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Learner Autonomy, Teacher Autonomy and the Process of Becoming a Pro-autonomy Teacher: Theoretical Perspectives and Life Stories of Six Teachers of Japanese as a Second Language

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Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy to Trinity College Dublin , 2003

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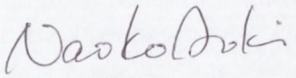

Naoko Aoki

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Naoko Aoki

Summary

In this thesis I explore how teachers may develop their understanding of and a positive attitude towards learner autonomy. Part 1 of the thesis consists of two chapters. In Chapter 1 I compare definitions of learner autonomy found in the relevant literature and examine how theorists differ in their interpretation of the term. The discrepancies are attributed to 1) the social context in which each author works, 2) the fact that our understanding of learner autonomy is always tentative and in flux, and 3) loose definitions of some technical terms in psychology. I do not make any value judgement of existing definitions because each must be evaluated against the context in which it is put to use and examining each context was beyond the scope of the present thesis. I give, instead, the definition of learner autonomy I have developed in my work context and elaborate on it. For me, learner autonomy is a modular capacity that exists in relation to others and in one's social context, allowing one to make choices concerning one's own learning in the service of one's wishes and aspirations. My definition emphasizes the interdependent nature of learner autonomy and social and affective as well as cognitive aspects of the concept. In Chapter 2 I review the literature on the teacher's role in the development of learner autonomy. A common claim in these writings is that learning to support the development of second language learner autonomy involves much more than acquiring a new set of knowledge/skills. It entails acquiring a particular kind of personal quality. My review of second language teacher educators' accounts of their practice indicates that many treat reflective practice, action research and teacher autonomy almost as synonymous. The successes which those practitioners claim are found to be either rather limited or not fully specified. The rest of the chapter examines the concepts of reflective practice, action research and teacher autonomy separately and discusses their relevance to teachers' capacity to support learner autonomy.

Part 2 of the thesis comprises eight chapters. Chapter 3 describes the research procedure and explains the rationale behind my choices. I chose Polkinghorne's (1988; 1995) narrative analysis as my research methodology, but with some modifications. Six teachers of Japanese as a second language who in my view have a positive attitude towards learner autonomy were interviewed twice about significant events and people that influenced their thinking about learner autonomy. The interviews were recorded, transcribed and edited. The edited transcriptions were checked by each interviewee. Then a story starting from each teacher's childhood and running through to the present was written by the present author and checked by each teacher. Each of Chapters 4 to 9 presents a life story. In Chapter 10 I draw together the threads of the six stories and claim 1) that the kind of commitment pro-autonomy teachers have is commitment of self to learners; 2) that the seed of this commitment is likely to be the development of their personal autonomy, their early interest in and empathic understanding of what may be called the foreign, social awareness, and autonomous

foreign language learning experience; and 3) that the factors which may accelerate the process of becoming a pro-autonomy teacher include observing and talking to learners, teacher autonomy as freedom, supportive colleagues and teacher educators, and knowledge of some academic disciplines and other genres of relevant literature. Based on these claims I suggest 1) that participation in a teacher education programme specifically focused on learner autonomy should be voluntary; 2) that interest in foreign and social awareness may be screening criteria, where possible, while second language competence, degree of personal autonomy and commitment to the profession may not make good criteria; and 3) that one way to develop the required commitment in teachers may be to build a community of learner autonomy practitioners in which pre-service teachers and newly initiated in-service teachers can participate. I also offer some recommendations on curriculum and teaching practicum and emphasize the need to cultivate teachers' narrative knowledge. In concluding the thesis I suggest that rewriting a curriculum is not enough to change educational practice in favour of learner autonomy.

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Introduction

This thesis presents six Japanese as a second language (JSL) teachers' stories of professional and personal development in relation to their understanding of and attitude towards learner autonomy. Theorists of second language learner autonomy have claimed that teacher education needs to provide teachers with opportunities to experience autonomy-oriented learning arrangements in order to produce teachers with the capacity to support their learners' autonomy, but the relationship between such experiences and the development of the capacity to support learner autonomy still remains undertheorized as Benson (2001) points out. In his foreword to Michael Huberman's *The Lives of Teachers* Hargreaves (1993, p.vii) observes as follows:

> "Teachers teach in the way they do not just because of the skill they have or have not learned. The ways they teach are also grounded in their backgrounds, their biographies, in the kinds of teachers they have become. Their careers - their hopes and dreams, their opportunities and aspirations, or the frustration of these things - are also important for teachers' commitment, enthusiasm and morale."

Hargreaves (ibid, p. viii) also argues as follows:

> "Teachers don't just have jobs. They have professional and personal lives as well. Although it seems trite to say this, many failed efforts in in-service training, teacher development and educational change more widely are precisely attributable to this neglect of the teacher as a person - to abstracting the teacher's skills from the teacher's self, the technical aspects of the teacher's work from the commitments embedded in the teacher's life. Understanding the teacher means understanding the person the teacher is."

It is hoped that the stories in the present thesis offer insights into how teachers might develop their capacity to support learner autonomy, adding a new perspective to "teacher-based approaches" (Benson 2001) to foster learner autonomy in language learning. In carrying out the research leading to the composition of the six stories, I have followed narrative analysts' thinking that "[t]he storied analysis is an attempt to understand individual persons, including their spontaneity and responsibility, as they have acted in the concrete social world" (Polkinghorne 1995, p.19). Understanding necessarily involves interpretation on the part of the researcher with their own knowledge and viewpoint of the world. The researcher's person therefore cannot be eradicated from the research process and it is important that the researcher specifies who they are in order to make their interpretations transparent to the eyes of the readers. In this introduction I shall first share my story of development with the readers and then outline the structure of the thesis.

My story

I was born in 1954. My relationship with my parents was rather a rocky one. My propensity for independence may have been my nature, but it was certainly reinforced by this problematic relationship which made me view the parents not as someone you could fall back on in trouble but as someone you had to hide troubles from. My parents had their own way in raising me. My mother often said to me, "Others are others." To be the same as my friends was not considered a justifiable reason for me to want to do something. I often found myself in a dilemma between what was taken for granted at school and my parents' values. I was not able to disclose the problem to my friends or teachers. Although I was bright enough to be academically successful, I was not at all happy at school.

One thing I must thank my parents for is that they exposed me to English very early in my life. They had met while working on an American base during the American occupation of Japan. Both spoke a bit of English, rudimentary though their competence might have been. They used English words in their conversation. I remember I was surprised to discover that my classmates used the Japanese word for milk and never said "milk". Learning that there were at least two languages in the world in my early childhood may have sensitized me to languages. I had no problem whatsoever when I started formally learning English at the age of twelve as everyone else did. I decided to major in a foreign language at university because I assumed it would not take any effort.

I spent my teens in the late sixties and early seventies when every kind of authority was brought into question. I liked it although I was not involved in any political actions. I came across the idea of learner autonomy and its related concepts around this time through a friend who was doing courses leading to a teaching qualification at secondary level. The atmosphere of the times and my rebellious nature both contributed to my positive reception of the idea. But I never made a connection between learner autonomy and what I did in my part-time job --- teaching English to primary and junior high school children. I taught in the teacher-fronted format, giving few choices to the children. I never thought of asking them how they felt about my classes even in my wildest dreams.

A couple of years after that I had fairly intensive experiences of learning English for a few years. I learned to voice my views then. I particularly remember one teacher who stopped a Japanese middle-aged businessman who tried to shut me up by saying something like: "You don't know because you're young." This was an earth-shattering incident. "Do I have the right to be listened to?" was my first reaction. My English drastically improved after that.

I started teaching JSL in 1980. It was not because I had any commitment to the profession. It was because, being a woman in her mid-twenties, it seemed to be the easiest way to develop a career, although I wanted to do a good job if I was ever going to do it. My model then was those English-speaking teachers --- their friendly attitude and the mixture of situational and communicative approaches they employed in their teaching. Unfortunately my JSL colleagues did not have the foggiest notion of what I was trying to do. They criticized me for patronizing my students and said that I should be more authoritative. I did not have a counter-discourse to defend myself. I did not know what I was doing myself first of all. So I started my graduate work in applied linguistics.

The field of JSL was seeing a dramatic change during these years. When I was considering teaching as my career in the late seventies, the number of learners was rather small and most of them fell into one of three categories: students and researchers in Japanese studies, missionaries, and foreign executives. Soon after that, however, Japanese children left in China after the defeat of Japan in World War II started returning to Japan, grown up of course and with their families. Refugees from the Indochinese peninsula also started coming into the country. Those two groups were unknown types to most JSL teachers then and presented an enormous challenge. Young talented teachers and researchers tried to meet this challenge by having recourse to the emerging discipline of applied linguistics. Needs analysis and syllabus design became hot issues. I happened to jump onto this bandwagon with my background in EFL and applied linguistics.

I taught while I studied. I worked for a school which offered both EFL and JSL courses, and some English-speaking teachers became my personal friends, and through them I met more JSL learners outside the classroom. I learned from them how they viewed traditional JSL classrooms and their anger and frustrations with how foreigners were treated in Japanese society in general. I sympathized with them much more than with my JSL colleagues.

In 1983 the then prime minister, Yasuhiro Nakasone, launched a plan to increase the number of overseas students studying in Japanese universities from slightly over 8,000 to 100,000 by the end of the century. The government relaxed their visa control policy for this purpose and the number of Japanese language schools and learners learning there skyrocketed in the mid eighties. The Ministry of Education issued guidelines for JSL teacher preparation programmes in 1985 and the first teacher qualification examination was administered in 1988. Many universities set up new Japanese language programmes. JSL teacher preparation programmes of both undergraduate and graduate levels came into being. Quite a number of teachers found their way to a university position, myself being one example.

I got a full-time job at a junior college in 1986. Some of my colleagues were Suggestopedians. I also met Silent Way practitioners at teachers' meetings. I also read extensively. I found writers such as Earl Stevick, Mario Rinvolucri and Alan Maley particularly stimulating. They were influential in forming my personal theory of learning. I developed skills to make learning cognitively easier. Colleagues working in the JSL department let me do whatever I wished to as far as what happened in the classroom was concerned. When I started coordinating a pre-college language programme in that school, I had no senior teachers to turn to, though (as I had never done in the context of teaching JSL for that matter). I was desperate for information, and read even more. I also attended summer courses for teachers. I tried to make my skills visible in the materials I developed for other teachers. But I was still taking control of learners' learning process. I taught study skills and communication strategies, but my approach was very much top-down. In terms of professional development of teachers I coordinated, I was rather prescriptive. Although I had learned by then that the Communicative Approach was a movement to democratize foreign language education (Brumfit 1987) and it appealed to my passion, I only had a partial understanding of its implications.

My first awareness as a teacher that teaching might involve more than developing linguistic knowledge and skills came when a Taiwanese female student came up to me at a graduation party of the pre-college programme and said she had learned from me what it was to work. She was a graduate of a Taiwanese university and intended to continue her academic work in Japan. In that sense she and I had something in common, and she obviously perceived me as a role model. The awareness was frightening. Me as a role model? I could hardly take care of myself in my private life!

The sudden increase in the number of learners created a confusion in the society. The quality of language schools varied greatly and some learners registered there worked illegally. The government tightened their visa control policy again in 1988. As a result the number of learners decreased. By the time I moved into teacher education at tertiary level in 1991 quite a number of those who had finished their initial teacher training had become redundant.

I taught a small JSL teacher preparation programme in a school of education at a middle-ranking university. My objective was originally to introduce a basic procedure of course design with underlying theories of language use, learning and language learning. I also hoped that I might be able to show the students that learning could be fun as a by-product of the process of achieving my objective. There were a substantial number of students, however, who were not in the programme because of their interest in JSL. Very few of those who were interested in JSL planned to go into the teaching profession because of the gloomy job prospect. I felt I was responsible for the well-being of all students in the programme which I was in charge of. I didn't want to exclude anyone from my courses because they had no desire to teach. After I discovered that the students wanted

to learn and grow as persons in spite of their seeming reluctance, I transformed the original objective. My new aim was to provide the students with opportunities to reflect on their learning experiences and introduce alternative ways of learning. In other words, as I wrote in answer to a student's question, I wanted to show them that being an autonomous learner feels good. I started negotiating with students on the content and process of the courses. I had them set their own goals and evaluate the outcome of their learning. I did not include the acquisition of any particular teaching skills in my new agenda. I focused on developing an accepting relationship among the participants (the teacher and the students), partly because I wanted everyone to feel comfortable in the class, and partly because this accepting relationship was thought to support the development of learner autonomy (Nedelsky 1989, Ryan 1991, Rogers & Freiberg 1994).

Like many other teachers teaching at Japanese universities, I had quite a high degree of autonomy in terms of the content and the process of the courses I taught. I had to write syllabi, but I did not have to account for my decisions to anyone. There was a tacit agreement among teachers not to criticize each other's teaching. I did not feel any pressure to teach in any particular way. I was able to make moment-by-moment decisions through interaction with my students without worrying about whether my decisions were acceptable to someone other than the students or myself.

The Japanese economy was booming in the mid to late eighties and the industry needed labour for the so called "Dirty Hard Dangerous" work. There were many abuses of the foreign technical trainees system which enabled companies to bring foreign workers to Japan for the purpose of training. To alleviate this problem, the government amended the immigration laws in 1990, which made it possible for foreign nationals of Japanese origin and their family members to legally engage in non-professional work in Japan. The number of Brazilians registered as residents in Japan, for example, increased by 81.7 times during the period between 1984 and 1994. Internationally arranged marriages were on the rise, too, because many male farmers in remote areas were finding it difficult to find a marriage partner and they looked for a bride in other Asian countries. In 1992 the number of the foreign residents, excluding those staying illegally, reached one per cent of the country's total population.

In contrast to the Japanese war orphans and Indochinese refugees who were provided with the opportunity to learn Japanese with government funding, those immigrant workers and wives were left mostly in the hands of volunteer workers with only a little financial support from local governments. Quite a few volunteers came to view the problems those immigrant workers and wives face in learning JSL as part of the human rights issue. Linguists and applied linguists are no longer viewed as the sole arbiters of JSL pedagogy, although they may still consider themselves to be so. Adult education, social work, and neo-Vygotzkian psychology all have become resources for

leaders and researchers of JSL volunteer work.

I occasionally worked with local volunteer workers. I also got involved in a research project in the acquisition of JSL by immigrant workers. My understanding of the sociopolitical aspects of second language acquisition and use was sharpened through these experiences.

In 1994 a friend persuaded me to jointly coordinate a teachers' special interest group on learner development. The experience opened up an entirely new horizon. I met a lot of people through my work as joint coordinator. Everything that I had been concerned with seemed to have formed one picture like a completed jigsaw puzzle. I realized that I had a lot to say about learner autonomy, and those newly made friends showed interest in my writing. I felt that I belonged to the community of learner autonomy practitioners. This experience turned me into a die-hard believer in the value of learner autonomy.

I was very much annoyed by the widely accepted view that Asian learners were not up to learner autonomy. I reported on my experiences of teaching Japanese university students who welcomed the opportunity to practice their learner autonomy. I also tried to build arguments that the cultural stereotyping of learners was disempowering. In everything I wrote I quoted my students' writings. Through this process I have come to want to give voice to Japanese teachers and learners who have been wrongly positioned as non-autonomous by the mainstream academic discourse on learner autonomy.

A real change in my teaching style, however, came with my developing confidence as a person who could take care of herself. It took a divorce and psychotherapy. Trying to grow as a person often involves emotional turbulence. I had, consciously and unconsciously, tried to avoid situations where I had to deal with students' negative feelings and emotional confusion. It was only when I gained some psychological strength that I became able to relate to students' fear, anger, anxiety, and many other feelings, although I still often make mistakes.

Towards the end of my tenure at the university I had another frightening experience. A student who had never been seriously involved in classroom activities and had seemed interested only in lavish make-up wrote a long term-end reflection. There she told me how she had been sceptical about enthusiastic teachers and detached herself from the values which schools tried to impart, and how her experiences in my classes changed her view of learning. She softened herself after that. She was a completely different person. I had actually given up working with her. I had never noticed the change happening in her. These facts were already frightening, but more than anything I felt overwhelmed by her dramatic change which I had unwittingly induced. I did not want

to be engaged in work with such huge responsibility.

Subsequently I moved to another university. I now teach in a large prestigious Japanese linguistics department which offers undergraduate, MA and PhD programmes. I was initially put off by the students' indifference to and ignorance of pedagogical and social issues. I felt it was unfair that they had a chance to be a teacher when many of my ex-students in the previous university had had to give up the idea. But I have gradually learned to care about them as I learned about the difficulty of establishing an identity as a second language teacher in a linguistics department. My ex-therapist succeeded in convincing me to accept the role I am capable of playing. He calls it mentor. I describe it as watching students grow. I have started challenging and confronting students. I sometimes get emotional in interacting with them. But I do not understand yet what kind of change I am going through this time.

One of the first batch of students I taught in the first university almost ten years ago has recently got a full-time position in a university. His main responsibility is to teach JSL to overseas students, but he has also been assigned to a JSL methodology course. As he reported about his new job to me, he told me how what he learned in my courses had helped him through his novice years and how he would like to approach the task of teaching the methodology course. A moving story for his ex-advisor, but I was not frightened.

Structure of this thesis

Part One of the thesis concerns the theoretical background of the study. In the first chapter I shall examine the definitions of learner autonomy found in the literature and elaborate on my interpretation of the term. In the second chapter I shall review literature on the role of teachers in the development of learner autonomy and on teacher education which aims to foster teachers' capacity to support learner autonomy. By scrutinizing the idea of reflective practitioner and by drawing on the research in teacher development in general educational studies, I shall develop an argument that teachers' understanding of and attitude towards learner autonomy may develop over a long period of time and stress the need to study teachers' life story to understand how teachers come to develop their capacity to support learner autonomy. Part Two presents the six stories of the teachers after a chapter which describes the research procedure I took and explains why the research was carried out in the way it was done. The final chapter of Part Two discusses similarities and differences in the six teachers' life stories and implications concerning what a teacher education programme can and cannot do in order to develop teachers' capacity to support learner autonomy. The conclusion summarizes the preceding chapters and suggests that the educational policy to put learner autonomy in the centre of the curriculum, like any other new policies for

educational reform, should take into account the fact that teachers do not change their practice overnight and plan a long-term change in the whole of the educational system.

Part 1 Learner autonomy and teachers

Chapter 1 Definitions of learner autonomy

The concept of autonomy has a long history of evolution, but it was in the 1970s when Henri Holec introduced the term to the field of second language pedagogy as a conceptual tool to discuss alternatives to the established language teaching tradition in the context of adult language learning. The work by Holec and his associates was a response to the political milieu in France in the late 1960s and shared its ideological stance with contemporary critics of the traditional educational system such as Ivan Illich (1970), Paulo Freire (1972) and Carl Rogers (1961, 1969); see Gremmo & Riley (1995). In the 20 or so years that followed, however, the term autonomy has found its place in mainstream education. Many national curricula in Europe, for example, state learner autonomy as an objective. An increasing number of self-access centres in Asian tertiary institutions have also stimulated quite a lot of work in learner autonomy. North American researchers have taken up the idea and integrated it in their tradition of research into the good language learner. In the field of Japanese as a second language (JSL), too, the idea of learner autonomy has been advocated in response to the diversification of JSL learners in Japan since the 1980s. (e.g. Tanaka & Saito 1993) As many learner autonomy practitioners and researchers admit, however, defining learner autonomy is by no means an easy task (Benson 1996b, Aoki 1998, Sinclair 2000). In the course of the rather rapid spread of the concept the term learner autonomy has acquired many different shades of meaning, which have sometimes caused confusion concerning what exactly the development of learner autonomy entails. In this chapter I shall focus on some of the ways in which definitions of learner autonomy elaborated by its major proponents differ from one another and elaborate on my interpretation of what learner autonomy is.

1-1. Discrepancies of definitions

Aoki (1998) offers a detailed examination of the explicit and implicit definitions of learner autonomy found in the major research literature (Holec1981, 1985a, Dickinson 1987, Wenden 1987, 1991, Benson 1996a, Little 1991, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1999), and summarizes the discrepancy among those research papers in terms of the following seven questions. (Aoki 1998, p.146)

1. Is learner autonomy capacity or behaviour?
2. How does learner autonomy differ from self-direction, learning to learn and independence?
3. Is learner autonomy a learners' right or responsibility?
4. What does learner autonomy expect learners to take control of?
5. What does learner autonomy as a capacity or behaviour entail?
6. What does attitude refer to if it is part of learner autonomy?

7. What does metacognition refer to if it is part of learner autonomy?

The result of Aoki's (ibid) analysis shows that it is not too simplistic to conclude that the only factor that the definitions of learner autonomy by the above mentioned five authors share in common is that it is something to do with learners doing something about their own learning. This multiplicity of meaning of learner autonomy may be inevitable as Benson (1996b) suggests. Benson (ibid, p.5), focusing on the debate concerning the cultural appropriateness of learner autonomy, argues that "each definition represents a particular way of constructing the concept of autonomy each serving a particular set of interests." For example, those who consider learner autonomy as a tool to produce useful human resources for the global economy and those who view it in the framework of emancipatory education would naturally differ in their definitions of learner autonomy. The discrepancies might also be attributed to the fact that our understanding of learner autonomy is always tentative and in flux. David Little, for example, has changed his definition of learner autonomy as capacity to capacity and behaviour in the six papers referred to above. This seems to reflect his new insight that the capacity to take responsibility can only be developed by exercising responsibility (Little 1999). Yet another cause of the confusing discrepancies may be the loose definition of technical terms in psychology from which researchers in second language learner autonomy have borrowed the words attitude and metacognition. In any case, a single authoritative definition would not be possible or desirable. Indeed, some researchers seem to have given up the idea of defining the term. Sinclair (2000), for example, recognizes that learner autonomy is interpreted in different ways in different contexts and lists thirteen statements as "a broader description of the concept" (ibid, p.6) which she claims are "recognized and broadly accepted by the language teaching profession". (ibid, p.6) Succinct elaboration on the denotation of the terms we use, however, may be worthwhile as a means of promoting constructive discussion. In this section I shall elaborate on the seven questions above.

Is learner autonomy capacity or behaviour?

The first question mainly concerns the difference between Holec (1981, 1985a) and Dickinson (1987). The former defines learner autonomy as "the ability to take charge of one's own learning" (Holec 1981, p.3) and the latter as "the situation in which the learner is totally responsible for all of the decisions concerned with his (sic) learning and the implementation of those decisions" (Dickinson 1987, p.11). Although they differ in their view of what a capacity entails, Wenden (1987, 1991) and Little (1991) take the same position as Holec. Little, however, changes his definition in his later work based on his observation that the capacity to take responsibility can only be developed by exercising responsibility (Little 1999), and maintains that learner autonomy is both capacity and behaviour. (Little1994, 1996, 1999)

How does learner autonomy differ from self-direction, learning to learn and independence?

The second question involves three independent problems. First, the difference in the use of the terms "learner autonomy" and "self-direction" in Holec (1981, 1985a) and Dickinson (1987) is rather confusing. For Holec (1985a) the concept of "self-direction" is identical to the one of "learner autonomy" for Dickinson (1987). Dickinson's "self-direction" is "an attitude to learning in which the learner accepts responsibility for his learning but does not necessarily carry out courses of action independently in connection with it" (ibid, pp.11-12), whereas Holec does not include attitude in his definition of "learner autonomy" as a capacity. Dickinson calls the acquisition of the ability to be autonomous, which is similar to the concept of "learner autonomy" in Holec (1981, 1985a), "learning to learn". Second, following Knowles (1975) who uses the terms "autonomy" and "self-direction" interchangeably, Wenden (1987, 1991) does not explicitly define "autonomy" and invites readers to have their own view of the operational definitions and the relationship of the two (Wenden 1987, p.13). There is nothing inherently wrong in her stance as teachers interpret theories presented in books and papers to match their own personal practical knowledge of teaching anyway (Connelly & Clandinin 1988). It can become problematic, however, when, for example, one tries to examine the validity of Wenden's proposition that strategy training leads to the development of "learner autonomy". Although what she means by "learner autonomy" can be deduced from the context, it does take a very careful reading to reconstruct her definition. The third problem has its origin in the traditional association of autonomy with independence. The concept of autonomy, as known to those in the present-day English speaking community[1], was born in the rationalist tradition of eighteenth-century Europe which emphasized individualism. Little (1991, 1996), however, takes a Vygotskian view of language development and contends that second language learner autonomy presupposes interdependence because language development requires interaction. Benson (1996a) argues, from a communitarian point of view, that the individualistic view of autonomy leads to social atomism which disempowers individuals, and emphasizes the importance of collective effort in the exercise of autonomy. Autonomy and independence do not refer to the same concept for those researchers, whereas Holec, Dickinson and Wenden are more individualistic in their description although Holec and Dickinson also note that autonomy does not necessarily imply isolation (Holec 1985a, p.190, Dickinson 1987, p.13).

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[1] The idea of learner autonomy is not a unique invention of the Western world. Pierson (1996), for example, quotes several ancient Chinese scholars who advocated ideas similar to that of learner autonomy and claims that "there is an ancient Chinese pedagogical tradition congruent and consistent with the best practice of autonomous learning" (ibid, p.55).

Is learner autonomy a learners' right or responsibility?

The third question focuses on Benson (1996a) who claims that "a psychological version of autonomy that emphasizes learners' responsibility for their own success and failures in learning could easily be used to support political doctrines of non-intervention and self-reliance" (ibid, p.30) and that "I use the word control in preference to responsibility because it places an emphasis on the right to autonomy." (ibid, p.31) The other authors referred to in Aoki (1998) use the term responsibility and its derivatives or synonyms in their definition of learner autonomy although they differ in their degree of political orientation.[2]

What does learner autonomy expect learners to take control of?

The fourth question is related to the third. Benson (1996a) explicitly states that his version of learner autonomy entails control of learning process, resources, and language. Although it is true that it is only Benson who includes the latter two elements in the definition of autonomy itself, these ideas are not as new as they may seem to be. Holec actually discusses institutional responsibilities to provide optimal conditions for autonomy to develop, which include a provision of "an infrastructure of materials and resources" (Holec 1985a, p.187). This point is closely related to Benson's concept of control of resources. Holec also refers to a French learner of English who, having chosen as his evaluation criterion the ability to amuse people, refused to correct errors and even deliberately made certain errors because he knew these errors would make people laugh, and asks "who could say he was wrong?" (Holec 1985b, p.272). This comment of Holec's again is not very far from Benson's concept of control of language. What is unique to Benson, however, is that he includes "why" as well as "what" and "how" in the learning process, thus treating the purpose of learning not as given. This can be thought to reflect the context in which Benson works (Hong Kong) where English, being a second language, enjoys a much higher social status than learners' first language.

What does learner autonomy as a capacity or behaviour entail?

The fifth question concerns whether attitude and metacognition are included in the definition of learner autonomy. Holec's (1981, 1985a) definition of learner autonomy does not include attitude, although he suggests that learners' attitudes towards production and consumption in the modern consumer society and beliefs about social distribution of knowledge and power might work as a

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[2] Little (personal communication) points out the difference between accepting responsibility and having responsibility imposed, thus implying that emphasizing the responsibility aspect of learner autonomy does not necessarily undermine the learners' right.

brake on the acquisition of autonomy and suspects that learners' intellectual and affective potential for self-examination might play an important role (Holec 1985a). Holec (ibid) does not use the term metacognition, but he might be referring to a similar concept to metacognition when he writes about intellectual potential for self-examination. Also, depending on the definition of metacognition which I shall discuss below, Holec's list of the knowledge and skills involved in carrying out self-directed learning (ibid, pp.180-182) could be considered metacognitive knowledge and skills. In that case it can be said that Holec's concept of learner autonomy includes metacognition. Dickinson (1987) defines learner autonomy as behaviour, as noted above. The object of attitude for him concerns accepting responsibility for one's own learning when he explains self-direction as an attitude. He equates the concept of learning to learn to Flavell's (1979) metacognition. Benson (1996a) has no reference to attitude and metacognition in his description of learner autonomy. Whether attitude is part of learner autonomy is somewhat vague in Little's writings. He sometimes uses the term attitude and metacognition (Little 1995, 1996) and at other times other expressions which might refer to attitude, "a particular kind of psychological relation" (Little 1991, p.4), and metacognition, "detachment, [and] critical reflection" (ibid: 4), "learning how to learn" (Little 1994, p.431) and "a capacity to reflect on the content and process of learning with a view to bringing them as far as possible under conscious control" (Little 1995, p.175). On the whole, however, Little seems to think that the development of learner autonomy entails the development of a positive attitude to the purpose, content and process of learning and metacognitive skills (Little 1996). Wenden (1991) includes attitude and metacognition in her definition of learner autonomy.

