# THE ORTESOL JOURNAL



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Volume 11 1990

## The ORTESOL Journal

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#### CHINESE VOICES: TOWARDS A MODEST ETHNOGRAPHY OF ESL

#### By Diane Fox Portland State University

#### **Abstract**

This study draws on ethnographic methods to provide background information for the English as a Second Language teacher who looks out at the classroom and asks, "Who are these Chinese students?" The goal is to let Chinese students describe for themselves their experiences learning English, both in China and in the United States, and, through a brief look at statistics, educational background, and selected language contrasts, to suggest the variety and complexity of these students' lives.

Open-ended interviews are the heart of the study. Formal interviews were conducted with Chinese students and scholars. Two of the students who had recently arrived in the United States at the start of the study participated in a six-month case study that included extended interviewing and collection of their work in writing class. The study provides a framework of description the classroom teacher can use to move beyond generalization into an expansion of understanding of, and discussion with, students.

"Why can't we work with beautiful language?" a Chinese student asked at the end of a grammar class during my first year of teaching, prompting me to ask myself, "Who are these Chinese students? What expectations of education do they bring into the ESL classroom with them?" His question also echoed my own discontent with what I felt was a too heavy reliance on quantitative methodology in ESL research. Why can't we, as ESL researchers, use the more beautiful language of the tools of the humanities—disciplined observation, discussion, and reflection—for our work?

This study, then, grew out of those two questions. "Who are these students?" was the content question, linked by the approach of the study to the methodology question, "What can a study based on ethnographic techniques contribute to our understanding of the ESL classroom?"

Twenty-six Chinese students and scholars and twelve American ESL teachers participated in the study during the school year 1987-1988. Two students who had recently arrived in the United States were followed through a six-month case study involving 21 hours of formal and informal interviews, in addition to informal in-class observations, questionnaires, and writing samples. Fourteen other students and scholars, two of whom were Americans with extensive teaching experience in China, filled out questionnaires and participated in a total of 53 hours of interviews, ranging from 30 minutes to 8 hours over multiple sessions. Twelve other students filled out questionnaires, as did ten ESL teachers. The two questionnaires for the Chinese students dealt with their background in English and their experiences in ESL; the questionnaire for the ESL teachers dealt with their perceptions of the Chinese students in their classes. The goal was to provide a basis for further teacher inquiry by letting Chinese students describe their experiences with English.

Ethnographic techniques and attitudes drawn on here include openended interviews; copious note-taking; formulation, testing, and reformulation of questions; a search for breakdowns in coherence and

¹ Vivian Zamel (1983b) uses an old Sufi story to illustrate the inadequacy of appropriating quantitative methods wholesale for ESL research. It goes something like this: One day a man saw his neighbor down on his hands and knees in front of his house, obviously searching for something. "What are you looking for?" he asked. The old man replied, "I've lost my key." Tell me where you think you dropped it and I'll help you look," the neighbor offered. "Inside my house," the old man answered. "What!" exclaimed the neighbor. 'Then why are you looking out here?" The reply: "Because there's more light out here."

See Rosansky (1976) for a study of the limits of quantitative research.

understanding; and a search for repeated themes and categories of themes (Miles, 1983; Spradley, 1979; Wolcott, 1981).<sup>2</sup>

The full study was presented as a thesis, from which this paper is excerpted. The focus of this paper will be on the content question, "Who are these Chinese students?" The methodological question will be handled here mainly by implication; a fuller discussion may be found in the complete study.

The first section of this paper presents basic information about Chinese students that can be gleaned from libraries: statistics on certain characteristics of the student population, a look at major shifts in their educational backgrounds, and an analysis of linguistic contrasts they face in moving from one of the Chinese languages to English. This information will be presented chiefly in tabular form. In the second half, a number of Chinese students describe the experience of coming into an American university; then a closer look is taken at two students' experiences of misunderstanding in an ESL program.

**Context: A Brief Look at Statistics Education, and Language** 

The approximately 20,000 Chinese students and scholars in the United States in 1988 are part of an on-again, off-again pattern of exchange that dates back to 1854. Such exchanges have included many who have played significant roles in China's public life, most notably the man who is commonly called the father of the 1911 revolution, Sun Yat-Sen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Other work in ESL that draws on ethnographic methods includes Zamel (1983a) "The Composing Processes of Advanced ESL Students: Six Case Studies," Allwright (1987) "Understanding Classroom Language Learning: A Case Study Approach," Christison and ICrahnke (1986) "Student Perceptions of Academic Language Study," Frolich (1976) "Case Studies of Second Language Learners," and Rubin (1975) "What the Good Language Learner Can Teach Us."

Those roles have never been simply accepted without conflict, however, and ambivalence has accompanied the exchanges on both sides of the Pacific from their start to the present. The conflict has been twofold: individuals have struggled to reconcile conflicting sides of themselves drawn out in Western and Chinese contexts, <sup>3</sup> and China has alternately appealed to scholars to come home to help build new China, and denounced them as carriers of western capitalist contagion. The ambivalence continues today (Butterfield, 1988; Fairbanks, Reischauer, & Craig, 1966).

Despite this ambivalence, the current exchange has grown rapidly, from the first group of 50 who arrived in the U.S. in late 1978, to the roughly 20,000 in 1986-1987 (Lampton, Madancy, & Williams, 1986, p. 30; Zikopoulos, 1987, p. 20). Starting from zero, in ten years China has leaped to third place in its share of the total U.S. international student population. China currently sends half of all its overseas students to the U.S., although not infrequently proposals are made to diversify and send more elsewhere (Lampton et al., 1986, p. 2). Table I, based on information from Lampton et al. and Zikopoulos, outlines some salient characteristics of these students.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For an example of the literature dealing with this conflict, see Lao She's short story, "The Returned Student."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The caution always advised in looking at statistics should be exercised with the statistics in this section. While they are based on the best sources currently available, their quality is uneven. First of all, it should be noted they refer to all Chinese students and scholars in the U.S., not just specifically to those in E.S.L. In addition, the significance and scope of the available numbers varies: sometimes research scholars and other students are lumped together, sometimes they are separated; sometimes F-1 and J-1 visa-holders are lumped together, sometimes they are separated; often the statistics quoted are from 1983, without explanation of how that year compares to other years. Still, the statistics may serve as a starting point.

TABLE I
SELECTED CONTRASTS FOR F-1 AND J-1 STUDENTS

	F-1 (37%)	J-1 (63%)	
age	9% - 40+ (1983)	44% - 40+ (1983)	
_	91% - under 40	56% - under 40	
	58% - under 30	31% - under 30	
<u>gender</u>	77% men, 23% women		
	[breakdown by visa type unavailable;		
	Lampton et al. (1986, p. 46) states there		
	were twice as many among F-1s]	women among J-ls as	
<u>marital status</u>	30% married	73% married	
region of China	Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou	Beijing, Shanghai	
<u>intended length</u>	74% - longer than	25% - longer than	
<u>of stay</u>	two years	two years	
funding	75% - their families, or individual U.S. sponsors	85-90% government or foundation	
work background	academics - 53% (more technicians, farmers, clerical, and farm workers)	academics - 80%	
<u>study objectives</u>	engineering	engineering in U.S.	
	physical sciences	physical sciences	
	business computers humanities	health sciences	
expectations of studying ESL on arrival	25%	2%	

Table II narrows the focus to students at the site of the present study, a university in the northwest. The responses are those of the first group of students, 14 in all. The sample is small and the responses incomplete. In order to build trust, the instructions allowed students to skip questions they did not feel comfortable answering. This was not seen as a limitation: the intent of inquiry was to check for similarity or diversity among the students, and to open the door to seeing them not as "Chinese," but as individuals with diverse backgrounds and skills.

#### TABLE II

# FIRST QUESTIONNAIRE: SELEC1 ED CHARAC, IERISTICS OF CHINESE STUDENTS IN THIS STUDY

Gender: 8 men, 6 women Visa status: 8 F-ls, 5 J-ls, 1 F-2

**Home province:** 6 Beijing

1 Inner Mongolia

6 South of the Yangtze:

Jiangsu
Fuzhou
Guangzhou
Guangxi
Yunnan

First languages: 4 Mandarin

6 Another dialect (but all understood

Mandarin)

**Work experience:** Range of length

3 - none1 - 16 years

Variety

5 teachers (4 at universities, in

physics, pharmacology, Japanese, and Chinese as a second Language); 1 at a technical school)

1 veterinarian

#### **TABLE II**

# FIRST QUESTIONNAIRE: SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF CHINESE STUDENTS IN THIS STUDY

(continued)

	1 research assistant
	1 electrical supply worker, insurance
	clerk, accountant
	1 farm, radio factory, steel plant, hotel
<b>Education:</b>	pre-university/10-12 years
	university (13 students)/2-7 years
	majors:
	mechanical engineering (2)
	physics (2)
	geology
	pharmacology
	medicine
	veterinary science
	foreign trade
	international accounting
	management
	Japanese
	Chinese language and literature
	English language and literature
English language	
training before	
coming to the U.S.:	range = 1-12 years
	average = 5 years
	skills most often taught: reading and translation
	skills least often taught: writing and conversation
	writing experience in English: most frequent—
	making sentences from vocabulary words
	least frequent—compositions (only two students)

Education. Education in China has been heavily influenced by Confucian and western models (Hayhoe, n.d.; Hayhoe, 1984), and by four decades of struggle over "red or expert," trying to balance limited resources to provide both basic education for everyone and highly advanced education for a few. The selection of those few has raised further questions: should they be chosen on the basis of political loyalty or academic expertise or both, in what combination (Chen, 1981; Kaplan, Sobin, & Andors, 1979)? Table III shows the correspondence of two major periods of Chinese education, the period of Russian domination and the period of the Cultural Revolution with the ages of students in ESL classrooms in 1990.

TABLE III

CORRELATION OF STUDENT AGE AND THE YEARS OF THE
CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND RUSSIAN
DOMINANCE OF EDUCATION

AGE C in	CULTURAL REV end	olution Ru start	JSSIAN INFLUENC
1990	1976	1966	1953-1957
20	6	-	-
25	11 (primary/middle s	1 chools)	
30	16 (primary/middle/h	6	
35	21 (middle/high schoo	11	
40	26 (universities)	14	3-7 (primary school)
45	31	21	8-12 (middle school)

Language. In addition to contrasting educational systems, the Chinese student in an ESL writing class faces obvious contrasts of language: of graphic systems, syntax, word choice, and to an as yet ill-defined extent, of thematic content, rhetorical patterns of organization, and voice as well. This section presents syntactic contrasts and a discussion of voice; for a discussion of the other features named, see the longer study.

Table IV provides a contrast of syntactic features of Chinese and English. It is based on the work of Chao, Feng, Erbaugh, Pease, and Tsao.

#### **TABLE IV**

#### SYNTACTIC CONTRASTS OF CHINESE AND ENGLISH

- I. Inflections: Chinese relies on modifiers and logical inference to show tense and plural.
  - ex: These two letter I write yesterday. (literally)
- II. Adjectives and prepositions can serve as predicates. ex: Ni hao? (literally, you good?)
- III. Relative clauses come before the modified noun. ex: My-father-gave-me-last-year-for-my-birthday (particle) watch got lost.
  - IV. Double nominative constructions in Chinese become adverbials, prepositional phrases, or relative clauses in English. ex: The child, father died, mother remarried, really pitiable. (The child, whose father died and mother remarried, is really pitiable.)
  - V. Deletion differences

#### TABLE IV

# SYNTACTIC CONTRASTS OF CHINESE AND ENGLISH (continued)

- A. Chinese is more tolerant of pronoun deletion than English is. ex: No matter do what, must from reality start.
- B. While both Chinese and English can delete verbs after modals, Chinese restricts the modals which can be followed by deletions to can (neng), dare (gan), and wiWcan (hui).
- C. In comparisons, Chinese seems to be more concerned with eliminating redundancy, English with making the logic explicit. ex: I compared yesterday comfortable. (I am better than I was yesterday.)

#### VI. Connectors

- A. Prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbial connectors, which are generally distinguishable in English, are often undistinguishable in Chinese.
- B. The connector can sometimes be placed after the subject in Chinese, but usually not between clauses. ex: He although very work hard, still didn't pass.
- C. Chinese tends to prefer parataxis (clauses following each other with no connecting word), while English relies heavily on subordination.
- VII. Cohesion: Chinese repeats the noun; English uses pronouns.
- VIII. Word order: Chinese uses topic/comment, with the verb or most important new information coming at the end.

For a discussion of vocabulary, thematic choices, and rhetorical form, see the original study. But a discussion of the language difficulties Chineses ESL students face cannot neglect problems of voice. Who is it that is speaking, writing? Which self? Who is the audience? How much of the student's world will that audience accept as real? What expectations does the audience have of the student speaker-writers? How has it pre-constructed them? Are they cast as inhuman, extrahuman, devils or angels?

Silence, and a struggle to end the silence, is one possible response to these questions. In her novel <u>Woman Warrior</u> (1975), Maxine Hong Kingston meditates on her own silence as she left the Chinese world of her parents' home for the American world of the school playground. The book starts with an injunction not to reveal secrets; it ends with the high, clear sound of the exile singing.

