago   4. bumper   5. show
   6. old   7. another   8. Monday   9. doctor   10. comic

◆重要な文型
1. 一般動詞＋形容詞または名詞
   She looks happy.「～に見える」
   Bob became a teacher.「～になる」
2. 一般動詞＋名詞＋名詞
   He showed *me the way.*
   Ann gave *Mary a birthday present.*

24 twenty-four

Appendix 9

LESSON 14 **DESIRE**
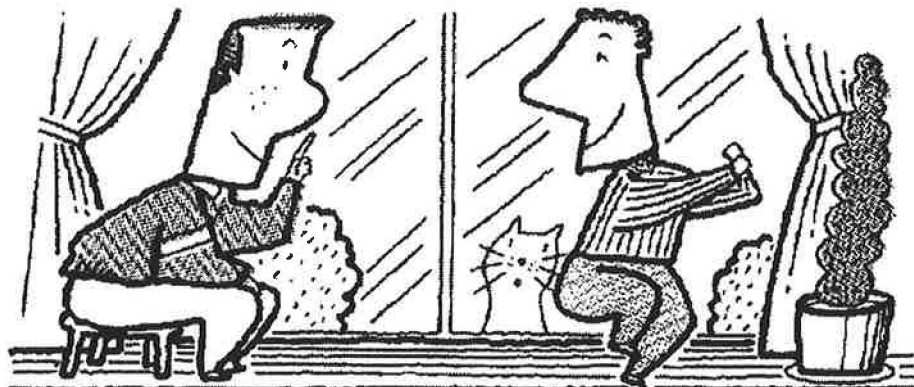
Ken is talking to his American friend Scott. Scott is staying with Ken.

Ken: What do you want to do on Saturday?

Scott: I'd like to go to a baseball game.

Ken: Fine. Let's do that.

LISTEN FOR IT!

1. a. Australia. b. Canada. c. The United States.
2. a. See a football game. b. See a baseball game.
   c. See a soccer game.
3. a. He doesn't want to go.
   b. He'd rather do something else.
   c. He'd like to go, too.

SAY IT YOURSELF!

[1] *Ken:* What do you want to do on Saturday?
   You: _____ _____ ___.
   Ken: Fine. Let's do that.

[2] *You:* _____ _____ _____ ?
   Scott: I'd like to go to a baseball game.
   You: __ ____ ____.

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Source: Sunshine English Course 2 (1993), published by Kairyudo
            Oral Communication A (everyday conversation)

Appendix 9

DO IT YOURSELF !

A: I'd like to visit some temples.

B: Fine. Let's do that.

WORK IT OUT !

1. I want to be a pilot. (   )
2. He'd like to travel on a bullet train. (   )
3. My dream is to be a nurse. (   )
4. The dog is longing for a walk. (   )
5. He can hardly wait to see his test results. (   )

29

Source: Sunshine English Course 2 (1993), published by Kairyudo
          Oral Communication A (everyday conversation)
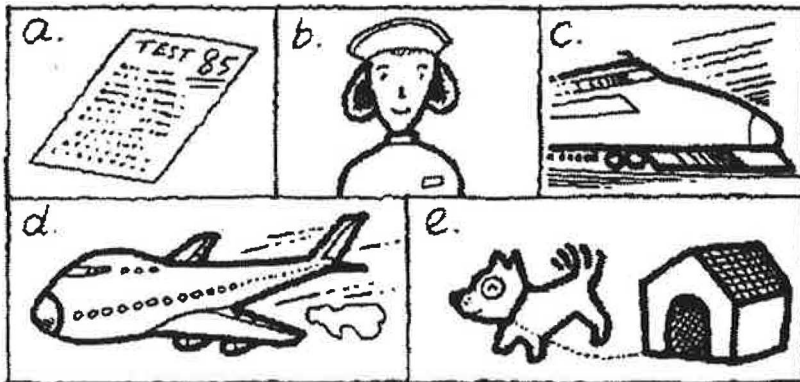
Appendix 9