What does attitude refer to if it is part of learner autonomy?

The sixth question is related to the fact that the term attitude has many definitions in the field of psychology and that "reviewers have often been reluctant to suggest that one definition is superior to others" (Greenwald 1989a, p.6). One that is widely used is the tripartite model which breaks down attitude into affect, cognition, and behaviour components (e.g. Rosenberg and Hovland 1960). Greenwald (1989b), on the other hand, defines attitude as "the association of a mental representation with affect" (ibid, p.438). Aronson (1992) claims that attitude is a type of belief which evaluatively describes the nature of an object. One element that is common to all is that it is evaluative. Holec (1985a) and Dickinson (1987) do not define attitude. Little (1995, 1996) offers no definition of attitude either. He uses the term affective in his 1996 paper, however, and it can be deduced that Little's sense of attitude is not solely cognitive. Wenden (1991) defines attitude as having cognitive, evaluative and behavioural components and claims that learners' beliefs about their role and capability as learners are central to their attitudes about autonomy and that those beliefs are a form of metacognitive knowledge. Wenden seems to have modified the tripartite model to exclude affect. Her definition is close to the one in Aronson (1992) in that it emphasizes

the cognitive aspect of attitude.

What does metacognition refer to if it is part of learner autonomy?

The seventh question also arises from the loose definition of a term. Brown (1987) extensively reviews psychological research literature concerned with metacognition, and observes a range of denotations which researchers have given to the term. According to her, "metacognition refers loosely to one's knowledge and control of (one's) own cognitive system" (ibid, p.66). Among the problems which this multifaceted meaning of metacognition induces, Brown points out, is the difficulty "to distinguish between what is meta and what is cognitive" (ibid, p.66). The issue directly concerns the definition of learner autonomy. Flavell's definition of metacognition, which Dickinson (1987) equates to the concept of learning to learn, consists of metacognitive knowledge, metacognitive experiences, goals (or tasks) and actions (or strategies) . If we follow this definition, Holec's list of knowledge and skills involved in carrying out self-directed learning can be considered metacognitive knowledge. Little (personal communication), on the other hand, seems to think of metacognition as on-line processing, i.e. "activities to regulate and oversee learning" (Brown 1987, p.68) *as* one learns. This contrasts with self-evaluation which is off-line processing in Little's sense. Self-evaluation is an activity carried out outside the learning activities. Wenden's use of the term metacognitive knowledge is unique. Unlike Dickinson, she claims that her concept of metacognitive knowledge is different from the one in Flavell (1979) in that 1) it is a result of sweeping attribution, 2) it intrinsically contains evaluations, which predispose learners to certain actions, and 3) it is an integral part of learners' self-image and hard to change. (Wenden 1991, pp.54-55)

In this section I have examined discrepancies in the definitions of learner autonomy in the existing literature. Although it has not been my purpose to make any value judgement of existing definitions and claim the superiority of one over the others, I have my own interpretation of the term which I feel is relevant to my context of work. In the next section I shall present my tentative answers to the seven questions above.

1-2. My current interpretation of learner autonomy

I define learner autonomy as a modular capacity that exists in relation to others and in one's social context to make choices concerning one's own learning in the service of one's wishes and aspirations. In what follows I shall elaborate on this definition by offering answers to the first five questions discussed in the previous section. In so doing I shall also offer answers to the last two. I take the constructivist view of teachers' knowledge, that teachers construct their own personal

practical knowledge of teaching and learning through their daily practice (Clandinin & Connelly 1987). My theory of second language learner autonomy has been constructed in the course of my work with JSL learner-users and students in JSL teacher preparation programmes. In presenting this theory, I shall draw on my personal experience as well as academic literature for justification of my thinking. I do not claim superiority of my definition over any other. Every practitioner and researcher of learner autonomy has their own definition embedded in their own context of work and I should think their definitions should equally be respected as mine.

1-2-1. Is learner autonomy capacity or behaviour?

We cannot take an action if we do not have the ability to do so. As Little (2000) points out, an ability does not develop and perhaps cannot be maintained too long without exercising it. So capacity and behaviours go hand in hand. Learner autonomy in a person necessarily involves both aspects. As a conceptual tool for pedagogical practice and research, however, it seems to be more fruitful to define learner autonomy as a capacity. It enables us to explore what exactly needs to be developed and what kind of conditions are necessary for the development. As arbitrariness is a property of language, we could define learner autonomy as behaviour and give the capacity for learner autonomy some other name, but, considering the wide circulation which the term learner autonomy currently enjoys, I name the capacity learner autonomy.

Why I see learner autonomy as a modular capacity may need some explanation. According to a dictionary of developmental psychology (Okamoto, Shimizu & Murai 1995) modularity consists of two characteristics: domain specificity which refers to processing in a limited specific problem area, and information encapsulation which refers to use of information derived only from a certain range of area for processing. In other words a module processes problems in a limited area with a limited range of information. A module may expand its area to cover, or two or more modules may merge over time. Thus autonomy in learning a specific second language may be transferred to learning of second languages in general or second language learner autonomy may merge with autonomy in learning other types of skills such as swimming, cooking, or playing musical instruments. I choose to see learner autonomy as a modular capacity because it is often observed that a person is fairly autonomous in one area and totally dependent in another (Little 1991).

1-2-2. How does learner autonomy differ from independence?

The original question included self-direction and learning to learn as well as independence. The first two, however, need no further discussion as they mainly concern the issue of which is capacity and which is behaviour. In this sub-section I shall concentrate on the difference between learner

autonomy and independence.

I have already mentioned David Little's claim, based on a Vygotskian view of language development, that second language learner autonomy presupposes interdependence. My view of learning is very much in accord with that of Vygotskian psychologists. On a micro level, they view learning as the process of internalization that takes place via dialogic interaction. Kozulin (1986, pp.xxxv-xxxvi) summarizes Vygotsky's view of language development in children as follows:

> "... the earliest speech of the child is already social. At a certain age this original social speech becomes rather sharply divided into egocentric speech, that is, speech-for-oneself, and communicative speech-for-others. Egocentric speech, splintered off from general social speech, gives rise to inner speech. Inner speech is therefore a rather late product of the transformation of a speech that earlier had served the goals of communication into individualized verbal thought."

As some researchers of second language acquisition have observed (Saville-Troike 1988, Ohta 2001, Burdelski 2001) egocentric speech, or private speech as most SLA researchers call it, constitutes an indispensable step for the intake and automatization of linguistic knowledge. Ohta (2001, p.18) puts the matter thus:

> "For adults speaking their first language, it is thought that private speech generally emerges from inner speech. But, for a learner who has yet to develop a useful command of a language, at first private speech cannot emerge from inner speech, because inner speech has not yet developed. ... At this stage, the learner is, in a sense, "borrowing" words, phrases and sentences picked up from social interaction. These bits of language are recycled and manipulated in private speech for use as cognitive tools. At the early stages of language learning they do not emerge from the learner's own verbal thought. Inner speech begins to develop through the process of social interaction, and through verbal interaction that includes private speech."

Whether a learner has a piece of private speech at a certain point in an on-going dialogue depends partly on the learner's will to register the new language token in their memory and partly on whether their interlocutor makes the space for it. (See Coyle (2000) for the relationship of discourse types and frequency of private speech in classroom interaction.) On a macro level, Vygotskian psychologists (e.g. Lave 1988, Lave & Wenger 1991, Rogoff 1995) have convincingly shown that learning takes place in a community of practice where novices acquire not only knowledge and skills but also values and customs of the community by interacting with oldtimers in order to participate in

the practice, peripherally perhaps in an initial stage. If we see a speech community as a community of practice, second language learners can be defined as novices to the community. The quality of peripheral participation that would facilitate the process of becoming a full participant in the community of practice depends, of course, on the novice's willingness to participate, but it also depends on the oldtimers' willingness and ability to encourage and assist participation[3]. Lantolf & Pavlenko (2001, p.149), discussing the relational nature of second language learners' agency, argue as follows:

> "By allowing others to participate legitimately from the periphery and from their move towards full participation, communities of practice, including cultures, ensure their own reproduction. ... From Lave and Wenger's perspective, much rides on the nature and extent of access offered to the individual by the community of practice. That is, is full and legitimate participation made available or not?"

A Vygotskian view of learning, then, implies interdependence rather than independence on both micro and macro levels.

I shall add here the second argument for seeing learner autonomy in terms of interdependence rather than independence. Friedman (1997, p.40) notes that "recent feminist philosophy has engaged in a love-hate relationship with autonomy." According to Friedman, while earlier feminists who valued autonomy as traditionally conceived only problematized the fact that autonomy had been considered as a masculine achievement and women were discouraged from developing the capacity, those active in the 1980's and 1990's argued that the traditional conception of autonomy was overly individualistic and "promotes the sort of independence that involves disconnection from close interpersonal involvement with others" (ibid, p.40), and began advocating a relational concept of autonomy, which they claim is feminine and recognizes human interdependence and the social context required for the realization of autonomy. This development of feminist thinking parallels the development of awareness among practitioners and theorists of second language

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[3] A difficulty which a traditional language classroom , whether in a foreign or second language situation, inherently has is the fact that there is usually only one oldtimer as a teacher. Some JSL teachers try to solve this problem by inviting competent speakers, native or non-native, of the target language to the classroom and organize activities which learners can engage in with those visitors. Getting learners out of classroom for project work is another way to solve the problem. This kind of practice is not necessarily impossible in a foreign language context if there are a sufficient number of target language speakers in the local community. (See Thomson 1997 and Ozaki & Neustupny 1986 for examples of such practice in teaching Japanese in Australia.) Formal instruction, however, is a contrived activity and creating a second language community of practice in a classroom with one oldtimer should be possible as long as the idea is convincing enough for the learners.

learner autonomy. Learner autonomy understood as learner independence tended to position learners from certain cultures as non-autonomous, implying a negative value judgement of those learners. This phenomenon can be seen as an instance of "colonial othering". Pennycook (2001, p.145) summarizes his previous argument on this issue as follows:

> "... this view of cultural fixity is part of a long history of colonial othering that has rendered the cultures of others fixed, traditional, exotic, and strange, whereas the cultures of English (America, Europe) are unexplored givens or moving, modern, and normal."

One example of resistance to this othering is Aoki & Smith (1999). While they emphasize the dynamic nature of cultures and the diversity within a culture which is often obliterated, they maintain that their pedagogical practices based on the idea of interdependent learner autonomy were welcomed by Japanese university students. As the newer generation of feminists put forward the claim that human beings are interdependent, the concept of interdependence in Aoki & Smith (ibid) derives its theoretical validity from Little's reasoning that "we are social beings" (Little 1991, p.5) and that "human cultural diversity, though great, cannot be infinite because it is always constrained by our common biological endowment" (Little 1999, p.13). The concept of interdependence in both contexts of feminist philosophy and theories of second language learner autonomy can be regarded as "the third place" (Kramsch 1993, p.236) to go beyond the dichotomies of male-female and independence-dependence in the case of feminist philosophy and those of Western-Asian and individualistic-collectivist in the case of theories of second language learner autonomy. Learner autonomy is not equal to independence here either.

Seen from a feminist perspective, Phil Benson's call for collective decision making for social change, which was originally advocated in critical pedagogy (Benson 1996a) becomes problematic. I take the position that the ultimate aim of education is to develop in learners the capacity to improve the quality of their lives for themselves, and view learner autonomy as a means to achieve this aim. Learner autonomy, understood in this way, assumes the possibility of learners wanting to change institutional and social systems in which they operate. Although I agree with Benson that an effort will be more fruitful if made by a collaborative group than by an individual learner, what the improvement in the quality of life means to each learner may not be the same. For example, many JSL teachers and researchers maintain that the accent of JSL learners with a particular first language tends to be associated with a particular kind of (negative) personality by Japanese L1 speakers and that it is for the benefit of those learners to correct their pronunciation, at both segmental and suprasegmental levels, according to "native speaker norms". I would say that this is nothing but a form of oppression (Isn't it the thoughtless insensitive attribution on the part of L1 speakers, perhaps including those teachers and researchers themselves, that is wrong?), but

learners may want to eliminate their "foreign accent" for various reasons. They may believe that having a "foreign accent" is a bad thing. They may intend to use their new "native-like" accent as a tool in their struggle. Or they may just be tired of being positioned in a certain way. They may even be afraid of the consequence of not following the native speaker norms. In cases like this the issue of what the improvement in the quality of life involves becomes complex and difficult to resolve. Neither uncritically helping learners to learn the language as requested nor refusing to help and suggesting that they should try to change society would not solve the real problem which those learners face. Inclusion of the phrase "in the service of one's wishes and aspirations" in my definition of learner autonomy reflects this tension.

A student activist once told me that remaining silent could be a positive choice for a victim of sexual harassment. Rather than keeping the unpleasant experience in memory and raising a voice at the risk of secondary harassment, the victim might decide to detach themselves physically and psychologically from the traumatic situation and try to restore the self they once had. Encouraging victims to raise a voice may not be a justifiable strategy for those responsible for creating a sexual harassment-free campus.

In her critique of critical pedagogy, Ellsworth (1992) describes an intricate power relationship and differences among participants in her course for antiracism actions. She highlights the point as follows:

> "White women, men and women of color, impoverished people, people with disabilities, gays and lesbians, are not silenced in the sense implied by the literature on critical pedagogy. They are not talking in their authentic voices, or they are declining/refusing to talk at all, to critical educators who have been unable to acknowledge the presence of knowledges that are challenging and most likely inaccessible to their own social positions. What they/we say, to whom, in what context, depending on the energy they/we have for the struggle on a particular day, is the result of conscious and unconscious assessments of the power relations and safety of the situation." (ibid, p.105)

My tentative answer to the student activist's proposition as chair of the gender issues committee of the faculty is that as committee members are in a safer position to raise a voice we should directly reach actual and potential harassers (who are theoretically everyone including ourselves) and try to raise their awareness. By the same token it is probably the responsibility of teachers and others who are professionally involved in second language education to appeal to people surrounding second language learner-users and society in general in order to change unfavourable situations

and systems and to protect the rights of second language learner-users.[4] Putting the burden solely on learners' shoulders seems to be unfair.

Again learner autonomy implies interdependence not only among learners but also between learners and society.

1-2-3. Is learner autonomy right or responsibility?

I use the phrase "to make choices" in preference to "to take control" or "to be responsible." Although I should rather agree with Benson's (1996a) claim that autonomy should be discussed in terms of learners' right rather than responsibility, the right to take control of one's learning necessarily involves responsibility for the outcome of learning. It often happens, however, that one of the two aspects is deliberately or unwittingly forgotten. Emphasizing the responsibility aspect may, as Benson fears, allow those stakeholders who support the status quo to resort to "political doctrines of non-intervention and self-reliance" (ibid, p.30), thus escaping from their responsibility to respect and support each learner's learning rights. It would run the risk of widening the gap between those with "learning capitals" (Benson 2001, p.17) and those without.

Emphasizing the right aspect, however, has its own danger. The following quotation from Dewey explains the essence of the problem:

> "The nature of experience can be understood only by noting that it includes an active and a passive element peculiarly combined. On the active hand, experience is *trying* ... On the passive, it is *undergoing*. When we experience something we act upon it, we do something with it; then we suffer or undergo the consequences.... The connection of these two phases of experience measures the fruitfulness or value of the experience. Mere activity does not constitute experience." (Dewey 1916, p.139, italics in original)

I had a student who repeatedly took my courses. He didn't produce much and his participation in group work was peripheral. He was not going to be a teacher. I knew that he was short of credits and my interpretation of his behaviour was that he was after easy credits in my courses. (The contract which we operated with then was such that I was not able to fail students unless they failed themselves.) But I let him stay without making his seemingly unjustifiable reason for being there an

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[4] The context I have in mind here is that of JSL in which most teachers belong to one or more of the dominant social groups in a host community - middle class, Japanese nationals, and Japanese L1 speakers - and enjoy privileges arising out of the fact. In other contexts where teachers themselves work under oppressive conditions my argument is not likely to hold.

issue. I hoped in a psychologically secure environment he would grow and start working. When he did start working, however, he discovered that he and I differed in ideological orientation, and started accusing me of not teaching objective knowledge. He would have known about my political stance and approach to teacher education if he had examined the content of my courses seriously before. My relationship with him, which extended over three years, had a bitter ending. From this experience I learned that students may not learn about what it is to make choices if they do not experience taking responsibility for the outcome of their choices.

Making choices concerning one's own learning is a learner's right, but it necessarily involves taking responsibility.

1-2-4. What does learner autonomy expect learners to take control of?

I agree with Benson (1996a) that the practice of learner autonomy requires control over process, resources and language.[5] As I argued in 1-2-2, however, learners have an interdependent relationship with society. Learners' wishes and aspirations can change society, but they are also constructed by society. Society could support learner autonomy as well as suppress it. I would like to see the issue of control in terms of responsibility of teachers and institutions as well as in terms of learners' political action to change their environment.

What exactly process, resources and language refer to may need further clarification, though. By process Benson (ibid) refers to the "why", "what" and "how" of learning. As I have previously stated, I view the ultimate aim of education as the development in learners of the capacity to improve the quality of their lives for themselves and learner autonomy as a means to achieve this aim. This view leads to an argument that a learner needs to view learning a particular second language as relevant to the improvement of the quality of their life if they are to practice their autonomy in their learning of the second language. The purpose of learning a particular second language could be anything from understanding the lyrics of a pop musician the learner admires to earning respect as a fully functioning member of a community. A learner's view may not necessarily be identical to the teacher's. Benson (2000, pp.114-115) notes this possible conflict and argues that "[t]he idea that freedom of choice may be legitimately constrained in the interests of long-term autonomy of the learner places a powerful ideological tool in the hands of educational authorities who believe that learners are by definition incompetent to determine their own long-term interests in learning." This often observed assumption by educational authorities is not tenable, though. Brookfield (1993, p.234), for example, contends that "emphasizing people's right to self-direction

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[5] My argument here concerns adult learners. Discussing the issue of learner control in school curricula is beyond the scope of the present thesis.

also invests a certain trust in their wisdom, in their capacity to make wise choices and take wise actions" and justifies this claim by stating: "if people had a chance to give voice to what most moves and hurts them, they would soon show that they were only too well aware of the real nature of their problems and of ways to deal with these". I should argue that the only legitimate purpose of learning a second language is the one perceived by a learner themselves. So learners should have a control over the purpose of learning. Teachers may explain to learners why learning a certain language or some aspect of it could be thought beneficial, but appealing to learners' extrinsic motivation by reward or punishment is violation of learners' autonomy. Teachers should respect learners' views.

Control over purposes necessarily leads to control of content -- language. I should distinguish three levels of control here; which language to learn, which variety of the language to learn, and the scope of learning. By including "which language to learn" I mean to raise a similar issue which Benson (2000) raises. Benson (ibid) questions the validity of obliging all school learners in Hong Kong to learn English and more recently Putonghua. Benson's position is situated in the current political context in Hong Kong, and cannot be automatically extended to other contexts. An effort to provide options according to learners' wishes and aspirations, however, should always be made. By variety I mean both geographical and social dialects spoken by first language users and the varieties spoken by second language users. It is a common practice in JSL to teach standard Japanese which is based on the middle-class Tokyo dialect widely accepted by the generation which the majority of teachers and textbook writers belong to. Those learners living in an area with a dialect very distinct from the one in Tokyo, those living and working in a working class community, and those much younger than teachers and textbook writers are exposed to different varieties of Japanese outside language classrooms. Learners often comment that they understand teachers but not people outside. Although this phenomenon may have causes other than the discrepancies in the varieties of Japanese taught in classrooms and spoken outside, and the standard variety may be useful in understanding media discourse, the decision concerning which dialect to learn should rest with learners. Learners should also be allowed to choose a model for the productive side of their language ability. The linguistic knowledge which second language users have is never identical to the one of monolingual "native speaker" (Cook 1999). It takes a long time and a tremendous amount of effort for a second language learner-user to acquire the ability to sound like a "native speaker." For many learners this is an unrealistic goal. It also often involves sacrificing learners' first language identity. Indeed Riley (1997, p.116) claims that "*all* language teaching and learning is an attack on the personality, whatever the situation or methodology in question because it implies new forms of expressive behaviour, and questions both the self-image and deeply held values and beliefs of the learner" (italics in original). Learners should be allowed the option of having competent second language users as an achievable and acceptable goal of their learning.

By the scope of learning I mean what aspect of the target language to learn. For example, the Japanese writing system is considered to be one of the major obstacles to learning the language by learners with a language background other than Chinese and Korean. You cannot expect foreign residents in Japan to learn to read information fliers issued by a local government, for example, by attending a JSL study group meeting once a week, which is as much as many immigrant workers can afford both financially and timewise. The decision, conscious or unconscious, not to learn reading, however, limits learners' access to information. The only way I could think of to support learner autonomy in this case is to provide information in the residents' first language. This is the kind of responsibility which I claim society must assume.

The control of resources has two aspects; human and non-human. Human resources consist of two kinds of people. The speakers of the target language who engage in interaction with learner-users are indispensable to develop in learners a sense of belonging to the target language community which, according to neo-Vygotskian theorists of learning (e.g. Lave & Wenger 1991), is part and parcel of learning. My colleagues at the foreign students' centre of Osaka University invite visitors to their classrooms. Visitors engage in learning activities with learners. They are also expected to extend their relationship with the learners to the context outside the classroom. I should think that this is one way of supporting learners' control over human resources. With the advance of information technology target language speakers can be thousands miles away from learners. Establishing an e-mail tandem learning scheme can be another way (e.g. Little and Brammerts 1996). Learners also benefit from talking to experienced second language users. I often overhear conversations among second language learner-users outside the classroom context about their stories of learning. Those stories are what a "native speaker" teacher can never offer for their learners. They can, instead, help develop a network of second language learner-users. Non-human resources cover everything learners may utilize in their learning; textbooks, dictionaries, reference books, authentic texts, audio tapes, videos, software, Websites and the infrastructure which facilitates access to these resources. Of course many learners learn in a far from ideal situation and still manage to be competent second language users. This does not mean, however, that learners should not act to improve unfavourable conditions or that teachers and institutions are not responsible for the improvement.

Control of "how" in the learning process can be broken down into control of off-line processes (i.e. planning and evaluation) and on-line processes (i.e. implementation of a plan) as I discussed in the first section of this chapter. As I shall elaborate on what is involved in both processes in 1-2-5-2, I do not discuss it here.

1-2-5. What does learner autonomy as a capacity entail?

As has been shown in the first section of this chapter there are several points of disagreement among researchers as to what a capacity entails. In this section I shall discuss the scope of the capacity. In so doing I shall clarify whether beliefs, metacognition and attitudes are considered as part of a capacity in my definition of learner autonomy.

1-2-5-1. Knowledge and beliefs

Knowledge has traditionally been considered as consisting of beliefs that are commonly assumed to be true, while beliefs concern subjective states of mind (Bar-Tal 1990). The dividing line between knowledge and beliefs, however, is not that clear-cut in contemporary theory. In one strand contemporary philosophy and science have taken up the position that we cannot as a matter of principle prove that something is true. Giddens (1991, p.21) describes the trend which can be traced back to Popper (1957) thus:

> "The original progenitors of modern science and philosophy believed themselves to be preparing the way for securely founded knowledge of the social [and] natural worlds: the claims of reason were due to overcome the dogmas of tradition, offering a sense of certitude in place of the arbitrary character of habit and customs. But the reflexivity of modernity actually undermines the certainty of knowledge, even in the core domains of natural science. Science depends, not on the inductive accumulation of proofs, but on the methodological principle of doubt. No matter how cherished, and apparently well established, a given scientific tenet might be, it is open to revision - or might have to be discarded altogether - in the light of new ideas or findings."

To put Giddens' description in other words, what is considered to be knowledge might later turn out to be a belief. Many language teachers in the 1950s, for example, must have thought that it was disciplinary knowledge that errors could form bad habits and therefore should be prevented at all costs. Most teachers these days would consider this a false belief. Likewise any proposition that second language researchers hold to be true today may have to be revised tomorrow. It is therefore impossible to draw a clear line between knowledge and beliefs in the traditional sense of both words.

In another strand challenges have been made from a variety of schools, from phenomenology to feminist epistemology, that "Western traditions have failed to generate reliable (or useful or ethical) knowledge, just because they do not pay proper attention to the subjective" (Griffiths 1995, p.56).

Although these challengers differ in their claims, "they unite in challenging the supposed neutrality of traditional epistemology by arguing that the fundamental categories of 'truth' and 'knowledge' are not only irreducibly complex and ambiguous but also saturated with politics" (ibid, p.57). Researchers and teachers involved in second language education are likely to differ in their opinion as to whether language learning results from, and only from, experiences of being engaged in meaningful social interactions. Some may claim that it is knowledge and others may express their doubt that it is only a belief. By claiming that something is knowledge, and not a belief, we actually authorize this something, and the justification of this authority often lies in personal experiences of the authorizers on the one hand and in their position in the power structure of society on the other.

Subscribing to either of the two strands makes the traditional distinction between knowledge and beliefs suspect. Indeed some researchers in human beliefs even explicitly claim that beliefs are units of knowledge (e.g. Bar-Tal 1990, p.5). Rather than deciding whether something belongs to the realm of knowledge or of beliefs I shall consider everything that a learner believes that she knows as her knowledge and include it in her capacity. This is not to say, of course, that every type of knowledge is helpful for the practice of learner autonomy. Some types may help, and others may be irrelevant or even a hindrance. What, then, might be the kind of knowledge which constitutes a capacity for second language learner autonomy? This is the topic of the following section.

1-2-5-2. Relevant knowledge

A good starting point to answer the question of what kind of knowledge is relevant to learner autonomy would be Holec's (1985a, pp.180-182) list of knowledge and skills[6] which he claims are related to the operations involved in defining a learning programme. I shall quote the entire list below, though it is rather long, to make my points in the subsequent discussion easier to follow.

1. defining objectives

a)The learner needs to know that a description of those communicative activities which he wishes to be able to perform can serve as a basis for defining his learning objectives.

b) He [sic] needs to be able to describe those activities in relevant terms, which implies a model of analysis, however rudimentary...

c) ... and he needs to be able to refine that model.

d) He needs to know how to organize the parameters of analysis into a personal hierarchy.

e) He needs to know how to break down the terminal objectives into intermediate objectives.

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6 Skills can be defined as automatized procedural knowledge (Anderson 1982). I shall include skills in learner's knowledge in this thesis.

f) He needs to know how to use the results of an evaluation as a basis for defining a new set of objectives.

2. defining contents

a) The learner needs to be able to express his objectives in terms of linguistic elements to be learnt, which implies either a certain amount of descriptive knowledge, or knowledge of where to find it.

b) He needs to know how to establish a corpus of learning materials.

c) He needs to be able to gauge the degree of relevance of items in the corpus to the achievement of his different objectives.

d) He needs to be able to judge how difficult his materials are, if not straight away at least after a trial attempt.

3. defining materials and techniques

a) The learner needs to be able to determine the objectives of commercially published courses.

b) He needs to be able to evaluate the degree of efficiency of those learning activities which are known to him.

c) He needs to know that no material or method is good in itself, but that it only has advantages or disadvantages with respect to the user and his aims.

d) He needs to be able to build his own 'course' by selecting items from a variety of textbooks, etc.

e) He needs to know that every type of learning activity, scholastic or not, linguistic or not, is potentially useful.

4. defining the place/time and pace of learning

a) The learner needs to know that for every learner certain conditions of learning are more suitable than others.

b) He needs to be able to determine those circumstances in which he works best.

c) He needs to know that the pace of learning varies according to the content and type of learning and he has to be able to vary it as and when necessary.

5. evaluating what has been learnt

a) The learner needs to know that self-assessment is both necessary and sufficient.

b) He needs to be able to determine his own personal evaluation criteria.

c) He needs to know that his evaluation thresholds can vary according to the particular aspect of performance which is being evaluated, the time when the evaluation was carried out, etc.

d) He needs to know how to keep a record of earlier evaluations so that his progress can be measured, etc. (Holec 1985a, pp.180-182)

Holec obviously had an image of fully fledged learner autonomy in mind. Developing learners, not just young ones but adults as well, cannot be expected to have all these pieces of knowledge. Setting the objective of learners acquiring all the pieces above in any near future would probably be wrong. It might help, however, to have a picture of fully fledged autonomy as a map for the long journey of developing second language learner autonomy.