In "From Silence to Words: Writing as Struggle," Min-than Lu (1987) provides a more scholarly account of a similar journey. Lu's two worlds were the Western humanist tradition of her English-speaking Shanghai family, and the Maoist version of Marxism that she met at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Not Chinese only. In Satanic Verses (1988), Salman Rushdie struggles with the disorientations of voice and being that accompany crossing cultural boundaries. Eric Sellin (1988), discussing Francophone Maghrebian (North African) writers, talks of both the terror and the liberation of the creativity engendered by such crossing. "Narrative frequently yields to verbal play," he writes, "reverberation between or among the languages which the bilingual or plurilingual writer knows and uses...." (p. 168). Sellin quotes from one of these writers, Abdelkebir Khatibi, a passage that is strongly reminiscent of a passage from another writer living between two languages, Maxine Hong Kingston in The Woman Warrior. In Kingston's novel, the mythic-heroic woman warrior's parents carve words of grievance and revenge on her back. In his passage, Khatibi writes, 'The other night I dreamt that my body was made of words." Sellin sees this notion "of not so much living one's language as being lived by it...or being born of it..." (p. 172) as a leitmotif in certain Maghrebian writers. A leitmotif rich in suggestiveness for understanding the experience of ESL students.

school. Sometimes the meanings of words in the two worlds were compatible, reconcilable: the red of the flag in China and the red of "My love is like a red, red rose" seemed to reinforce each other (p. 439). Sometimes she could manage to shift in speaking and reading from one language code to another, one value structure to another, "in the same way I put on and took off my school clothes, to avoid being criticized for wearing Bourgeois clothes." At home she loved to read for the moments when characters experienced internal conflict. At school she read to discover moments when the hero showed revolutionary spirit, or ways the collective taught the individual a lesson. But these worlds would not stay separate, and switching between them became confusing, frustrating, painful. She became suspicious of herself and afraid she was losing her command of both languages. Writing became a "dreadful chore" (p. 443).

Reflecting on this experience, the mature Min-than Lu (1987), writing as an English teacher in the United States, argues that the way out of the dilemma is to help students negotiate the different voices by teaching them to transform as well as preserve the discourses they are learning. "Don't teach them to 'survive' the whirlpool of crosscurrents by avoiding it," she urges. "Use the classroom to moderate the currents ... but teach them from the beginning to struggle" (p. 447).

While library research can show the diversity of students and the range of some of the challenges they face, the voices of ESL students bring that research alive and provide still greater complexity. Those voices are presented in the next section.

#### **Student Voices**

The first part of this section presents a variety of students describing their reactions to American classrooms. In the second part, two examples of what Agar (1986) calls "coherence breaks," moments when understanding shifts, will be examined in more detail.

The Classroom. "The way we learn our knowledge is so different from in the U.S., or at least from ESL," one student commented. "It may not be that ESL is not helpful, but a Chinese just arriving here is lost, doesn't know what's going on in class." He gave a sketch of a

typical class in China. The teacher comes in; the students stand up and say good morning. The teacher announces the topic he will discuss that day, then writes a brief outline on the board. He then follows the outline point by point, giving examples to make his meaning clear. To be sure students understand, after each example he asks questions of high, middle, and lower level students to make sure everyone has understood. Then he gives another example, and repeats the process.

The contrast of this approach with teaching in the U.S. is bewildering at first, the student said. Students find it hard to take seriously a teacher who dresses in blue jeans, brings a cup of coffee to class, sits on the desk, and starts talking about current t.v. shows or water problems he has at home. Though the teacher means to be giving examples of larger points by discussing these topics, the Chinese students don't share U.S. television culture, and water problems in China are handled by the city, not the individual: there are many layers to fathom before arriving at the intended meaning.

When American students in the classroom start asking questions, the Chinese students' confusion deepens, the student said. On the one hand, they feel it is disrespectful to ask questions, and on the other, they don't know how to join in. One typical device they may use—a raised hand, followed by a tentative "May I ask a question?"--tends to rivet what one student called "so much blond-haired, blue-eyed attention" on them that the words freeze, unspoken. <sup>6</sup> It is a frustrating experience that can leave the student feeling stupid, although his ideas are quite clear to him.

Many students spoke of the teacher's role. "To be a teacher for one day, you become a father forever" was the way one student

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> As a solution, this student suggested that ESL could teach students, instead, to signal with their pencils, then plunge right in with an "It seems to me...."

translated a well-known Chinese saying. <sup>7</sup> A teacher should command respect by demonstrating knowledge in the classroom, I was often told. That respect was coupled with responsibility: the teacher must understand the purposes of students taking the class, one student, who was a teacher in China, said.

Regret for the loss of cultural purity was sometimes expressed. At a talk on the Japanese educational system, after hearing that the curriculum used in Japan included Western philosophy and literature, one student stood up to ask, "What I want to know is how you can still form model Japanese—even with all the Western influence in your schools—how Japan seems able to absorb outside influence and yet remain Japanese. It is impossible now in China to form a model Chinese." Later this student blamed Western writers, naming Freud and de Beauvoir as examples, in the loss of self-discipline and control in the schools, and in the increase in what she called "sexual criminals." After I asked her whether she thought the Cultural Revolution might also have played a role, she said yes, of course there was more to it than that, you couldn't entirely blame the West: "One cymbal cannot make a sound."

And one voice cannot make a study. Another student down-played the problems of changing cultures. "Students who come here are not too upset by the changes they meet because, in choosing to become a foreign student, they show a readiness to be shaped differently," suggested David, who used the name a foreign friend in China had given him. Finding inadequate the concept of "boundary theory" used in intercultural communication, which he described as "always drawing a line" between the self and others, he preferred other metaphors: that of the self as egg, perhaps, or as light. A person is more like an egg without a shell than a box with rigid boundaries, he suggested. While the yolk is firm, more resistant to change, the white is quite adaptable. Or a person could be described as being like a light that can go anywhere without changing its essence, obstructed and given limits only by the walls it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The same student said her father had "improved" her a lot, taught her a lot, through many means, including physical punishment. He would hit her across the palm with a ruler; she would tell him how many hits she deserved, and count them as she received them.

meets. People do not meet, or collide, as some intercultural theory seems to suggest, solely as minimal units embodying cultural values; there is more adaptability, more freedom from cultural constraint, more unpredictable negotiation involved. <sup>8</sup>

<u>Coherence Breaks: Missed Understanding.</u> In this section, two students' experiences of misunderstanding in an ESL program will be considered.

Xian Tao was a troublesome student to her teachers in the winter of 1988, her second term in ESL "Lackadaisical" is the word one chose to describe her; others complained of her absences, excuses, and failure to do homework. Yet notes from my case study showed that in the fall term teachers had commented on how quick and articulate she was, and what a pleasure to have in class. I had met her first in my grammar class that fall, and had been struck by her lively, accurate participation in class and her warmth towards her classmates. Teachers who worked with her both terms talked of a marked change.

What had happened? The most striking feature of Xian Tao's ESL experience, seen from the outside, was this apparent turn from eagerness to anxiety, and the corresponding change in her teachers' evaluations of her. Yet the brightness of her presence in the classroom was from the start not unmixed with worry. Worry was present in our first talk: she wanted to pass the TOEFL in January; she worried what her friends at home would say if she were still studying English by the time summer came; she worried about being a burden on her American friends who were supporting her; she knew she spent too much time talking with Chinese friends at her dorm, but worried about refusing them, for she knew they were lonely.

However, it is also true that her anxiety grew; by late January it had increased to the point where she could not catch her breath and

<sup>\*</sup> It could also be said that this argument itself confirms some of the perceptions of intercultural communication at the same time it is calling for more complexity of analysis: the either-or West, and the cyclical, union-of-opposites East.

went to the infirmary complaining of chest pains—pains which disappeared once she got there. The peak of the crisis came shortly after the start of winter term, when many things happened at once. Xian Tao registered almost a week late, so she was faced with a backlog of work. The level of English and amount of homework required jumped dramatically: it made her dizzy, she said, and sometimes she could not understand in class. In addition, three of her five Chinese classmates had dropped out of the program to go to TOEFL centers, and a fourth had gone on to academic work at another university; only she was left. She was concerned she had made a bad decision by staying in ESL.

There were more worries, large and small, piling on top of each other. She was anxious about the health of her grandfather, because she had had no word from him for a very long time. She was worried because she had received a phone call from the friend whose parents were supporting her, saying they could pay for only one year of English; then she would have to begin her academic work. So she was looking for a job. On top of all this, she was worried about her major. Because she wanted to switch from physics, which she had both majored in and taught in China, to biophysics, she was reading biology in Chinese; other friends were encouraging her to switch to international relations.

At the moment when she seemed to me the most overwhelmed with troubles, Xian Tao told me one further problem: at home, when she had problems, she could ask her parents' advice; here, she could not. "My parents always tell me what to do," she explained.

Lackadaisical? Her daily schedule ran something like this: up at 6:00, reading until 8:30; class from 9:00 to 2:00 with an hour off for lunch; homework in the afternoon; dinner, then TOEFL until bed at midnight. Mid-way through the second term she complained that when she tried to do her homework she could not because she felt guilty for not working on the TOEFL; then when she tried to prepare for the TOEFL she felt guilty for not working on her homework.

The way certain ESL classes were taught added to her anxiety: at a time when she felt an overwhelming need to learn as much as possible as fast as possible, she was being asked to abandon what was for her the tried-and-true method of memorization (which had won her a place in a Chinese university, a distinction shared by only 5% of the population of her country) for methods she found hard to believe in.

She did not, for example, like the way reading was taught, a way which dealt with skimming, scanning, predicting, and focus on the main idea. In her terms, she was not "learning" anything in reading: "In class, the teacher doesn't do anything helpful—just assigns a certain amount, then asks questions on a quiz." Reading was hard, uninteresting, and not useful for the TOEFL, she said. She did like a vocabulary class, where she could prepare lists of words to memorize. She could see its usefulness for the TOEFL.

Xian Tao was not alone in her criticism of ESL. Most of the students wanted more TOEFL preparation. One student complained, "They give us baby stuff," while another felt some of the students knew as much grammar as the teacher. The most bitterly voiced criticism was, "Some of the ESL teachers make me feel stupid. I can't learn from someone who treats me like that." Yet teachers of these students would complain that they had to keep simplifying their material, because these

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> It is worth noting that her reliance on memorization was not unself-critical, however. At the same time that she talked of memorizing 50 words one day, she complained that the words were useless to her, good only for the TOEFL, and that she would forget them immediately after the test.

I was also forced to rethink the opposite, but equally strong, stance toward memorization held by some proponents of the communicative approach when the other case study student, Wai Ping, who was thought by all her teachers to be quite reticent in class, suddenly outshone and outspoke her more communicative classmates when she had a chance to memorize and recite "How Much Wood Could A Woodchuck Chuck?"

students were not able to "get it." These conflicting perceptions seem to beg for more study.

While many adjectives could be used to describe Xian Tao's pressured life, and while it is true that words have slippery meanings, "lackadaisical" hardly seems applicable. This is not a criticism of the "wonderful, busy" teacher who made the remark, but rather an argument for the value of ethnographic research in making distinctions that are not immediately apparent, but important for classroom interaction, and for understanding how to help students learn.

Two other episodes, both involving the role of silence, can further illustrate the usefulness of qualitative methods for studying the classroom. The first is quite short. One day during winter term, when she was a student in my writing class, Xian Tao came to see me for a paper conference. After we had discussed the paper she made no move to go, so I kept raising questions, trying to find out what was on her mind. When finally, baffled, I fell silent for longer than seemed comfortable to me, she began to speak freely. This experience led me to examine the place of pauses and silence in my teaching, and turned silence into a useful teaching tool.

The second episode centered on a writing assignment given Wai Ping, the second student in the case study, and raised again the question of "beautiful" (rich, or "feng fu") language. The assignment was in several parts. First, students were to interview a classmate from another part of the world to learn about different non-verbal greetings, then they were to write an essay comparing and contrasting those greetings to the ones found in their own countries. Next, they were to discuss their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Not all comments were so negative. In fact, in response to the questionnaires, the ESL teachers were more critical of themselves than their students were, and expected more criticism than they were given. The students found ESL helpful for their listening, speaking, and writing skills, and praised the "warm and friendly" teachers, though one added that the "wonderful" teachers were "too busy," both in the class and after class, to spend more time with students.

papers with the person they had interviewed, and finally, they were to take their papers home and "make them perfect."

Wai Ping came to me to ask for help in making it perfect. Not being sure what perfection was, I asked the writing teacher for help. She was dismayed to find her joke had been taken so seriously. With great care she went through the paper with Ping, pointing out places where her paper did not match the outline given for comparison and contrast compositions. She pointed out parts she thought were not balanced, sequences that were jumbled, and points that were omitted.

Wai Ping listened, then said that following the form 'made it too long the same thing, repeating and repeating." She didn't want to do that.

The teacher thought she had not understood what to do, and explained again how to balance the piece. After the teacher left, Ping explained, "I don't like writing to be so that-that-that-that," gesturing with her hands to show a step-by-step pattern.

After Wai Ping left, the teacher commented that Ping "still didn't seem to get it." The remark about "perfect," she added, was half a joke, half a serious comment related to editing problems: on a subject-verb agreement level, their papers should be perfect.

The teacher was left feeling the student could not understand, feeling that the work was too hard. The student was left feeling that the work was too simple, too straightforward. Another good starting point for future study.

#### **Conclusion**

At this point the question of the usefulness of ethnographic techniques in ESL research may be raised. The use of ethnographic techniques in this study has turned up some more or less interesting stories, but has it led to any greater knowledge? If by knowledge we mean immutable laws, the answer is "no." If, however, by knowledge we mean a greater understanding, then, arguably, yes. New teachers faced with absenteeism, silence, or failure to comply with demands will

not now know the particular reasons for their particular students' actions, or lack of action, but by reading stories based on ethnographic work in ESL classrooms, they may be better prepared to see the possibilities in the students they encounter. And teachers who come to the classroom with an understanding of culture derived only from the generalizations necessary in a theoretical approach can be encouraged by the voices of these students to listen to and learn from the particular voices of their own students.