LESSON 14 And Now Let's Look at the Weather

INTRODUCTION

Weather reports help us avoid rain, snow, and freezing sleet or hail. During a storm, we wait eagerly for clearing skies and mild weather, especially if we are crowded into airports or running out of food. Saburo is surprised that his flight to Chicago has been canceled.
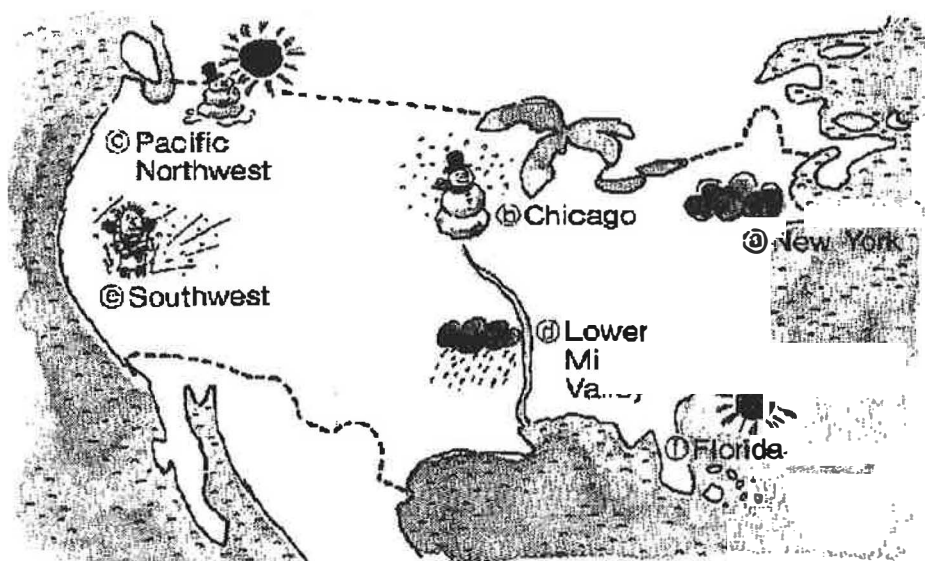
A Listen to the passage. Match the weather conditions below with the places on the map.

1. two feet of snow ( )
2. clearing ( )
3. sunny ( )
4. raining ( )
5. cloudy ( )
6. freezing sleet and hail ( )

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Appendix 9

B   Listen to the passage. Choose the correct answers.

1. Which airport is Saburo in? ( )
   a. A New York airport.   b. A Chicago airport.
   c. A Florida airport.
2. Where does he want to go? ( )
   a. To New York.   b. To Tokyo.   c. To Chicago.
3. How deep is the snow in Chicago? ( )
   a. One foot.   b. Two feet.   c. Eighteen inches.
4. How is the weather in Florida? ( )
   a. Snowy.   b. Rainy.   c. Sunny.
5. When may the storm come to New York? ( )
    · a. The same evening.   b. The next day.   c. Never.
6. Why is the airport unpleasant? ( )
   a. It's freezing.   b. It's empty.   c. It's running out of everything.

C   Listen to the sentences. Look at the weather map. Where is each speaker?

1. ( )   2. ( )   3. ( )   4. ( )   5. ( )   6. ( )

D   The sounds of [f], [b], and [v] are different. Listen to the sentences. Repeat them.

1. Big vases make very beautiful holders for Virginia begonias.
2. Fine weather begins for the Bay Vista area following the vast heavy floods.
3. The driveway surface feels fine, but the vital final question is about the base.

Source: Sunshine English Course 2 (1993), published by Kairyudo
          Oral Communication B (listening)

Appendix 10

The Course of Study for Lower Secondary School in Japan

Foreign languages

1 Overall Objectives

　　To develop students' basic abilities to understand a foreign language and express themselves in it, to foster a positive attitude toward communicating in it, and to deepen interest in language and culture, cultivating basic international understanding.

2 Objectives and Contents for Each Year

English

[First Year]

1 Objectives
(1)　To enable students to understand plain spoken English on simple and familiar topics, to familiarize them with listening to English, and to arouse interest in listening
(2)　To enable students to speak about simple and familiar topics in plain English, to familiarize them with speaking English, and to arouse interest in speaking
(3)　To enable students to understand plain written English on simple and familiar topics, to familiarize them with reading English, and to arouse interest in reading
(4)　To enable students to write about simple and familiar topics in plain English, to familiarize them with writing English, and to arouse interest in writing

2 Contents
(1) Language-use Acitivities
　　The following language-use acitivities should be conducted in order to develop students' abilities to understand English and express themselves in it, and to foster a positive attitude toward communication.
A Listening
　　The following activities should be included.
　　(a) To listen to words or sentences and understand the meanings
　　(b) To listen to questions, directions, requests, suggestions, etc., and respond apropriately to them
　　(c) To listen to a series of sentences and understand the content
B Speaking
　　The following activities should be included.
　　(a) To speak words or sentences clearly and correctly

(b) To respond appropriately to greetings, questions, directions, requests, etc.