Holec warns that the list is "by no means exhaustive" (ibid, p.180), and it would probably be impossible to develop a complete list of items anyway because language learning is such a complex endeavour. His list cannot be criticized for any serious omissions, but it seems to have at least two shortcomings in terms of its overall structure. One is the organization of items. Holec's list follows a chronological order of planning and evaluating one's learning and only implies certain kinds of knowledge that are necessary for practising learner autonomy. For example, 2d, 4b, and 4c in the list all imply that the learner needs to know what kind of language learner they are. The chronological order may be useful if the list is used to describe what learners need to do in developing their own courses in self-directed learning, but it may not necessarily be so for thinking about what sort of knowledge needs to be worked on in supporting learner autonomy in broader contexts. I would reorganize Holec's list as follows[7]:

*Knowing about learner autonomy (5a)
*Knowing why one is learning a particular second language (1a, 2c, 3d, 5b, 5c)
*Knowing the nature of language and language use (1b, 1c, 2a, 2c, 5b)
*Knowing the nature of language learning (1a, 2d, 3b, 3c, 3e, 4a, 4c, 5b, 5c)
*Knowing about options concerning the content (language) of learning (1a, 1e, 1f, 2a, 2b, 2c, 2d, 3a)
*Knowing about options concerning the process of learning (all items from 3b to 4c)
*Knowing what the necessary material and human resources are, where they are available, and how they can be used (2a, 2b, 3a, 3d)
*Knowing what kind of language learner one is and how one learns (2d, 4b, 4c)
*Knowing how the outcome of learning can be evaluated (5b, 5c, 5d)

The other shortcoming is that there seems to be at least one missing category, which concerns implementation of learning plans. This can be further broken down into concurrent metacognition and affect control. In the next two sub-sections I shall elaborate on these two categories.

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7 1 D is not included in my classification. I was not able to determine what it meant. I have talked with some learner autonomy researchers about its interpretation, but they were unable to help me.

1-2-5-3. Concurrent metacognition

Concurrent metacognitions are "related to the control processes associated with monitoring the current status of the cognitive system" (Hertzog & Dixon 1994, p.229), as opposed to stored metacognitions which "refers to information or representations held in permanent, long-term memory" (ibid, p.229), and this is what Little (1996, p.204) refers to by metacognitive skills. They differ from evaluation in that they have to do with moment-by-moment learning behaviours. Suppose a learner works on pronunciation with an L1 speaker acting as a resource person. She makes a sound and the resource person gives a signal to show that the sound which the learner has made is not really what she wants. What the learner has to do then is 1) remember what she did with her articulatory organs and 2) try another sound by moving her articulatory organs in a different way until she gets a "right on" signal from the resource person. This is a totally different task from evaluating one's pronunciation in general terms; satisfactory, passable, or seemingly unintelligible. It involves continuous "conscious awareness" (Hertzog and Dixon 1994, p.229) of what one does and of reactions to it from the environment.

Whether learning necessarily involves conscious awareness or not has been discussed in the context of research into implicit learning in general (Berry & Dienes 1993) and in foreign language learning in particular (Ellis 1994). Schmidt (1995), however, extensively reviews the literature and examines "the extent to which it is possible to defend the radical proposition that there is no such thing as unconscious learning" (ibid, p.6). Schmidt recognizes the unresolved problem of what human consciousness is, and deals "separately with what ... are the main issues in the conscious /unconscious controversy in foreign language learning; intention, attention, noticing, and understanding or "recognition of a general principle, rule or pattern" (ibid, p.29). Schmidt concludes that attention is required for all learning on the basis that:

1) incidental learning does not necessarily imply that learners did not pay attention to items unintentionally learned;
2) divided attention studies show that unattended information is not learned;
3) effect of subliminal perception is only observed with familiar stimuli;
4) detection in the blind area by blind sighted people is limited to simple shapes and familiar objects;
5) implicit memory does not necessarily imply that the information was not unattended when encountered; and
6) implicit learning of miniature artificial grammar is a matter of gradual accumulation of frequency information, rather than an inductive process of abstract rule formation.

To rephrase Schmidt, no evidence has been put forward that shows learning can occur with no attention at all. If at least some part of learning requires attention, then concurrent metacognitions should constitute an indispensable part of autonomy as capacity to learn for oneself. Without attention and awareness or well developed concurrent metacognition learners' practice of autonomy is not likely to produce fruitful learning. Learning will have to be dependent on teaching which forces and directs learners' attention, if at all possible, to what they are doing and what they should be doing.

1-2-5-4. Affect and affect control

The definition of affect differs from author to author, but there seems to be an agreement that it is a generic label for different kinds of human mental states and dispositions. In this thesis I shall follow the classification by Clore & Gasper (2000) which is shown in the table below.

Table 1.1 Object specificity and duration as factors that distinguish affective conditions

Affective conditions	State	Disposition
Object	Emotion	Attitude (Sentiment)
Objectless	Mood	Temperament

Revised from Clore & Gasper (2000, p.17)

According to Clore & Gasper (2000, p.17), "[a]ttributions for affect are constrained by the duration of affective conditions and the specificity of their objects". Thus an emotion is associated with a specific object and lasts a relatively short period of time, whereas an attitude or sentiment as some researchers call it (Frijda & Mesquita 2000, Oatley 2000) is more enduring. A mood has no specific object. It may last longer than an emotion, but not as long as a temperament. All four types of affect seem to contribute to the formation, maintenance and change of beliefs (Frijda, Manstead & Bem 2000). They should therefore be relevant to the development of learner autonomy, but it is too vast an area to cover in this sub-section. I shall limit my argument here to the function of emotions in carrying out a plan.

Learning and knowing has traditionally been considered as rational cognition, the cause of which might be attributed to "divisions of society into more or less rigidly marked-off classes and groups" (Dewey 1916, p.323) or genderized mutually exclusive dichotomies prevalent in our thinking

(Keller 1978, Martin 1994, Code 1991). The problem of the separation of the mind from the emotions in education, however, has long been recognized. John Dewey, who convincingly refuted a range of problematic dichotomies in education, observed:

> "Another current opposition is said to exist between the intellect and the emotions. The emotions are conceived to be purely private and personal, having nothing to do with the work of pure intelligence in apprehending facts and truths, -- except perhaps the single emotion of intellectual curiosity. The intellect is a pure light; the emotions are a disturbing heat. The mind turns onward to truth; the emotions turn inward to consideration of personal advantage and loss. Thus in education we have that systematic depreciation of interest which has been noted, plus the necessity in practice, with most pupils, of recourse to extraneous and irrelevant rewards and penalties in order to induce the person who has a mind (much as his clothes have a pocket) to apply that mind to the truths to be known." (Dewey 1916, pp.335-336)

What Dewey claims here can be interpreted as meaning that the split of the intellect and the emotions causes motivational problems, thus making it necessary to force learners to learn.

This claim of Dewey's is supported by recent developments in the study of emotions in cognitive psychology. Oatley (1992) offers a comprehensive account of human emotions drawing on a variety of fields including literature and philosophy as well as cognitive and clinical psychology. He contrasts human action planning with that of computer simulation and observes as follows (ibid, p.24):

> "most human action has many simultaneous aims but limited resources. It takes place in a world that is imperfectly known and in conjunction with other people. Emotions function in the management of action when all the consequences of such action cannot be fully foreseen."

Oatley (ibid, p.22) defines an emotion as a "mental state of readiness [for an action] based on an evaluation [of the probability of achieving an intended goal] with a specific phenomenological tone". He agrees with Minsky (1986) in taking the view that a human mind consists of mutually independent modules. Modular systems have the merit of facility in sequencing actions, but can have a problem of coordination particularly in humans whose cognitive system is not only genetically specified but also capable of learning. An emotion, Oatley argues, functions as a signal to the whole cognitive system of a change in the probability of achieving an important goal or subgoal and set it into readiness to respond to this change.

Language learning is a long-term project which does not necessarily make constant progress, as is learning of any other complex set of skills or body of knowledge. There are also external factors which encourage or discourage learners, such as empathetic native speaker friends or boring classes. Learners naturally have emotional ups and downs as they learn. Ushioda (1996) has convincingly shown that the way learners deal with these ups and downs greatly affects maintenance of motivation. Learners also have a life outside the language classroom and concerns about things other than language learning. Emotions caused by those non-language-learning experiences should influence the process of implementation of a learning plan if emotions have an intermodular function as Oatley (1992) suggests. If a learner is to take full control of her learning, she needs to know how to manage her emotions related and not directly related with language learning. To this end, learners need to:

1) know that learning involves emotions and that there is nothing wrong in having positive or negative emotions;
2) know that emotions caused by experiences outside language learning could affect learning;
3) be aware of their emotions;
4) be able to identify the causes of their emotions;
5) be able to appreciate positive emotions and utilize their causes in order to facilitate future learning;
6) be able to change factors causing negative emotions, particularly those external to the learner herself.

Affect control concerns this kind of knowledge.

1-2-5-5. Knowledge and attitude

In the preceding sub-sections I defined knowledge that is relevant to the practice of learner autonomy and have postponed discussion of the role of attitude. In this final sub-section I shall try to develop an argument that knowledge dissociated from the knower's affect is not likely to be put to use in real life situations, thus claiming that attitude, as "affect associated with a mental object" (Greenwald 1989b, p.432), towards all items listed in 1-2-5-2 should be included in learners' capacity for autonomy.

All kinds of knowledge do not necessarily lead to action. I know that smoking could cause fatal disease, but I am not planning to quit smoking in near future. What, then, is a characteristic of knowledge that would lead the knower to a certain action? Frijda, Manstead and Bem (2000, p.3)

point to the fact that "[n]o matter how rational your thoughts about helping the needy may be, you need an emotional impulse before you actually volunteer to help" and claim that "emotions are prime candidates for turning a thinking being into an actor". They go on to argue as follows (ibid, p.4):

> "If there is a difference between knowledge and belief that is of psychological significance, it is the way in which they vary with respect to preparing the individual to act. To have a belief is not so much to claim to have true knowledge as to take a "risk" ... and be prepared to take action. This implies that beliefs should be more emotion-sensitive than knowledge."

Although Frijda, Manstead and Bem use the term emotion, affect which triggers actions is not limited to emotion. Frijda & Mesquita (2000, p.55) describe sentiments as follows:

> "They consist of the latent representation of some object as being relevant to one's concerns, and as suggesting what kind of action might be desirable in relation to them. In emotion, a perception takes the place of a latent representation or a mere thought, and action readiness that of the knowledge of what action might be desirable. Sentiments turn into actual emotions when their objects are encountered with sufficient urgency or proximity."

Sentiments are formed for a variety of reasons. Thus someone who has made choices about their learning and experienced happiness because they succeeded in learning may have a positive sentiment about learner autonomy and try to exercise their autonomy again in their future learning. Someone who has witnessed their significant other(s) practising their autonomy may also have a positive sentiment and try to exercise their autonomy themselves. By the same token each of the remaining ten components of knowledge concerning learner autonomy is more likely to be put to use if associated with sentiments. Therefore sentiments, or "attitudes towards what touches upon one's concerns" (ibid, p.56), should be regarded as part of learner autonomy as a capacity.

1-3. Conclusion of this chapter

To sum up then I would argue that the capacity for second language learner autonomy can be broken down into ten knowledge components and affect associated with each component. I do not necessarily believe, however, that these items can be developed separately and that adding up the fully developed itemized abilities would make a good autonomous learner. Itemization is only for facilitating our conceptual understanding, and those items must be organically related in reality. A change in one area is likely to influence other areas. Working on one area at the expense of the

others may not be as effective as a holistic approach. Another point to keep in mind is that the evaluation of learner autonomy should not be done solely by the amount of knowledge a learner has. Learners who do not have all this knowledge may still feel autonomous if they know that assistance will be available when needed and their wishes and aspirations will be respected (Nedelsky 1989, Aoki 1999). Learners' feelings of autonomy can be a criterion. In the chapter that follows I shall review the literature on teachers' role in the development of learner autonomy and examine the assumption which many current teacher education programmes hold that teacher autonomy based on reflective practice will lead to the development of teachers' capacity to support learner autonomy.

Chapter 2 Teacher roles and teacher development

In the previous chapter I summarized some of the discrepancies among definitions of learner autonomy by its major proponents and elaborated my own interpretation of what learner autonomy is. In so doing I implied that second language learner autonomy is by no means innate and that it has to be developed and maintained by conscious effort. I also claimed that teachers and educational institutions are responsible for creating an optimal environment for developing autonomy in learners. In this chapter I shall review literature on what teachers' roles might be in the development of second language learner autonomy. I shall then review the literature on how second language teacher education might prepare teachers to assume those roles and examine the problems concerning the widely held assumption that development of teacher autonomy through reflective practice will achieve the aim. Drawing on research in teacher education in other subject areas, I shall claim that teachers develop their professional capacity and attitude over a long period of time and that researchers in second language teacher education might have to go beyond teacher education programmes and look into teachers' lives in order to understand the process by which teachers develop and change their understanding of and attitude towards learner autonomy.

2-1. Teacher's role in fostering learner autonomy

Many researchers and practitioners of learner autonomy seem to agree that learner autonomy develops by practising it. Little (2000, p.15) argues as follows:

> "The capacities that make up behavioural autonomy are procedural, which means that they can be developed only experientially, that is, through practice. You can no more become an autonomous language learner-user by being told how to do it than you can learn to ride a bicycle simply from written instructions."

We cannot, however, simply hand over the decision-making power to learners and expect them to exercise it as Little (1991, 1995) himself has pointed out. Teachers may tend to underestimate learners' capacity to make choices, but it is also true that every learner is not necessarily willing to make all necessary decisions nor able to do so from the outset. Learners need support to develop their own autonomy. According to Benson (2001), approaches to the task of fostering second language learner autonomy can be grouped into six types; resource-based, technology-based, learner-based, classroom-based, curriculum-based and teacher-based. He notes, however, that "[i]n practice, approaches are often combined, sometimes in eclectic ways. Although claims are often made for the particular effectiveness of one approach over others, most researchers and

practitioners would accept that they are interdependent" (ibid, p.111). Indeed all of these approaches except the technology-based one presuppose teacher or counsellor involvement in learning processes for a successful implementation, which makes the teacher-based approach relevant to the other approaches. Even with the technology-based approach learners may "require a degree of autonomy in advance in order to use new technology effectively" (ibid: 140) and teachers may have a role to play for a better use of technology.

Teachers' role in the development of learner autonomy is generally considered as that of facilitator, counsellor or resource (Voller 1997). According to Voller's summary of the literature, both facilitators and counsellors provide psycho-social and technical support, the difference between the two being that the former mostly work with groups and the latter in one-to-one situations. The concept of psycho-social support and technical support was originally put forward by Holec (1985a). Voller (1997, p.102) summarizes several writers' lists as follows:

> "The psycho-social features listed by these writers include:
>
> * the personal qualities of the facilitator (being caring, supportive, patient, tolerant, empathetic, open, non-judgmental);
> * a capacity for motivating learners (encouraging commitment, dispersing uncertainty, helping learners to overcome obstacles, being prepared to enter into a dialogue with learners, avoiding manipulation, objectifying or interfering with, in other words, controlling them);
> * an ability to raise learners' awareness (to 'discondition' them from preconceptions about learner and teacher roles, to help them perceive the utility of, or necessity for, independent learning).
>
> ... The list [of technical support] includes:
>
> * helping learners to plan and carry out their independent language learning by means of needs analysis (both learning and language needs), objective setting (both short- and longer-term, achievable), work planning, selecting materials, and organizing interactions;
> * helping learners evaluate themselves (assessing initial proficiency, monitoring progress, and self- and peer-assessment);
> * helping learners to acquire the skills and knowledge needed to implement the above (by raising their awareness of language and learning, by providing learner training to help them identify learning styles and appropriate learning strategies)."

The idea of the teacher as a resource is not as straightforward as the preceding two. In one sense a teacher can be seen as "a talking encyclopedia or a talking catalogue" (ibid, p.105). In another it could, Voller (ibid) warns, imply that teachers are the knowers or the experts and be used as a way of maintaining unequal power relations between teachers and learners.

Breen & Mann (1997), in discussing learner autonomy in a classroom, list "deeper" (ibid, p.145) teacher attributes and explicit actions as necessary to "create space for learners to exercise their autonomy" (ibid, p.145). Their argument can be summarized as follows:

Teacher attributes

* Self awareness of one's own learner autonomy, one's actions and interactions with learners in classroom and the relationship between the two;
* Belief and trust in each learner's capacity to learn and to assert their own autonomy;
* Desire to foster learner autonomy and willingness to live through the consequences of this position.

Classroom actions

* Being a resource for learners' on-going and emerging needs and keeping a balance between being a resource and guide;
* Decision sharing with learners as an equal partner;
* Facilitating collaborative evaluation between a teacher and learners and among learners, respecting learners' own criteria for success while mediating one's knowledge of language and its use through external syllabus or curriculum;
* Managing the risks to mediate between individual learners' learning agenda and the group process and "to go through the disorienting but developmental phase of 'anarchy'" (ibid, p.147);
* "Being a patient opportunist" (ibid, p.148) to deal with individual differences in the degree of autonomy among learners and possible reversion to more dependance in some learners.

Under classroom action Breen & Mann (ibid, p.148) also list "getting support", which concerns teachers getting the same kind of support they are offering to learners from their colleagues, but, strictly speaking, this is not a classroom action. As I shall discuss support for teachers in the next section, I put this item aside here.

Aoki (1999, 2001a) also discusses the teacher's roles mainly in the classroom. She defines the teacher's role in the development of the capacity for making choices concerning one's own learning as providing scaffolding in the area(s) where learners have not developed necessary knowledge, skill(s) and/or affective disposition without impairing their feeling of being autonomous.

To that end, Aoki claims, teachers might need to be able to do the following:

* Trust learners;
* Create a psychologically safe learning environment;
* Provide choices;
* Leave room for negotiation with learners;
* Allow voice to learners;
* Provide information;
* Articulate the rationale of their decisions made on behalf of learners so that those decisions are transparent to the eyes of learners;
* Stimulate and support reflection on cognitive, affective and social aspects of learning.

All the authors mentioned above directly or indirectly suggest that learning to foster second language learner autonomy involves much more than acquiring a new set of knowledge/skills. It demands of teachers, they seem to agree, personal development and commitment to a particular kind of educational ideal which could involve a Copernican turn in their view of teaching if they have been immersed in a traditional form of education. If that is what is required, teacher education aiming to produce teachers capable of fostering learner autonomy should do more than provide teachers with information and expect them to apply it in their practice. In the next section I shall review how second language teacher educators have approached the task of educating pro-autonomy teachers.

2-2. Claims made so far

Theorists of second language learner autonomy have claimed that teacher education needs to provide teachers with opportunities to experience autonomy-oriented learning arrangements in order to develop in teachers the capacity to support their learners' autonomy. As early as 1985 Holec pointed out the need for a change in teacher education systems.

> "... the teacher, like the learner, has to modify his [sic] conception of the teacher's role, which means that he too is susceptible to the psycho-social problems which such a change brings about: just as the learner has to learn to learn, so the teacher has to learn to help the learner to learn, and this brings us to the institutional problem of teacher-training." (Holec 1985a, p.186)

More recently Little (1995) has claimed the same kind of need on the ground that the teacher, however closely she may try to follow a prescribed curriculum, can only teach according to her own

interpretation of it and that successful teachers have always been autonomous in the sense that they have a strong sense of responsibility and exercise a high degree of control of their teaching process through reflection and analysis. Little argues as follows:

> "Language learners are more likely to operate as independent flexible users of their target language if their classroom experience has already pushed them in this direction; by the same token, language teachers are more likely to succeed in promoting learner autonomy if their own education has encouraged them to be autonomous." (Little 1995, p.180)

The forerunner of second language teacher education schemes which emphasize teachers' active involvement might be Breen et al. (1989). They offer an account of an in-service teacher training project which extended over a period of eight years and describe how it developed through the phases of transmission, problem solving, and classroom decision making and investigation. One of the deductions the authors draw from their experience is:

> "An in-service training course or programme is likely to be most useful if it grows directly out of the experiences, assumptions and perceived problems of the trainees. This implies that trainers need to be prepared to devote the initial part of any training to a variety of modes of bringing such experiences, assumptions and problems out in the open. Trainers will also need to consider how the process of reflecting on these matters will be undertaken by the trainees." (Breen et al. 1989, p.134)

Reports of teacher development schemes which specifically concern learner autonomy, however, have only been published in the past several years. A common thread in these reports is the assumption that teachers develop the capacity to support learner autonomy through reflective practice aiming at teacher autonomy. Huttunen (1997) summarizes twenty three reports of both initial and in-service teacher education projects which were submitted to the Council of Europe and observes that these projects regarded the teacher as "the developer of his/her own work" (ibid, p.48) and that they took a reflective experiential approach as a tool for "the development of insightful teaching" (ibid, p.48). Huttunen is basically positive about the outcome of these projects in her conclusion and states that the reported initial teacher education projects "supported the student teachers' growth as teachers and gave them tools for further development" (ibid, p.50) and that long-term in-service education projects based on the idea of research and development seem to be a profitable way to foster teaching to learn (ibid, p.54).

Riley (1997), based on his and his colleagues' practice at C.R.A.P.E.L., claims that counsellor training for self-access language learning should involve three aspects; academic, practical, and

counselling. The academic aspect concerns specialized knowledge of language and language learning and Riley emphasizes the importance of relating this knowledge to topics such as self-access and self-directed learning. The practical aspect is about knowledge of the particular self-access system in which each counsellor is to work. The counselling aspect deals directly with counselling skills, and the techniques used at C.R.A.P.E.L. to develop these skills are hospitation, self-directed learning of a foreign language, sharing and discussion, critical analysis of recordings, guidance manuals, listening exercises, and research. Riley stresses the importance of experiential reflective learning by stating that "the whole thrust of a counsellor-training programme of any kind will be to provide conditions in which the trainees will gain and critically reflect on relevant experience" (ibid, p.131).

Vieira (1999, 2000) reports on an in-service teacher training programme which was designed on the assumption that "reflective teaching and learner autonomy are perhaps like the two sides of the same coin: you cannot have one without the other" (Vieira 1999, p.151). She claims that the idea of learner autonomy, which was new to the teachers at the beginning of the project, became the focus of the teachers' reflection and action in the process of their collaborative action research. Her project, however, consists of three stages, and of thirty teachers who participated in the first stage only thirteen volunteered to engage in the second and third stages. The reason for this decrease in number is not given in her reports.

Moreira, Vieira & Marques (1999) report a pre-service teacher education project with the same assumption as Vieira (1999, 2000) and claim that, in spite of the constraints the authors recognize, the project instigated the changes in student teachers on three levels, belief and attitude, concept, and procedure, and that the "student teachers perceived the overall project as extremely relevant" (Moreira, Vieira & Marques 1999, p.17).

Thavenius (1999) narrates her experience of learning to help her learners to develop learner autonomy and also one of trying to help teachers develop the capacity to support learner autonomy as an in-service teacher educator. She emphasizes the importance of teacher awareness training by encouraging continuous reflection. She contends that developing learner autonomy is "not just a matter of changing teaching techniques, it is a matter of changing teacher personality" (ibid, p.159). She recognizes, however, that developing teacher awareness is a long process and that it requires more than a short-term in-service course, which is often the only opportunity to provide teachers with support for their development in her context of work.

McGrath (2000) analyses the difficulty some teachers experience in in-service programmes where an action research project forms a compulsory element and speculates that cultural conditioning

and unnegotiable constraints in teachers' work context might be among the reasons for the difficulty. He sees adopting an evaluative stance towards learning materials, which stimulates "the kind of critical thinking that may ultimately lead to more fully developed forms of teacher autonomy" (ibid, p.110), as the first step towards fully developed teacher autonomy and reports a successful implementation of such an idea, although how teachers might proceed beyond the first step is not discussed.

Although I never deny the value of reflection in learning, it also has some limitations as some of the authors of the above mentioned reports are explicitly aware. It is not clear to what extent or in which area(s) those teacher education programmes were successful in developing the personal quality and explicit actions in teachers that have been suggested by Voller (1997), Breen & Mann (1997) and Aoki (1999, 2001a). In the next section I shall scrutinize the assumption that reflective practice aiming at teacher autonomy will develop teachers' capacity to support learner autonomy.

2-3. Problems

In the previous section I summarized the work of second language teacher educators who operate on the assumption that reflective practice aiming at teacher autonomy will lead to the development of teachers' capacity to support learner autonomy. One problem common to many writings on second language teacher education specifically focused on learner autonomy is that they treat teacher autonomy, reflective practice and action research almost as synonymous and assume that one or more of these elements will necessarily lead to the development of teachers' capacity to support learner autonomy. Each term needs to be defined separately and the relationships among the four concepts need to be sorted out. In this section I shall first review the literature on reflective practice and action research both in and outside second language teacher education, then examine the concept of teacher autonomy in its three aspects; freedom, responsibility, and capacity. In so doing I shall try to clarify the relationship among the three terms and their relationship with teachers' capacity to support learner autonomy, but this effort raises a new set of questions. Finally I shall make a claim that we need to look beyond a single teacher education project in order to understand how teachers develop their capacity to support learner autonomy.

2-3-1. Reflective practice and action research

The idea of reflection originated in Dewey (1910/1933), but it was only the late 1980s that it became a focus of teacher education. It actually became a buzz word and, as with any other buzz word, it has developed multiple meanings. Zeichner (1994, p.9) points out that "[u]nderlying the apparent similarity among those who embrace the slogans of reflective practice are vast differences

in perspectives about teaching, learning, schooling, and the social order." Analysing different perspectives which different proponents of reflective practice hold is beyond the scope of this thesis. In this section I shall bear with Schön (1983) who seems to have had a direct influence on the current interest in reflective practice in second language teacher education and explore how the idea of reflective practice might or might not be related with action research, teacher autonomy and learner autonomy.

Schön (ibid) attributes the growing public distrust in professionals' effectiveness and morals and the crisis of confidence among professionals themselves in American society in the 1970s and early 1980s to the prevalent positivist epistemology. Positivist epistemology of practice, Schön argues, is unable to deal with the uncertainty, complexity, instability, uniqueness and value conflict which professionals face in their daily practice. By studying professionals in a variety of fields Schön (ibid) finds that professional practice is largely based on tacit knowledge, or knowing-in-action, and that practitioners reflect on their tacit knowledge mostly when they encounter with some surprise, be it an unwanted result or an unexpected success. Schön calls this latter behaviour reflection-in-action. This reality of professional practice puts practitioners bound by positivist epistemology in the dilemma of "rigor or relevance" (ibid, p.42). Many practitioners resolve the dilemma by "cutting the situation to fit professional knowledge" (ibid, p.44). But it obviously does not solve the original problem itself.

The recognition of reflection-in-action frees practitioners from the traditional hierarchy in the academy where basic science comes at the top, applied science in the middle, and "concrete problem solving" (ibid, p.24) at the bottom. Practitioners are viewed not as consumers of knowledge produced by the hierarchs in the academy but as producers of knowledge relevant to their own practice. Reflection-in-action also frees practitioners from the positivist paradigm prevalent in the academy, thus enabling them to articulate their thought and describe their action in a way that is more in accord with their perception. In the sense that reflection-in-action frees teachers from the academic hierarchy and positivist epistemology, it can be related to teacher autonomy.

Reflective practice involves a change in the relationship between a professional and a client. Schön summarizes his argument in two tables below.

Table 2.1 Satisfaction and demands for competence for experts and reflective practitioners

Expert	Reflective Practitioner
I am presumed to know, and must claim to do so, regardless of my own uncertainty.	I am presumed to know, but I am not the only one in the situation to have relevant and important knowledge. My uncertainties may be a source of learning for me and for them.
Keep my distance from the client, and hold onto the expert's role. Give the client a sense of my expertise, but convey a feeling of warmth and sympathy as a "sweetener."	Seek out connections to the client's thoughts and feelings. Allow his respect for my knowledge to emerge from his discovery of it in the situation.
Look for deference and status in the client's response to my professional persona.	Look for the sense of freedom and of real connection to the client, as a consequence of no longer needing to maintain a professional facade.