The conclusion of this study is, finally, an accumulation of questions: Hypotheses to be tested, students to be understood not through formulaic prior knowledge, but through interaction. It aspires not to be closing, but rather, in the words Clifford Geertz (1973) uses to describe one of the aims of anthropology, "an enlargement of the universe of human discourse" (p. 14). It is a goal appropriate, as well, for the field of teaching language across cultures.

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#### IMPROVING FOREIGN LANGUAGE LEARNING THROUGH LITERATURE

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#### **Abstract**

The author of this paper describes his experience using literature to teach EFL at the Universidad Nacional in Costa Rica. He argues that literature encourages language students to think critically, to understand other world visions, to interpret literary discourse, to recognize linguistic variants, and to conduct research. The model presented in this paper advocates small group work with the teacher as a facilitator. The paper closes with suggestions for selecting appropriate literary text.

Programs that aim for "full," or "total," command of the foreign language often include literature courses. But, why literature? How can it help in the learning of that language? Under what criteria are those courses oriented? What guides the teacher in choosing the texts? How does the teacher evaluate the students? This paper reports on an experience teaching language through literature that has been more satisfactory than previous approaches in the program of English as a foreign language at the Universidad Nacional in Costa Rica.

Traditionally, teachers of literature have based their teaching on four general assumptions. Many consider that the literary text is an example of the highest degree of language elaboration (Ibanez-Langlois, 1979; John, 1986; Krsul, 1986; Ruiqing, 1986). Others view it as a means for shaping character, sensibility, and intelligence (Castagnino, 1977; Castro-Alonso, 1971; Henriquez, 1974; Marckwardt, 1981; Zughoul, 1986). In addition, it provides contact with other cultures (Leki, 1986; Marckwardt, 1981; Ruiqing, 1986) and it is an object of pleasure (Marckwardt, 1981; Power, 1981).

Within the framework of the preceding approaches, the justification for the teaching of literature can be placed in two opposing

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methodological practices: (a) the literary text as the only object and goal—in this case literary history, the reading of masterpieces, biographical information, and literary movements are generally stressed; and (b) the literary text as an excuse or point of departure for nonliterary activities dealing with grammar, conversation, writing, etc. Holding one of these two extremes will lead only to failure of effective teaching of literary texts. Teachers should ignore neither the nature of the literary text nor the need to improve the students' mastery of the language they are learning.

#### **The Value of Teaching Literature**

It is useful to think of a literature course as a global and integrating space where the students have the opportunity to put into practice, through analytical experience, what they have learned in courses which concentrate on specific language skills, such as composition, grammar, and conversation. Within this conception, there are a number of reasons for the teaching of literature in a language class:

#### 1. Encouraging critical thinking.

The teaching of literature has a rescuing function to perform: it is a way of decreasing the powerful influence of the mass media and its corresponding degradation of man to a passive, receptive being:

In the presence of a generalized tendency toward consensus, toward homogenous attitudes, and toward the reduction of the space to disagree—all of which are promoted by the mass media—literature presents itself as an open space. (Mora & Ovares 1984, p. 149)

This provides students with access to a higher level of thinking which, according to Mora and Ovares, is "global, open to abstraction and multiple causality, capable of being relative and of being suspicious of surface appearances" (p. 13). In other words, by means of a dialogue with literature, human beings can develop a critical awareness and become responsible protagonists. Artistic models "represent a unique combination of scientific and game-like models which are able to

organize intellect and behavior simultaneously' (Ovares, Alfaro, Mora, & Rojas, 1986, p. 78).

Contrary to what happens in the mass media text, the literary text is problematic and challenging. Contrary to the relatively simple text, the literary one requires the reader to use "more systematic strategies to find and organize information and to establish deeper and more complex relationships" (Ovares, Alfaro, Mora, & Rojas, 1986, p. 79).

Most of the texts that have been used in Costa Rica for the teaching of foreign languages are similar to those of the mass media inasmuch as both are simple, direct, linear, non-problematic, explicit, and ingenuous. Due to the fact that foreign language teaching texts are often concerned with giving examples of grammar structures, vocabulary and artificial situations with which the student frequently has no experience at all ("snow," or "going to the opera," for example), such texts are non-problematic as well as unintelligent. They are characterized by an ingenuous, linear vision of the world. Thus, they tend to present values and behavior patterns of the target language and culture as the ideal.

#### 2. To know others we know ourselves.

The literary text, along with all cultural production, transmits aspirations, frustrations, and criticism, which respond to a particular historical moment. Therefore, the literary text is a useful aid in permitting the student to establish a dialogue with other world visions:

The knowledge of the literary text not only lets [the student] appreciate the development of his own culture but the existence of others, of which he nourishes himself by means of understanding and respect. (Mora & Ovares, 1984, p. 151)

Reading a literary text is a kind of journey from the historical dimension of the individual to that of artistic reality and truth, from which students return enriched to the inescapable domains and responsibilities of everyday life.

Facing each new literary text, the students, like it or not, should feel the imperious need of reordering their world vision, and consequently alerting their action in the concrete reality in which they perform as historical subjects, that is, as social beings. Studying and discussing the way in which a text conceives life in slavery does not mean transforming the class into one of history or philosophy. It serves to establish a space for reflection enabling the students to understand the degrading limits to which man has descended, to value life in liberty and respect, and to do whatever they need in order to better their present and future.

#### 3. <u>Literary discourse.</u>

There has been much debate concerning the existence of a distinctive literary language. Aside from the discussion of a literary language or ways to make language literary, the literary text contains a number of factors that make it suitable for development and enrichment of the students' intellectual capacity:

The literary text is repeatedly encoded and this is the origin of a series of deep properties in art that make up its specific nature. The multiple levels of the artistic text make it a particularly complex and heterogenous object and the point of departure of various fundamental elements from a pedagogical perspective. (Ovares, Alfaro, Mora, & Rojas, 1986, p. 79)

One of the properties of the artistic text is that its meaning is found at several levels. This allows for different readings due to a certain "open ended or unfinished nature that permits more than one reading route as a possible interpretation" (Ovares, Alfaro, Mora, & Rojas, 1986, p. 80). That is particularly important in the teaching of second and/or foreign languages, because most language texts are linear and their meaning production is found at one obvious and finished level, especially in the case of those texts that have been elaborated with a grammatical or behaviorist base. This orientation often leads to a direct or simplistic stimulus/response relationship.

Compared to other texts, the literary one has the enormous advantage of being the result "of the encoding-decoding carried out simultaneously on the basis of two social sign systems: a historic language or writing ('primary' system) and a modeling secondary system

('literariness'}" (Gainza, 1986, p. 30). That is, the literary text should be thought of as the union of two social sign systems. The modeling secondary system is that which transforms everyday language into a different textual practice--literature. Such an advantage makes it possible to use the literary text in a more varied and useful way than, let's say, a newspaper article or a reading selection illustrating the use of the comparatives. It is not that these latter texts should not be used. On the contrary, due to their relative simplicity and to the linear nature of their code, they are highly effective in beginning or survival courses. However, as the students master those levels, the difficulty of the texts they read and discuss must be greater. This will familiarize them with certain grammatical patterns and vocabulary in a particular context while increasing their capacity for abstraction to establish a relation and correlation of data.

Literary discourse is very useful when the students are ready to go beyond the logical/verbal mastery of the language, that is, when they attempt to go beyond the direct obvious reference that characterizes survival or basic mastery of the target language.

#### 4. Language variants in the literary text.

The fact that it is common to find several language variants in a literary text makes it a useful instrument for the improvement of the students' linguistic competence. In a novel or a dramatic text, for example, characters are identified by their actions and the language variants they speak. That is not usual in other kinds of texts, in which writing generally includes a single variant, a single discourse.

In the case of foreign language learning, the students need to know that, besides the formal or standard variant often taught at universities, there is a great variety of discourse models, including even those not accepted in certain social circles. Contact with these latter variants will ultimately give the students the possibility of recognizing such discourse registers in real communicative contexts.

#### 5. The literary text: a point of departure.

Literary text production, which in our cultures is a socially privileged kind of work, has generated a vast body of texts commonly known as historical/critical discourse. Theoretical proposals, methods, approaches for analysis and research, criticism, and literary histories are but some of the types of such a discourse. This is a fertile field to develop the students' initiative for research, inquiring spirit, and discipline for work.

Courses of literature cannot be a limited field in which the student just reads and comments on what he reads; such courses are fine at the very beginning. However, when the student masters the language at intermediate and advanced levels, it is appropriate to study proposals that attempt to explain the literary phenomenon. They should be within reach of the students, and may be read in the native or target language. At first, the teacher may frequently believe that it is almost impossible for students to present or discuss theoretical matters. That is the reason why the teaching is usually oriented to simple comments and impressions. However, trying to discuss theoretical aspects is worthwhile, is possible, and promotes active participation and thinking.

The teacher's apparent omniscience is a very frequent cause of students' frustration: the teacher knows everything, students do not; the teacher can, students cannot. Students and teachers very easily accept the idea that students should contribute little or nothing to the improvement of their information and attitudes. The situation is even more problematic if teachers are concerned with a package of information, whether it is the result of their own research activity or not.

A teacher who does not explain, illustrate and put into practice procedures to obtain certain information does not really do much for students other than impress them. The teacher may be excellent at telling them what he/she knows, but what can students do if they do not know any appropriate ways to approach literature by themselves? Teachers should not be too concerned with making a good impression on their students with their knowledge about literature; nor should they force students to read countless texts that have been chosen indiscriminately. What does seem worth worrying about, for it is the

teacher's responsibility, is teaching how to approach the literary texts critically and analytically.

#### **Model for Teaching Literature**

Students need to be familiar with the theoretical bases, the justification of the general procedure, and each step in a given approach. Every analytical process has to be clearly illustrated by the teacher, so it may then be put into practice. At first, the students work in small groups until they are able to continue individually. The following has proved to be a workable procedure:

#### 1. Approach presented by the teacher:

- a. discussion of aspects involved.
- b. justification for each aspect.
- c. steps to cover for the study of each aspect.
- e. reading and discussion of an analysis carried out by the teacher.
- f. evaluation (discussion of unclear aspects, possibilities and limitations).
- 2. Application of the approach by the students under the teacher's guidance.
- 3. Presentation of results by the students.
- **4.** Discussion and evaluation of results and procedure(s) during the application.
- 5. Revision.

In second or foreign language programs that include courses of literature, it is advantageous to consider an intrinsic approach to the texts as an initial step. That is, the text and only the text is to be the object of study. At this point, the student is not allowed to consult any outside source. This does not mean that later on such intrinsic approaches may not be enriched with the use of other alternatives within the student's reach. One reason why it is best to start with intrinsic studies is that the reading, interpretation and subsequent work on a literary text in a foreign language—as well as the relative uncertainty which that implies—may lead students to find support in other people's studies and interpretations. While this procedure is sometimes required at other levels, it is not appropriate at first for it does not let students come to their own conclusions; it generally causes them to become satisfied with what others have said.

Concerning intrinsic options, most structuralist proposals are very useful, but teachers should feel free to set up their own approaches as long as these are coherent and clear. The following model was designed for the study of narrative, both short story and novels, and has been used successfully with intermediate students. The teacher may wish to put into practice only part at a time, depending on the number of students and their command of language.

I. Plot sequence. Students should try to put the sequence of events in chronological order. Large and small units of time should be detected, delimited, and represented graphically. Figure 1, based on Ernest Hemingway's "Soldier's Home," shows how this may be done.

#### **II.** Characteristics

- A. <u>Personality traits.</u> Patterns of behavior, brief and precise description of the mechanisms the character uses when faced by different situations.
- **B.** Physical condition.

	Figur	e 1. Sequence of	events in ''Soldier's Home.''
	A S		PRESENT
I. Remote Things used to fit.	II. Recent Things began not to fit.	III. Immediate Things did not fit anymore.	Moment of narration
Methodist College. USA	I World War France and Germany. 1917	Krebs did not want to come back. USA 1919	
1. K came back to welcome.	0 late for	2. K did not want to to about his war exper	
4. K had to lie. Nausea		S. K "lost everything.' Lack of will. Observer	' 6. "One morning after he had been home about a month K mother's confrontation.

7. A new phase in Kos life.

"He wanted his life to go
smoothly. It had just
gotten going that way."

# C. Process of improvement and/or degradation.

- objective: what the character wants.
- means: what the character needs to reach what he wants.
- obstacle(s): situations that impede the character's achievement of the goal.
- helpful agent(s): those who help the character.
- success or failure in achieving objective: whether the character gets the objective and in what degree.
- consequence(s): what happens after the achievement, the failure, or the partial achievement.
- III. World vision. The objective here is to discuss, in depth, the conflict which organizes and unifies the text. Students are asked to pay particular attention to the confrontation of different conceptions of life.

#### IV. Narration.

- A. Qualities of narrator. Whether the narrator is omniscient, limited, participant, etc.
- **B.** Time and place. When and where the events take place.
- C. Formal aspects of narration. Discussion of those aspects concerning the use of language, such as description, dialogue, metaphors, repetition of words and phrases, symbols.
- <u>D.</u> <u>Narrator's position.</u> Does the narrator question, challenge or defend a certain conception of life?

Though intrinsic studies are appropriate for the initial stages of literary studies, at the same time it is necessary to prevent students from thinking the literary text is not deeply related to some context and history that determine certain aspects of sense and productivity of meaning. This can be done by pointing out the limitations of intrinsic approaches.