(c) To convey intended message in simple spoken sentences

C Reading

The following activities should be included.

(a) To read aloud words or sentences clearly and correctly

(b) To read questions, requests, etc. and respond appropriately to them

(c) To read aloud a series of sentences in a manner appropriate for the content

D Writing

The following activities should be included.

(a) To copy words or sentences correctly

(b) To listen to words or sentences and write them down correctly

(c) To write intended messages in simple sentences

(2) Language Elements

In carrying out the language-use acitivities stated in (1), language elements suitable for the attainment of the objectives stated in 1 above should be chosen from among those elements in LIST 1.

[Second Year]

1 Objectives

(1)　To enable students to understand the speaker's intended message in simple spoken English sentences or passages, to accustom them to listening to English, and to cultivate a willingness to listen to English.

(2)　To enable students to express their ideas etc. in simple spoken English sentences or passages, to accustom them to speaking English, and to cultivate a willingness to speak English.

(3)　 To enable students to understand the writer's intended message in simple written English sentences or passages, to accustom them to reading English, and to cultivate a willingness to read English.

(4)　To enable students to express their ideas etc. in simple written English sentences or passages, to accustom them to writing English, and to cultivate a willingness to write English.

2 Contents

(1) Language-use Activities

The following language-use activities should be conducted in order to develop students' abilities to understand English and express themselves in it, and to foster a positive attitude toward communication.

A Listening

The following activities should be included.

(a) To listen to sentences or passages spoken or read aloud naturally and to understand the content

B Speaking

The following activities should be included.

(a) To listen and respond appropriately to other speakers by asking and answering questions

(b) To ask and answer questions about what has been listened to and read

C Reading

The following activities should be included.

(a) To read silently sentences or passages and understand the content

(b) To understand the content of sentences or passages and read them aloud in a manner appropriate for the content

D Writing

The following activities should be included.

(a) To organize intended messages and write them without missing important points

(2) Language Elements

In carrying out the language-use acitivities stated in (1), language elements suitable for the attainment of the objectives stated in 1 above should be chosen from among those elements in LIST 1.

[Third Year]

1 Objectives

(1)　To enable students to understand the speaker's intended message in simple spoken English passages, to develop proficiency in listening to English, and to foster a positive attitude toward listening

(2)　To enable students to express their ideas etc. in simple spoken English passages, to develop proficiency in speaking English, and to foster a positive attitude toward speaking

(3)　To enable students to understand the writer's intended message in simple written English passages, to develop proficiency in reading English, and to foster a positive attitude toward reading

(4)　To enable students to express their ideas etc. in simple written English passages, to develop proficiency in writing English, and to foster a positive attitude toward writing

2 Contents

(1) Language-use Activities

The following language-use activities should be conducted in order to develop students' abilities to understand English and express themselves in it, and to foster a positive attitude toward communication.

A Listening

The following activities should be included.

(a) To listen to passages and understand the outline and/or the main points

B Speaking
   The following activities should be included.
   (a) To organize intended messages and express them orally without missing important points
C Reading
   The following activities should be included.
   (a) To read passagesand understand the outline and/or the main points
D Writing
   The following activities should be included.
   (a) To write the outline and/or the main points of what has been listened to and read
(2) Language Elements
   In carrying out the language-use acitivities stated in (1), language elements suitable for the attainment of the objectives stated in 1 above should be chosen from among those elements in LIST 1.

3 Treatment of the Contents
(1)   In order to conduct language-use activities effectively, basic language elements necessary to convey the speaker's or the listener's ideas, feelings, etc. can be used in addition to those elements in LIST 1.
(1)   Element C (d) *b* in LIST 1 is for recognition only.
(2)   Element D (a) *b* in LIST 1 is for recognition only.