(Schön 1983, p.300)

Table 2.2 Clietnts' competences and satisfactions in traditional and reflective contracts

Traditional Contract	Reflective Contract
I put myself into the professional's hand and, in doing this, I gain a sense of security based on faith.	I join with the professional in making sense of my case, and in doing this I gain a sense of increased involvement and action.
I have the comfort of being in good hands. I need only comply with his advice and all will be well.	I can exercise some control over the situation. I am not wholly dependent on him, he is also dependent on information and action that only I can undertake.
I am pleased to be served by the best person available.	I am pleased to be able to test my judgments about his competence. I enjoy the excitement of discovery about his knowledge, about the phenomena of his practice, and about myself.

(Schön 1983, p.302)

Determining whether the professional-client relationship in reflective practice implies autonomy on the part of client needs some discussion. Schön himself is critical about the tradition of radical criticism "most dramatically, but perhaps not most rigorously, represented by Ivan Illich" (ibid, p.288). Schön claims that neither of their strategies to demystify professional knowledge -- educating professionals who work in the interests of the clients or having citizen-practitioners take

over from professional experts -- guarantees their intended result. He argues as follows:

> "... radical critique cannot substitute for (though it may provoke) the qualified professional's critical self-reflection. Unreflective practitioners are equally limited and destructive whether they label themselves as professionals or counterprofessionals." (ibid, p.290)

Underlying this claim is Schön's assumption that "professionals do know something worth knowing" (ibid, p.289) and that it can be "inherently describable and, at least in some measure, understandable by others" (ibid, p.289). A client in contract with a reflective practitioner tries to understand the practitioner's professional knowledge through reflective conversation with a practitioner, therefore may acquire some of the practitioner's knowledge, but it is not assumed that a client will be and needs to become able to conduct all her business without the help of professional practitioners. Schön (ibid, p.302) describes the client's role as follows:

> "In short, the competent client should really function in many ways as a reflective practitioner. He [sic] need not pretend to take matters into his own hands (like the "lay physician" or "citizen planner"), but he should cultivate competence in reflective conversation with the professional, stimulating him to reflect on his own knowledge-in-practice."

If the ultimate aim of fostering learner autonomy is preparing learners to learn without the help of teachers, reflective practice as conceived by Schön would not do the job. Schön's criticism against radical critique does not apply to the practice of developing learner autonomy because we are not trying to leave the business of second language teaching in the hands of "lay teachers" and because we have abundant evidence that a second language can be acquired without any formal instruction. It is, however, very hard to argue that teachers can help learners develop learner autonomy without reflective practice. It may be considered, therefore, a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the development of teachers' capacity to support learner autonomy.

Although reflection-in-action has some similarities across professional fields, it differs within and across fields in the following four elements, which Schön calls "constants" (ibid, p.270):

> "- the media, languages, and repertoires that practitioners use to describe reality and conduct experiments
> - the appreciative systems they bring to problem setting, to the evaluation of inquiry, and to reflective conversation
> - the overarching theories by which they make sense of phenomena
> - the role frames within which they set their tasks and through which they bound their

institutional settings" (ibid, p.270)

Objects of reflection-in-action are also very varied. Schön observes as follows (ibid, p.62):

> "When a practitioner reflects in and on his [sic] practice, the possible objects of his reflection are as varied as the kinds of phenomena before him and the systems of knowing-in-practice which he brings to them. He may reflect on the tacit norms and appreciations which underlie a judgment, or on the strategies and theories implicit in a pattern of behavior. He may reflect on the feeling for a situation which has led him to adopt a particular course of action, on the way in which he has framed the problem he is trying to solve, or on the role he has constructed for himself within a larger institutional context."

The combination of these factors yields hundreds of different forms of reflection. Whether every form of reflection is equally conductive to the development of teachers' capacity to support the development of learner autonomy is questionable. Zeichner (1994) has an interesting point related to this matter. He identifies five major traditions of reflective practice in North America; academic, social-efficiency, developmental, social-reconstructionist, and generic. While all traditions encourage one form of reflection or another, they differ greatly in their orientation. Zeichner claims thus:

> "We need to focus on what kind of reflection teachers are engaging in, on what it is teachers are reflecting about, and on how they are going about it. The analytic frameworks that I have alluded to in this chapter provide different answers to how we should think about these differences, but they all recognize that reflective teaching is not necessarily good teaching. All of the researchers who developed these lenses for viewing reflective practice, with the exception of the advocates of generic reflection, recognize that under some circumstances, more reflection may actually legitimate and strengthen practices which are harmful to students." (Zeichner 1994, p.18)

It is, therefore, crucial to describe what forms of reflection are encouraged and/or actually engaged in in order to claim the effectiveness of teachers' reflective practice in general and its impact on the development of teachers' capacity to support learner autonomy in particular. I shall return to this point when I discuss the relationship among reflection, teacher autonomy and teachers' capacity to support learner autonomy.

In the field of second language teacher education Wallace (1991) seems to have been the first to devote an entire volume to teachers' reflective practice. He suggests three models of professional

education, the craft model, the applied science model and the reflective model, and claims the suitability of the reflective model for contemporary teacher education on the ground that the craft model is basically conservative and cannot accommodate the needs of the ever-changing situations teachers find themselves in over the course of their career, and that the applied science model separates researchers from practitioners leading to mutual contempt and antipathy and cannot solve problems teachers face in their daily practice anyway. The reflective model, Wallace (ibid) contends, can integrate in teachers' practical competence knowledge received from academic disciplines and knowledge gained through experience, thus enabling teachers to update their expertise according to the change in the field and their environment. This view has been widely accepted by second language teacher educators (Richards & Lockhart 1994, Richards 1998, Roberts 1998, Trappes-Lomax & McGrath 1999) and has resulted in the popularity of teachers' action research (Nunan 1993, Wallace 1998, Burns 1999, James 2001).

According to Bryant (1996, p.107), the origins of action research are "wartime operational research and the post-war development of Kurt Lewin's (1948) theories of change agency in formal organizations". Theorists of action research agree that it is a form of research conducted by practitioners in the place of their practice, but that seems to be as far as their agreement goes. The details of their description of and claims for action research vary greatly. The relationship between reflective practice and action research is also problematic. Bryant (1996) examines some major proponents' (Cohen & Manion 1985, Carr & Kemmis 1986, Kemmis 1993, Winter 1989) stance in relationship to the positivist paradigm, their view of the aim of action research, and their view of reflection. His findings can be summarised as follows:

Cohen & Manion (1985)

Stance towards positivism

Action research utilizes the scientific method, but interprets it loosely.

Neutral detached stance is required.

Action research relies on empirical data.

Action research is not generalizable, and its validity is problematic.

Aim

Improvement of practice by changing teachers' attitude and behaviour

Reflection

No reference to reflection

Carr & Kemmis (1986) and Kemmis (1993)

Stance towards positivism

Investigative techniques are eclectic. The interpretative, case study approach is most

often used, but empirical analytic studies are also possible.

Aim

Three variants

Technical action research

Concerned with efficiency and effectiveness of practice

Practical action research

Concerned with improvement of the understanding of the practice by its practitioner

Emancipatory action research

Concerned with the improvement of the situation in which the practice takes place, i.e. all parties involved take responsibility for their own emancipation

Reflection

An essential component of the action research cycle of planning, acting, observing, and reflecting.

No theory of reflection

Winter (1989)

Stance towards positivism

Action research is not an inferior version of scientific research.

Aim

Practitioner development which results in changes in practice

Assertion of the ideal of a creative and involved citizenry

Reflection

Also an essential component of action research cycle

The process of reflection is different from the logic of natural science.

Writers on action research in second language teaching use a synthesis of those and other writers' definitions. Burns (1999, p.31) observes as follows:

> "In broad terms, then, action research applies a systematic process of investigating practical issues or concerns which arise within a particular social context. This process is undertaken with a view to involving the collaboration of the participants in that context in order to provide evidence that can point to change."

Wallace (1998, p.4) defines action research as "a way of reflecting on your teaching ... by systematically collecting data on your everyday practice and analysing it in order to come to some

decisions about what your future practice should be."

James (2001, p.15) prefers Ebbutt's (1985) and Halsey's (1972) definitions and says this:

> "Key terms here for my own understanding of investigating include: 'systematic', 'improve educational practice', 'groups of participants', 'practical actions', 'small scale', 'real world', ..."

Paraphrased, James' (ibid) definition of action research may be stated as a small-scale systematic investigation of practical actions in the real world by a group of teachers and teacher educators[1] with a view to improve their educational practice.

Much of the literature on action research in second language education is problematic in the light of teacher autonomy and the development of teachers' capacity to support learner autonomy. First, it does not specify whether and how their version of action research allows learner participation. Learner autonomy as I described in Chapter 1 indicates the possibility of learners trying to change the situation they find themselves in. Therefore action research, if it is ever to contribute to the development of learner autonomy, needs to be of the kind that allows teachers' and learners' collaborative effort to change the situation and view learners as active participants in the research rather than its objects. Second, many of the research topic examples offered in the literature focus on the solution of classroom problems. By focusing on problems the value of success as a trigger for reflection may be undermined. Some problems are structural and difficult to solve only by working on classroom factors. Focusing on classroom problems could disempower teachers by making them believe that they are incompetent because there are problems which they cannot solve while precluding their attention from being directed towards factors outside the classroom. Zeichner (1994, p.18) makes the point as follows:

> "... although reflection has been touted as a vehicle for the further professionalization of teachers, it has in practice, actually served to limit the status of teachers and their role in the process of educational reform by doing such things as limiting the focus of teachers' reflection to thinking about the means to implement educational ends determined by others removed from the classroom. Teachers have also been encouraged for the most part, to focus their reflections inwardly at their own teaching and on their students to the neglect of any consideration of the social conditions of schooling that influence their work in the classroom. This individualist bias makes it less likely that teachers will be able to confront and

[1] James refers to colleagues and trainers as the teacher's collaborators in his elaboration of those key terms. Who exactly "participants" are is not stated.

> transform those structural aspects of their work which hinder their accomplishment of their educational mission."

Third, most literature on action research in second language education is ambivalent in its stance towards the positivist paradigm. As I have argued earlier, the academic hierarchy and positivist paradigm prevalent in the academy limit teacher autonomy. If teacher autonomy is a prerequisite for the development of learner autonomy and if action research is to contribute to the development of teacher autonomy, action research needs to be conceived not as an inferior version of scientific research or just another way of research which can satisfy the criteria of good scientific research, but as an alternative to scientific research which can compensate for its shortcomings. Carr (1995, pp.105-106) expresses his concern with this issue as follows:

> "... although action research offers itself as a radical alternative to positivism, there are some disturbing similarities between the two. For example, action research retains positivism's distrust of philosophy. It does so not in the obvious sense of displaying an open hostility to philosophical theories, but in the less obvious sense of conforming to the positivist axiom that 'research' is a systematic and methodical process for acquiring positive knowledge rather than a dialogical and reflective process of democratic discussion and philosophical critique."

Carr (ibid) argues that the nineteenth-century positivists developed the methodological strategies of systematically collecting data and analyzing them in order to prevent ideology from intruding upon social life, but that positivism has since assumed "a central ideological role in maintaining dominant forms of social life" (ibid, p.105). He claims that action researchers' willingness to accept the methodological strategies designed to serve the positivists' original intention to exclude ideology from research can be attributed to their false assumption that "there can be a philosophically uncontested, ahistorical concept of 'research'" (ibid, p.106). This criticism seems to me to apply to most literature on action research in second language education. In particular, as teachers' knowledge is believed to be narrative (Connelly & Clandinin 1990, Witherell & Noddings 1991, Carter 1993, Pearson Casanave & Schecter 1997, Johnson & Golombek, 2002), research method using narrative such as narrative inquiry (Clandinin & Connelly 2000) and narrative analysis (Polkinghorne 1995) should be given a proper recognition. Otherwise teacher autonomy as freedom from positivist epistemology will never be possible.

Fourth, most literature on action research in second language education tends to emphasize dissemination of research. Schön observes that the practitioners' "intuitive knowing is always richer in information than any description of it" (Schön 1983, p.276). This gap, however, does not necessarily obstruct reflection-in-action. Schön claims as follows (ibid, p.277):

> "Reflection-in-action does not depend on a description of intuitive knowing that is complete or faithful to internal representation. Although some descriptions are more appropriate to reflection-in-action than others, descriptions that are not very good may be good enough to enable an inquirer to criticize and restructure his intuitive understandings so as to produce new actions that improve the situation or trigger a reframing of the problem."

Schön (ibid) also recognizes that reflection can be done non-verbally. Some educational researchers actually find artistic expression an alternative medium for reflection (Cole & Knowles 2000, 2001). This implies that encouraging practitioners to write a report of their action research may have a negative effect, particularly when they are required to write in a way that conforms to the style of formal research paper.

Time is another factor that makes dissemination of knowledge problematic. Because writing a report requires time specially allocated to it, emphasizing the dissemination of research results runs the risk of making action research an impossible task for some teachers. Aoki (2002a) points out that some teachers have hardly any time to carry out action research and warns that "we should not make teacher development into a commodity which only privileged teachers can afford." There is also a possibility that writing a report may be done at the expense of time for reflection. Schön (1987) reports on his practice of educating reflective practitioners and raises an issue of balancing the amount of knowledge and skills a curriculum expects students to acquire and the time for students' reflection. Schön admits that he and his colleagues had to cut back on readings, assignments and requirements in order to alleviate the students' feeling of pressure that they had no time for reflection. Although Schön recognizes the possibility that the sense of overload might have been the students' own making, he concludes the discussion as follows:

> "... it remains to be seen whether, through a curriculum design based on a better understanding of conflicting demands, we can achieve, at least at threshold level, conditions essential both to a coherent professional curriculum and to a reflective practicum. We may be led to a positive view if we focus -- as we have been trying in recent years to do -- on timing, pace, and direction." (ibid, p.342)

Schön distinguishes reflection-in-action from reflective research. In terms of reflection-in-action he contends as follows:

> "... research is an activity of practitioners. It is triggered by features of the practice situation, undertaken on the spot, and immediately linked to action. There is no question of

'exchange' between research and practice or of 'implementation' of research results, when the frame- or theory-testing experiments of the practitioner at the same time transform the practice situation. Here the exchange between research and practice is immediate, and reflection-in-action is its own implementation." (Schön 1983, pp.308-309)

Although the time frame of reflection-in-action is not necessarily short[2], it is not likely that practitioners have the time to write a report of their reflection-in-action as they engage in their practice. Reflective research "which can be undertaken outside the immediate context of practice in order to enhance the practitioner's capacity for reflection-in-action" (ibid, p.309), on the other hand, may lead to a research paper. A reflective researcher may take the role of counsellor or consultant to a practitioner or the one of participant observer. A practitioner herself may become a reflective researcher by "moving in and out of research and practice career" (ibid, p.324). The four kinds of reflective research Schön conceives are frame analysis, repertoire-building research, research on fundamental methods of inquiry and overarching theories, and research on the process of reflection-in-action. Analysing whether different kinds of action research fall into one or more of these four categories is beyond the scope of the present thesis, but it is clear that reflective practice itself does not necessarily involve disseminating research results.

If teachers' reflective practice is a necessary condition for the development of learner autonomy, if reflective practice does not necessarily involve writing a research report, and if writing a report can create a conflict with reflective practice timewise, then emphasizing dissemination of knowledge may not be a wise strategy to develop teachers' capacity to support learner autonomy. The question boils down, then, to whether dissemination of knowledge needs to be an integral part of action research. One interesting claim in this respect is Elliott (1991, cited in Bryant 1996). He takes the view that action research does not aim to produce knowledge but to improve practice and equates action research with Schön's reflective practice.

The association of action research with reflective practice in second language teacher education seems to be a political nature rather than a pedagogical or theoretical matter. Freeman (1996, p.186), though his perception of teacher research is much broader than action research, distinguishes between "teaching reflectively" and "researching teaching" and states as follows:

"Researching teaching differs from reflective teaching in its necessary commitment to discipline, or explicit method used in gathering and analyzing data, and to the fact that this

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[2] Schön states that the action-present, or "the zone of time in which action still makes a difference to the situation" (ibid, p.62), can be anything from seconds to months depending on the nature of practice.

commitment can be publicly told. Telling teacher-research supports both the findings and how they are arrived at. It raises the fundamental question of who generates knowledge about teaching and learning, and how that knowledge makes its way into the public domain. As I said in Chapter 1, the principal function of teachers is to do, not to tell. Researchers, on the other hand, are tellers; they recognize that private doing, if it is not publicly told, cannot create or influence common knowledge. For teachers to adopt a telling orientation toward their work means shifting their priorities; it can mean refashioning their ways of telling information about teaching and learning." (ibid, p.187)

Freeman (ibid) recognizes that teachers' knowledge is storied and argues as follows:

"The problem with storied knowledge is one of recognition and status. When asked what it is important to know about teaching, most teachers will cite the higher status knowledge that comes from academic disciplines. Language teachers, for instance, will refer to applied linguistics, teaching methodologies, second language acquisition, cognitive psychology, and so on. Many teachers appeal to this knowledge to provide legitimate explanation for why, what, and how teaching happens. They will not usually mention the everyday knowledge that comes from teaching itself... For these types of understandings to become legitimate forms of knowledge about teaching, two things must happen. First, teachers' understandings must be arrived at in a disciplined manner; second, they must be valued." (ibid, p.187)

Advocating action research, and particularly promoting its publication, can be seen as second language teacher educators' struggle to have their and their students' work recognized in the academy and professionalize it.[3] Whether this strategy will be effective in achieving its aim and whether it will help to improve the quality of second language learning and promote the development of second language learner autonomy are debatable.

2-3-2. Teacher autonomy

Teacher autonomy has more than one aspect, as does learner autonomy. In order to simplify my argument I shall define teacher autonomy as the freedom, responsibility and capacity to make choices concerning one's own teaching on the analogy of learner autonomy as the freedom, responsibility and capacity to make choices concerning one's own learning, and discuss each of

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[3] In fact Wallace (1991) refers to professionalism in teaching in his introductory chapters. For a distinction between professionalism and professionalization and forms of professionalism, see Hargreaves & Goodson (1996).

the three aspects of teacher autonomy.

2-3-2-1. Freedom

In order to accommodate learners' wishes and aspirations, teachers ideally need to be free from unnecessary constraints. In the previous section I have discussed teachers' freedom from the academic hierarchy which gives practitioners the lowest status and dictates their practice and from the positivist epistemology prevalent in the academy. I have also discussed teachers' freedom to assert their narrative knowledge. In this section I shall discuss other kinds of freedom. Benson (2000) lists four categories of constraints on the exercise of autonomy: policy, institutional, conceptions of language, and language teaching methodologies. The first two of those constraints are fairly clear-cut, although what belongs to policy and what to institutional may vary from one educational system to another. Although restrictions such as a state curriculum to be strictly followed, prescribed textbooks, and standardized tests and evaluation still leave quite a lot of room for teachers to make choices (Lamb 2000), teachers will often find themselves in a conflict between what their reflection tells them to do and what they are expected to if restrictions are not negotiable. The last two constraints, however, permeate teachers' work. They may come from several different sources. One source is academically authorized knowledge, as Benson (ibid) points out. These constraints may also be reflected in anything from curricula to the arrangement of classroom furniture. And in the sense that each teacher has her own conception of what language and language learning are, these constraints could come from colleagues in a situation where strong peer pressure is at work.

In addition to Benson's four kinds of constraints there seem to be at least two more kinds of factors which affect teachers' freedom. One is workplace micro-culture. By this I mean values, attitudes, and behavioural norms shared by people who work in an institution, although there is a grey zone between this and Benson's (ibid) institutional constraints on one hand and this and the other kind of constraint, teachers' working conditions, on the other. Peer pressure to conform can be a serious hindrance to individual teachers' efforts as I have just mentioned. Breen & Mann (1997) include the ability to get support from colleagues in the teachers' capacity needed to foster learner autonomy. Support, however, may not always be afforded on request. There is the kind of institutional culture where it is even difficult to ask for support. Aoki (2001b) reports, on the other hand, how an institutional culture might have enhanced her and her students' feeling of autonomy. Schön (1983) recognizes some characteristics of organizations, including schools, which enhance reflection-in-action. He maintains as follows:

"To the extent that an institution seeks to accommodate to the reflection-in-action of its

professional members, it must meet several extraordinary conditions. In contrast to the normal bureaucratic emphasis on uniform procedures, objective measures of performance, and center/periphery systems of control, a reflective institution must place a high priority on flexible procedures, differentiated responses, qualitative appreciation of complex processes, and decentralized responsibility for judgment and action. In contrast to the normal bureaucratic emphasis on technical rationality, a reflective institution must make a place for attention to conflicting values and purposes." (ibid, p.338)

The other kind of constraints concerns teachers' working conditions. Reflective practice requires teachers to invest quite a lot of time and energy. Supporting each learner's learning process also requires time and energy. The number of teaching hours per week, the number of learners in a class, and the amount of administrative work required of a teacher are all likely to count in terms of how much energy teachers can put into supporting each learner's learning process and reflecting on the experience. Another factor concerning teachers' working conditions that affects teacher autonomy is the degree of participation allowed for teachers in institutional decision making. Kelchtermans (1993), studying Flemish primary school teachers' lives, describes how teachers can be discouraged and lose commitment as a result of administrative decisions such as assignment to a class which is beyond their control.

The argument so far may suggest that teachers' reflective capacity needs an optimal environment for its development and so does teacher autonomy. Emancipatory action research may be effective to alleviate these constraints, but it also requires reflelective caoacity on the part of teachers. Here we have a chicken-and-egg problem. Although I would emphasize the institutional responsibility to provide an optimal environment, it is also true that some teachers and schools manage to find "the spaces and opportunities for manoeuver" (Lamb 2000, p.127) under external constraints while others do not. We need to find out what makes this difference before asserting that the development of teacher autonomy by reflective practice leads to the development of the capacity to support learner autonomy.

2-3-2-2. Responsibility

Teachers need to be free from restrictions and to be active agents in their workplace in order for their teacher autonomy to flourish. They are never entirely free to make their own choices, however, because their choices are necessarily constrained by learners' wishes and aspirations. In other words, it is the responsibility of pro-autonomy teachers to make choices not in the service of

their own wishes and aspirations, but in the service of those of their learners.[4] To accept this responsibility is to make a commitment to a certain kind of educational ideal. Indeed Lamb (2000) observes that critical reflection for learner autonomy, which he claims is needed to cope with underachievement and disaffection among urban youth in the UK, requires teachers of a high degree of commitment. We hardly know how this commitment develops. The fact that published action research samples do not show that teacher-researchers are necessarily concerned with learner autonomy indicates that engagement in action research does not guarantee its development. Vieira (2000, p.233) is aware of this problem and argues that "we should ask what it is that teachers should be reflecting about". As long as teachers already know that the idea of learner autonomy exists, and they are interested in it and willing to try it out, setting a frame for teachers' reflection may not pose any problems. Teachers, however, have their own agenda of development, and some may not be concerned so much about learner autonomy. In such cases setting the frame could be perceived as imposing a value, whatever good will it is based on. Teachers' own agendas must be respected if a teacher education programme advocates teacher autonomy as freedom. Starting from where each teacher is, how can the encouragement of reflective practice instill the kind of commitment required of teachers to support learner autonomy? To my knowledge no reports of teacher education practice have answered this question.

2-3-2-3. Capacity

In their attempt to support learner autonomy teachers need to make moment-by-moment decisions according to the needs and wishes of each learner. Teachers, therefore, need to be able to make choices and implement the consequences of their choices as they interact with learners. If the teachers' role in the development of learner autonomy is "providing scaffolding in the area(s) where learners have not developed necessary knowledge, skill(s) and/or affective disposition" (Aoki 2002b, p113), teachers need to have the kind of knowledge and attitude described in Chapter 1 as constituting learner autonomy. Teacher autonomy in this sense is unquestionably a must for the development of learner autonomy. However, this capacity alone is not enough. Teachers do not just bring their knowledge and attitude to their classroom. They bring their person to the classroom. Salmon (1995, p.33), discussing teaching from the perspective of Kelly's (1955) psychology of personal constructs, argues that "if knowledge is essentially a construction, a construction which ramifies into what is deeply personal, into the inarticulate as well as the explicit, then in teaching, every teacher is doing something unique." Based on their study of Flemish primary teachers' lives, Kelchtermans & Vandenberghe (1994, p.47) contend that "[t]he self not only influences the way

[4] As I stated in Chapter 1 the focus of the present thesis is on adult second language learning. The issue of teachers' responsibility to implement a school curriculum is beyond its scope.

people perceive concrete working conditions and requirements but also the way people act." In the sense that the self which each teacher holds is unique, teachers are inevitably autonomous in acting and interacting in their classroom. But this is not necessarily the kind of autonomy that enables teachers to support the autonomy of their learners. As was discussed in the first section of this chapter, researchers and teacher educators have offered lists of teacher characteristics (personal qualities and pedagogical actions) which are thought to constitute the capacity to support learner autonomy. These lists indicate that supporting learner autonomy requires of teachers not any kind of self but a particular kind. The lists seem to coincide, at least in part, with the description of humanistic teachers referred to in Rogers (1969, 1983) and Rogers & Freiberg (1994). Although Rogers himself uses the term autonomy only in passing (Rogers 1961, 1980, 1983), learner autonomy can be considered as the outcome, or one of the outcomes, of the person-centred approach. Rogers claims that realness, unconditional positive regard and empathic understanding are the conditions necessary for teachers to facilitate personal growth (Rogers 1980, pp.115-116). Rogers & Freiberg (1994) suggest counselling and interpersonal learning groups as two possible ways for teachers to acquire these characteristics. Making it a requirement in teacher education to attend counselling sessions or participate in an interpersonal learning group could, however, have undesirable effects. Wosket (1999, p.115), for example, expresses her concern about compulsory personal counselling in counsellor training: that "some trainees will 'go through the motion' and have their minimum number of hours of (costly) therapy at a time determined by their training, which may or may not be the time when they are most able, or inclined, to make best use of it". Can reflection be a substitute for counselling and interpersonal learning groups as a means of promoting teachers' personal development? Related to this question, the distinction between reflexive and reflective made by Cole & Knowles (2000) may be worth mentioning. They believe that "teaching is an expression of who teachers are as people, that it is imbued with the beliefs, values, perspectives, and experiences developed over the course of a teacher's lifetime" and explain the difference between reflective inquiry and reflexive inquiry as follows:

> "*Reflective inquiry* is an ongoing process of examining and refining practice, variously focused on the personal, pedagogical, curricular, intellectual, societal, and/or ethical contexts associated with professional work, perhaps but not necessarily from a critical perspective. Underpinning all such reflective inquiry is the idea that assumptions behind all practice are subject to questioning. *Reflexive inquiry*, on the other hand, is reflective inquiry situated within the context of personal histories in order to make connections between personal lives and professional careers, and to understand personal (including early) influences on professional practice." (ibid, p.2, italics in the original)

Reflective practice, if focused solely on a teacher's current practice situation, is not likely to be

conductive to the kind of personal development required for the development of the capacity to support learner autonomy. Neither is action research. It is not clear, however, what kind of personal development reflexive inquiry leads to. Would reflexive inquiry produce the personal qualities required to support learner autonomy? What other ways are available to facilitate teachers' personal development?

These questions need to be answered before we conclude that we know how pro-autonomy teachers can be educated.

2-4. A need for studies of teachers' lives

In the previous section I examined the assumption that reflective practice aimed at developing teacher autonomy will lead to the development of teachers' capacity to support learner autonomy in terms of three aspects of teacher autonomy; freedom, responsibility and capacity. The questions that emerged from the discussion were:

* Why do some teachers and schools manage to find "the spaces and opportunities for manoeuver" (Lamb 2000) under external constraints while others do not?
* Starting from where each teacher is, how can encouragement of reflective practice instill in all teachers the kind of commitment required to support learner autonomy?
* Can reflection be a substitute for counselling and interpersonal learning groups as a means of promoting teachers' personal development?