## **Language Skills**

There are four language skills that benefit from the teaching of literature:

- 1. Reading comprehension. The reading process should be properly conditioned, guided, and basically analytical. That is, the students need to know what aspects to look for and why; in addition they should be familiar with the different types of clues a written text may offer.
- 2. Writing. If the notion is accepted that precision is an objective for any discipline that attempts to be somewhat scientific, the practice of writing is indispensable. To make the students' activity basically scientific in nature does not mean it has to be arid and cold; on the contrary, it means that their written expression should have reasonable, demonstrated criteria as its support. There should be a clear, precise elaboration of proof, not flowery language in an emotionally inspired essay.
- 3. Oral production and listening. When students speak or attempt to discuss a topic based on an unguided reading process, conversation generally reaches only an exchange of personal opinions. Those who speak better are the ones who participate; the rest hope to remain silent. This is why the teacher of literature should make an effort to stimulate and challenge students to achieve active, effective participation. Discussion of the results of an analytical and/or research process is a valuable procedure for many reasons: (a) it is a real situation for the exchange of ideas, communication, reflection, learning: (b) students argue about information they have been in contact with, information they have analyzed to a certain depth; (c) students ask/respond on the basis of a properly justified reading process and textual proof, and not on their impression or personal taste; (d) it lets students form opinions and take sides when defending their work or someone else's; (e) it gives students the possibility of comparing their performance and competence; that is, students have the chance to set up goals for their improvement; and (f) students share knowledge and ways of solving problems. In this

way, as students leave behind distance and passivity, they become active agents in the adventure of learning through the language they are acquiring.

If we want students to read, write, listen, and discuss a topic on the basis of concrete results, there should be a moment in which such results are presented and another in which they are defended. Individual or group work on the same problem or problems provides students with the opportunity to compare results and to participate more actively

#### **Text Selection**

It is always necessary for the teacher to think of an adequate degree of difficulty in all activities and of the students' corresponding ability to carry them out. Some of the aspects the teacher may consider are the following:

### 1. Level of difficulty of the texts.

It would be inappropriate if in the first literature course the student having a barely sufficient command of the target language had to read texts written by, let's say, Chaucer, Joyce, or Shakespeare in their original versions. Many factors may make reading and analysis a discouraging or even impossible task; among them are the kind of language the writer used (archaic, colloquial, etc.) and the writing techniques (multiple narration, stream of consciousness, nonlinear unfolding of events, etc.).

It seems more valuable to have students read texts whose language variants are widely used in today's world. For intermediates, Hemingway's and Steinbeck's texts are definitely much more accessible than Faulkner's, for example. We need to select texts very carefully to assure that they will help rather than frustrate the student. Feeling able to understand a novel or a poem encourages one to continue making more serious efforts.

# 2. Types of texts.

When selecting a certain literary corpus, the teacher delimits what is literary and nonliterary. What is included excludes something else and determines that which will also condition the students' understanding of what literature is. That is why the teacher needs to be acquainted with a variety of options available which may be used to explain the literary phenomenon. By the same token, it is advisable for the students to be familiar with a number of ways of understanding and studying literature. What is literary here and now is not necessarily literary somewhere else and at a different time. The teacher will do well to let students establish a dialogue with texts accepted as literary as well as with those taken as subliterary or marginal.

One of the problems with the practice of using anthologies is that such materials generally fall into the trap of conceiving cultural production, and specifically literature, as a linear, non-differentiated process. In this they are in agreement with mass produced culture, and while this may be the easiest solution for beginning or unaware teachers, it means that they are directed by someone else's ideas of society and literature.

# 3. Coherence in the reading and study of various texts.

The difficulty of a certain variation of language is usually a hindrance for the effective chronological study of literary texts. This can be avoided by selecting the texts on the basis of a problem (slavery, women in society, identity of minorities, etc.) that guides and helps teachers by giving them a relative margin of freedom to choose from. For example, the situation of black women in American society can be analyzed in poems by Fenton Johnson, Claude McKay, Countee Cullen, and Naomi Long Madgett; identity of minorities can be studied in short stories by Mario Puzo, Ronald L Fair, Diane Oliver, Joe Coogan, John Fante, Mario Suares and many other writers. By establishing relevant issues to explore with the students, the temptation to select noncritically the well-known universal texts or masterpieces of literature is eliminated.

Texts from different periods and genres might be studied to examine one problem and achieve one or more goals. Since the variety of such options is large, it is important for the teacher to evaluate which might be the most motivating and appropriate for the students' level. Teachers should also ask themselves which will demand of the students more work and rigorous effort.

#### What About Evaluation?

A fair evaluation is that which attempts to "measure" the knowledge acquired by the student over a period of time. In this case, knowledge is not just a certain amount of data but skills, attitudes essential for self-teaching, and the ability to apply what is known to solving new situations. Thus, it is necessary to discard those forms of evaluation ranging from memorizing data to the free, but risky questioning of personal taste and pleasure.

A course of literature from this perspective should evaluate processes; this cannot be done through exams. If the goal is the evaluation of processes, teachers need to plan tasks or activities for individual or group work. For example, the writing of term papers, one of the most common requirements, should never be postponed to the end of the course, or carried out without close guidance from the teacher. Papers should be the outcome of a joint effort of both the teacher and the student throughout the course. The teacher should guide, question, and correct what the student proposes in a respectful, open dialogue. This procedure may become a point of departure for oral classroom activities in which students present the results of their analysis for discussion and evaluation. During the entire procedure, at least the following aspects should be evaluated: (a) the clarity of concepts used by students to support the theory they are supposed to master; (b) their capacity to put into practice methods or approaches for the analysis of texts; (c) their ability to solve problems during analysis and research activities; (d) the way they present—orally or in writing—the results of analysis and research; (e) their support and defense of those results; and (1) the consultation process. In each case, the teacher may want to design an evaluation form and discuss it with the class.

To evaluate in this way not only permits an exploration of the processes but also challenges students to exercise their mastery of the target language. Without doubt, this is one of the most important aspects that a literature teacher in a language program must evaluate.

#### The Teacher's Role

Though the teacher plays a significant role in all processes, the magisterial attitude so often found in a course of literature is not the best one. It is vital that, as students master pertinent information, they be given the opportunity to cooperate in the betterment of the experience and to have enough space to carry out as many activities as they need to improve their command of the language. It is advisable that the teacher be a facilitator who makes use of didactic discourse only when presenting, justifying, and illustrating analytical models.

As in the social sciences, it is fundamental that teachers constantly examine and evaluate the instruments they use and the procedures they follow. The teacher must play the role of model; everything, even the teacher's own proposals, must be questioned and revised constantly.

#### Conclusion

In the particular case of a foreign language-learning program, teachers need not distort the nature and function of the literature. First of all, literature courses should be oriented toward the improvement of language skills. However, this does not mean an arbitrary mutilation of the text or a limited and limiting understanding of what literature is. On the other hand, teachers cannot make the mistake of conceiving courses of literature as part of a plan to educate scholars for whom literature is an end unto itself. On the contrary, the teaching of literature is justified in its attempt to develop the students' critical thinking along with their mastery of the target language.

Through the analysis and discussion of literary texts, the student can reach an adequate level of conceptual elaboration and master the application of scientific methods. Vague, undefined notions such as "death," "freedom," "love," "beauty," and "reality" are explored. There is an inevitable need for deep thought to define these notions, which are normally not questioned by the consensus of a mass-consuming society. This has led to unexamined beliefs such as "love is wonderful," "beauty is positive," "death is negative," "liberty is an absolute good," "communism is bad," "sexuality is suspect," or "democracy is the best form of government." The formulation, questioning and discussion of such

notions is an excellent opportunity for the students to clarify their own thinking and perfect their use of the target language.

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# ENGLISH IN THE WORKPLACE: ASPECTS OF IMPLEMENTATION

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#### **Abstract**

ESL educators have begun to develop English in the workplace (EWP) programs as a means of addressing communication problems in the workplace for limited English proficient employees. EWP programs focus on specific language functions necessary to on-the-job communication. This paper details seven key features of an EWP program: company commitment, needs assessment, instructor preparation, student assessment and placement, program duration and frequency, curriculum approach and design, and evaluation. This paper offers educators guidelines for implementing an EWP program.

As the number of immigrants coming to the United States to live and work increases, more of the labor pool is being made up of limited English proficient people. This change in the work force is causing some companies to seek assistance from educators to help deal with their communication problems. In response, ESL educators in the United States have begun to develop English in the workplace (EWP) programs. These programs focus on specific language functions necessary for onthe-job communication. English taught in the workplace is emerging as an area with enormous growth potential. Business people, together with educators, are beginning to implement EWP programs as a means of addressing the company's communication problems.

The shift in the American economy from heavy industry to technology has reduced the number of jobs where workers can get by with limited English. Yet millions of workers continue to settle in the United States with little or no knowledge of the English language. Lopez-Valadez, Friedenburg, Kremer, Reed, and Lucas (1985) believe the situation is complicated by the fact that employers are now requiring higher levels of education, more training and better communication skills. Of all workers who lose their jobs, eighty to ninety percent lose them

because of interpersonal problems, not difficulties related to their technical abilities (Friedenberg, 1985). EWP programs are based on the assumption that learning English will alleviate some of these interpersonal problems and thus contribute to greater success on the job.

EWP programs are being developed to address the needs of limited English proficient (LEP) adults who are already employed. Kremer (1985) believes that since each LEP individual is unique in his/her educational background, employment experience, and level of proficiency in English, programs should be organized around these differing needs. An EWP program does not purport to address all of the various needs of a LEP adult. It does, however, aim at the relevant and practical aspects of communication in an employment situation, since employment is a top priority for many LEP adults (Friedenberg, 1987; Lopez-Valadez et al., 1985; Wilde, 1984).

The focus, then, is on language learning as a means of acquiring and upgrading the English skills necessary for success in the workplace. Crandall (1979) points out that the specific focus of EWP classes enables employed LEP students to learn the English they most need. When the course focuses on the work-related situations, Carnevale, Gainer, and Meltzer (1982) and Lopez-Valadez et al. (1985) believe students as well as employers can see a clearer path to improved performance and future promotion.

In order for EWP programs to become more commonplace, it is important to examine just what makes a successful program. This paper examines the key features of a successful EWP program in detail. These seven features are: company commitment, needs assessment, instructor preparation, student assessment and placement, program duration and frequency, curriculum approach and design, and evaluation. A thorough understanding of each component is essential to the success of an EWP program.

# **Company Commitment**

Since EWP programs are not widely known in the business community, Burtoff, Crandall, Moore, and Woodcock (1983) believe that it becomes the responsibility of educators to suggest this alternative and

to work with employers and supervisors in developing these programs. Jupp and Hodlin (1975) insist that company personnel must be educated about what is involved in language learning, what can be achieved in a given period, how a course can be properly organized, and what company personnel can contribute to good results. It is vital that the company be made aware of the benefits it will receive from the implementation of such a course because the success of the program is dependent upon the cooperation of the company. More research is needed to determine whether EWP programs are beneficial and cost-effective.

Once a company has been convinced of the value of an EWP course and has committed itself, Anderson (1982) points out that management can cooperate by providing tours for instructors, helping to identify potential students, giving company release time, and funding sufficient development time. The company's commitment to recruiting students is crucial. By far, the most effective way of recruiting students is to have their immediate supervisors ask them to sign up. Wilde (1984) suggests that supervisors talk to each potential student, answer questions, deal with scheduling and transportation problems, and make lists of students who are enrolling. In the several projects that Sauve (1982) examined, instructors who had the active participation of supervisors and foremen were adamant in stating how useful it had been. When supervisors and foremen are not actively behind the program, it will generally fail.

Management has the power to offer incentives to LEP employees to attend classes. This kind of commitment on the part of upper management is essential. Belfiore and Burnaby (1984) point out that attendance records have shown that the more release time given, the more regular the attendance. Some companies offer to give half of the class time as release time and the employees contribute the other half from their own time. A pay raise has been used as another incentive. A few companies agree to give employees who complete an EWP course an extra percentage in their pay raise. Wilde (1984) points out that a certificate of completion and/or discussions of potential promotion are other ways companies can show their support of the EWP program.

One of the best ways a company can show commitment to a program is to understand the need for sufficient development time and

to fund it. Often companies want tailor-made courses but do not realize the time required for development. In looking at six projects in Alberta and Ontario, Sauve (1982) found that the longest period cited for development time was one full week. This included developing and administering a pre-test as well as developing a curriculum and materials. In describing a program at a Westinghouse turbine plant, Jones (1982) writes that one instructor had two weeks (full-time) of preparation time while the instructor of a clothing factory had 25 hours of preparation. Bell (1982) believes the Levi Strauss project in which she was involved was unique in that it was designed specifically as a materials production project with three months being allowed purely for development of curriculum and classroom materials. In order to address LEP employee/employer communication problems, each course's curriculum must be developed according to the specific needs of the LEP population as well as of the company.

#### **Needs Assessment**

It is impossible to design an EWP course that is appropriate for LEP employees without first completing a thorough needs assessment. EWP educators realize the importance of a needs assessment but few know how to go about doing it. In the projects that Sauve studied, the needs assessment varied from a tour of the plant and a talk with the industry contact to a series of observations, several talks with the industry contact, and a close study of the shop drawings. A needs assessment should include a visit to the company, observation, and questionnaires (Auerbach & Wallerstein, 1987; Belfiore & Burnaby, 1984; Promising Programs, 1985; Jupp & Hodlin, 1975).

Visiting the company is only one of the key elements to a needs assessment. Most likely several visits will be necessary. The purpose of these initial visits is to investigate the overall structure of the company. An EWP instructor should find out about the company's various departments and what jobs LEP workers are performing. These visits give the instructor a sense of the working atmosphere and an understanding of the company's needs.