LIST 1 LANGUAGE ELEMENTS

A Pronunciation
   (a) Contemporary standard pronunciation
   (b) Word stress
   (c) Basic sentence intonations
   (d) Basic breath groups in sentences
   (e) Basic sentence stress
B Sentences
   (a)   *a* Simple and compound sentences
         b Complex sentences
   (b) Affirmative and negative declarative sentences
   (c) Affirmative and negative imperative sentences
   (d) Interrogative sentences that begin with a verb or an auxiliary verb such as *can, do, does, may,* etc., that contain *or,* and that begin with an interrogative such as *how, what, when, where, which, who, whose, why*
C Sentence Patterns
   (a) 'Subject+Verb'
   (b) 'Subject+Verb+Complement' in which the verb is *be* and the complement is a noun, a pronoun or an adjective, and in which the verb is other than *be* and the complement is a noun or an adjective
   (c) 'Subject+Verb+Object'
   a   in which the object is a noun, a pronoun, a gerund or an infinitive

b   in which the object is how + *to*-infinitive or a clause that begins with   *that* or *what*, etc.

(d) 'Subject+Verb+Indirect Object+Direct Object'

a   in which the direct object is a noun or a pronoun

b   in which the direct object is *how*, etc. + to-infinitive

(e) 'Subject+Verb+Object+Complement' in which the complement is a noun or an adjective

(f) Other Patterns

a   'There is' and 'There are'

b   *It + be + ~* (+*for ~*) + *to*-infinitive

c   Subject + *ask, tell*, etc. + Object + *to*-infinitive

D Grammar

(a) Pronouns:

a   personal, demonstrative, interrogative and quantitative pronouns

b   basic restrictive uses of the relative pronouns *that, which*, and *who* used as the nominative case, and *that* and *which* used as the objective case.

(b) Tenses: present, present progressive, present perfect, past, past progressive and future tenses

(c) Comparison: adjectives and adverbs

(d) Infinitives: noun use, adjective use, and basic adverbial use denoting purpose, and cause/reason

(e) Gerunds: the object of a verb and other basic uses

(f) Present and past participles: adjective use

(g) Passive voices: present and past tenses

E Words and Idioms:

(a) words up to approzimately 1000 including those in LIST 2

(b) basic idioms

F Letters

(a) small and capital letters of the alphabet in print and script

G Punctuation

(a) basic use of a period, a question mark, a comma, an exclamation mark, etc.

LIST 2

a	about	across	after
afternoon	again	ago	all
already	also	always	am
among	an	and	animal
another	answer	any	anyone
anything	April	are	arrive
as	ask	at	August
aunt	away		
back	bad	be	beautiful
because	become	before	begin
between	big	bird	black
blue	boat	book	both

box	boy	bread	break
breakfast	bring	brother	build
building	bus	busy	but
buy	by		
call	can	car	card
carry	catch	chair	child
city	class	clean	close
cloud	club	cold	college
colo(u)r	come	cook	cool
could	country	cry	cup
cut			
dark	daughter	day	dear
December	desk	dictionary	different
dinner	do	does	door
down	draw	drink	drive
during			
each	ear	early	easy
eat	eight	eighteen	eighth
either	eighty	eleven	eleventh
English	enjoy	enough	evening
ever	every	everyone	everything
excuse	eye		
face	fall	family	famous
far	farm	fast	father
February	feel	few	fifteen
fifth	fifty	find	fine
finish	first	fish	five
flower	fly	food	foot
for	forget	forty	four
fourteen	fourth	Friday	friend
from	fruit		
game	garden	get	girl
give	glad	glass	go
good	goodby(e)	great	green
ground	grow		
hair	half	hand	happy
hard	has	have	he
head	hear	help	her
here	hers	high	hill
him	his	holiday	home
hope	hot	hour	house
how	hundred		
I	idea	if	important
in	interesting	into	introduce
invite	is	it	
January	Japan	Japanese	July
June	just		

keep	kind	kitchen	know
lake	language	large	last
late	learn	leave	left
lend	let	letter	library
life	light	like	listen
little	live	long	look
lose	love	lunch	
make	man	many	March
May	may	me	mean
meet	milk	mine	minute
Monday	money	month	moon
more	morning	most	mother
mountain	mouth	much	music
must	my		
name	near	need	never
new	news	next	nice
night	nine	nineteen	ninety
ninth	no	noon	nose
not	notebook	nothing	November
now			
October	of	off	often
old	on	once	one
only	open	or	other
our	ours	out	over
paper	park	pen	pencil
people	picture	plane	play
please	poor	popular	pretty
put			
question	quickly		
rain	read	ready	really
red	remember	rice	rich
ride	right	rise	river
room	run		
sad	same	Saturday	say
school	sea	season	second
see	sell	send	September
seven	seventeen	seventh	seventy
shall	she	shop	short
should	shout	show	sick
since	sing	sister	sit
six	sixteen	sixth	sixty
sky	sleep	slowly	small
smile	snow	so	some
someone	something	sometimes	son
soon	sorry	speak	spend
sport	spring	stand	star
start	station	stay	still

stop	store	story	street
strong	student	study	such
summer	sun	Sunday	sure
swim			
table	take	talk	tall
teach	teacher	tell	ten
tenth	than	thank	that
the	their	them	then
there	these	they	think
third	thirteen	thirty	this
those	thousand	three	through
Thursday	time	to	today
together	tomorrow	too	town