To answer these questions, we probably have to have a longer perspective than a single teacher education programme and look into teachers' lives. It has been known that teachers' teaching is influenced by their past experience of being a pupil or student at school (Lortie 1975). Their teaching style is also influenced by their family background (Raymond, Butt & Townsend 1992, Knowles 1992). Mastery of teaching develops over many years into a teaching career (Huberman 1992, 1993) and many teacher educators share Zeichner's (1994, p.11) awareness that "no matter what we do in our teacher education programmes, and no matter how well we do them, at best, we can only prepare teachers to begin teaching." Teachers develop their personal practical knowledge of teaching and learning through their practice and in their life experience (Connelly & Clandinin 1988). Teachers' attitude and commitment to the profession change over the course of their entire career (Huberman 1993, Kelchtermans 1993, Kelchtermans & Vandenberghe 1994). The changes may be triggered by critical incidents, but they may also result from long-term processes of socialization (Jackson 1968, quoted in Goodson 1991, Goodson, 1992b). The cause of these changes may be attributed to factors in their professional lives, but they may also be attributed to

their social context or to their personal lives (Goodson 1991, 1992a, Butt, Raymond, McCue & Yamagishi 1992). It is not very likely that answers to the questions I have raised can be found only by studying teacher education programmes. We need to know what sort of "baggage" (Knowles & Cole with Presswood 1994) each teacher brings with her into the teaching profession and how it has helped to shape her understanding of learner autonomy and her capacity to support it. We also need to know how teachers perceive the teacher education programmes they went through and how those experiences have influenced their view of learner autonomy. And we need to know what critical incidents both inside and outside the classroom have contributed to their professional and personal development related with learner autonomy. In Part 2 of this thesis I shall present six JSL teachers' stories of professional and personal development in relation to learner autonomy.

Chapter 3 Research methodology

In this part of the thesis I shall present stories of professional and personal development told by six JSL teachers. In this chapter I describe how the data was collected and transformed into stories and explain the rationale for the procedures I adapted. Each of the six following chapters (4-9) presents a different teacher's story.

3-1. Research paradigm

In Chapter 2 I referred to Schön's (1983) observation that the positivist epistemology of practice is unable to deal with the uncertainty, complexity, instability, uniqueness and value conflict which professionals face in their daily practice. Indeed, the diversity and complexity of human experiences resist reduction to numbers, categories or general laws. If educational research, of which the present thesis is one instance, is going to be of any use to educational practice, researchers need to find an alternative research paradigm. This thesis takes an approach called explanatory narrative research (Polkinghorne 1988) or narrative analysis (Polkinghorne 1995) with some modifications. Motivated in a similar way to Schön in that as a practising clinical psychologist and researcher he was concerned with the divide between research and practice and the social and human sciences' lack of accomplishments in providing useful answers to human problems, Polkinghorne (1988) proposes research based on the idea of narrative. He recognizes three realms of reality - matter, life and consciousness - and a complex interplay among them in human existence, and contends that "[t]he emergence of human beings from life in general to reflective consciousness and language is a threshold change that has brought about a unique level of reality that I will call 'the order of meaning'". (ibid, p.2) To study human experience is to study the order of meaning, and to that end, Polkinghorne claims, human science must find an alternative to positivist epistemology. He argues thus:

> "One of the difficulties in discussing research from a human science perspective is that many of the concepts related to epistemology have been given technical meanings by the logical positivist revisions of formal science. Concepts such as 'cause,' 'validity,' 'justification,' and 'explanation' were redefined as part of the effort to limit knowledge to whatever could pass the test of certainty. If investigative criteria are to be effective for research aimed at understanding aspects of the realm of meaning and its linguistic structures, the basic definitions of the concepts concerning the generation of knowledge must be reclaimed. One of the tasks of a more inclusive human science is to point out how the reclaimed concepts apply in a more open research model. Human science can no longer only seek mathematical and logical certainty. Instead, it should also aim at producing results that are

believable and verisimilar." (Ibid, p.161)

Narrative is a common means which human beings use to make sense of their experience. Bruner (1986) recognizes two modes of cognition, paradigmatic and narrative. The paradigmatic mode of knowing uses a formal mathematical system of description and explanation. It tries to categorize particulars and establish relationships among the categories in order to extract general propositions. The narrative mode operates in a completely different way. It bears with particulars and configures human actions and events into a believable story. Whereas a cause-effect relationship in the paradigmatic mode is derived by logical argument, the concept of cause in the narrative mode is based on a likely connection between two events. Polkinghorne (1988) contends as follows:

> "[Narrative] principally works to draw together human actions and the events that affect human beings... Narrative creates its meaning by noting the contribution that actions and events make to a particular outcome and then configures these parts into a whole system." (ibid, p.6)

Polkinghorne (ibid) recognizes two types of research with narrative, descriptive and explanatory. Descriptive narrative research examines already existing narratives to describe how people use them to interpret past events and to anticipate the consequences of possible future actions. Explanatory narrative research aims to "construct a narrative account explaining 'why' a situation or event involving human actions has happened." (ibid, p.161)

The purpose of my research was not to make any generalization about second language teacher development. Rather than draw a picture of an average teacher who does not exist anywhere in reality, I was interested in understanding individual teachers as they present themselves. Explanatory narrative research, or narrative analysis as Polkinghorne (1995) calls it in his later work, can be considered a suitable methodology for my research. Carter (1993, p.6), whom Polkinghorne (1995) quotes, writes as follows:

> "... story is a mode of knowing that captures in a special fashion the richness and the nuances of meaning in human affairs. ... This richness and nuance cannot be expressed in definitions, statements of facts, or abstract propositions. It can only be demonstrated or evoked through story."

Narrative analysis is retrospective. With a research question as to why something happened, a researcher gathers from various sources data which tell about events prior to the one in question.

The kind of data that are gathered are ones that "will reveal uniqueness of the individual case or bounded system and provide an understanding of its idiosyncrasy and particular complexity" (Polkinghorne 1995, p.15). Polkinghorne (1988) metaphorically equates the researcher's job of configuring past events into an "emplotted narrative" (Polkinghorne 1995, p.14) to a detective work dealing with different personal accounts and partial written records. A finished narrative analysis report takes the form of a story with chronologically ordered significant actions and events leading to the final event. Such reports are "retrodictive rather than predictive" (Polkinghorne 1988, p.171) because they do not develop any generalizable laws to predict that the same thing will happen whenever the same initial conditions are repeated but "locate the decision points at which a different action could have produced a different ending." (ibid, p.171) Polkinghorne (1995, p.11) argues that "[t]he cumulative effect of narrative reasoning is a collection of individual cases in which thought moves from case to case" and that "the understanding of the new action can draw upon previous understanding while being open to the specific and unique elements that make the new episode different from all that have gone before."

The criteria to evaluate narrative analysis are different from the ones used for traditional scientific research. Narrative analysis does not claim exact correspondence to actuality. Its conclusions are tested against scholarly consensus concerning verisimilitude rather than logical or mathematical validity. Reliability of narrative analysis refers to the dependability of the data. Narrative analysis procedures, Polkinghorne claims, "do not have formal proofs of reliability, relying instead on the details of their procedures to evoke an acceptance of the trustworthiness of the data" (ibid, p.177).

In the following sections I shall describe the procedures followed in the present research and explain the rationale for adopting them.

3-2. Why life story interviews?

The first modification I made to the process of narrative analysis as proposed by Polkinghorne (1988, 1995) is that the data used in this study were obtained by in-depth interviews with practising teachers about how they think they have developed their understanding of and a positive attitude towards learner autonomy. I did not collect information from any other sources. The reason why I chose not to do so is that, for the sake of research ethics, I wanted my research to be as non-intrusive as possible. As was pointed out in Chapter 2, teaching is deeply influenced by teachers' experience before they enter into teaching. Change in teachers has its possible cause both in and outside classrooms and it sometimes happens over a long period of time. I predicted that I would have to explore the teachers' personal lives as well as professional ones. Research of this kind calls for a high degree of sensitivity to the issue of research ethics. Measor & Sikes (1992, p.210) reflect

back on a research project on teachers' life histories which they were involved in and argue as follows:

> "We want to suggest that it is the intimacy which raises some of the sharpest ethical questions in this kind of research. Because the material is intimate, it means that the potential for harm is greater."

One way to address this issue is to introduce the idea of collaborative research as Measor & Sikes (ibid) suggest. The present research, however, is for my doctoral degree. A thesis cannot be co-authored. The research first and foremost benefits myself. I needed research participants and the teachers who kindly agreed to share their lives with me did so because I asked them to help me with my research. They may or may not have had a hidden desire to explore their own lives, but I never discussed it when I approached them. If the experience of being interviewed by me benefitted them in any way, I felt that it had to be considered as a by-product of my research rather than a justification of intruding into someone's life.

I am aware that this decision to base my research solely on interview data may invite criticisms from several different angles. In the remainder of this section I shall try to respond to three major possible criticisms. First, my research may be criticized as apolitical. Goodson (1992a, 1994, 1995) makes a distinction between life story and life history. He explains the difference between the two as follows:

> "The life story is a personal reconstruction of experience in this case by the teacher. 'Life story givers' provide data for the researcher often in loosely structured interviews. The researcher seeks to elicit the teacher's perceptions and stories but is generally rather passive rather than actively interrogative.
>
> The life history also begins with the life story that the teacher tells but seeks to build on the information provided. Hence other people's accounts might be elicited, documentary evidence and a range of historical data amassed. The concern is to develop a wide intertextual and intercontextual mode of analysis." (Goodson 1994, pp.35-36)

Goodson also emphasizes the collaborative nature of life history:

> "The life history is a collaborative venture, reviewing a wider range of evidence. The life story teller and another (or others) collaborate in developing this wider account by interviews and discussions and by scrutiny of texts and contexts." (Goodson 1992a, p.6)

Goodson's claim that it is necessary to study life history, rather than life story, is very much political in the sense that he tries to locate individuals' life stories within their social and historical context. He criticizes life story as follows:

> "... one of the side effects of life story work ... is to de-politicize our inquiry. By locating our study at the individual level, thereby cutting us off from the wider social forces and more collective milieux, it does indeed 'valorize the subjectivity of the powerless individual'." (Goodson 1992a, p.9)

Although I personally do not deny the need to be aware of social and historical contexts, some teachers may prefer not to be considered as political for some reason or other. Indeed, one of the teachers whom I interviewed deleted her references to political events in her story when I showed it to her for her verification. Going political can be justified only when a teacher and a researcher have an agreement to do so, and I chose to study life stories rather than excluding from my research those teachers who would not like to be considered political. Readers are referred back to my story in the introduction for a description of wider social contexts surrounding JSL teachers in Japan for the past twenty some years.

Second, some may question the accuracy of those teachers' accounts. Floden & Huberman (1989) review research literature on teachers' professional lives up until the late 1980s and express the following concern:

> "The self report must, however, be interpreted with caution. When people recall past events, they amend and elaborate their feelings and perceptions from that time, so that the story they tell fits better into their recollections of other events, past and present. ... Though these elaborations may be positively viewed as part of the general human capacity for making sense, they pose difficulties for investigators who hope to use personal accounts as evidence of change. ... Reports of past mental processes, and especially reports of how and why one has changed attitudes and beliefs, are often inaccurate even a few minutes after the fact. Unless events and descriptions from these accounts can be independently checked, they are of doubtful value as evidence of the historical record. Investigators need to deal with this limitation, either by checking results against cross-sectional differences ... or by checking them against written records made at the time...." (ibid, pp.459-460)

This claim, however, seems to assume that there is one and only one truth out there and that the researcher's job is to find it. The epistemology of narrative analysis is not based on such an assumption. A truth is in our mind and in the stories we tell. Because we differ in how we perceive,

recollect, and tell about our experience, truth for me may not be truth for you. Everything is constructed -- even "written records made at the time." The researcher's job is to reconstruct, through her own subjectivity, a possible story of past events. She may have a better chance to achieve a higher degree of verisimilitude with multiple sources of information, but she will never claim that she has found the truth.

Another assumption Floden & Huberman (ibid) seem to hold is that there are some common patterns in teachers' career trajectory. Indeed Huberman's (1993) seminal work on teachers' professional lives, based on interviews with 160 Francophone Swiss secondary school teachers with varying degrees of teaching experience, tries to strike a balance between generalization and individual uniqueness. He claims that he is "at a median level of generalization, somewhere between a shapeless mass of unique cases and a large, questionable aggregation" (ibid, p.20) and that a realistic objective of research of this kind is to identify sub-groups of teachers who follow a similar path. Huberman's thinking is very much paradigmatic. Although paradigmatic cognition is by no means worthless as theorists of narrative cognition have acknowledged (Bruner 1986, Polkinghorne 1988), narrative cognition operates in a different way. Individual cases are not a "shapeless mass." An in-depth study of a small number of people leads to a kind of understanding of these people on the part of researchers which a large-scale research can probably never achieve. Accumulation of such understanding is as informative as any paradigmatic research findings.

The process of the interviews in my research was in a sense joint detective work on the part of each teacher and myself. The teachers sometimes reinterpreted their experience or remembered more episodes as they reflected on their experience. We explored possibilities as far as we felt comfortable doing so. I would claim that recognizing the agency of research participants is one way to enrich interview data.

Third, some may argue that I should have visited the teachers' classrooms. Kelchtermans (1994), for example, reports that in his research on teachers' professional development he visited the schools where the participating teachers work and spent some time in those teachers' classrooms. The observation provided him, Kelchtermans (ibid) claims, with "an image of the reality the teacher talked about" (ibid, p.95). Data of this kind would definitely add multiple perspectives to the study of teachers and teacher development, but the presence of an observer, particularly a researcher of one kind or another, often makes teachers feel uncomfortable. Goodson (1991) argues against focusing predominantly on teachers' practice on the ground that it is "the maximum point of vulnerability for teachers" (ibid, p.141). If the research focus is not predominantly on teachers' practice, many teachers seem to feel they have to defend their practice when observed. I should

think that observing teachers' actual teaching practice is ethically acceptable only when the research is of a collaborative nature and teachers themselves feel the need to be observed for their own reasons. Otherwise including classroom observation in a research process runs the risk of aggravating the power imbalance between researchers and teachers.

In this section I have explained how I tried to address ethical issues of research in teachers' lives by limiting data to interviews with teachers. I also took some other measures during the course of the research to prevent any possible damage this research could cause to participating teachers. I shall refer to them as I describe the research procedures in the rest of the chapter.

3-3. How the teachers were selected

The participants in this study are six teachers of Japanese as a second language (JSL) whom I had personally known before. All of them had shown a positive attitude towards learner autonomy through their teaching practice, research, and/or volunteer work. I selected from among those teachers who I knew fell into the category the ones who represented the widest possible variety of background and work context. In other words the selection of participants was not random. The validity of this selection can be claimed in three ways.

Kvale (1996) lists three types of validity to be considered in interview research. One type of validity concerns interviewers' interview skills and their personality, which Kvale (ibid) calls craftsmanship. The second type is communicative validity, which has to do with who is included in the communication and how consensus is reached concerning knowledge claims. The third type is pragmatic validity, which refers to the effectiveness of knowledge in instigating change. The selection of teachers in the present research concerns the latter two kinds of validity.

The purpose of the present study is to gain insight into how teachers develop their understanding of and a positive attitude towards learner autonomy with a view to changing the current situation in which not too many teachers seem to believe in the value of learner autonomy. In that sense the purpose of my research can be said to be instigating change. Kvale (1996, p.235) considers studying ideal and exceptional cases, which he calls *what could be*, as having the potential to "open new and desirable alternatives for thought and action". The participants in the present study can be considered as *what could be*. Choosing them as research participants can be thought to increase the pragmatic validity of the study.

The second validity has to do with the relationship between the researcher and the participants. I had been a friend and/or a colleague (not in the sense of working for the same institution) of the

interviewed teachers before I asked them to be my research participants. I chose them, rather than teachers who did not know me personally, because I predicted that the interviews would have to deal with highly personal topics and I considered mutual trust to be the crucial factor in making the interviews as non-intrusive as possible in the eyes of the teachers. In other words, the relationship was thought to contribute to the achievement of communicative validity of the study.

Kvale (1996) includes an ability to establish an optimal relationship with an interviewee in interviewer craftsmanship. Now that I have finished collecting data I do not believe any more that mutual trust is difficult to develop between an interviewer and an interviewee who have not met each other outside a research context. This, however, leads to another problem of research ethics. Measor & Sykes (1992) reflect back on their relationship with teachers in their research into teachers' lives and recognize a contradiction in their research practice. They describe the contradiction as follows:

> "We have emphasized the stress we placed on the quality of the research relationships, but we need to acknowledge that the relationship was, after all, one primarily developed for the purposes of collecting data. None of the researchers maintained any of the relationships after the period of data collection was over. We, as researchers, were primarily in those relationships for research purposes, not for more general purposes of friendship." (ibid, p.214)

Measor & Sykes (ibid) also speculate that the participating teachers may have perceived their encounter with the researchers as belonging to the category of business and summarize the confusing contradiction in the research relationship as follows:

> "We, as researchers, were interested in data about lives that were intimate, and yet we met the teachers in a 'business' context. We crossed some important boundaries, and mixed signals in a way that contains ambiguities." (ibid, p.215)

I do not have a definite answer to resolve this issue. It is not very likely that a researcher spends all her career researching her friends and acquaintances. I myself have experienced the kind of confusion which Measor & Sykes (ibid) describe with research participants in my other research projects. As far as the present research is concerned, however, I was able to avoid this problem by limiting interviewees to teachers I had known personally before they participated in my research. The interview experience has transformed my relationship with them in one way or another. As our relationship did not terminate at the end of the research process, both the interviewed teachers and myself are living with the consequences of this transformation, and we will, perhaps, for the rest

of our lives.

The third validity of the selection of the research participants also concerns communicative validity. Japanese-speaking JSL teachers do not constitute a homogeneous group. Some work in Japan, others overseas. Their degree of qualification varies, as does their academic background. Some work for a university, others for a language training institution. Yet others work as volunteers. It was thought to be important to include voices of the widest possible variety of teachers to achieve the highest possible communicative validity.

The gender imbalance among the teachers interviewed (five female and one male) may need a justification. According to a report issued by Agency of Culture in 1998, 76.6 % of JSL teachers working in Japan are women.[1] I kept the imbalance in the selection of teachers.

3-4. How the interviews were planned

When I asked the teachers to participate in my research, I told them that I was writing a PhD thesis in English and that my research topic was how teachers develop an understanding of and positive attitude towards learner autonomy. In a way I positioned them as having such an attitude by disclosing my research topic. Van Langenhove & Harré (1999), in discussing positioning in writing science, argue as follows:

> " ... the external validity involves much more than just the relation between answers on a questionnaire and 'real-life behavior'. In order to assess the relation between scientific positioning and how people position themselves in other situations, not only the speech-acts (be it test items) but also the positions and storylines have to be taken into account. ... scientific positioning should always start by analyzing the 'first order' positionings that occurred before the scientist started to converse with people about a given topic. Rather than asking questions like 'what do you think about X?', questions should be asked that enquire if and on which occasions people think about X, and what they think of the scientist's interest in their thinking about X." (van Langenhove & Harré 1999, p.114)

I probably should have made my research topic vaguer in approaching teachers and my interviews should have started with a question, "Do you ever think about learner autonomy in your teaching?" I felt, however, that honesty required me to share with them the purpose of my research and the

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[1] The profession has obviously been gendered. Exploring how the gendering works is an interesting topic, but it is one that lies outside the scope of this thesis.

reason why I wanted them to participate. I also told the teachers in advance that I wanted them to tell their life story covering aspects of their life in general as well as their teaching career and that I would be interviewing them twice. No teacher I approached turned down my request.

At the beginning of the first interview I asked the teachers to tell me about anything that they thought was related to their present view of learner autonomy, going back to their childhood if necessary. Some teachers had prepared notes prior to the interview. Others talked as they thought. Some wanted me to ask questions to facilitate their talk. So the way the interviews were carried out was not completely identical across the six teachers. I interviewed the teachers in the way they wanted because I thought that it was more humane first of all and that it was impossible to eliminate individual differences completely any way. In any case the first interviews were exploratory in nature.

The interviews were audio-recorded with the permission of the interviewees, and each recording was transcribed, edited and checked by the interviewee, where possible, before the second interview. Transcribing and editing is a process of interpretation as I shall discuss later, and I assumed that it would help to prepare questions for the second interviews.

The second interviews were more structured than the first and mainly focused on three areas; clarification of parts of the first interview which I was not able to interpret, any holes that I found in their narrative that I felt needed to be filled in order to complete their story, and the topics or concepts that other teachers brought up and were not referred to in the teacher's first interview.[2] I also asked about what they think learner autonomy is and why they think it is important in education if the answers to these questions were not evident in what they said. The structure, however, was a relatively loose one which would allow both the interviewee and myself to explore the topics I introduced.

With some teachers additional questions were asked at a later date face-to-face, over the phone, or in writing.

I chose this loosely structured format for two reasons. One is based on Mishler's (1986b, pp.233-234) observation as follows:

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[2] I also asked if the interviewees had remembered or noticed anything after the first interview, but this question yielded very little information. Kelchtermans (1994) predicted this problem and prepared a form for teachers to write down any additional relevant information after each interview. He reports that the forms were rarely used by the respondents.

> "Essentially, the mainstream tradition has focused almost exclusively on problems of standardization, that is, on how to ask all respondents the same question and how to analyze their responses with standardized coding systems. This line of inquiry has been accompanied by almost total neglect of the intertwined problems of language, meaning, and context - problems that are critical to understanding how interviews work."

Mishler regards interviews as a "discourse between speakers" (ibid, p.234) and claims that stories or narratives in respondents' answers should be given proper recognition. He contends thus:

> "... stories are a recurrent and prominent feature of respondents' accounts in all types of interviews. Although they are more likely in relatively unstructured interviews, they also appear in response to moderately structured questions .... The form and content of a particular question appears to be less important in whether or not a story will be elicited than the general stance of an interviewer as an attentive listener and how interviewer responds to response."

To be attentive and responsive to stories an interviewee tells, an interviewer needs to be free from a predetermined interview structure.

The other reason to keep the interview only loosely structured was that unstructured interviews leave space for interviewees to make choices concerning what to disclose and to explore the areas which they feel are worth the effort. This was expected to remedy the power imbalance between the researcher and the interviewee to some extent.

In conversations under normal circumstances it is not natural that only one party asks questions. We actually employ a range of devices to avoid such an uncomfortable development in a conversation. During the course of the interviews I did quite a lot of things that I would do in everyday conversation. I sometimes finished an interviewee's sentence to make a collaborative turn. I offered information about myself for the sake of reciprocation. I also told of my experience as a lead-in to a question. I made comments on what the interviewees said to show empathy or solidarity for them. Some interviewees asked for my opinion on the topic they brought up. I did not refuse to give one[3]. So my role was not at all passive as Goodson (1992) claims interviewers of life story research are. I was aware what I was doing and felt that it made talking easier for both the interviewees and

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[3] Kelchtermans (1994) also reports that his interviewees often asked about the background information about his research, his personal background and opinions. Reciprocity in self-disclosure has been known to facilitate biographical data collection and some have also regarded it as an ethical safeguard. (Measor & Sykes 1992)

myself. Holstein & Gubrium (1995) claim that interviewing is an active meaning-making process on the part of both interviewer and respondent and that "[t]his image of the interviewer as disinterested catalyst seems at odds with interviewing practice" (ibid, p.38). Quoting previous research findings, they point out that many research interviewers do not stay with the prescribed neutral role, and stress the importance of considering the subject behind the interviewer as well as the one behind the respondent rather than seeing the interviewer's active involvement as contaminating the data. I included my life story in the introduction so that readers could see who the interviewer is.

3-5. My field notes

After each interview I made some field notes about the interview situation, what the interviewee said when the tape recorder was not working, my impressions about the interviewee's feelings and emotions, and my feelings concerning the situation and the interviewee. Kvale (1996, p.129) notes as follows:

> "The lived interview situation, with the interviewee's voice and facial and bodily expressions accompanying the statements, provides a richer access to the subjects' meanings than the transcribed texts will later. It may be worthwhile for the interviewer to set aside 10 minutes of quiet time after each interview to recall and reflect on what has been learned from the particular interview, including the interpersonal interaction. These immediate impressions, based on the interviewer's empathic access to the meanings communicated, may -- in the form of notes or simply recorded onto the interview tape -- provide a valuable context for the later analysis of transcripts."

Part of the field notes is included in the introductory section to each story which is meant to serve as "the story of [the] research" (van Langenhove and Harré 1999, p.114).

3-6. Transcription and editing

The interviews were audio-recorded and each was transcribed verbatim by a paid transcriber. The instructions I gave to the transcriber were:

*Write everything that was uttered by the interviewer and the interviewee as it was said.
*Use kanji, hiragana, and katakana (three types of characters in Japanese) as we would normally use them.
*Punctuation is not necessary.

*Change lines only when the speaker changes.
*No need to record back channel behaviors.
*No need to code any paralinguistic features, pauses, and overlaps of speaker turns.
*Put "XXX" in the place of any unintelligible utterances.

The rationale behind these instructions was mainly practical. Preparing a transcription is not simple clerical work (Moerman 1996, p.149). We do not make every utterance with a well-adjusted intensity and careful articulation. We do not organize communication so that our utterances never overlap with our interlocutor's. A transcriber often needs to use her background knowledge, knowledge of the context, and intuition to hear what is said in an almost indiscernible soft voice, and/or simultaneously with a more prominent voice. Spoken language is not nicely organized into well-formed sentences, either. Even putting a period in a string of words could require interpretation. Coding paralinguistic features demands not only time but also expert knowledge of paralinguistics. In short, preparation of detailed transcripts takes a dedicated researcher. I did not, however, have a co-researcher or the time to transcribe all interview tapes myself. Having paid transcribers to prepare rough preliminary transcriptions seemed to be a reasonable solution. It seemed to be a realistic task for transcribers, and it was hoped to reduce the number of hours I would have to spend in the preparation of final transcriptions.

Theorists of interview research (Mishler 1986a, Kvale 1996) agree that there is no universally right form of transcription. It involves a range of decisions, both theoretical and practical, to come up with a form of transcription which is suitable for each research project (cf. Kvale 1996, pp.163-173 for a discussion concerning issues in the production of interview transcripts). I decided to have two versions of each interview transcript, verbatim and edited. I checked the transcriptions made by paid transcribers against the audio tapes to make an accurate verbatim version with a code indicating significant pauses and laughter. I did not try to make my transcriptions in any more detailed fashion, because 1) transcription can never perfectly reproduce what happened, 2) therefore I would have to go back to the audio tapes as I analyzed my data, 3) analysis of language and interaction is not the main theme of my thesis, and 4) an accurate verbatim transcription with coding of significant pauses and laughter seemed a good trade-off between the amount of information the transcripts contain and the time their production requires. After the checking was completed the turns were numbered to facilitate identification at later stages of analysis. "Naoko 2-1", for example, represents Naoko's first turn in the second interview.

The edited version was made for presentation in the thesis. My rationale was that a verbatim version would be too cumbersome when reading for the content of a story. Kvale (1996, p.267) states as follows:

"Verbal transcriptions of oral speech, with its repetitions, digressions, pauses, 'hms' and the like, are difficult to grasp when presented in a written form. Interview excerpts in a vernacular form, in particular in local dialects, provide rough reading. To facilitate comprehension, the subject's spontaneous oral speech should in the final report be rendered into a readable, written textual form. The exception is when the linguistic form itself is important to the study, for example, for sociolinguistic interpretation."

The principles I followed in editing were:

*Fillers, false starts, errors later corrected, and repetitions were deleted.
*Errors which were not corrected at the time of the interviews were corrected.
*Words and phrases were reordered to conform to the word order of written language.
*Dropped particles were inserted.
*Reduced forms were replaced with their equivalent dictionary entry.
*Colloquial expressions were replaced with less informal forms.
*Punctuation was added.
*Long utterances were divided into shorter sentences.
*Some information that was not verbalized was added.
*Some empty linguistic tokens (e.g. an equivalent of English "blah blah blah") were replaced with a word or words which describe the content of these empty tokens.
*Actual names of people and institutions were deleted.
*Information which the interviewees felt should not be made public was deleted.

Editing is, however, an interpretative process. Therefore I had the edited versions verified by the interviewees in order to establish intersubjectivity between the interviewer and the interviewees. Audio-recordings of the interviews were provided for checking on request by the interviewees. I kept it an option to check the transcripts against audio-recording because it is a highly time-consuming task and I did not think it fair to require everyone to do it. I also asked the interviewees whether there were any parts of the transcripts that they preferred not to be made public so that I could exclude them from quotations. The edited versions were corrected according to the interviewees' comments.