The second means of gathering data for a needs assessment is observation. EWP instructors should spend time in the workplace

observing the kind of language LEP employees need. Burtoff, Crandall, Moore, and Woodcock (1983), Derge and Kudirka (1986), Fanselow (1980), Gage and Prince (1982), and Jupp and Hodlin (1975) believe that during observation, instructors can classify communication in the following two areas:

### 1. Work Language:

- a. language associated with immediate job situations;
- b. language required for work flexibility, for unusual situations, and for increased responsibility.

# 2. Social Language:

- a. language for simple social contact;
- b. language for individual employees to communicate about their rights and problems.

Instructors need to investigate and experience the social reality of the company before they can make choices about what the learner in that situation needs. (See Jupp & Hodlin, 1975, ch. 6, for a methodology of investigating and analyzing a work situation.)

Both Bell (1982) and Jupp and Hodlin (1975) agree that an instructor should spend a day or so working at the factory. In the Levi Strauss project, Bell describes how she cut her own pair of jeans and moved from section to section sewing each part together under the guidance of the machine operators. This experience enabled her to get a feel for the employees' situation which was invaluable later in developing and teaching the course.

The third instrument of a needs assessment is questionnaires, for both personnel managers and employee supervisors. The focus of the questionnaire for personnel managers should be to find out how LEP workers fit into the overall company picture. (See Burtoff, 1983, pp. 79-80, for a detailed listing of sample questions.) The focus of the questionnaire for supervisors should be more specifically on types of

communication problems that occur on a day-to-day basis. (See for example Becker, 1986; Belfiore & Burnaby, 1984, pp. 27-28; Wilde, 1984.) Wilde found that the responses to these questionnaires were not at all what was expected:

Out of 53 supervisors who responded to the needs assessment, three or less defined such topics as following safety rules, calling in sick and understanding attendance policies as major problems. The areas which clearly stood out as major problems were: understanding instructions, reporting problems, asking for clarification, and awkward situations because LEP do not understand general conversation. (p. 14)

A thorough needs assessment is vital to the success of an EWP program. Often EWP courses focus on such topics as following safety rules and practices, calling in sick and understanding attendance policies, when these may not be the areas that should be emphasized. A properly conducted needs assessment should pinpoint the specific areas that need treatment in a particular company. Thus, communication problems can begin to be addressed.

# **Instructor Preparation**

ESL instructors are frequently uneasy about having to become familiar with a content area in which they have no training or experience. These instructors need to observe vocational classes as well as review vocational course outlines and materials. Vocational instructors are often uncomfortable with this scrutiny. In order to facilitate interdisciplinary collaboration, staff development workshops can be given aimed at increasing understanding between vocational skills instructors and ESL instructors (Burtoff et al., 1983; Friedenberg, 1987; Promising Progams, 1985).

In addition to consultations with the vocational skills instructor, EWP instructors must do a considerable amount of background research in order to be familiar with the particular work setting. However, Anderson (1982) points out that it is unrealistic to expect the instructor to be fully knowledgeable about the work. Anderson and Panzer (1985) suggest that EWP instructors make use of the knowledge students have

about the job in addition to consulting with vocational skills instructors, and individual research and observation.

To help instructors prepare for teaching about a job that may be unfamiliar to them, a task analysis of the jobs that involve LEP employees can be performed. Published listings of job tasks can be obtained from the National Center for Vocational Education, Ohio State University, V-TEC's Consortium, and several state agencies (Carnevale et al., 1982). These listings break a job down into three parts. First, the task listing is a comprehensive listing of jobs performed by workers. Second, the task detailing is a systematic breakdown of each task to determine the skills, sequencing, knowledge, and attitudes the worker needs to know in order to perform a single task. Third, the task inventory is a list of duties, tasks and questions that ask workers, who already perform that job, about the way a task is done. If an instructor has no previous experience with a certain job, a task analysis may provide valuable information.

#### **Student Assessment and Placement**

It is possible to test learners formally in order to place them in a program. Promosing Programs (1985) cites one source of information regarding potentially valid instruments as the California Adult Student Assessment System of the San Diego Community College District. (See also Lopez-Valadez & DeHesus, 1982, for sample assessment tests.) These kinds of tests do have the advantage of providing a standardized measurement of progress, which is something the company very often wants. But these tests measure a formal knowledge of language structures and do not give much feedback on the learner's communicative abilities. In addition, Burtoff et al. (1983) and Richer (1982) agree that LEP workers often suffer anxiety about tests, believing that their scores may be used as a basis for firing them.

Structured interviews might be more appropriate and more informative. Much of the literature points to interviews as the best way to assess students (Burtoff et al., 1983; Jupp & Hodlin, 1975; Lund, 1982). These authors agree that the interview should be structured so that social chatting, job specifics, and basic literacy are covered. The interview should be given by the instructor so that initial understanding

of individual linguistic and communicative weaknesses can be gained. The interview should be reasonably easy and quick to administer and be conducted in a relaxed, informal environment.

## **Program Duration and Frequency**

The workplace imposes severe constraints on the time available for EWP classes. Different shifts, overtime, flex time, release time, car pools, bus schedules and teacher schedules are just a few of these conflicting factors. The arrangements for a course are inevitably a compromise between these practical constraints and the essential conditions needed for language learning.

After experimenting with different lengths of courses, Jupp and Hodlin (1975) suggest 40 hours as the minimum duration to achieve worthwhile results. The authors believe that this time would ideally be organized in daily sessions of 45 minutes each. Anderson (1982) believes that the format of a one hour class four days a week would be optimal for beginning students. Wilde (1984), however, points out that it is difficult to get a teacher to teach at a company just one hour a day because of the time involved in transportation. Both Bell (1982) and Wilde believe that a two hour class two days a week provides enough continuity for learners and is realistic given other constraints.

Jupp and Hodlin (1975) think that while 40 hours is a minimum time frame, 50 hours is more typical and 60 hours should be about the maximum length. A further course can always be arranged. Wilde (1984) recommends that each course have at least two weeks between sessions for evaluation and further planning with company personnel. Jupp and Hodlin and Wilde agree that the course should be about ten to twelve weeks in duration.

Setting beginning and ending dates rather than an open entry/exit type of arrangement works best. Students should know how long the course will be, so that they have a feeling of accomplishment after completion (Anderson, 1982; Barndt & Marino, 1982; Befflore & Burnaby, 1984; Jones, 1982; Lund, 1982; Mohan, 1982; Monk, 1982; Wilde, 1984). Also, company supervisors can recruit LEP employees for a particular date rather than have the constant pressure of recruiting.

Belfiore and Burnaby (1984) note that while classes often tend to be more convenient at the end of the day or shift, learners must then battle fatigue and make special arrangements at home for their late arrival. Lunch-time classes take away workers' only real break from concentrated work and usually do not provide enough time anyway. Although there may be no ideal time of day for such classes, it seems that two-hour classes twice a week work best in most cases.

## **Curriculum Approach and Design**

To help set a company's expectations for improvement in their LEP workers' communication, it is important to show management the course objectives before the classes begin. Belfiore and Burnaby (1984) believe that since courses have different purposes and different audiences, the syllabus can be formal or informal, finely tuned or roughly outlined. A syllabus needs to be flexible to respond to and incorporate a learner's daily needs.

Often EWP courses begin with predetermined objectives that are drawn largely from the needs assessment. As the course proceeds, however, new objectives should be allowed to emerge and be incorporated into the curriculum. The whole curriculum should be a "working document" (Belfiore & Burnaby, 1984, p. 58). The results of a needs assessment usually point out an array of communication tasks that are important and need improvement. Objectives can be written and exercises and activities developed to deal with these problem areas. The format for organizing these objectives can vary from an overall general guide, as in a Freirian-based approach, to a more specific type of syllabus, as in a competency-based approach.

In a Freirian-based approach, objectives are organized around themes and topics where teachers and students select topics of interest or problem areas. The main objective in this approach is for students to develop a critical consciousness through analyzing topics of concern and interest (Auerbach & Wallerstein, 1987; Barndt & Marino, 1982; Belfiore & Burnaby, 1984; Nettle, 1982). One problem with this approach is that companies often demand concrete evaluation data. Competencies offer a way for instructors to give management specific evaluation data.

Many state-of-the-art EWP curricula designs today are competency-based because many EWP instructors believe that this type of approach aids LEP students in coping with a second language in a new environment by breaking the language down into small useful chunks. A competency-based approach allows students the opportunity to master essential linguistic tasks directly related to successful performance on the job. Burtoff et al. (1983) are among advocates of a competency-based approach and believe that this approach accelerates the learning process and enhances learner retention.

A competency-based approach is especially effective when combined with a functional context methodology that uses job-related materials and concepts as the basis for training (Burtoff et al., 1983; Carnevale et al., 1982). Functional language teaching attempts to make language learning more flexible, relevant, and effective by identifying explicit learning objectives that consist of language functions. Some of these functions would include: asking permission, making a request, and following directions. LEP workers can immediately put this newly learned functional English to use in their day-to-day work. (See Derge & Kudirka, 1986, for a sample list of 71 competencies for the workplace.)

Unfortunately, materials for EWP courses are often unpublished and difficult to find. In most cases, teachers must adapt or write their own materials. A great deal of time is required in developing a course, and teachers may feel intimidated by the prospect of writing an entire curriculum. Burtoff et al. (1983, pp. 90-93) offer specific suggestions as to how teachers can break this formidable task down by dividing the hours of the course into units and assigning each unit one of the desired objectives. The use of task-oriented goals as in a competency-based approach seems particularly well-suited to the workplace, where success on the job is measured in terms of how well tasks are performed.

#### **Evaluation**

Industry considers evaluation to be an extremely important part of the EWP program. Besides satisfying accountability, evaluation gives everyone involved an opportunity to review the original goals to see what has been gained and to see where improvements can be made. An EWP course has an advantage over other types of ESL programs regarding evaluation in that the real language behavior of the student can be more fully investigated at the place of work. Evaluation consists of two components; student progress evaluation and program evaluation. The company expects measurable results from both areas.

The first component is the student progress evaluation, which should include self-evaluation, pre- and post-tests, and the supervisor's opinion. No one factor alone should be relied upon to provide an accurate evaluation. First, self-evaluation can give learners a sense of autonomy. After judging what they have accomplished, they can assess their commitment to continue learning. If learners are at a basic literacy level, then a self-evaluation questionnaire is inappropriate. Belfiore and Burnaby (1984) suggest that an oral discussion with similar questions is a viable option. In the case where even oral skills are too basic, a bilingual aide should be obtained.

Second, the information gained from pre- and post-tests is another part of student progress evaluation. Again, a competency-based course lends itself easily to eliciting information pertaining to change, before and after the course. However, Jupp and Hodlin (1975) caution that comparative performance does not answer the crucial question of whether someone has an adequate level of English. The authors suggest the information from a post-test be used to indicate whether the learner's English is adequate, greatly improved, or still inadequate.

The supervisor's opinion is the third part of the student progress evaluation. Jupp and Hodlin (1975) write:

A thorough evaluation of improvement in a student's ability to communicate in his work place and the effect of this on his level of efficiency could be immensely complicated and time-consuming. The only practical way to try to judge it is to ask for the opinion of each student's immediate boss. (p. 69)

The authors admit that this type of evaluation is obviously unreliable, but insist that supervisor evaluation has value since it reflects the supervisor's relationship with the worker. In order for a course to be successful, the language training should have a positive effect on the tension and frustration between a supervisor and worker. **The** 

information gathered from the supervisor is of equal value to the information from the student, and both are essential to the whole evaluation process.

The second component of evaluation is the overall program evaluation. First, company personnel who are directly involved should evaluate the courses in the form of a written questionnaire. This type of questionnaire is even more successful if it is followed up with a personal interview. Belfiore and Burnaby (1984) point out that this gives the opportunity for explanation and anecdotes that might otherwise not be revealed. However, if student participants are asked to perform program evaluation, they often do not feel they can give anything but a positive evaluation.

Second, statistics in the following areas can be compiled and used as an indication of program success: productivity improvements, cost reductions, absentee rates, staff turnover, promotions, raises, use of interpreters, punctuality, and health and safety figures. Belfiore and Burnaby (1984) and Carnevale et al. (1982) agree that a good EWP program should make a positive impact in these areas. In the past, some EWP programs have not attempted to gather detailed evaluation data Evaluation should not be placed at the bottom of the list of priorities. Industries that are contemplating implementation of programs want concrete evidence of positive results. EWP planners must insist that a thorough evaluation process be an integral part of every course (Belfiore & Burnaby, 1984; Burtoff et al., 1983; Mohan, 1982; Sauve, 1982). (See Wilde, 1984, for sample forms of evaluations.)

#### Conclusion

Educators and business people across the United States are beginning to form partnerships to address communication problems in the workplace. Since EWP programs are relatively new, it important to examine just what makes a successful program in order for these courses to become more commonplace. Every one of the seven features described above is an important aspect of an EWP program. Company personnel and EWP educators must share the responsibility of planning each area carefully.

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# CULTURE LEARND1G IN THE ESL CLASSROOM Review Article

# By Lisa K. Hoffman Phanat Nikhom, Thailand

<u>Culturally speaking: A conversation and culture text for learners of English.</u> Rhona B. Genzel and Martha G. Cummings. New York: Harper and Row. 1986

Americana articles 2: Reading the culture. Tacey Ruffner. Oakland, CA: Newbury House Publishers. 1982

The culture puzzle: Cross-cultural communication for English as a second language. Deena R. Levine, Jim Baxter, and Piper McNulty. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall. 1987.

Beyond language: Intercultural communication for English as a second language. Deena R. Levine and Mara B. Adelman. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall. 1982.