Appendix 11

TIMETABLE FOR THE COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL IN FINLAND

The Council of State Decision on the comprehensive school distribution of lesson hours

Made in Helsinki on 23 September 1993

Upon a recommendation by the Ministry of Education on the grounds of the Comprehensive School Act, Section 30, paragraph 1, as stated in the law passedon 3rd August 1992 (707/92), the Council of State has today decided as follows:

Section 1

The lower level comprehensive school distribution of lesson hours is as follows:

Subject	Minimum hours per week
Mother tongue	32-
Foreign language begun at the lower level (A language)	8-
Optional language	4-
Mathematics	22-
Biology, Geography, Environmental Studies, and Civics	15-
Religion/Ethics	8-
History	3-
Arts and practical subjects: 44-	
Music	6-
Art	6-
Craft	8-
Physical Education	12-

The instruction in sign language will be part of the mother tongue and foreign language hours.

   If, in accordance with the Comprehensive School Statute, Section 36, Paragrap 1, there is instruction only in English and in the second national language, the number of hours for language teaching must be a minimum of four.

Section 2

The upper level comprehensive school distribution of lesson hours is as follows:

Subject	Minimum hours per week
Mother tongue	8-
Foreign language:	
A language begun at the lower level (A language)	8-
Language begun at the upper level (B language)	6-
Mathematics	9-
Biology, Geography	7-
Physics, Chemistry	6-
Religion/Ethics	3-
History, Social Studies	6-
Music	1-
Art	2-
Home Economics	3-
Craft, Technical work, and Textile work	3-
Physical Education	6-
Student Counseling	2-
Compulsary subjects, minimum	70
Elective subjects, maximum	20

The instruction in sign language will be part of the mother tongue and foreign language hours.

If, in accordance with the Comprehensive School Statute, Section 36, Paragrap 1, there is instruction only in English and in the second national language, the number of hours for language teaching must be a minimum of four.

In the Physical Education classes, Health Education is also taught.

The optional foreign language begun at the lower level will be offered at the upper level as an elective subject and the syllabus of the language will correspond to the syllabus of the language started at the lower level. If the optional subject begun at the lower level is the second national language, it can be continued at the upper level in accordance with a syllabus which corresponds either with the syllabus begun at the lower level or one begun at the upper level. For the teaching of a subject begun at lower level, there must be enough classes so as to correspond with the syllabi mentioned above.

Section 3

In addition to the lesson hours, the student is given other counseling in Student Counseling.

Section 4

This decision gains legal force on the first of October 1993. A curriculum based on this decision can be implemented starting with the school year 1994-95. As this decision gains legal force, a distribution of lesson hours based on the then current Council of State decision on the distribution of lesson hours can be followed until the municipality introduces a curriculum based on this decision.

Appendix 11

PRESCRIBED SUBJECTS AND THE NUMBER OF SCHOOL HOURS IN
COMPULSORY EDUCATION SCHOOLS IN JAPAN

Lower Secondary School

Grade	I	II	III
REQUIRED SUBJECTS:			
Japanese Language	175	140	140
Social Studies	140	140	70-105
Mathematics	105	140	140
Science	105	105	105-140
Music	70	35-70	35
Fine Arts	70	35-70	35
Health and Physical Education	105	105	105-140
Industrial Arts and Homemaking	70	70	70-105
Moral Education	35	35	35
Special Activities	35-70	35-70	35-70
Elective Subjects	105-140	105-210	140-280
TOTAL	1050	1050	1050

Note:
    1. One unit school hour is a class period of 50 minutes.
    2. As regards shool hours for elective subjects, the standard number of
school hours for foreign languages shall be 105 to 140 for each grade. The
names of elective subjects other than foreign languages are specified in the
Course of Study.