3-7. Finding concepts

The other major modification I made to the narrative analysis procedure is the partial use of analytical techniques in the grounded theory approach. For the reason I discussed in the second section of

this chapter I chose to carry out this research only by interviewing teachers. The data elicited in this way has a limitation -- there is no way of knowing what the teachers did not tell me and why they did not. For example, a couple of teachers talked about parental support in their childhood as having contributed to the development of their attitude towards learner autonomy. The other teachers did not mention their parents in their first interview. The data, as they stand, do not tell me whether it was because they did not think the parental support they had was a contributing factor, because they did not have it at all, or because of something else. To compensate for this weakness, I used the idea of "concepts" in the grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss 1967, Strauss & Corbin 1990) in the process of analyzing the interview data which began at the time of the interviews. The grounded theory approach is "a qualitative research method that uses a systematic set of procedures to develop an inductively derived grounded theory about a phenomenon" (Strauss & Corbin 1990, p.24) and its proponents claim that "[a] well-constructed grounded theory will meet four central criteria for judging the applicability of theory to a phenomenon: fit, understanding, generality, and control" (ibid, p.23). The grounded theory approach primarily tries to generate paradigmatic knowledge in that it examines "the data to identify particulars as instances of general notions or concepts" (Polkinghorne 1995, p.13) and the kind of knowledge generated "is abstract and formal, and by necessity underplays the unique and particular aspects of each story" (ibid, p.15). Narrative analysis and the grounded theory approach belong to opposite sides of the dichotomy of narrative and paradigmatic cognition. I found, however, the very first stage of analysis in the grounded theory approach, open coding, to be helpful to generate questions that would stimulate the interviewees' thinking on the topics they had not explored. Open coding is a process of "breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data" (Strauss & Corbin 1990, p.61). This analytic process does not proceed in a linear fashion, however. Polkinghorne (1995, p.13) summarizes the process as follows:

> "Inductive analysis includes the recursive movement from noted similar instances in the data to researcher-proposed categorical and conceptual definitions. Through these recursions, the proposed definitions are altered until they reach a 'best fit' ordering of the data as a collection of particular instances of the derived categories."

My procedure was as follows. While I reflected on each interview session, checked and edited the transcription, and read and reread it, I spotted seemingly important topic units or concepts. Then I named them and looked for other topic units which could be grouped together in a category in other parts of the same teacher's story and in the other teachers' stories. The more teachers I interviewed, the more concepts I found. The categories were also reorganized or newly created. Then I went back to the data from the teachers previously interviewed and checked whether the new concepts and categories were there too. Where I did not find any reference to some

categories in a teacher's talk, I asked about them in the second interview or at a later date. What I was after in doing so was not commonalities among teachers but differences in their responses and in the degree of perceived significance to their professional development. I did not push teachers if they preferred not to talk about any of the categories.

The final set of categories I developed is as follows:

- Social support
  - parents
  - teachers
  - colleagues
  - counsellors
- Education
  - schools attended
  - JSL teacher preparation
  - teachers
  - feeder discipline(s)
- Experience with the foreign
  - foreign countries
  - foreigners
  - foreign language learning
- Work
  - reason(s) for going into the profession
  - colleagues
  - learners
  - teacher autonomy as freedom
  - why are you in the profession?
- Parenting
- Social awareness
- Major decisions in life

3-8. Writing of the stories

I divided the interviews into segments according to the topics which they dealt with. Then those segments that I found to represent the concepts which seemed to me to be relevant to the development of each teacher's current understanding of and attitude towards learner autonomy were chosen for quotation. Where I found more than one segment related to a concept, I tried to

include in the story one or more segments that seemed most significant for the participant. The selection, however, was often a trade-off between the seeming significance for the participant and my concern to keep the story within a readable length. The quotations are often only part of a turn. This is because 1) the omitted part contains information which the research participant wished to keep private or which I thought might reveal their identity, 2) the turn had more than one topic, and/or 3) only the core part of a segment was quoted in order not to make the story too long.

I then reordered the selected segments chronologically to make them a story and wrote in a short paragraph or two between segments to give the story coherence. Chronological reordering was necessary because most parts of the six sets of interviews were thematically structured.[4] English translations of the quotations were prepared at this stage and checked by an English native speaker with a working knowledge of Japanese. Each finished story was checked by the interviewee[5] on the following points:

*Factual errors
*Validity of my interpretation
*The image of the person that the story would evoke in the mind of readers
*Selection of quotations
*Other comments

The stories were revised according to the interviewees' feedback. The reader is reminded, however, that these are not the final or the only authoritative version of their stories. Teachers' understanding of learner autonomy seems to be always in flux. One teacher actually noted that she changed her thinking when she checked her story. Interviewed in some years' time, these teachers may tell different episodes from those told for the present research. The storyline I draw may differ accordingly. Also, the teachers may tell different stories if interviewed by someone else. Harré & van Langenhove (1996) point out that stories are told in accordance with the audience's demand. The stories I present in this thesis are collaboratively constructed by each teacher and myself at a certain point of our respective lives. They are in a way snapshots of the teachers' thinking about their own professional and personal development under the stimulus of the interview task.

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[4] Polkinghorne (1988) emphasizes that narratives organize events in many different ways whereas chronologies follow chronological orders. The thematic structure of my interviewees' talk is considered as natural.

[5] For those teachers who were not used to reading English, a Japanese translation of the paragraphs I wrote was provided.

Chapter 4 Mia

4-1. How I met Mia and how our interviews evolved

The first participant I interviewed was Mia. At the time of the interviews she taught JSL methodology at a junior college. I met her at a teachers' study group meeting almost twenty years ago when both of us were novice teachers. Although we have never worked for the same institution, our careers have often intersected in research and teacher education projects, and activities for academic organizations. Somehow or other our pedagogical and research interests have developed in a similar direction over the years.

I chose Mia as my first interviewee because 1) I sensed autonomy was more or less personally relevant to her, and 2) I knew she would let me explore my interview techniques. Mia had known that I was doing a PhD, and when I told her about my intention, she said something like "OK, I'll be your guinea pig." As a researcher, she had worked with quite a number of research participants, and she probably thought she should help a researcher who needed a participant. She said that she had bothered quite a lot of people so she could be bothered herself. (Repaying kindness is an important theme in her story, as I shall describe later.)

Mia wanted to know what I was planning to ask her. My first interview, however, was to be an exploratory one, and I only had three preliminary questions to start the interview with: What is learner autonomy for you?; Why do you think it is important in education?; How have you developed your understanding of and attitude towards autonomy? These questions had been mentioned when I explained what my research was together with the information that what I was driving at is a life story research and I would like to hear childhood and out-of-work experiences as well. Although I did not give any instructions as to what to do with the questions, Mia actually made notes of events she thought significant in explaining her beliefs and attitudes.

I visited Mia's house twice for the interviews. The first one took two hours and the second one two hours and twenty minutes. Both Mia and I were nervous before the first interview. I was feeling uncomfortable with the change in our roles, i.e. from friends to interviewer and interviewee. Mia looked nervous, but I was so taken up with my own feelings that I was not able to try to relax her nor ask her why she was feeling nervous. In retrospect my nervousness must have affected the way I conducted the interview. Our agendas often clashed. Mia told me afterwards that my probing questions made her feel the same sort of nervousness as she would at a job interview or a viva. I tried to let Mia take the initiative as much as possible in the second interview, and waited to ask probing questions to see if her talk itself clarified my uncertainty. She noticed this change in my

style, and named it "accepting listening".

4-2. Mia's story

Mia was born in 1952. The earliest episode she told was the story she heard from her parents.

みあ1-26：＜前略＞自分のはあんまり思い出せない。家の親がよくいうのは、幼児の頃、例えば、絵本でキリンかなんかみるでしょ？そうすると、キリンの実物を見ないと納得しない餓鬼だったんだって。
直子1-27：嫌な子だね。
みあ1-27：嫌な子だよね。でも家の親は、そういう時なるべくそういう機会を作るようにしてくれてたような気がする。全部が全部できるわけじゃないけど、キリンくらいだったら宝塚の動物園に行けばいるからね。これは偉いと思う。じゃそれが、どうつながるのかっていうとはっきりしないんだけど、ただ、自分がやりたいことがあったら、周りからそれに対する支援がある環境で育てられたんだと思う。

Mia 1-26: <The first part of the turn omitted> I don't remember about myself. My parents often say I was the kind of kid who would not be satisfied with seeing a giraffe in a book and would want to see the real thing.
Naoko 1-27: You were a bit of a nuisance.
Mia 1-27: Yes, I was a bit of a nuisance, wasn't I? But I think my parents tried to provide such opportunities. It wasn't always possible, but you can always see giraffes at a zoo. I think my parents were great in that respect. I don't know how it relates to my attitude towards autonomy, but I was brought up in an environment where if there was something I wanted to do, I had support in doing it.

Mia seems to have had parental social support throughout her childhood. Her parents sent her to a private girls' junior high school, but she did not like the school. Asked about teachers she had had, Mia described those at this school as follows:

みあ2-55：＜前略＞嫌な方はね、家庭科の先生はあんまり好きじゃなかった
直子2-56：う？
みあ2-56：家庭科の先生が苦手だったな、わたしは。
直子2-57：代々？
みあ2-57：中学校。高校はまあまあ。中学の時、女子校に行ってて、いちおう良妻賢母教育みたいなところだったらしいから、家庭科とか書道とか、そこらへんが基本だったな。家庭科とか書道の先生って、そこの学校の卒業生だったりして、すっかり洗脳されてて、価値観を押しつけられるっていう感じがしたのね。創立者の方針とか、いい奥さんになっていい母親になることが大切みたいなことを、言葉で言われると、あんたにそんなことを言われる筋合いはないみたいな気が、やっぱり・・・するから、価値観を押しつけられるのは嫌だった。

Mia 2-55: <The first part of the turn omitted> Teachers I hated. I didn't like home economics

teachers very much.

Naoko 2-56: What?

Mia 56: Home economics teachers were not my favourite.

Naoko 2-57: None of them?

Mia 2-57: Junior high. Senior high wasn't that bad. I went to a girl's junior high school which seemed to aim to educate "good wife, wise mother." Home economics, calligraphy and such were basics there. Many teachers of home economics and calligraphy were graduates of the school, entirely brainwashed. I felt their values were imposed on me. We were told about the founder's policy and that it was important to become a good wife and then a good mother. I felt it was none of their business. I didn't want their values imposed on me.

Mia decided to go to a public senior high school. As the junior high school was part of a group of schools which included senior high school and university, it was, to borrow Mia's words, "quite unusual" for a pupil to go on to a public senior high school. Although Mia does not describe this experience in any detail, it must have involved quite a lot of difficult negotiations with the teachers. It would not have been possible without strong support from her parents. Mia reflects on this incident and some other decisions she made earlier in her life.

みあ1-34：＜前略＞進路を途中で変えてしまうっていうことが割と平気で、あ、そうだ、それは割とあったのかもしれない。例えば、私立の中学に入って、中高一貫で、その上まである学校だったけど、どうしても馴染めないっていうか、ここにいてもしょうがないという感じがしたから、かなり異例だったけど、中学で辞めて、都立高校受けたのね。高校も途中で１年アメリカに行って、大学に入ってから、実は１回編入してるの。初め社会学やって、それはそれですごく、面白かったんだけど、ちょっと人数の多いところだったし、ほんとにこれが自分のやりたいことなのかなあっていう気がして、＜大学名＞に３年次で編入したの。そういうふうに、やってみて（笑）なにか疑問を持ったら進路を変えることにあんまり抵抗がなくて、そういうのを割とやってきてる。うちの親は苦労したけども、そこで変えてったのは、後から見ると自分では成功してると思うし、やってよかったと思ってる。そこら辺の決定は、例えばプラスマイナス天秤に掛けて、どっちの方がいいんだろうとか自分で決めて、親を説得したりして、決めてきてたんだと思う。

Mia 1-34: <The first part of the turn omitted> Changing my course of life hasn't been a big deal for me. Ah, yes, that might have been a major thing. For example I went to a private junior high school which automatically led to a senior high and a university, but I wasn't able to adapt myself to it. I felt being there did not lead anywhere. So, although it was quite unusual, I left and took a public high school entrance exam. Then I went to the States for one year during my senior high years. I first studied sociology at university, which was quite interesting in a way, but the programme was huge and I wasn't sure if that was what I wanted to do. So I transferred to <NAME OF UNIVERSITY>. I don't feel uncomfortable about changing my course of life when I have any doubts about what I'm doing. I've been like that. It must have been hard for my parents, but in retrospect I think those changes were successful. I'm happy

I made these decisions. I made these decisions by weighing the pluses and minuses each time, deciding which option was better, and then persuading my parents.

In the late 1960's, when Mia was in senior high school, Japanese universities were in turmoil because of students' political movements as were most universities in Western industrialized countries during this period. This inevitably affected many senior high schools. Mia puts it as follows:

直子2-59：他には当時ばり雑言をはいてた人はいないの？
みあ2-59：罵詈雑言、うーん、そこらへんかしら。中学の時に政経教えてた教師があまり好きじゃなかったなあ。中学の時の印象って悪かったね。高校になると、６０年代後半で、机ひっくり返ったりなんかする時代だったからね。権威とかそういうものも、机一つひっくり返すと、価値観ってみんなひっくり返るのねみたいな時代だったけど、中学校の時はまだ向こうが力をもってて、こっちは無力な生徒で、やっぱり力のバランスがすごく悪かったと思う。だから、中学の時の方が嫌な思いをしたと思うけど、高校になったら、嫌な奴だけど、向こうもそんなに力はもってないんだというふうなことが見えてきちゃって、無視してればいいやっていう反応になってきたのね。悪口を言ったりするのは、まだ向こうに権威みたいなのをちょっとは感じてたからかもしれない。

Naoko 2-59: Did you make any harsh criticisms of any other teachers in those days?
Mia 2-59: Harsh criticisms, well, I suppose that was about all. I didn't like the social studies teacher very much at junior high. I have bad impressions of the junior high days. Senior high was different. It was the late 60's. Those were the days when students would overturn desks. We learned authority and values could be overturned like desks. In junior high days, the power imbalance was very bad, in the sense that teachers still had power and we were helpless pupils. I think that was why it was so depressing for me. At senior high, I came to see that teachers didn't have so much power either. I didn't like them, but my reaction was ignoring them. I might have criticized junior high teachers because I felt they had authority to some extent.

Mia referred to three language learning episodes from this period. One is about her frustration with a miscommunication with an English speaking teacher. She describes this as follows:

みあ1-83：<ターン前半省略>中学校の英語の時間に、限られた時間だけ、ネイティブスピーカーの先生がきたりするじゃない？あの時になんか、オレンジと林檎とどっちが好きかみたいな質問を先生がしてまわってて、私どっちも好きだから、すごく困ってしまって。でも両方好きだっていう言い方を知らないから言えなくて、それで、だまってたら、フォリナートークだか、ティーチャートークだかになって、一生懸命質問ゆっくりゆっくり、区切って繰り返してくれる。そこわかってるんだけど、私はどう答えていいのか分かんないんだって言えなかったときの口惜しさが、何年経っても消えなくて、それに近いことを自分はやってませんかっていうのが、自分のチェックポイントの中に必ずいつも入ってる。あれって今考えれば、単なるドリルなんだから、どっちか選んじゃえばよかったんだけど、そういう練習なんだとは思えない年頃だったし、現実の会話だったら、やっぱり私は両方好

きだって言いたいし、言いたいことが言えるようになるためにやってるんだと思うから、そこで取りあえずの答なんかしたくない。もしかしたら自分が教えてる人もそうなんじゃないだろうか。私はいくつになっても繰り返し繰り返し思い出すから、大人になってても、あの時の私と同じように考える人はいるかもしれない。＜後略＞

Mia 1-83: <The first part of the turn omitted.> We had a native speaker teacher for some English lessons at junior high. This teacher was asking around whether we liked oranges or apples. This put me in a fix. I like them both, but didn't know how to say it. So I stayed silent. Then the teacher switched to foreigner talk, teacher talk, or what have you and tried hard to repeat her question slowly in small segments. I felt vexed I wasn't able to say I understand your question but I don't know how to answer. This feeling stayed for years, and when I'm teaching, I always check to make sure that I'm not doing the sort of thing that teacher did. In retrospect it was just a drill and I could just have chosen one of the two alternatives. But I was young and could not think it was just an exercise made that way. In an actual conversation I'd want to say I like them both. And I learn a language so that I can say what I want to say. So I don't want to make up any inauthentic answers in order to get by in a class. The people I teach might think like me. I've often recalled that incident even as an adult. So there may be some even among adult learners who think in the same way as I did then. <The rest of the turn omitted.>

The other two episodes are out-of-class experiences.

直子1-84：＜ターン前半省略＞プラスの面で教師としての仕事に影響していることはないの？
みあ1-84：（笑）マイナスの記憶って強いから、どうしてもそっちに行っちゃう。関係代名詞とか時制の一致とかって、数学の微分積分とかみたいに公式があって、それに数字を当てはめて計算して出すっていうのにすごく似てるなあって思ってたことがあったのね。自分にとってそういう操作をしてるっていう気持ちで英語を使ってた時から、そうじゃなくって、なんていうかな、コミュニケーションのためっていうとなんかつまんない言い方だけど、まず言いたいことがあって、それが形になったなっていう気持ちがしたことがある。高校の時にインド舞踊かなんかを見に行って、隣に座ってたインドの人と、インドの話か、舞踊の話かなんかした時に、規則が先っていうんじゃない頭の働き方っていうか、言葉が口から出て来た。あの時すごく嬉しかったのと、これがきっかけになるといいなあっていう気がした。ただ、その時までそういうことをやる経験がなくて、学校で教えてもらったやり方は、公式覚えてっていうふうなのだったから、そうじゃないやり方って、やっぱり自分でやるしかないのかなっていう気がしたのね。あと、プラスの方のことっていうと、今もそうだけど、高校のころからロックが好きだったの。昔の歌詞カードってむちゃくちゃだった。明らかにこう聞こえないよとか、文法考えたら、絶対これないよっていうのが、平気で書いてあった。だから、友達と一緒にききながら、これこうじゃないよねっていうふうなことをやるのが、生きがいみたいなとこがあった。あと、歌詞カードを綺麗にタイプしたり書いたりして、下敷きに挟んで、数学の時間はずっとそれ見て暗記してた。今でも、単語とか文型がポッと出てくるとあのグループのあの曲のこの歌詞っていう検索の仕方やるの。だから、それが今でもすごく役に立ってると思う。それって別に、学校とか先生が、こうやれって教えてくれたことじゃないし、役に立つと思ってやったんじゃなくて、とにかく好きだから、やりたいから、やってて面白いからやっていた。それが、後で役に立つとか立たないとかいうのはおまけでしかないんだけど、今、理屈をつけようと思えば、自分のやりたいこと

に直接結びついてかなり効果が上がったと思う

Naoko 1-84: <The first part of the turn omitted> Didn't you have any experiences that positively affected your teaching?
Mia 1-84: (Laughter) Negative memories have such an impact that I couldn't help speaking about them. I had an impression that relative pronouns, concordance and so on were like differential calculus and integral calculus. You have this formula, put some numbers in, and calculate. Speaking English was that sort of operation for me in the beginning. Then I had this experience which made me feel otherwise. Speaking for communication is a boring way to put it, but I had something I wanted to say and that something took form. That was when I was at senior high. I went to an Indian dance performance, and had a chance to talk with an Indian person sitting next to me. We talked about India and dance. At that time my brain worked differently: rules didn't come first, the words just came out of my mouth. I was very happy, and hoped the experience would trigger a further change. I hadn't ever had an experience like that before, and at school they only taught us to memorize formulae. So I felt that there was nothing for it but to find a different way myself. Another positive experience was rock music. I liked it as I do now. The lyric sheets that came with records were a mess in those days. They just put down any old words that obviously weren't in the song or were grammatically impossible. It was really important for us to listen to records and check the lyric sheets. And I typed the lyrics neatly, put the paper in a plastic writing pad, and memorized the lyrics in maths class. I still search for words and structures by association with groups and songs. So the activity then still greatly helps. Teachers didn't teach me how. I didn't do it because it was useful, either. I liked it, I wanted to do it, and I found it interesting. That's why I did it. It didn't matter if it turned out to be useful later either. Theoretically, though, the activity was effective because it was directly related to what I wanted to do.

Mia spent a year in the United States during her senior high years. This seems to have been an important event in her life. She says:

みあ2-44：<ターン前半省略>ＡＦＳの話にちょっと戻るけど、名簿が定期的に送られてくるの。その中で、１７才ぐらいの女の子が人混みの中ですごく不安そうな顔をしている写真があって、そこに、誰でも１７才の時があって、それは自分が誰なのかを探してる時で、それが異文化の中にいると加速されるっていうようなことが書いてあった。けっこう気にいったんで、ちょうどうちの子がオーストラリアに行ってた時だったから、そこの部分を手紙に引用して送ったの。家の子、スピーチの原稿を作るときにそこの部分使ったんだけども、高校生ぐらいの留学生を扱うのは、二つの意味で難しいんだよね。一つは、まだ自分は誰かを一生懸命探してる時だということから来る難しさ。これは、別に留学したから出てくる問題じゃなくて、自分の国、自分の家にいても出てくる年齢特有の問題というか難しさよね。それと同時に、異文化にはいった時に、それまである程度もやもやと持ってた自分というものが通用しないという難しさもある。高校生の世話をするときって、成長過程に伴って出てくる問題もクリアしなくちゃいけないから、大学生相手にするよりはずっと難しいなあと、アドバ

イザーやったときに思ったんだけども、それはやっぱり自分でも感じた。自分って誰なんだろう、自分って何なんだろうっていうのがわからなくなるし、周りの人もわからない。その時まで、１０何年間生きてきて、例えば高校の同級生がこの人こういう人って思ってるのと、自分が思ったのってズレがあるとは思うけど、周りの人はいちおうあの人はこういう人っていう像を作ってる。それを全く知らない人のところに飛び込んだ時に、周りの人もそういう像を持ってない、自分もそれを持ってたはずなんだけども無くなっちゃったっていう気がしたことを覚えてる。ＡＦＳの名簿を見たときに、これは自分だけの問題だったんじゃなくて、この時期の難しさってやっぱりここだったのねと思いあたったのね。その時期に、異文化体験をする意味があるとすれば、二重に自分を探さなくちゃいけないから、その分難しいんだけども、その分、その時期にしかできない成長を刺激する働きを留学はもってたと思うのね。＜間＞自分はこういう人間よって、周囲にアピールしなきゃいけない。例えばいちばん身近な自分の家族に、食べ物は何が好きで何が嫌いだとか、１日何時間ぐらい寝るとか、音楽の好みはなんとかだとか、言わなきゃわからない。私ってこういう人なのっていうイメージを苦労して作るっていうか、伝えないと向こうもそのイメージが作れないんだっていうことに、私は途中まで思い到らなかったんだよね。自分は空間を超えて移動してきたけど、元々あった自分がポコッと来ただけで、周りもそういう自分を受け入れてくれるだろうと勝手に思ってたんだけど、向こうにとってみれば、自分をアピールするという意識ゼロの人間が来て、どう接していいのか、初めはわからなかったんだということが、こっちはまるでわからなかった。それって×××半年とか３ヶ月とか経たないと、そんな当たり前のことだけど、わからなかった。私って多分こういう人間なんだろうと思ってたのが、意外といい加減だったってことに気がついて、じゃあ私ってどういう人間だと自己アピールすればいいんだろうと思ったら、何もないような気がして、怖くなった。自分がわかって帰ったという感じはしない。そこででっかい宿題を見つけちゃって、それから後、自分て一体何かとか、それはどこにいても変わらないものなのか、それとも、日本にいる時とよそにいるときで、ひょこひょこ変わっちゃうようなものなのか、探し始めたんだとおもう。さっき大事なことを言うの忘れてしまったけども、留学の意味って、自分が誰だかわからなくなっちゃったていうのががやっぱり大きかった。

Mia 2-44: <The first part of the turn omitted.> Returning to the topic of AFS (American Field Service), we receive a name list regularly. One of them had a photo of a young woman, about seventeen years old, looking extremely insecure in a crowd. A caption said everyone is seventeen at one point of their life, when they try to find who they are, and that search is accelerated in a different culture. I liked it a lot and quoted it in a letter to my daughter who was in Australia then. She used it in a speech she gave there. Dealing with overseas senior high students is difficult in two senses. One is that they are still trying hard to find out who they are. This is not a difficulty of studying overseas. It's an age specific difficulty. You'll have the difficulty if you stay with your family in your country all the same. At the same time they have the problem that the vague image they've had of themselves doesn't work in a different culture. Taking care of senior high students is much harder than taking care of university students because you have to cope with problems that go with that developmental stage. I felt this when I was an advisor to AFS here, and also when I was in the States as a student. I lost a grasp of who I was or what I was. No one around me knew, either. I'd lived 16 or 17 years then, and people around me had an image of what kind of person I was, although their image might not have been identical to my self image. Then I went to live with total strangers. They didn't have any image. I'd thought I had an image, but I felt it was gone. When I saw the AFS name list, I understood I was not the only one who had the problem. You have to try to

find yourself in two senses, which makes the matter even more difficult, but if experience in an unfamiliar culture was meaningful at all, it stimulated development which could only have happened at that time in my life. <pause> I had to tell people around me what kind of person I was. For example I had to tell my [host] family, who were supposed to be the closest to me, what kind of food I liked and disliked, how many hours I slept a day, and what kind of music I liked. They wouldn't have known otherwise.

I had to make an image of myself and convey it to them so that they could make an image of me. But it was only some time after I arrived that I realized it. I assumed I moved in space, and I came as I was in Japan, and people would accept me as I was. In their eyes, though, here was this person who wasn't aware of the need to tell who she was, and they didn't know how to handle me in the beginning. It's so obvious, but I didn't understand it for several months. Then I realized I'd thought I was probably this or that type of person, but that was disappointingly groundless. I was scared because I felt I had nothing to tell about myself. I didn't come back with an understanding of myself. I came back with a huge assignment. After that I started exploring who I was and whether I was the same wherever I was or easily became different depending on whether I was in Japan or abroad. I forgot to tell you this important thing when you asked about AFS. After all, studying abroad was significant for me because I lost a grasp of who I was.

Nothing seriously problematic happened while Mia was living with a family in the States, but she now appreciates the very fact that nothing happened because she feels it was a result of efforts made by people around her. Mia says she would not have chosen her career without this experience.

直子2-5：この前のインタビューの中で、チロッとアメリカに行かなかったら今みたいな仕事はしてなかったと言ってたでしょう？あの辺のことをちょっと詳しく話してもらってもいい？

みあ2-5：うん。あの時どう言ったかな。今みたいな仕事って、教えるっていうことも、教える内容が外国語とかそれに関することだっていうことも入るんだけど、違う国に移った人を相手にするっていうことは、たぶん、あの経験がなかったらやってなかったんじゃないかと思う。あの頃は、周りの人のサポートって、それほどわからなかったから、自分一人で頑張ったみたいな気持ちがあった。あの年頃は、たぶんそうなんだね。でも、歳とってくると、向こうの家族もえらかったし、周りの人はすごく大変だったんだというのがわかったから、少しは恩返しをやってもいいんじゃないっていう気がする。直接、やってくれた人に返さなくても、地球って丸いから、どっかに廻せば、またどっかから廻ってくるんじゃないかっていう気がする。知らない環境に身をおくことができる機会を与えられるという経験を、他の人にもして貰えればいいなと思ったし、体験するんだったら、やっぱり楽しい方がいいと思うけど、知らない環境に入ったときって、やっぱり不安だから、手伝いができればいいと思った。やっぱり言葉はしゃべれないよりしゃべれる方が楽だし、手伝いの一つが言葉の面だと思うから、それをやってるのは、やっぱり自分が助けてもらった恩を返してるんじゃないんだけど、他の方に廻してってるって気がする。

直子2-6：いつ頃からそう思ったの？

みあ2-6：やっぱり大学入ってからじゃないかな。AFSの学生ボランテイアみたいなので、ホスト

ファミリーの受け入れ家庭にインタビューしに行くとか、そういうこともちょっとはやってたし。

Naoko 2-5: In the last interview you said you wouldn't be doing the kind of job you're doing now if you hadn't gone to the States. Could you elaborate on that a bit more?
Mia 2-5: Yeah. What did I say? The kind of job I'm doing now means teaching as well as the content of teaching-- a foreign language and its related topics. I wouldn't be doing a job which deals with people who moved to another country without my experiences in the States. When I was there, I wasn't so much aware of the support provided by people around me. I felt I managed on my own. People that age probably do think like that, but as I get older I realize the family who took me in did a very good job and people around me made great efforts. So I feel I should repay the kindness a bit. I don't necessarily have to repay the people who were around me in those days. The earth is round. I pass it on to someone, then it will come back from someone else. I wanted other people to have the chance to put themselves in an unfamiliar environment, and I wanted to help them because you naturally feel anxious in an unfamiliar environment and the experience should be a happy one. It's easier if you speak the local language, and one way to help is helping with language. So being involved in language teaching is actually passing on the kindness people showed me.
Naoko 2-6: When did you have the idea?
Mia 2-6: I suppose it was when I was at university. I was an AFS student volunteer and interviewed host families.