The teaching of English as a Second Language, like the teaching of any foreign language, traditionally focused on linguistic rules and forms, literature and translation, grammar, vocabulary, and some conversation. Recently, educators have also stressed communicative competence as a goal in ESL instruction, teaching socially appropriate modes of interaction along with language rules (Brown, 1987; Krashen & Terrell, 1983; Richard-Amato, 1988). There is growing recognition in the field of language teaching, however, that there is more to interaction than linguistic, communicative competence (Brooks, 1986; Cargill, 1987; Seelye, 1985; Valdes, 1986). There must be:

an interpretive as well as productive aspect of interaction. Interaction involves the interpretation of speech behavior and other behavior of people and the interpretation of setting features of social activities, including normative role statements. (Mehan cited in Krasnick, 1984, p. 213)

This view shows clearly the interrelationship of language and culture in any interaction. People use their cultural knowledge about social structures, norms, and other people in order to communicate effectively. Language-use competence emerges, thus, as both cultural and interactional as well as linguistic. ESL students in the United States are caught in a difficult transition phase, one which involves learning not only a new language, but also a new culture, replete with foreign values, attitudes, and behaviors. Learners need and want to develop both linguistic and cultural competence in order to interact with native speakers of English and adapt to their new environment. Language and culture become inextricably linked in an effective ESL classroom, forming a symbiotic relationship (Damen, 1987; Lono, 1987; Valdes, 1986).

This review will explore culture learning within the ESL context. After briefly discussing the role of culture in communication and the variables which influence culture learning, I will examine four textbooks that attempt to incorporate culture into the language learning process. I have used Damen's Textbook Evaluation Guide (Damen, 1987) as a basis for my evaluation of the books, posing such questions as: What are the goals of the text, the learners, and the teacher? Does the text promote culture learning and ease culture shock by adjusting the learning environment? Does it address the cultural patterns and beliefs of the learner in a positive way and discuss different cultures with empathy and understanding? What changes are expected of the learners? Does the text help the students to develop interactional competence, or does it merely teach knowledge about the target culture or about culture in general? These questions are not exhaustive, but rather provide a starting point for my analysis and discussion.

Damen (1987) defines culture learning as "human learning related to patterns of human interaction and identification" (p. 216). Concerned with norms and values, culture is undeniably subjective, yet it forms the basis for rules of communication and action in social settings. Unlike linguistic dictates, cultural rules are often vague and framed only in terms of preferences, requiring negotiation by the actors in contextualized situations (Damen, 1987; ICrasnick, 1984). The development of cultural competence involves an awareness and acceptance of cultural differences and similarities rather than a memorization of rules. ESL texts that have cultural openness and competence as a goal must, therefore, present

cultural information in a non-judgmental, comparative frame of reference. This allows the students to examine their personal attitudes, beliefs, and world views while relating these to other cultures, particularly the "target" culture, and learning new ways to interact and convey meaning. Since it is often difficult to identify a homogeneous target culture, especially in the United States, texts would accomplish more by focusing on ways to think and learn about cultures in order to develop greater tolerance and understanding of differences. Some specific cultural information should be presented in the ESL classroom, but through a cross-cultural approach that makes clear that this information does not represent all of the target culture. (For a detailed explanation of cross-cultural comparison methods, see Dunnett, Dubin, & Lewsberg, 1986; Lado, 1986.)

Although the use of culturally appropriate materials is critical, even more important is the teacher's own attitude toward her students' backgrounds and the way in which she uses the text (Dunnett, Dubin, & Lewsberg, 1986; Gurney, 1987; Valdes, 1986). ESL teachers in the United States need to have a basic empathy for differences among cultures as well as a broad awareness of the American culture. As Valdes has pointed out,

There is more to teaching culture than an appropriate textbook. The teacher also must have a background from which to draw in order to determine methods and techniques of presentation, concepts and values to be stressed, areas requiring tact or extensive application for certain ethnic groups, what to expand from the printed material and what to omit or compress, and most vital of all, how to make it interesting and non-judgmental.  $(p. \ x)$ 

ICrasnick (1984) offers three perspectives with regard to culture teaching and learning as part of language-use competence. I have based my analyses of the following textbooks, in part, on these assumptions. First, verbal and non-verbal language are interwoven in communication, with non-verbal communicative competence being entirely culturally determined. Morain (1986) concurs, claiming that "macro-kinesic systems may be determined by cultural norms" (p. 67). Teachers and texts must, therefore, address culturally specific non-verbal communication techniques

and teach ways to recognize, understand, and initiate non-verbal signals. Second, language has a purpose. ESL students have a need for training in everyday language, to achieve a basic communicative competence that will be useful to them. This is particularly true for heads of households. for whom functional ESL skills vastly increase employability in the U.S. (Bailey, 1987; Cole, 1987; Osterloh, 1986). Third, language is the basis of social reality, providing the means by which people externalize themselves and interact with society. This performance in turn shapes society's norms, values, and structures. ESL students in the U.S. are not primarily interested in high society notions of culture or even in obscure peculiarities of American personalities. Above all, they want to acquire practical knowledge of culture that will facilitate their interactions with Americans. These assumptions illustrate the complexity of language and its relationship with culture. They point to the need in the ESL classroom for a systematic presentation of the major values and norms that govern everyday life in the U.S., exploring issues that are both interesting and relevant to the students' personal experiences. This must take place in an accepting, culturally sensitive, cross-cultural environment that allows the students to maintain their own cultural identities.

# <u>Culturally Speaking: A Conversation</u> and Culture Text for Learners of English

Culturally Speaking, intended for intermediate and advanced ESL students in a high school, college, adult education, or industrial training program setting, is primarily a conversation textbook that focuses on mainstream American culture. The authors suggest four main goals for the textbook: (a) to help people adapt to the U.S. and learn how to interact in a culturally appropriate way in different situations; (b) to act as a vehicle for learning about others; (c) to encourage interest in and respect for other cultures; and (d) to get students talking and acting comfortably. The goal of presenting cultural information is explicitly stated and an integral part of the text; the text is based on the view that communication involves both language and culture. Moreover, the authors believe that people learn most effectively through doing (Genzel & Cummings, 1986, p. viii) and suggest some communicative activities that place the learning in natural contexts.

Each chapter focuses on different aspects of "mainstream American culture," covering such topics as friendship definitions, dating customs, humor, superstitions, pets, holidays, and others. Cultural items are described as fact, suggesting that "traditional" mainstream American attitudes are more valid than any variations. For example, each chapter offers answers "an American would probably give," implying that other answers are incorrect. The authors also make vast generalizations that could be misinterpreted in an social setting, such as "Americans like ethnic jokes and jokes about mothers-in law, wives, husbands, religion and sex" (Genzel & Cummings, 1986, p. 71). The students need further information about when such jokes are appropriate. I find these generalizations to be. a drawback, as no attempt is made to explore or even acknowledge the diversity of American culture. Admittedly, it is not within the scope of any text to present the wide range of American cultural attitudes; however, some acknowledgement should be made to this effect and avenues for further discussion of cultural differences within the U.S. could be offered. The text does, however, show sensitivity and understanding toward the learners' native cultures. This is exhibited through discussion questions as well as activities such as "Let's Share," which encourage students to reflect on their own cultures and relate them to U.S. culture. There are also brief mentions of international cultural practices.

One unique aspect of <u>Culturally Speaking</u> is the "simulation game" as a climax to the activities in a particular chapter. These games give students opportunities to interact in simulated situations such as attending school, going to a nightclub, shopping in the U.S., and going to the doctor. An example before the simulation games helps prepare students for what might be an intimidating and uncomfortable activity. The games are elaborate productions which involve the students both in setting up and participating in the appropriate scene, practicing the vocabulary and cultural patterns they have learned in the chapter.

Although the authors' explanations of the other activities make them appear communicative and useful, I found in reading through the text that some of the methods were inappropriate. I do not like the authors' use of lists or charts to present cultural "rules." This seems to compartmentalize culture unnecessarily and stifle creative thinking about cultural differences. There are also too many idioms and obscure terms

for an ESL student to process and have them be useful. Idioms can provide a good mode of interaction with Americans; as homework, students could ask Americans what certain key idioms mean. Another criticism related to a specific activity is that the authors encourage their readers to stereotype people based on appearance (p. 45). I consider this an inappropriate activity for an ESL classroom, even if the authors claim "your conclusion abut these people may or may not be true." The teacher would have to exercise extreme caution and sensitivity not to offend anyone and to teach that making judgments based on people's appearance is never acceptable.

Few changes are required on the part of the students. They are expected to understand, accept, and adapt to mainstream American culture without surrendering their own culture. Culturally Speaking has some strong points, including the use of dialogue and simulation games. In using this text, however, a teacher would need to emphasize culture in communication and how to avoid misunderstandings. This would involve teaching more adaptive strategies (including vocabulary and phrases) and focusing more on communication practice than on "facts" of U.S. culture. This text could be used, but only by an experienced and innovative teacher who would be able to benefit from some ideas while discarding others.

# **Americana Articles 2: Reading the Culture**

Americana Articles is a collection of news-based public interest articles intended to familiarize the intermediate ESL student with various aspects of American culture and values. The articles, extracted from newspapers and popular magazines, presuppose some exposure to American culture. The author believes that the ESL teacher must play the role of cultural interpreter; this requires an "awareness of Americans' culturally defined conceptual system and how it functions in all facets of their lives" (Ruffner, 1982, p. ix). She suggests that it is the teacher's responsibility to direct the student in a process leading from a closed first cultural framework to a cognitive understanding of a second cultural frame of reference (p. x). The goals of this textbook are to expose students to American values and beliefs, including both harsh ad inspiring aspects, and thus to develop a better understanding of this complex

reference system. Ruffner states as her task: "to present an integrated framework of the major elements of American culture which tend to be taken for granted by most Americans, but cannot be assumed to be part of others' operating framework" (p. vii). These goals are to be accomplished through active student participation in discussions. In addition to promoting an openness to cultural differences, the text targets reading comprehension and analysis, reasoning skills (inductive and deductive), mechanical and interpretive skills, vocabulary development, and grammar.

Ruffner intends for the learners to practice communicative and cognitive skills, including how to ask about information and relationships, and how to use contextual information and logic to complement reading and oral/aural skills. However, the book's exploration of cultural information and the exercises are often perfunctory. With the exception of pair work, Americana Articles 2 lacks sufficient interactive activities that would integrate the cultural information with everyday life and develop interactive competence. Also, a cross-cultural perspective in the description and questions sections would be useful. The articles clearly illustrate the diversity of U.S. culture, focusing on different ethnic, geographical, gender, age, and linguistic groups. However, the text explores concepts rather than specific cultural strategies for communication. It provides a good atmosphere for discussions, but does not teach ways to adapt or communicate in different situations.

Teachers could make use of <u>Americana Articles 2</u> in the classroom by supplementing the entire text with a more practical communication textbook. Teachers could use some of the articles to stimulate discussions on interesting cultural notions while relating them to situations students might encounter. The articles lend themselves, for example, to discussions of women in the work place and the work ethic; changes in American lifestyles; innovation and creativity in forming one's own lifestyle; taboo conversation topics; and geographical slang and idioms.

The Culture Puzzle: Cross-Cultural
Communication for English as a
Second Language

The Culture Puzzle was written for use with intermediate level students learning English either in the U.S. or abroad; however the cultural material is also appropriate for more advanced students. The authors believe not only that culture forms an integral part of communication, but more importantly, that cultural differences create predictable communication problems for ESL students and that students benefit from explicit explanations of the cultural use of English among native speakers. There exists a need in the ESL classroom for a systematic explanation of cultural information as well as opportunities for intensive practice in cross-cultural communication skills (p. ix). This rationale illuminates The Culture Puzzle's primary goal: to create an awareness of cultural differences in communication. Secondary goals include using English effectively in American-context situations, both orally and through reading. The text provides information and practice opportunities without forcing the learners to change or become American; rather, students are encouraged to make their own decisions as they develop both linguistic and cultural fluency.

The Culture Puzzle is based on a communicative, cross-cultural approach which stimulates active use of English and active understanding of cultural differences. The content covers a range of cultural items centering on modes of interactions with Americans, including verbal/non-verbal communication strategies, gender relationships, notions of "talking things out," and initiating and terminating conversations. Although Americans and their communication styles are presented as "average," the text makes numerous comments that the cultural statements are generalized or mainstream. Students learn that the United States is made up of people of many cultures, ages, and ethnicities, all of whom might react differently in any given situation (see, for example, p. 30); The book clearly makes the distinction between observation and judgment and encourages students to do the same.

Each chapter first gives an introduction and an example of ineffective communication, highlighting common errors. This is followed by questions to insure comprehension, then by a revised interaction

highlighting the culturally appropriate use of American English. This activity points out many of the errors an ESL student is likely to make and offers solutions to common communication problems in the revised version. The rest of the chapter discusses related aspects of U.S. culture, presents useful phrases and vocabulary, incorporates "cross-cultural notes," introduces discussion topics, and suggests a variety of communicative activities requiring the student to use the new material. Questions and activities consistently relate the cultural themes back to the students' own cultures, illuminating similarities and differences, and thereby encouraging students to analyze their own systems of belief and how they influence their communication patterns. Each unit creates opportunities for truly cross-cultural interactions, making the learners reflect upon their own cultural ideas and opening up new ways of thinking about cultural beliefs and attitudes.

The Culture Puzzle has a few noticeable drawbacks. Although the occasional photos are interesting, they are not well incorporated into the lessons. The teacher could easily use these as a basis for discussion or role play. Some of the illustrations require additional explanation. For example "Some people 'let off steam' easily" is the caption for a picture of a teapot (p. 37). The authors likely intended for this to lead to a discussion of American idioms, although this is not clear. Some of the book's methods may be too "communicative" for certain student populations. If teaching overseas, for instance, an instructor might want to use this text in conjunction with another, more formal textbook. In the U.S., the text could be supplemented by authentic materials--a movie. video-tape, or activities in the community to practice the • material. Specifically, I would add more information and activities relating to students' particular needs, for example, how to apply for a job or how to interact with teachers and other members of the community in different situations.

The only changes expected of students are an increased awareness of cultural differences and an understanding of how easy it is to misinterpret words or behavior from another culture. Students are expected to learn certain "survival skills" or adaptive strategies, such as how to explain to someone that they feel uncomfortable because of differences in cultural expectations.

Beyond Language: Intercultural Communication for English as a Second Language

The final textbook, <u>Beyond Language</u>, was co-authored by Deena R. Levine, who also wrote <u>The Culture Puzzle</u>. Beyond Laneuage, therefore, understandably embodies much of the same rationale, goals, and methods as <u>The Culture Puzzle</u>. The authors believe that language instruction alone cannot fully assist foreigners in adapting to their host country; cultural instruction is also necessary. By presenting American culture through reading passages and providing a context for reading and vocabulary development, the authors hope to stimulate discussions; assist adjustment to the U.S.; encourage appreciation of cultural diversity; and assist students in achieving fluency in English and communicating successfully (p. ix). <u>Beyond Language</u> focuses on reading, vocabulary building, and conversation skills. Intended for intermediate and advanced ESL students, it could easily be used as a sequel to The Culture Puzzle.

The Chapters of <u>Beyond Language</u> are divided into two main parts. The first section presents a reading which focuses on American values and behavior and is followed by comprehension questions and vocabulary. This serves as a background to the second section, which offers cross-cultural conversational activities meant to hep students become aware of the role of culture in their personal observations, judgments, and actions. The new vocabulary is not explicitly defined or explained, but rather is explored through several different exercises, such as synonyms, multiple choice, filling in blanks, and matching. The amount of new vocabulary—sometimes as many as fifty-seven unfamiliar words or phrases (p. 137)—can be overwhelming. If I were to use this text, I would define some of the difficult words before beginning the chapter, particularly for "intermediate" students.

The authors suggest a wide range of communicative activities such as demonstrating and practicing common American gestures; small group work; open role play with members of the same culture; practice at reading a college course catalogue; cross-cultural questions for large group discussions, and others. Students from the same linguistic/cultural background are encouraged to think critically about their own culture.

One activity, for instance, has the students create two role plays, one in their native language and culture and one in English, and then discuss how the non-verbal communication patterns differ (p. 57). All of these communicative exercises allow the learner to synthesize and use the cultural content which was presented through the readings while providing a context for cross-cultural discussions and interactions where more than one answer may be correct. The instructor is encouraged to vary the order of presentation, to adapt the text for use according to the needs of the learners, and to add or omit items (p. xiii). For example, the authors suggest that role playing may not always be appropriate in the ESL classroom, depending on the level and cultural background of the students.

Beyond Language would be most appropriate for an advanced ESL classroom focusing on the development of reading skills. It provides a good integration of reading and communicative activities in order to maximize language and culture learning. I see it as particularly useful for students who have already worked their way through an introductory language/culture textbook (such as <a href="The Culture Puzzle">The Culture Puzzle</a>) and would like to further develop some of their reading and vocabulary skills.

#### Conclusion

This paper has emphasized the importance of teaching culture along with language in the ESL classroom. Each of the textbooks I examined had praiseworthy goals and intentions to integrate language and culture learning; however, they met with varying degrees of success in accomplishing their goals. I found The Culture Puzzle by Levine, Baxter, and McNulty, to be the most thorough and useful text for an intermediate ESL classroom in the U.S. The explanations and exercises it uses enable the learner to assimilate information and engage in meaningful action. The learner moves with relative ease among the various levels of culture learning, from the Information stage to Analysis, Synthesis, Comprehension, and finally Insight (Kleinjan cited in Damen, The Culture Puzzle is an excellent culture textbook which I would use without hesitation. I would also consider using **Beyond** Language, but only as a sequel to The Culture Puzzle. It provides valuable reading practice and interesting activities, but does not give such a complete introduction to American cultural communication. Finally, I

would use only parts of <u>Americana Articles 2</u> and Cultu cing. The former provides stimulating topics for discussion, while the latter offers exciting opportunities for simulation games.

Teaching cultural material in the ESL classroom can be challenging and difficult, so great is the potential for miscommunication. Comprehension involves understanding the overall message above and beyond the literal meaning of words, including gestures, intonation, allusions, and the presence or absence of certain words (Lono, 1987). Cultural concepts are implicitly or explicitly stated in every aspect of the language curriculum, sometimes causing serious problems for students unfamiliar with mainstream American culture. Richmond (1987) writes of the difficulties Anglo-American teachers may experience when teaching Native Americans if not aware of cultural differences in communication. Cultural misunderstandings occur both in expectations about and responses to classroom interactions, for teachers may inadvertently be asking their students to violate deeply ingrained patterns of communication. For example, "Anglo teachers usually expect to be looked in the eye by children who are being reprimanded. Viewing a child's failure to maintain eye contact as a sign of defiance, they are apt to become annoyed when Native American children, not wishing to seem impertinent, avert their eyes" (p. 23). The reverse may also be true, with students holding unrealistic expectations of their teachers. Teachers can avoid some potential misunderstandings by becoming familiar with their students' backgrounds and by bringing cross-cultural differences out into the open.

Once cultural information is made accessible by the teacher, students need to develop appropriate techniques for dealing with the new language and culture, constructing their own interpretations of events, objects, or situations, juxtaposing these against their background knowledge, and using these schemata to then predict other events that have not yet been observed (Lono, 1987, p. 81). This type of cultural exploration can be facilitated through personal experience in the classroom, including role play, dialogues, problem-posing activities, and active discussion to involve the ESL students directly in their own reactions to new cultural experiences. The teacher can create the circumstances necessary for the students to engage in analysis and

conceptualization about language and culture rather than just memorizing language patterns which fit simulated events (Gurney, 1987).

Culture learning can have a huge impact on the individual, causing alienation, culture shock, confusion, and other threatening changes (Damen, 1987). Culture teaching and learning, therefore, demand a level of teacher and student commitment beyond that required for the traditional language classroom. The fact remains, however, that culture learning is inevitable. Given the value of human diversity within the ESL classroom, in the American community, and throughout the world, culture learning deserves to be facilitated. Although culture textbooks, such as those described in this paper, can enhance learning in the ESL classroom, the real key to culture learning is effective culture teaching. Teachers who are sensitive to an intercultural approach and have been trained in cross-cultural communicative methodology will likely succeed in adapting any of these materials for use in their own classroom.

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## JAPANESE LEARNING PREFERENCES: A STUDY OF FOUR INTENSIVE ENGLISH PROGRAMS Research Notes

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#### **Abstract**

The purpose of this study was to identify learning preferences of Japanese students enrolled in intensive English programs in the United States and compare them with the instructional practices of their ESL teachers. The data suggest Japanese students prefer lecture and discussion over other instructional practices. It further suggests that the least preferred strategies were those associated with a learner-centered orientation. Teacher preferences seemed to agree with student preferences. The results of this study have formed the basis for a new orientation component at Central Washington University.

# **Background**

Students who enter ESL/EFL programs bring with them a variety of customs, habits, and attitudes that profoundly affect how they learn. Recent research in cognition has focused on the relationship between cognition and learning in teacher/student interaction and the influence of individual and cultural differences on learning outcomes. This work indicates that individuals differ in how they organize, process, and respond to information and that individuals exhibit characteristic responses to learning and certain preferences for ways of learning that appear to be consistent over time (Kolb, 1984; Messick, 1976; Witkin & Goodenough, 1981). Since this area of inquiry is relatively new, a considerable amount of imprecision exists with respect to terminology and definitions. References can be found in the literature to cognitive styles, cognitive strategies, learning styles, learning strategies, study strategies, and metacognitive strategies. Distinctions between the terms are frequently vague and the fact that a number of researchers use

several terms interchangeably only adds to the confusion. Nevertheless, second language researchers have begun to emphasize the importance of taking into consideration the particular ways in which English language learners learn when planning instruction (O'Malley, Chamot, Steuner-Manzarnes, Russo, & Kupper, 1985; Oxford, 1990; Reid, 1987). Yet, to date, little detailed information has been collected on how specific groups of ESL/EFL students learn or prefer to learn.

## **Purpose**

The purpose of this study was to investigate the learning preference of Japanese students enrolled in four U.S. intensive English programs (IEPs), and, more specifically, to identify their preferences and to compare them with those of their ESL teachers. The study sought to answer the following research questions:

- 1. Do Japanese learners prefer to learn in particular ways, and are the preferences shared by the majority of Japanese in the sample? If preferences exist, what are they?
- 2. To what extent do the preferences expressed by Japanese learners differ from the instructional practices selected by their ESL teachers?

#### Method

The study made use of a commercially available standardized instrument known as the Renzulli and Smith (1978) Learning Styles Inventory. The inventory consists of a series of 65 statements designed to measure learner preferences for nine different instructional strategies used to teach curricular content. The nine strategies are: (a) projects, (b) drill and practice, (c) peer teaching, (d) discussion, (e) teaching games, (f) lecture, (g) simulation (i.e., role plays), (h) programmed instruction (i.e., a series of discrete point tasks that incorporate immediate feedback so learners can gauge their performance, and (i) independent study.

Permission was obtained from the authors to translate the instrument into Japanese and to alter several statements in the original instrument instrument to adjust for cultural bias (e.g., statement number 14: "Learning about an event such as the signing of the Declaration of Independence by acting it out in class" was translated to read "Learning about an event or story by acting it out in class"). To enhance the accuracy of the translations, the instrument was translated into Japanese by one native speaker of Japanese and back-translated into English by another native speaker. A random selection of eight statements was then presented to a third native speaker and checked against the original translation. The instrument and the instructions were translated into Japanese to eliminate the influence of English language proficiency as an intervening variable.

Translated copies of the instrument, instructions, and a release form were completed by 84 students at four intensive English programs during the fall of 1989 (refer to Figure 1). The inventory was self-administered and took approximately 20 minutes to complete. In keeping with human subjects considerations, no personal information was collected that could be used to identify a particular individual in the study. However, information was collected on students' length of stay in the U.S., gender, and level in their IEP.

**Figure 1.** Response by institution.

Institution	N (subiects)	
CWU OSU PSU	(42) ( 1) ( 14)	
UO Total	(27) (84)	

A "teacher form" of the same inventory was completed by 24 instructors at the same four institutions. Data from the teacher inventories were intended to serve two purposes: (a) to determine whether the instructional preferences of students differed from the preferences of teacher, and (b) whether factors such as the type of

faculty appointment, degree held, and number of years of ESL/EFL teaching experience affected the type or variety of instructional practices utilized by ESL faculty in the four IEPs surveyed. Only the first purpose will be addressed in this research report.

Completed inventories were forwarded to Northern Illinois University for initial computer processing. A mean and a standard deviation were computed for each subject on each scale of the nine instructional strategies. Further analyses are being conducted at Central Washington University (CWU) to determine whether the observed differences among subjects in the sample are statistically significant. Simple T-tests for differences in means between subjects' scores on the nine instructional strategies and between subjects at three of the four universities in the study will be performed over the next few months. Because one institution returned teacher inventories after data processing had begun, it will not be possible to include a comprehensive examination of the data collected from teachers in this article.

#### **Results**

First, the data indicate that Japanese students sampled at three of the institutions\* clearly prefer to learn in particular ways and that the preferences appear to be shared across institutions (refer to Figure 2). For example, lecture was ranked higher than any other strategy by students at all three institutions. Specifically, it was ranked first by 30.9% of the CWU subjects, 42.8% of the Portland State University (PSU) subjects, and 22.2% of the University of Oregon (UO) subjects. Furthermore, when lecture was included as either first or second by preference it accounted for 61.9% of the subjects' strongest preferences at CWU and 37% at UO. Discussion and teaching games were strong second choices for students at all three institutions. Discussion was ranked either first or second by 33.3% of the CWU subjects, 28.5% of the PSU subjects, and 33.3% of the UO subjects. Teaching games was ranked either first or second by 23.8% of the CWU subjects, 21.4% of the PSU subjects, and 37% of the UO subjects.

Figure 2. Preferences by institution.

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Highest Ranked

First Choice
Lecture

(WU (30.9%)
PSU (42.8%)
U0 (22.2%)

First & Second Choice
Lecture

(WU (61.9%) 1111111 11111 1111 1111 | 11111 | 11111 | 11111 | 11111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 1111 | 111
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Lowest Ranked Learning Preferences
Least Preferred
Simulation
CWU (26.1%)
    (28.5%) E.M.I
PSU
Peer Teaching
    Second Lowest Ranked
Simulation
CWU (50%)
    (57.1%) 111111111111111 . 11111
PSU
Peer Teaching
UO
    (40 7%
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Second, the data indicated that simulation, peer teaching, programmed instruction, projects, and independent study are least

preferred by the subjects at all three institutions. Simulation is the strategy ranked the lowest for CWU subjects (26.1%) and PSU subjects (28.5%). Peer teaching ranked the lowest for UO subjects with 25.9% of the subjects having listed it as their least desired strategy. A full 50% of the subjects at CWU identified simulation as either their lowest or second lowest preference in strategies and 57.1% of PSU subjects expressed the same hesitations about the strategy. At UO, 40.7% identified peer teaching as either their least or second least preferred strategy.