Mia's comment here, however, should not be interpreted as meaning that she decided to be a language teacher when she was at university and has exclusively pursued the career ever since. As was mentioned above, Mia first majored in sociology at university, but transferred to another university to study languages. The second university Mia attended had a fairly flexible curriculum. She was allowed to design her own curriculum, a hybrid of language and anthropology, to match her research topic. She now evaluates the school as follows:

みあ1-49：うん。自分のプログラムは自分で設計していいんだよということを、そこで植え付けられたというか、それやっても、別に文句を言う人はいないし、やっても構わないんだ、できるんだ、認めて貰えるんだっていう雰囲気のある学校だった。
直子1-50：それは<研究協力者の名前>さんにとっては、結構
みあ1-50：結構な
直子1-51：目から鱗的経験だったの？
みあ1-51：その時は、それがそれ程すごいもんだとは思わなかったけど、今になって考えてみると、すごくありがたかったし、結構すごいことだったんだなあっていう気がする。

Mia 1-49: Yeah, you might say that I was imbued with the idea that it's OK to design your own programme. There was no one who objected and the school had the atmosphere that it's OK

to do it, you can do it, and they'll recognize your work.

Naoko 1-50: Was it very much a ...

Mia 1-50: Very much

Naoko 1-51: ... an eye opening experience for you?

Mia 1-51: I didn't think it was such a big deal then, but I appreciate it a lot now and I realize it was a big deal.

At the second university Mia took language teaching methodology courses, both in EFL and JSL.

みあ1-20：教職関係か。外国語に限って言うならば、大学の時、英語教授法と日本語教授法とって、英語教授法がＧＤＭっていうのだったの。あれはダイレクトメソッドで、如何に状況をうまく作って発話を引き出すかということを考えるから、それまでのグレイデイングをすごく大事にするし、自分の立場から見たときに何にあたるかをすごく大事にする。例えば「ここ」と「そこ」という言葉なら、ただ教師の言ったのを真似するんじゃなくって、自分の立場だったらどうなるのかを考えて言ってもらうことを重視するとか、言いやすくなるような環境をどうやって作るかっていうようなトレーニングを受けたのね。それが面白いなとおもって、＜中略＞それと平行して、日本語教授法をとってたんだけど、これが、バリバリのオーディオリンガルなので好きでなかった。その授業の実習は、ドリルをどうやって上手くやるかっていうトレーニングになってたんだけど、私はそれが理解できなかった。他にも何人か英語教授法を取ってて、そういう傾向の人いたんだけど、形の練習のための置き換えとかが どういう価値があるのかあんまり理解できなかったし、自分の立場から見たんじゃない発話なんて何の役に立つっていう感じがして、教授法で、Ｃを食らった。でもそれで飯を食ってるって図々しいね。

Mia 1-20: Courses related to teaching. If I limit my scope within foreign language teaching, I took courses in EFL methodology and JSL methodology. The EFL one was Graded Direct Method. GDM is a direct method, and the point is how we use situations to elicit learner utterances. Grading is important there. And how things look to learners' eyes. For example, learners just can't imitate their teacher in saying "here." They have to think what it could be from their own perspective. We trained in how to encourage learners to think and how to create an environment where learners would find it easy to speak. I found it interesting. <omission> I took a JSL methodology course at the same time. This one was a die hard audiolingual method, and I didn't like it at all. We were trained in how to handle drills efficiently, but I didn't understand it. There were several others who took the GDM course and felt like me. We didn't understand what formal practice such as substitution drills were good for. What use is it to say something that was not said from your own perspective? I got C[1]. But I had the cheek to make it into my career.

Mia tried GDM in her teaching practicum at a public junior high school and also with a junior high

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[1] In most Japanese universities C is the lowest grade that is credited.

student she was tutoring. The method seemed to work. A teaching career, however, was still one of the possible alternatives for her. She found anthropology more interesting than language studies, but she also knew that making one's living with anthropology was rather difficult. Teaching qualifications were her back-up plans. After graduation Mia got a part-time job at a small publishing house which specializes in Japanese culture. She soon found that editorial work was not what she wanted, and joined a JSL teacher training programme.

直子2-9：研修会で印象に残っていることはある？
みあ2-9：研修会。＜間＞＜人名＞さんが同じクラスだった。夜で、それも週三回だから、通うのがきつかった。それくらいじゃない？あとは、いろんな人が入れ替わり立ち替わりきたけど、やっぱり、印象に残っている人と、ぜんぜん印象に残ってない人とある。印象に残っているのは、＜人名＞先生とか。（笑い）いろんなトピックをいっぱい扱って、それが大体長くても１０回もやんないでしょ？５－６回ずつぐらい。初心者向けだとしても、あれで体系的に知識がつまっていくというのは、まず無理だと思う。＜間＞外国語の体験の時に、＜人名＞さんがタイ語を
直子2-10：＜人名＞さん？
みあ2-10：そう、教えに来ていたり、そういうことしか覚えてない。
直子2-11：じゃ、あの養成講座でやったことで、影響を受けたことはあまりない？
みあ2-11：講義的なやつはあまり印象に残ってないけど、後からその時のノートを引っ張り出したりとか、プリントを引っ張り出したことはないわけじゃない。一つは、文章表現のやり方のところで、お猿さんが、お爺さんの帽子をとっちゃうみたいな絵を与えられて、これをどうやって使って、書くための授業をやるか教案作るっていうのをやった。その時の絵の出所が、ミシガンのライテイング関係の本だというのを教えてもらって、それを買ってきたっていうのは覚えてる。あそこで印象に残ってるのは、そういう課題の与えられてた授業だな。いろんな人がいっぱいいるじゃない？だから、他の人はどういうのを作ったかなっていう興味があって、やっぱりそっちの方がおもしろかった。文法とかは、本読めばわかるでしょうという感じだけど、ほっとけば読まないから、耳から入れといた方がいいかなっていうぐらいの印象しかない。
直子2-12：その後すぐ教え始めたの？
みあ2-12：うん、その頃から。その時のものが役にたったかどうか。＜間＞その前に ＜大学名＞で教授法とってたでしょ？おおよそのことはやってたから、それに変わる物っていうか、目から鱗みたいなものはなかったね。教え始めたときには、なにかあると、やっぱり、＜大学名＞でやってたような知識とかを引っ張りだしてたような気がする。具体的な活動をどうやるかというのは、英語の教授法でやってたことの日本語版みたいな感じで、そっちの方を意識してたかも知れない。

Naoko 2-9: Did they have anything impressive in the training programme?
Mia 2-9: The training programme. <pause> <NAME OF A MUTUAL FRIEND> was in my class. It was an evening programme, three nights a week, which was hard. That's about all, I guess. We had many teachers. I remember some. There are others who I don't remember at all. I remember Professor <NAME>. (laughter) The programme had many different topics. Each topic lasted for less than ten classes at longest. Five to six, I imagine. Even if it was meant for beginners, it's not possible to accumulate knowledge in any systematic way in that programme. <NAME> came to teach Thai for language learning experience.
Naoko 2-10: <NAME>?
Mia 2-10: Yeah. That's the only kind of thing I remember.

Naoko 2-11: Then the content of the programme didn't influence you very much, did it?
Mia 2-11: Lectures didn't. But I did refer to notes and handouts from the programme later. One was about writing. We were given a drawing in which a monkey took an old man's hat. Our task was to make a teaching plan to teach writing with the drawing. Someone told me the drawing was taken from a book on writing published by Michigan University, and I remember buying a copy. Classes I still remember from the programme are those with such tasks. We had many different people, and I was interested in what other people made. That was interesting. Grammar and the like made little impression. I could learn about grammar through books, but I wouldn't read them unless I was forced to. So listening to lectures on grammar might help. That's the sort of thing I thought then.
Naoko 2-12: Did you start teaching right after that?
Mia 2-12: Yeah, about the same time. I wonder if the stuff I learned in the programme was helpful. <pause> You remember I'd taken methodology courses at university, do you? Because I had learned most of the basics, I didn't find any alternatives or eye-opening ideas. When I started teaching, I think I used to fall back on what we did at university. I thought of actual activities as a Japanese version of what we did in the EFL methodology course. I was more conscious of it than of the JSL teacher training programme.

Although Mia liked the flexible system of her second university and took to GDM, she did not subscribe to the idea of learner autonomy in the earlier stages of her teaching career. She analyses as follows:

みあ1-82：今思い返すと、多分、何人も死人を作ってきたんだろうと思うけど、でもそこら辺て面白い。初めの頃、どうしてたかって。初めの頃って、個人教授してたのね。そのころはたぶん、どういう進度で何をやりますとか、どういうふうにやりますっていうのは、決めてあげるのが親切だ、決めてあげられるのがプロだっていうふうな頭があったんじゃないかと思うんだ、往々にしてそれが無理難題をふっかけているっていうことが、若気のいたりであんまりわかってなかったと思うんだけど。相手は日本語初めてなんだから、こっちが決めないで誰が決めるのっていう所がたぶんあっただろうし、あと、もしかしたら、こっちがまだひよっこだっていう弱みを見せないために、去勢を張ってるっていうところがあったかもしれない。今思うとご免なさいとか言いたくなるけども。

Mia 1-82: Looking back, I might have left quite a few dead bodies along the way, but it's interesting to think how I approached teaching in the beginning. I taught one-to-one lessons then. I probably thought it was better for the learner if the teacher decides what to do, how to do it and at what pace, and that a professional must be able to make such decisions. As a novice teacher I didn't see that my decisions were often unrealistically demanding. I guess I felt that I had to decide because learners hadn't learned Japanese before. Another reason might be I was bluffing so that they wouldn't see I was still a neophyte. When I think about it now, I feel I should apologize to these learners.

The change seems to have taken place over a long period of time. She got a full-time job in a Japanese language institute in Tokyo in 1982. No episode from this school initially came up in Mia's talk. She made the following comment when she realized this:

みあ1-95：<ターン前半省略>（間）今、話してて気がついたけど、<学校名>の時のことがあんまり出てこない、自分でいってない
直子1-96：私もそう思ってた。
みあ1-96：別に意識的に、こうなんか、あの
直子1-97：避けてる
みあ1-97：避けてるとかそういう気持ちは全然なかったけど、今、<学校名>の時のことがなんでぜんぜん自分の話題に出てこないんだろうって、ふと、気がついたのね。この前からメモ取ってて、これが入ってない、あれが入ってないって後になって気がつくことがあったんだけど、今も特に<学校名>のことを思い出した。（笑）まずいことがあるとかいうことは一切ないんだけど、何で思い出さなかったのかなあ。
直子1-98：<学校名>の仕事って基本的には、楽しかったの？
みあ1-98：あそこは面白かったよ。その時のこと、これもちょっと時間がかかるかも。なんなんだろうねぇ。あそこは、教育機関としては初めて入ったとこなの。だから、一種の教員養成の為のセンターでもあったような気がする。同僚とか上の方の人でも今、教師養成やっているような人がいたからね。あそこは特に初めの頃は、修行時代に近かったのかもしれない。（間）あの頃はひたすら必死で教材作ってたという感じがする。なにをやってたと聞かれたら、教材を作ってたという、その一言で答えになりそうな、そういう仕事だったような気がする。つまんないとかいうことはなくって、言いたいこと言う学生が多かったから、下手な授業はやれないなっていう気がしてたし、そうだ、あの頃はまだ学習者の方が私より年上ってこともあったんだ。そう、そうだったのよ。そういうこともあったのね。
直子1-99：何年ごろ？あそこ入ったのは８０
みあ1-99：あそこ入ったの、８２年くらいだったかな、
直子1-100：じゃあ、もう３０超えてたでしょ
みあ1-100：いえいえいえ、まだ２０代の後半くらい、辛うじて２０代だった。ああ、そうか。（間）もしかしたら、教える材料作りに、頭がいってて、学習者よりももしかしたら、そっちのほうに興味がいってた時代なのかもしれない。
直子1-101：学校としてもそういう学校だったんじゃない？
みあ1-101：どうなのかな。（間）今みたいに市販の教材がいろいろある時代じゃなかったから、自力で作ってたでしょ？<人名>先生もよく言うけど、次の教材ができてないから、学生に、ちょっと散歩してきてって言うみたいな、ほとんど自転車操業の世界だった。（間）学習者の様子が見えてなかったということはないと思うけど、重きをどっちにおいてたかというと、自分のやってた仕事としては、教えることよりも教材作ることという感じだったかもしれない。少なくとも初めの２・３年は。

Mia 1-95: <The first part of the turn omitted> As I was talking I realized I wasn't talking about <NAME OF SCHOOL>.

Naoko 1-96: Yes, I noticed it too.

Mia 1-96: I didn't intentionally um well

Naoko 1-97: Avoid it

Mia 1-97: I didn't avoid it or anything, but I just became aware <NAME OF SCHOOL> doesn't come up in my talk at all and wondered why. I've been making notes these days for this

interview and I remembered things from time to time. So I remembered <NAME OF SCHOOL> now. <laughter> There's nothing awful to hide, or anything like that. I wonder why I didn't remember.

Naoko 1-98: Was the work there interesting?

Mia 1-98: Yes, it was interesting. It may take some time to remember things from those days. I wonder what it was. That was the first school I worked for. It was in a sense a teacher training institution. Some colleagues and bosses then are now involved in teacher training. It was, particularly in the beginning, like an apprenticeship for me. <pause> I have this impression that I spent most of my time and energy in developing materials. If I were asked what I was doing there, developing materials would be my answer. It was that sort of job. It was not boring. Students would say what they thought so I felt I couldn't give bad classes. Yeah, some students were older than me. Yes, yes, they were.

Naoko 1-99: When was it you got the job? 1980?

Mia 1-99: I got the job in 82, I guess.

Naoko 1-100: So you were over thirty then.

Mia 1-100: No, no. I was in my late twenties, though almost thirty. Ah yes. <pause> Perhaps I concentrated on developing materials, and I was more interested in it than I was in students.

Naoko 1-101: The school itself was like that, wasn't it?[2]

Mia 1-101: I wonder. <pause> Unlike today there weren't so many commercial materials then. We had to make them ourselves, didn't we? Professor <NAME> often tells this story. When the material for the next class wasn't ready, he would tell his students to take a walk for a while. It was that tight. <pause> It wasn't that I didn't see learners, but the focus of my work might have been on developing materials rather than on teaching itself, at least for the first few years.

Mia was seeing learners during this period, however. She remembers:

みあ2-49：うん。＜間＞、人様の自己実現の為にやってるということではないんだけども、それって自分も難しかったけど人も難しいことなのねっていう感じで、他の人を見てたって言う意味でいえば、例えば＜学校名＞なんかで、自分の言いたいことはいくらでもあるのよという人、特にもうドクター終わってるような人たちで、３０代の後半とかの人。日本語のレベル的にはいちばんやさしいクラスに入ってる、あの人たちの、苛立ちを見てたときに、母語でだったら、もっと素晴らしいことが言えて書けて、やれる人なんだけど、すごく居心地の悪そうな、自分が自分じゃないみたいな顔して座ってるなあっていう気がした。母語並みのレベルで頭の中のものをバーッて出すことが到達目標なんだろうけど、それってかなり遥か彼方にある目標で、それを目指してやってるんだろうけど、でも道遠いわねっていう気がして、その人たちもやっぱりむしゃくしゃするというか、やってて楽しくない、面白くないことってありそうなのよね。それが、こっちに向いてくるなっていう感じがすること

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[2] I know some of the teachers who taught at this institution around the time Mia was there. This comment of mine is based on my personal experiences with those teachers.

があると、だから、あの手の人って扱いにくいとも思うけど、これってすごく苛立つことなんだろうなっとも感じた。
＜2ターン省略＞
直子2-51：そういうの見て、どうしようとか思った？
みあ2-51：どうすればいいんだろうっていうのが、多かったねぇ。地道にやるのが王道で、なにかすっとばして、一挙に目標のレベルっていう話は無いとはわかってても、ちょっとは近道ないかしらとか思ったけど。その人は、自分が今、専門にやってることを日本語で話してくださいって言って、自分がいちばん得意な領域の話をしてもらっても、やっぱり聞いてわからなかったね、

Mia 2-49: Yes. <pause> I don't teach for other people's self-actualization, but I sometimes saw those learners with sympathy. It was difficult for me and it's difficult for you too sort of feeling. For example at <NAME OF INSTITUTION> we had students who'd already finished their PhD and were in their late thirties. They had a lot to say, but were placed at the lowest level. Looking at their frustration, I thought they must be able to say, write and do wonderful things in their L1. They were sitting in a class, looking extremely uncomfortable, as if they weren't themselves. Their goal might be to say what they were thinking in Japanese as well as they could in their L1. But it was a distant goal. I'm sure they were aiming at it, but they were on a long journey. They were frustrated. They didn't enjoy learning; they got unhappy and sometimes took those negative feelings out on us. I think that was why those people were difficult to handle, but at the same time I knew the situation was really frustrating for them.
<Two turns omitted>
Naoko 2-51: Did you try to do anything to solve their problems?
Mia 2-51: I was more at a loss. I knew there was no other way but to keep making small efforts. You can never jump to the targeted level. Still I wondered if there were any shortcuts. I asked one of those students to explain his field to me in Japanese. He talked about the thing he knew best, and still I didn't understand him at all.

Mia does not seem to have been aware then of the option of making the goal realistic. She does not mention the possible mismatch between the student's learning style and her teaching or the student's lack of effective learning strategies, either. It could be her stage of development or the institutional constraints that prevented her from seeing the possibilities. During this period, however, Mia was raising her daughter, and this experience affected her view of learning and teaching.

直子1-58：そうすると、＜研究協力者の娘の名前＞ちゃんと１９年間付き合う中で、＜研究協力者の名前＞さんの中で変化があったわけ？
みあ1-58：人は自分のままにならないというのが良くわかった（笑）人には人のペースがあるっていうのがしっかりわかった、
直子1-59：それってやっぱり、自分が教えるときかなり影響してるの？

みあ1-59：してくるねえ。ある時が来ないと、いくら頑張ってやっても、できないことがあるとか、それから、うーんと
直子1-60：頑張って教えても？
みあ1-60：教えこんでも、そそそ。とか、全然やれてないみたいなんだけど、でもそうじゃなくて、ある日突然できるようになることもあるというふうなことを、お付き合いしてて、実感した。人はこっちのペースで動いてくれないっていうのを、しっかりと感じたねえ、（間）

Naoko 1-58: So did you change in any ways in the nineteen years because of your relationship with your daughter?
Mia 1-58: I've learned you can't make people as you wish. (laughter) I also learned everyone has her own pace.
Naoko 1-59: Did it influence your teaching in any way?
Mia 1-59: Yes, it did. There are things you can't do until the time comes even if someone tries hard. And, well ...
Naoko 1-60: Tries hard to teach you?
Mia 1-60: Teach you. Yes yes yes. And sometimes it looks as if the person is totally incapable of doing something, but one day she suddenly becomes competent. I saw these things actually happening in my daughter. I really felt that people don't move at your pace.

Learning at one's own pace seems to be the core of Mia's version of learner autonomy. Although Mia does not remember when she encountered the word "autonomy" and found it hard to articulate her definition of the term, her argument for learner autonomy develops around pace.

直子1-10：そうすると、＜研究協力者の名前＞バージョンのオートノミーっていうのは、教育の中で大切だと思ってるの、やっぱり。
みあ1-10：うん、やっぱり
直子1-11：やっぱり。
みあ1-11：う～ん
直子1-12：それはどうして？
みあ1-12：あたりまえだけど、人は一人一人違うから、一律に何かやるのは、すごく不自然なことだと思う。例えば、保育園で一斉に昼寝をするとか、何時に起きてなんとかするとかって、すごくなんか、えーと（間）
直子1-13：迷惑だよね
みあ1-13：どういうことだろうなって思う。その前の晩、遅くまで起きてた子もいるだろうし、
直子1-14：昼寝が出来ない子だったの、私
みあ1-14：うちのも昼寝で落ちこぼれていたの
直子1-15：昼寝ってしなきゃいけないもんとか思って、
みあ1-15：うん
直子1-16：うん
（間）
みあ1-16：だから昼寝に限らず、みんな同じ目標で、いついつまでにこれを達成するとか、1日のスケジュールを決めるという発想はあまり正しくないと思う.

Naoko 1-10: So you think your version of autonomy is valuable in education after all?

Mia 1-10: Yes, after all.

Naoko 1-11: Hmm.

Mia 1-11: Yeah.

Naoko 1-12: But why?

Mia 1-12: This isn't a great insight, but each of us is different, and I think it's quite unnatural for everyone to do the same thing at the same time. For example in playschools children are all supposed to go for an afternoon nap at the same time and wake up at the same time. That's very sort of um (Pause)

Naoko 1-13: None of their business, is it?

Mia 1-13: I don't understand it. Some children might have stayed up late on the previous night.

Naoko 1-14: I wasn't able to take a nap as a child.

Mia 1-14: My daughter failed in afternoon naps.

Naoko 1-15: I didn't understand why we should take a nap

Mia 1-15: Yeah

Naoko 1-16: Yeah

[Pause]

Mia 1-16: So it's not just naps. I don't think the idea that everyone should aim to achieve such and such a thing by such and such a date, or have the same daily schedule is right at all.

In 1987 Mia started her graduate work.

直子1-106：でもさあ、そもそも大学院行こうと思ったのはどうして

みあ1-106：あ、大学院？

直子1-107：うん、

みあ1-107：もうネタ切れだって感じがしてきたのね。大学出てから１０年経ってたから、その間、供給せず、ひたすら消費してきたっていう気がして、このままじゃもう立ち行かないなという気がしたし、現実にそうだったと思う。それが大きかった。

直子1-108：具体的にどういう症状が出てたの？

みあ1-108：具体的には、（間）自分で、（間）リサーチっぽいことをやろうにも、その方法論とか、そもそも自分が何をどう調べたいのかがわからない。そこまで行かなくても、とにかく、教授法関係にしろ、言語学関係にしろ、その時まで使ってたのが、大学で１０年前にやってたことで、世の中いろいろ変わってる、例えば文法理論なんか、めちゃくちゃ変わってるよっていうの、風の便りには知ってるけども、何がどうなってるのか分かんなくなってて、殆ど、浦島太郎状態かなあ、そういう気がしてた。＜後略＞

＜２ターン省略＞

直子1-110：＜ターン前半省略＞そうすると例えば仕事の中で、具体的になにか問題があって、新しいインプットが必要だから、大学院に行こうとかいうんじゃなくて、

みあ1-110：具体的に、これこれが知りたいからっていうよりも、全体的に何かもうないな、底ついてしまったっていう方が強く感じた、

直子1-111：毎日教えてるわけじゃない？それ自体は別にそんなに不都合感じてないの？

みあ1-111：うーん、なんとかごまかしごまかしやってるという感じ。とても自信を持ってやってるという気持ちにはなれなかったし、ひょっとして、もうちょっとましなことができるんじゃないだろうかっていう気持ちは常にしてたね。

Naoko 1-106: What made you think you'd like to go to grad school?

Mia 1-106: Grad school?

Naoko 1-107: Yeah.

Mia 1-107: I felt I had run out of ideas. It was ten years since I had graduated from university. During those ten years I just consumed without supplying. That was my feeling then. And I felt I couldn't go on like that. And I think I actually couldn't. That was the main thing.

Naoko 1-108: What sort of symptoms did you have in concrete terms?

Mia 1-108: In concrete terms <pause> I <pause> If I wanted to do some research, I didn't know how to do it. Or I didn't know what I'd like to investigate first of all. A less extreme example might be my feeling that I hadn't kept up with the changes which occurred in the ten years. Teaching methodology and linguistics that I'd fall back on were ten years old. The world had changed. I heard grammatical theories had drastically changed, but I didn't know how. I felt like Urashima Taro.[3] <The rest of the turn omitted>

<2 turns omitted>

Naoko 1-110: <The first part of the turn omitted> So you didn't go to grad school because you needed new input to solve concrete problems.

Mia 1-110: Rather than wanting to know something particular, I felt I had nothing or I'd exhausted myself.

Naoko 1-111: You were teaching every day, weren't you? Didn't you find any difficulty in teaching?

Mia 1-111: Well, it was like I was getting by somehow. I didn't feel confident. I always felt I could probably do something better.

Mia does not seem to have considered teaching as the only career to pursue even at this stage, though. The school she went to had two MA programmes in applied linguistics, one in speech therapy and the other in language teaching. It took Mia some thought to decide on language teaching.

みあ1-90：<ターン前半省略>なんで、スピーチセラピーかっていうと、あっちのほうがちっとは人の役に立つかなっていう、×××、<中略>あと、これは大学院に入ってからなんだけども、外国語教えてもセラピーやっても、結局、目指すとこはおんなじなんだみたいな気がして、それで、やっぱり、応用言語学やることにしたの。どっちも、究極的には、自己実現の為にやるんだと思う。それを思ったのは、セラピーをやるのか応用言語学やるのか迷った時なんだけど、ベルボトナルで、新し

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[3] Urashima Taro is a Japanese equivalent of Rip Van Winkle.

い外国語始めたときは、誰でもみんな難聴なんだってあるでしょ？あれは面白い表現だと思う。身体的な損傷とか、精神的な障害もそうだけど、人間が、自分自身であるために、言語はかなり大きな位置を占めてると思う。ある文化社会に入って、自分が自分になれないっていうのは一種の障害もってるのと、極めて近い状態だと思うのね。そういう人の手助けをするのが外国語教師だとすれば、それも一種のリハビリテーションかもしれない。＜中略＞これは二者択一の問題じゃないな、どっちやっても、おんなじことがやれるんじゃないかなと思ったから、そこで決断ができた。（間）、結局は取らなかったけど、あの障害のコースが、いろいろ考えるきっかけになった、それも多分入ってるんだと思う

Mia 1-90: The reason I was interested in speech therapy is, I thought speech therapists were of more use to people than language teachers. <Omission> Then after I was accepted in grad school, I realized language teaching and speech therapy aim for one and the same thing. That's why I decided on language teaching. Both are ultimately about self-actualization . I had this idea when I wasn't able to choose therapy or teaching. The Verbotonal Method says everyone is hard of hearing when they start learning a foreign language. I think it is an interesting expression. Language, as well as physical impairment and psychological handicap, could be a big hurdle to us in becoming ourselves. Entering into a cultural community and being unable to be oneself is quite similar to being handicapped. Language teachers help those people. Language teaching is actually a form of rehabilitation. <Omission> I realized it wasn't a matter of choosing one or the other. I felt I could do the same thing, whether I chose speech therapy or language teaching. That realization enabled me to make the decision. <pause> I didn't take the therapy course after all, but it provided an opportunity to think about these things. I guess this influenced my attitude towards autonomy too.

Mia was probably looking for a way to repay the kindness people showed her in the States and it was only at this stage of her life that she found one. She kept teaching at the same institution part-time while doing the graduate work, and met an American student who was a PhD candidate in pedagogy.