While the data from the teacher forms are not complete, a review of 16 of 31 teacher forms reveals that discussion was the most often cited instructional strategy. In fact, 13 of 16 teachers (81.3%) indicated that they used it either rather frequently or very frequently in their classes. So at least for those teachers at three of the four institutions,\*\* there appears to be a shared preference among teachers and students for one of the strategies in the inventory, although discussion was not preferred by students as often as it was by teachers. Nor did students prefer discussion as often as they preferred lecture. Equally important, 11 of 16 teachers, or 68.7%, indicated that they rather infrequently or very infrequently utilized simulation as an instructional strategy in their classes. Hence, it would appear that teachers at three of the four institutions in the study share students' hesitation about one of the students' least liked strategies.

#### **Discussion**

A preliminary review of the data suggest that Japanese students in the sample do prefer particular instructional practices, specifically lecture and discussion, over a range of others. Moreover, students in the sample did not prefer simulation/role plays, peer teaching, and several other strategies identified in the research literature as student-centered learning strategies. The results are generally shared by students at three of the four institutions in the study.

On a learning strategies continuum with teacher-centered strategies located at one end and learner-centered strategies at the other, lecture would clearly be placed at the teacher-centered end of the continuum and discussion and teaching games would be placed toward the student-

centered end. The fact that the Japanese learners in the sample expressed a preference for both types of learning strategies suggests that not all Japanese IEP students have an exclusive predilection for learner-centered instructional strategies. This is despite the considerable emphasis in the research literature on the importance and efficacy of learner-centered strategies in the promotion of motivation and students achievement in L2 classrooms. In fact, the least preferred strategies in the inventory were those most closely associated with a learner-centered orientation (e.g., simulation, peer teaching, projects, and independent study).

The answer to the second research question is based on a preliminary review of the data collected at only three of the four institutions in the study. However, it would seem that teacher preferences for discussion and their infrequent use of simulations/role plays does not differ from the preferences of students in the sample. On the other hand, teachers who infrequently utilize lecture or extensively use instructional strategies like peer teaching, projects, or independent study could be said to differ in their preferences from the students in the sample.

From the researchers' point of view, one of the most surprising results was that half of the 16 teachers indicated that they frequently or very frequently utilized lecture as an instructional strategy in their classes. Although this was the strategy most frequently preferred by students, it was not a strategy the researchers expected to find so widely used by teachers, given the current emphasis on learner-centered approaches to instruction. This result raises several additional questions in our minds. Are teachers adjusting to student preferences? Are teachers aware of the research on learning strategies and is it influencing their choice of instructional strategies? And if the research literature is not influencing their decisions, what factors are? A detailed examination of the data collected on the teacher forms of the Learning Styles Inventory will help to partially answer the last question. However, additional research beyond the scope of this study will be required to answer the first two questions.

The results of this study are not intended to guide teachers in the selection of particular instructional strategies for Japanese students,

although the results might be useful when considering instruction that will be delivered exclusively to Japanese. The likelihood that learning preferences would be shared by all the groups represented in a multicultural classroom is slight; therefore, it would be impossible to concentrate on the use of particular strategies. Moreover, focusing on a narrow set of two or three strategies would seriously limit the variety in a classroom lesson and would impose serious constraints on the multiple modalities in which students learn.

Instead, the results of the study should be used to identify the key considerations in providing instruction to learners in this cultural group. That is, if it can be assumed that Japanese students will have a strong preference for instructional practices that utilize a lecture format, then classroom teachers should consciously attempt to expand the repertoire of these students to include some of the more learner-centered strategies that commonly occur in the U.S. classrooms. In other words, Japanese students should be shown how to learn effectively using such strategies as group/pair work, projects, independent study, presentations, etc. Otherwise, intensive English programs run the risk of not adequately preparing students for their classroom experiences or of frustrating the expectations and progress of the students in their programs.

Based on the preliminary results of this study, CWU's intensive English program has incorporated a section into its student handbook that describes the variety of instructional strategies commonly utilized by IEP teachers and explains student role expectations. It also lists descriptions of commonly occurring classroom practices in the regular university including lab classes, lecture classes, seminars, and studio classes. In addition, since the winter of 1990, the new student orientation at CWU has included a component that introduces students to a variety of learning strategies and student role expectations through video vignettes of classroom lessons and live simulations that help students practice several of the strategies less common to Japanese educational settings. This has been useful because 90% of the ESL students at CWU are Japanese.

It is important to consider the needs of all major groups represented in an IEP; therefore, it would be valuable to study the ways other cultural groups prefer to learn and to compare the extent to which students share certain references and how significantly their preferences differ from their ESL teachers' preferences. A more detailed consideration of the results of this study will be forthcoming.

\*Since the sample from OSU contained only one student, no attempt was made to include discussion of those results in this report.

\*\*Because data from PSU have not been included, results relate only to teacher samples from the other three institutions.

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## THE EFFECT OF MEDIA ON LISTENING COMPREHENSION Research Notes

By Marian Tyson English Language Institute/Pacific University

#### Abstract

The purpose of this study was to compare the effect of media on the listening comprehension scores of intermediate ESL students. Participating students were divided into two treatment groups: one watched a video, the other listened only to the audio portion of the same video. The two groups were then tested on their listening comprehension by means of an immediate recall protocol. T-tests were used to analyze the test scores, which showed the video group generally outperformed the audio group, recalling more information and reporting fewer distortions of information.

## **Statement of the Problem**

The use of videotapes has become widespread in ESL classes in recent years, due at least in part to the decrease in the cost of tapes and VCR equipment. These tapes are often used in listening comprehension classes and may replace or supplement the use of audiotapes. However, research has not established that the addition of the visual element, especially in the movie or TV-type context of many videos, is an advantage to the language learner.

Several researchers have conducted studies to determine whether language learners comprehend more text via the audio or audio-visual modes (Brink, 1983; Durio & Kildow, 1979; Jackson, 1979; Ortmeyer & Goldstein, 1980; Parry & Meredith, 1984; Stallings, 1972; Wong-Chin, 1983; Wright, 1971). However, none of these studies have attempted to replicate one another, and only one of them was performed with ESL students. Some of the studies found video superior to audio, some found no significant difference, and one conducted with ESL students found the

audio mode superior to the audio-visual mode in a test of listening comprehension recall (Ortmeyer & Goldstein, 1980).

Why should there be any concern over the use of video? In selecting audio or video materials for classroom use, the teacher needs to determine what the object of the lesson is and what skills are being taught If the object of the listening comprehension class is improving aural comprehension, then the teacher needs to choose listening materials that maximize the ability of the learners to process language and assist them in interpreting the speech stream. Video tapes often present the students with simultaneous aural and visual input. According to Donaldson (cited in MacWilliam, 1986) in a conflict between the two media (audio and video) it is the linguistic mode that is ignored. Students having difficulty understanding the dialogue while watching a video may ignore the audio portion and watch the video. One of the implications of Donaldson's study is that if the goal of the listening comprehension class is to improve aural skills, then use of audiotapes might be superior to videotapes. This study compared the effect of media on the listening comprehension scores of intermediate ESL students in order to gather data on which mode of presentation, audio or audio-visual, resulted in higher overall listening comprehension.

## Method

The video selected for the recall was a segment of the <u>Discover</u> television series entitled "A Wine of the Times." Students participating in the experiment were assigned to either the audio or video treatment. Comprehension of the audio or videotape was measured by the immediate recall protocol. After listening to or viewing the tape two times, students were asked to write as many propositions (idea units) as they could within a 20 minute period.

## **Subjects**

A total of 62 students, enrolled in ESL programs at four institutions of higher learning, participated in a listening comprehension recall exercise. All students had been placed in the intermediate level by their respective colleges or universities. The majority of the participating students were from Japan except four students in the audio group and six students in the video group. Their TOEFL scores ranged from 420

to 537 and their Michigan Test of English Language Proficiency scores from 78 to 85. All of the students were enrolled in listening comprehension classes as part of their course of study and the experiment was conducted at each of the participating schools during the students' regularly scheduled listening comprehension classes.

#### **Instruments and Materials**

A taped segment of the televised science program <u>Discover</u> was chosen for this study. The segment was "A Wine of the Times," a look at the winemaking process at Mondavi Winery in Napa, California. A pilot test, using students not included in the sample, indicated little background knowledge of the wine industry and its methods of research. The <u>Discover</u> segments are approximately 15 minutes in length, allowing the students to watch the segment more than once in a 50 minute class period. The discourse consisted of narration, interview, and conversation. The average rate of presentation was 175 words per minute, the norm for speakers reading from a script (Markham, 1988).

The immediate recall protocol was the test instrument. Students listen to a text in the target language and then write down in their native language everything that they can recall about the text. The papers are scored based on the number of idea units generated. By using their native language, students may be able to describe concepts they understand in the target language, but cannot express in that language. A modified version of the method involves having the students recall the information in the target language. The modified version was chosen for this study since resources for translation were unavailable to the researcher.

## **Data Analysis**

The scores of the students in this study were calculated in four categories on the immediate recall protocol: total idea units; macropropositions (main ideas); elaborations; and distortions (Bernhardt & James, 1987; Steffensen, Joag-dev, & Anderson, 1979). The protocols were scored as described by Bernhardt and James. The protocol written by the student was "compared with a transcript of the original text and scored on the basis of recall of details, called 'ideas units' in the text" (p.

18). An idea unit was defined by Steffensen, Joag-dev, and Anderson as a substantive, non-redundant proposition. These units were determined by the researcher and two additional raters who were native speakers of English and also ESL instructors. Macropropositions were those ideas determined by the raters to be dominant ideas supported by other idea units. The remaining statements on the recalls were scored as either elaborations or distortions. Steffensen, Joag-dev and Anderson state that there are two types of changes people make when recalling a text: elaborations are extension of the text, while distortions are inappropriate modifications of the text (p. 15).

## **Results**

One tailed t-tests were used to compare the scores of the audio and video groups on the immediate recall protocol. There was a significant difference favoring the video group in the total number of idea units, macropropositions, and elaborations. The number of distortions was significantly higher for the audio group. Figures 1 and 2 show the total idea units recalled by the audio and video groups and the relative frequency of the scores. In Figure 1, there is a concentration of low scores for the audio group. In Figure 2, the recall scores of the video group approach a more normal distribution.

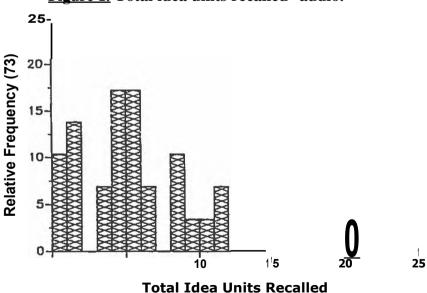
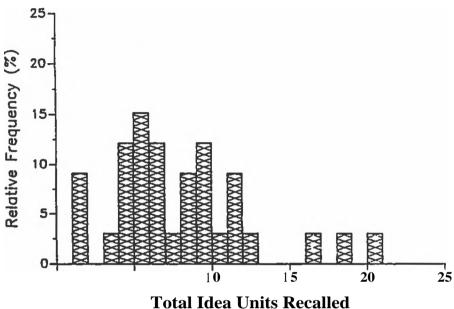


Figure 1. Total idea units recalled--audio.





The results of the immediate recall protocol did not support the hypothesis of the researcher that the students listening to an audiotape would score higher than students watching a videotape of the same material, a hypothesis based on classroom observation. In asking students to listen for particular items of information while watching a videotape, the researcher had observed that many students would close their eyes to listen to the audio portion, shutting out any visual distractions. A study by Drew and Cadwell (1985) conducted on broadcasting students concluded that viewers of television news tended to focus on audio and did not react to visual discontinuity. "Subjects were unable to attend to both channels simultaneously so they concentrated on the one that traditionally contains the 'factual' information (audio)" (p. 831).

One of the major variables among the studies conducted by researchers comparing audio and video has been the taped material used. Many of the studies mentioned used tapes made specifically for the particular research project. In the one study in which students receiving the audio treatment scored higher than the video treatment, a

commercial tape was used, <u>Hawaii. Chinese Style.</u> The intent of this study was to find a similar commercial tape providing not only nonverbal cues to the audio portion, but also providing nonverbal distractions, preferably one with a "movie-type" script. The researcher was unable to locate a 7-15 minute story script. The <u>Discover</u> tape was educational, and generally the visual cues reinforced the commentary. Had the visual segment been composed of stimuli both related and unrelated to the audio, the results of this study might have been different.

## **Conclusions and Implications for Teaching**

The results of this study lend support to the use of video as a means of increasing listening comprehension under certain conditions. The video group's scores were significantly higher than the audio group in recall of both total idea units and macropropositions (main ideas). This study underscores the need for further research with the audio and video media under different types of conditions. This study supported video as an effective means of increasing listening comprehension with the use of a taped documentary for intermediate students. Another variable which could be tested would be a comparison of different types of taped material (such as movies, documentaries, or lectures) with the same audio and video groups in order to determine if the video groups would consistently score higher on a variety of material. Other research could utilize a different method of measuring listening comprehension; part of the audio group could do an immediate recall protocol while the other part could do a multiple-choice test. The same division could be made within the video group.

In selecting audio or video materials for classroom use, the teacher must analyze what the object of the lesson is and what skills are being taught. Consideration must be given to the students' proficiency levels, their goals for learning English, and their interest in the material being presented. Video can help provide an overall understanding of the tape if the visual clues are redundant with the linguistic stream. For some lessons, the use of audio may be superior, as in understanding such speech patterns as rhythm and stress, use of pauses, reduced forms and cohesive devices.

This study supports the use of video as an effective medium for enhancing the listening comprehension of intermediate ESL students. Further research can help define the most effective uses of both audio and video in the language learning classroom.

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