みあ1-101：＜ターン前半省略＞教育学をやってる人の個人教授をするかわりに、私の論文を見てもらうという交換教授をやったの。アイズナーっていう人の、エデュケーショナルイマジネーションとかいう本をもらったな。どんな本だったか、あんまり良く覚えてないけど。その人が（間）日本の学校でフィールドワークをやるための練習を交換教授でやってた。依頼の手紙を書くとか、教室での子供に対するしゃべり方とか、質問用紙作る手伝いとか。うちの子の友達２・３人集めてきて、子どもに対する話し方の模擬実習をやったりとか。その人から教育学の何を学んだっていうんじゃないんだけど、一番印象に残ってる学生というとその人。
直子1-102：何が印象に残ったの？
みあ1-102：内容については今言えないけど、教育学についても教えてもらったような気もするし、（間）これこれこういうふうな授業をこういうふうにやりたいとかやって欲しいっていう向こう主導型の個人教授だったけど、向こうからのリクエストでやったっていうのがかなり
直子1-103：新鮮だった？

みあ1-103：うん、かなり新鮮だった
直子1-104：で、気に入ってた？
みあ1-104：うん、気に入ってた、

Mia 1-101: <The first part of the turn omitted> We had these exchange lessons where I gave her a private lesson and she checked the English in my dissertation. She gave me a book called Educational Imagination or something written by someone named Eisner. I don't remember very well what kind of book it was. This person <pause> We prepared for her fieldwork in Japanese schools in our exchange lessons. Writing a letter of request, practicing talking to children in a classroom, and writing up a questionnaire. I got a few friends of my daughter's and we had a practicum in talking to children. I don't think I learned anything specific about pedagogy, but I remember her best.
Naoko 1-102: What was so impressive?
Mia 1-102: I can't say what, but I might have learned something about pedagogy. <pause> She took the initiative in that she had specific requests concerning the content and the process of our lesson, which was rather ...
Naoko 1-103: new to you?
Mia 1-103: Yeah, new to me.
Naoko 1-104: Did you like it?
Mia 1-104: Yes, I liked it.

At the graduate school Mia found SLA particularly interesting. She learned that learners had their own syllabus and did not learn as they were taught. She reflects now that this discovery had an influence on her attitude towards learner autonomy. After Mia finished her MA, she got a job at a university. Around this time she had a chance to meet two cognitive psychologists who study learning.

みあ1-64：<地名>市の小学校で、<人名>さんのところの坊やとうちの子が同級生だったから、おなじ授業を参観したの。それもやっぱり算数で、低学年だったんだけど（笑）
直子1-65：かわいそう、<人名>さんが授業参観に来る。
みあ1-65：もちろん、あの人何も言わないよ
直子1-66：先生がかわいそう。
みあ1-66：言わないんだけど、終わって帰るときに、今の授業何がやりたかったんでしょうねと、私に言ったのね。私もそうですねとかいって。プロの見方を、すごくインフォーマルな形、親同士の会話っていう形で知ったのが面白かった。<中略>あと、<大学名>で、<人名>さんが同僚だった。あの二人には、かなり影響を受けたと思う。初め<人名>さんが学部の教職とってる学生相手にやってる、教育心理学かな、その授業にもぐりこんでて、それから認知カウンセリング研究会にいくようになった。で、インタビューもやったし、学習方略とか、そういうことを、話し合ったりするチャンスが多かった。小学校の先生とか、他の大学院生の話が聞けて、ＸＸＸには、認知的側面に関心を持ったのは、やっぱり<人名>さんのせいだと思う
直子1-67：興味があったから、行ったんでしょ？

みあ1-67：それはそうね。元から興味があったんだけど（間）それって考える価値があるんだってことが、これって重要なんだっていうことが納得がいったのかな（間）
直子1-68：前はそう思ってなかったの？
みあ1-68：前もそう思ったけど、でも、ほんとにどの程度のもんかしらみたいのもあったかもしれない。

Mia 1-64: A son of <NAME OF A COGNITIVE PSYCHOLOGIST> and my daughter were in the same class at the primary school in <NAME OF TOWN>. We had a parents' visit day and observed a class together. Arithmetic again for the first or second graders. (laughter)
Naoko 1-65: Poor teacher. <NAME OF A COGNITIVE PSYCHOLOGIST> comes to observe your class?
Mia 1-65: Of course she didn't say a word.
Naoko 1-66: Still I sympathize with the teacher.
Mia 1-66: She didn't say a word, but on our way home she said to me "I wonder what the teacher wanted to do?" And I said "Yes, I wonder" or something like that. It was interesting to know the viewpoint of a professional in an informal setting like a conversation between parents. <omission> And <NAME OF ANOTHER COGNITIVE PSYCHOLOGIST> was a colleague at <NAME OF UNIVERSITY>. I think those two influenced me a lot. First I sneaked in a course <NAME OF THE SECOND COGNITIVE PSYCHOLOGIST> taught for undergraduates. It was educational psychology required for teaching qualifications. Then I started going to the cognitive counselling study group meetings. I interviewed <NAME OF THE SECOND COGNITIVE PSYCHOLOGIST> for a journal. I had a lot of opportunities to discuss learning strategies and things like that. I also talked with primary school teachers and grad students. After all, it's thanks to <NAME OF THE SECOND COGNITIVE PSYCHOLOGIST> that I got interested in the cognitive aspects of language learning.
Naoko 1-67: You went because you were interested, did you?
Mia 1-67: Yes, that's true. I'd been interested. <pause> I probably understood it was worth thinking about or it was important. <pause>
Naoko 1-68: You didn't think so before?
Mia 1-68: I'd thought so before, but I might have been a bit skeptical about its value.

Mia started asking learners about their conscious learning process. In the interview she referred to several students or groups of students from this period as having been influential on her teaching. The following comment is on a class where learners collaboratively constructed comprehension of a Japanese text. Mia recorded the process, analyzed it, and reported the result in an academic journal.

直子1-79：そこで、＜研究協力者の名前＞さんは何を学んだの？
みあ1-79：学んだ？授業する時って、たぶん自分の今までの経験から、このくらいのレベルの人で

こういうラインの材料だから、こういうふうなことができて、ここら辺が難しくてっていうふうな、一応の予測をもってるけど、そういうこっちの思惑みたいなのって、確かに当たるところもあるけども、外れることって多いねっていうことを学んだなあ。なにか質問して、向こうがだまちゃったら、こういう質問は答えやすいだろうとか思って、こっちはいろいろ手を変え品を変え質問しなおすけど、全然違うことで悩んでるっていうことが割とあった。沈黙の意味って、いろいろ。自分は経験に基づいてると思ってるんだけど、いかに思いこみでいろんなこと決めて、そのレールに乗ってやってこうとしてたかってことに気づいたのかな。それで反省したかと言われると、ある程度はやっぱり続けてると思うけど。

直子1-80：その後、授業のやり方を変えようとか、思ったりしたの？

みあ1-80：こっちばっかり質問するのはやめようとか、理解のチェックをやるのが教師の勤めだっていう感じがするけども、それは必ずしも教師の仕事でなくてもいい、学習者同士聞き合ってくれてもいいし、質問し合ってくれてもいいし、または、答えてくれても一向に構わないと思うようになった。グループの中である程度知識を持ってる人が初めての人に説明してるときのやり方の方が、私のやり方よりも、いい例を出したり、無駄なことを言わなくて、ピタッとくる説明で、よっぽど分かりやすいってこともあるし、私は極力黙ってた方がいいのかなって思った。しゃべる時間が少なくなったかもしれない。

Naoko 1-79: What did you learn there?

Mia 1-79: What did I learn? When I teach, I have predictions perhaps based on my previous experiences. Learners are such and such a level, and the material is such and such. So we should be able to do this and the difficulty will be in this. These sort of expectations are sometimes right but often turn out to be wrong. That's what I learned. When I ask something and a learner goes silent, I would rephrase my question in every imaginable way in order to make it easier to answer. But many times I found the learner's trouble wasn't what I had thought it was. The meaning of silence varies. I'd thought I did things according to my experiences, but I realized how much my decisions were based on my beliefs and I stuck to routines. Did I repent? I guess I keep doing the same thing to some extent.

Naoko 1-80: Didn't you think about changing your way of teaching?

Mia 1-80: I came to think I shouldn't be asking questions all the time. I'd thought checking comprehension was the teacher's responsibility, but I came to think it doesn't necessarily have to be so. Learners can ask each other, and answer each other. Someone in a group who knows to some extent could sometimes give a better explanation than I can. Good examples, no unnecessary information, and explanation which is right on target. I thought I should stay silent as much as possible. I might have reduced my teacher talking time.

In 1993 Mia moved to a junior college where her main responsibility was teaching JSL methodology. It was Mia's first time to teach young Japanese students, and she found the teaching strategies she had acquired in teaching learners of Japanese did not work.

直子2-14：今まで使ってたストラテジーがダメというのは具体的にはどんなこと？

みあ2-14：まずクラスサイズの問題。今、勤めてるところでも、小さいのと大きいのとあるけど、留学生とか日本語関係の仕事をしてたときには、６０人相手に教えるということはあまりやったこと

がない。せいぜい１０何人とか２０人止まりの所でやってたでしょ。あと、お願いだからちょっとこっちのいうこともたまには聞いてよっていうことはよく言ったけど、＜中略＞しゃべらないとか、わかってるのかわかってないのか、どういうふうに判断して、どう反応を引き出すかっていう苦労はしてこなかった。ほっといても学習者は何かやってるから、テストの時はあんまり協力しあわないでやろうねっていうことぐらいコントロールすれば済んでたので、相手からどうやって反応を引き出すかというテクニックをほとんど持ち合わせていなかった。それで、いろいろ試そうとしてみたんだけど、日本人の学生の場合、やっぱり、クラスのサイズがすごく大きくきいちゃって、５人ぐらい迄だったら、しゃべるし質問もするんだけど、それを超えて１０人になるともうダメ。あと、話さないけど書くことは結構書くんだとわかった。一度、書いてもらったやつを集めて、こっちが目を通して、こういう様な意見が出てきたんだけどっていう形で授業をしたけど、書くと意外と書くわけだから、ぜんぜん思ってることがないんじゃないんだけど、口には出さないだけなのだなあということがわかったのが、どのくらいたってからかな。＜後略＞

Naoko 2-14: Could you specify what you mean by saying old strategies didn't work?
Mia 2-14: Class size first of all. I have small classes and large classes now. When I taught Japanese I hardly had a class of sixty. Some ten or twenty was the maximum. And I often had to ask students to listen to me <omission> but I didn't have the problem of silent learners. I didn't have to try to get a response to tell whether students understood or not. Learners would do something without my intervention. The only control that was needed was to stop them helping each other in examinations. I hardly had any techniques to elicit responses. I tried various tricks, but the class size is the determining factor with Japanese students. In a class of five they'll talk and even ask questions. But ten is impossible. I also learned they don't talk but write fairly well. I once had a class where I discussed the content of students' writings I'd previously collected and read through. They do think because they write if given a chance. It's just that they don't talk. It took a while to realize this. <The rest of the turn omitted>

At the time of the interviews Mia actually had a very rewarding course in which a group of four students initiated discussion on how to present Japanese grammatical structures to beginners. It started off with awareness of the difference between Chinese and Japanese by a Chinese-Japanese bilingual student.

みあ2-14：＜ターン前半省略＞文字の書いてあるパネルを黒板に貼っていって、中国語の時に用意してたのと同じものを日本語で作っているときに、紙の枚数が足りないと思ったって言うのね。何の事かっていうと、助詞のことなんだけど、その言い方、気づき方ってすごく実感がこもっていいなあと思ったんだ。今までもそういう事は知識としては分かってたと思うんだけど、中国語に必要な単語だけだったら 日本語って言えないんだって、物を操作していった時に、実感としてすごくピンときちゃったらしいのね。新しい紙つくんなきゃいけないよって。あと、食べますなのか、食べるっていうのか 、どっちを使えばいいんだろう、中国語の時は一つでよかったのにって言い出して、そういう気づき方ってあるんだなあと思ってね。その子は中国語の授業に出てたから、当然、文法説明の時に、日本語と中国語の違いについては聞いてると思うし、いろいろ×××なんかでも他の言語と比べて日本語はどんな言語かっていうふうな事は授業では誰かがしゃべってたのを聞いてたと思うんだけど、自分がやらなくちゃいけないと思って、準備してた時に、そういう形で分かったってクラスで

言って、それを聞いて、じゃその助詞をどうやって視覚化したら分かりやすいんだろうねみたいな事を他の人が案を出し始めて、日本語の場合、名詞と助詞とくっつけてセットになるから、なんか四角と四角みたいなんじゃなくて、片方の方に出っ張りがあるのに、ガシャっとはまるっていうふうなのがいい、作るとしたらその方が面白いとか、じゃ色はどうするとか、そういう話になってった。今まで、ほっといて、そういうディスカッションが起こってくる事はなかったから、今年は楽しかったなあと思った。決してできないとかしたがらないとかいうんじゃないんだけども、たぶんメンバーの構成とか、相性とか、性格とか、そこら辺が一番の決め手みたいな気がした。
直子2-15：それって全部教師にコントロールできないファクターばっかりじゃない？
みあ2-15：うん、そうなんですよ。だからたまたまみたいな、うん。
直子2-16：＜インフォーマントの名前＞さんは自分がそういう現象が起きる為に何かをやったという意識はないの？
みあ2-16：人の前で教える練習やるってすごく恥ずかしい事だから、口を開き易いように、失敗しても何を言っても別に誰も笑わないよっていう風な事は言ってたし、緊張しない雰囲気を作ったり、あと、前期に、教室を点々と一週間ずつ移動してみたの。夏の頃って外、気持ちよさそうじゃない？で、一人の子が、外でやれるといいなって言うから、じゃ来週行ってみようかっていう軽いノリで始めたの。せっかくだから、その時間に使えそうな部屋をいろいろ廻ってみて、周りの環境が違うとどんな気がするかを体験してみようかっていうの×××ぐらいやって、外で一回やって、あと、図書館の地下にある、あの比較的綺麗な×××とかいうところでやったり、あと、空部屋になってる研究室でやったり。来週どこへ行きたいかを、誰かが言い出して、そこでたとえばどういうふうに机を並べるとか、どういうふうにやるかは、学生に任せるっていう事はやってた。だから、雰囲気を作るって事は意識してやってたけども、それってこっちのコントロールでなんとかなる問題なのかなっていう気がする。いくらやっても白けるだけという組み合わせだってあるし。

Mia 2-14: (The first part of the turn omitted) She put up word cards on the board when she had her micro-teaching in Chinese. She was going to do the same in Japanese and she was preparing Japanese word cards. Then she realized she was short of cards. What that meant was she needed cards for particles in Japanese.[4] Her awareness that the number of words in Chinese is not enough to say the same thing in Japanese came from her concrete experience of manipulating physical objects. She'd had the knowledge, but it truly became hers then. "I need to make more cards!" I thought that was a very good way of knowing. She also said she didn't know whether she should use the polite form or the plain form of verbs in Japanese. She pointed out that there was only one verb form in Chinese. The way she became aware of the difference was rather impressive. She'd attended courses in Chinese. So I'm sure she'd heard about the difference between Japanese and Chinese. She also must have heard about the characteristics of Japanese compared with other languages in an introductory course in Japanese linguistics. But she said in the class that she'd realized it when she was preparing for her micro-teaching, and another student asked how you could make the particles visually salient. Then everyone started throwing their ideas in, like a noun and a particle make a set, so one should have a bulge and the other a indentation to make them fit in, rather than having them on the same square cards, that would be more fun. Then

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[4] In Japanese, a word needs to be followed by a particle to mark its case whereas in Chinese, the same function is carried by word order.

what kind of colours they should be, and so on. I'd never had a class where such a discussion was initiated without my intervention. So I enjoyed this year's course. It's not that [other groups] didn't want to do it, but the crucial points are who is in the group, whether they get along well, and their own personality.

Naoko 2-15: Those are factors a teacher can't take control of, aren't they?

Mia 2-15: Yes, you're right. So it's just a coincidence that it worked.

Naoko 2-16: Didn't you do anything deliberately to make it happen?

Mia 2-16: It's very embarrassing to practice teaching in front of the class. So to make it easy to speak up I'd told them that no one would laugh if they messed it up. I also tried to make a relaxed atmosphere. And we used a different room each week in the first semester. It feels good to be outside during summer time, doesn't it? One student wished to have a class outside. So we started it very casually like OK let's go outside next week. Then I suggested we should experience various environments to see how differently it felt. We checked what was available during our class period. We had a class outside, and then in a relatively new seminar room in the basement of the library and an unused teacher's office. Someone suggested where we go for the following class, and I let the students decide how to lay out the desks and so on. So I deliberately tried to make an atmosphere, but I'm not sure if that's something you can control. There are cases where your effort is only met with indifference.

Mia does not seem to have conscious strategies to encourage spontaneity among students. To my probing questions she answers as follows:

直子2-20：話がパッと変わるけど、例えば、紙が足りないとか、そういう話って、四人で話してるわけ？

みあ2-20：四人で話してる。

直子2-21：＜インフォーマントの名前＞さんはその時、何をやってるの？見てるの？

みあ2-21：見てる。

直子2-22：彼女達は＜インフォーマントの名前＞さんの存在を無視してくれてるの？

みあ2-22：あんまりこっち見ない。中国語を教えてくれてる子が、黒板の前にいて、あと三人がそっちに向かってて、私は教室のはじっこ方の席にいたから、発言するときに誰も私の方を見て言わないわけね。一人と三人で向き合ってやってるから、私はいるけど、誰もこっちを見ていない。

直子2-23：いるけどいない。

みあ2-23：いるけどいない。

直子2-24：最初から、いるけどいないようには扱ってくれないでしょ？

みあ2-24：うん、何を言うにもこっちをチラッチラッ。

直子2-25：どうやって躾たの？

みあ2-25：躾はしてないよねえ。＜間＞、意図的に段階踏んで、こうやってこうやってっていうプログラムを組んでやってた覚えはないんだ。

直子2-26：こっちをチラチラ見るのをやらなくなった時の事とか、なんか印象に残ってない？

みあ2-26：たぶん、その時間は私はほんとはわき役で自分たちがやる時間だよっていうことが分かってたって事と、やっぱり、自分と机並べてる子にそういう形で教えて貰うって事ないじゃない？そういう面で、やっぱり、内容的に面白いと思ったんじゃないのかな。

直子2-27：自分達がやる時間だと分かってるっていうのはすごい事よ。どうやって、そのメッセージを伝えたの？

みあ2-27：うーん、＜間＞後半には実習的な事をやります、その時には、一種のやらせではあるけれども、一人が教える側になって、後の人が習う側になります、その時の時間の使い方は、教案は見るけども、任せる、机とかをどういう配置にしたいとか、何を使いたいかってのも任せるからねえというような言い方をしたと思う。後で実習をやるぞやるぞっていうのは何回か言ってたけども、それくらいかなあ。

Naoko 2-20: This is rather an abrupt topic change, but when they talked about the lack of cards, for example, did all four students participate?

Mia 2-20: Yes, the four were talking.

Naoko 2-21: What were you doing then? Did you watch them?

Mia 2-21: I watched them.

Naoko 2-22: Did they ignore your presence?

Mia 2-22: They didn't look in my direction too often. The student who taught was in front of the board and the remaining three were facing her. I was in a corner of the room. So no one looked at me when they spoke. It was one facing three. I was there, but no one looked at me.

Naoko 2-23: So you were there, but you weren't.

Mia 2-23: I was there, but I wasn't.

Naoko 2-24: They hadn't been like that from the beginning, had they?

Mia 2-24: No. They gave me a brief look every time they said something.

Naoko 2-25: How did you manage to discipline them?

Mia 2-25: I didn't discipline them. <pause> I had no deliberate programme of doing this for the first step and that for the next.

Naoko 2-26: Do you remember the time they stopped looking at you?

Mia 2-26: Perhaps they knew my role was only a minor one in that class and it was the time for them to be in charge. And students seldom have the chance to be taught like that by a classmate, do they? They probably found it interesting.

Naoko 2-27: It's great they knew it was the time for them to be in charge. How did you get the message across?

Mia 2-27: Um. <pause> I think I told them we were going to have micro-teaching in the second semester. One of them were going to be a teacher, and the rest learners. I would have a look at their teaching plans, but I would leave up to them how the time should be spent, how the desks should be laid out, and what they should use for their teaching. I told them several times that we were going to have micro-teaching, but I guess that was about all.

The bilingual student mentioned above came to Japan when she was eight with her father, who was a Japanese war orphan raised by a Chinese family. Her problem presented yet another challenge to Mia.

みあ1-116：<ターン前半省略>８才で帰国してるからもう１２年くらい経ってるんだけども、読み書き能力の問題だけじゃなくて、それまで自分の居場所って学校の中に全然なかったっていう、そういう学生。留学生の方が数倍、教えやすいんだよね、今までどっちの言語でも学習経験がなくて、中国から小学校に入学した直後くらいに帰国してしまったから、中国語の読み書きも家庭とか友達関係とかでやってるけども、いわゆる家庭語の域を出ないっていうので、中国語の授業もとってはいるの。その学生にどう対処していいのかわからない２年間を過ごしたわけ。この子はたまたま向上心が強くて、ある程度経済的余裕もあったので、途中で挫折しないで、ここまでこられた。お金持ちっていうわけじゃないけども。
直子1-117：子どもを短大にやれるだけの経済力はあった。
みあ1-117：そう。非常に恵まれたケースだけれども、そうじゃない人もきっと多いし、その子の交遊関係聞いてもそうじゃないって随分言ってたし、会ったのは一人だけなんだけど、その子の背景というか、その氷山の下が、これじゃ済まないなあって思って、そういう子に対して、自分がもってる枠組みではもう対処できないなっていうのすごく強く感じてね。<中略>今まではどちらかというと成人以降の人を中心にやってきて、子どもを教えた経験はインターナショナルスクールで教えた２年間だけだから、第一言語がまだ確立していないケースに対して、どうすればいいんだっていうふうなこと、切実に、感じた。ここ１・２年、特にその子に会ってから、これはちょっと時間をかけてやる必要があるだろうし、それほど器用じゃないから、やっぱり仕事と両立しながらはむずかしいだろうし、ちょっと専念してみるかっていう気がしてる。

Mia 1-116: <The first part of the turn omitted> She came back when she was eight, so it's been twelve years. Her problem is not just literacy. She's never had her place in school. Teaching overseas students is several times easier. She's never studied in either Japanese or Chinese. Because she came to Japan right after she started school in China, her literacy in Chinese does not go beyond family language level, although she does read and write Chinese at home and with friends. She takes Chinese classes too. I had no idea what to do with this student for the past two years. She's managed to carry on because she's got a strong desire to get on and her family is relatively well-off. Well, they are not terribly rich, but ...

Naoko 1-117: Rich enough to send their daughter to a junior college.

Mia 1-117: Yes. In that sense she is extremely lucky. But there must be a lot of unlucky ones. She says all her friends are not like her. I only met one person, but the group she belongs to is big. What I've seen is just the tip of the iceberg. I strongly felt that I cannot work with these people in the framework I have now. I've mainly taught adults, and my only experience in teaching kids is two years in an international school. I really don't know what to do with cases in which the first language is not established. So for the past year or two, particularly since I met this student, I've been thinking about putting substantial time in this issue. I'm not very good at doing several things at the same time, and studying as I work would be difficult. So I'm planning to be a full-time student.

Mia plans to quit her job and start doctoral work in literacy or bilingualism in the context of educational studies. Her social awareness seems to have led to the decision, but, according to Mia,

has also been affected by two other sets of factors. One is entirely personal. Her daughter is now at university and her mother is still in good health. She regards the timing as not to be missed. Also she had a minor operation in the summer of 1998 and realized that her physical strength would not be the same when she is fifty. She feels that this might be the last chance for her to start an energy-consuming project. The other set of factors, which she feels should not be made public, also concern taking control of the course of her life.

Mia now has a very humble view of the profession.

直子2-52：今、仕事してることって、１７才ぐらいの時に、<研究協力者の名前>さんが自分が何処に行ってしまったんだろうってことで始まったのよね。だから、人の自己実現の話があって、それが自分の自己実現の話でもあるんだと思うんだけど、今やってる仕事って、そういう中でどういうふうに位置づけられてるの？

みあ2-52：やっぱり人間を相手にするから、その恐さみたいなのが年と共にわかってきたという気がする。若いときってなんて無謀だったのかしらみたいなね。思い出すのが怖くなるようなこともある。やっぱり相手になにかを残してしまっているっていうことの責任というか、そこまで考えると生きていくのがこわくなるけど、それに代わるいい言葉が浮かばないので、責任ということにして、それに気がつくと恐い。まあ、自分がこう言ったから、相手がどうかなるというほど、学生だって柔じゃないし、それほど人の言うことを聞いてはくれないから、そういう心配ってあんまりないけれど。今まで自分が習ってきた先生って、何人いるかわからないけども、その中で、全く記憶から消えてる人も結構いるし、思い出したくないという人、っていうことは忘れてない人もいるし、いい意味で覚えてる人もいる。支援してもらったこともあるけど、逆に、芽を摘むみたいなことされたこともある。その先生は意図してやったのか、私がそう受けとめただけなのかわからないけど、そういう出合いもあったから、教師っていう職業は必ずしも人を支援しているとは思えないし、下手するとできることをできなくしちゃってるとか、できないような気持ちにさせてしまうとか、やる気を無くさせるっていう、マイナスの働きも教師は結構するなっていうことを感じるのね。少なくとも、勉強する邪魔だけはしたくないと思うんだけれども、邪魔してないかどうか自信がない。自分のやってることを他の人がどう受けとめるかって、全く予想がつかないようなところがあるし、これがこうなって、それがとんでもない化学反応を起こしちゃうみたいなところもあるし、この職業はやっぱり怖いなと思うのね。自己実現までいかないだろうけど、可能性を壊すことだけはやってなければいいなあって思う。年を取ったせいでしょうか。

Naoko 2-52: I understand your career started when you realized your self image was lost when you were seventeen. So it is a matter of self-actualization of other people, and I feel it's also a matter of your own self-actualization. Where would you place your current work in that history?

Mia 2-52: I'm more and more aware of the dangers, if you like, of working with people. I now see how reckless I was when I was young. It's sometimes scary to remember. Responsibility is too serious a word. I'd be scared to go on if I thought that deeply, but I don't have any other word. So responsibility. I'm scared to think of the responsibility of having left something in learners. Well, learners are not so fragile as to be seriously damaged by what I say. They wouldn't listen to you as you'd expect either. So I shouldn't worry too much. Among the

many teachers I've had I've forgotten many of them completely. But there are some I don't want to remember, which means I do remember. There are others I have good memories of. Some supported me. Others nipped my talents in the bud. I don't know whether they did it intentionally or it's just that I took it that way, but I did meet people like that. I don't think the teaching profession necessarily supports learners. Teachers can do negative work. In the worst cases they can make learners unable to do what they're actually able to, they can make learners feel they're incapable of something, or they can discourage learners. I don't want to be in learners' way, but I'm not sure if I am. You can't predict how people will interpret what you do. Sometimes what you do or what you say can trigger an unexpected chemical reaction. This profession is scary. Helping others' self-actualization is too ambitious. All I want is not to destroy my students' potential. Perhaps I'm getting old.

Chapter 5 Keiko

5-1. How I met Keiko and how our interviews evolved

Keiko was a language training programme coordinator at a government-subsidized agency at the time of the interviews. I had met her only a couple of years previously at a teachers' meeting on learner autonomy where she gave a presentation. I was a keynote speaker there, and was introduced to her as Professor Aoki. We met a few more times before the first interview, but the hierarchical relationship established then basically remained the same. I had the impression that Keiko was a very well organized person. A very different type from myself. I was interested in hearing her story, and Keiko kindly agreed to be interviewed. I was concerned, however, that our relationship and the difference in personalities might affect the quality of our interviews. I got even more concerned when I found out that having the first interview on campus was the most convenient way for her. The campus was my territory. The location might aggravate the already existing power imbalance.

I decided to take her to our teachers' common room. The interview had been arranged on Saturday afternoon, when no one else would be around. The room is brighter and more spacious than my office, which I hoped would get us relaxed to some extent. Keiko was very collaborative and honestly described the change in her thinking about learner autonomy. I do not recall any embarrassing moments in the 105 minutes the interview took. After the interview was over, I asked her if she had felt uncomfortable in talking, and she replied no. I invited her out for a drink afterwards, and she told me at the pub that events which were not referred to in official discourses actually drove her along her career development. I asked her to tell me about those events next time we met, but she was reluctant.

The second interview which again took place on campus a few months later was a lot easier for me. As I checked and edited the transcripts of the first interview, I had come to appreciate Keiko's sincere attitude towards her work much more than I did at the time of the actual interview. The difference in our personalities was no longer anything to worry about. Keiko's narrative was much more focused than last time, probably because I had specific questions and she knew what kind of information I wanted. Although Keiko still did not talk about matters which she probably felt were too personal, I felt I was able to understand her without such information. The second interview took 87 minutes.

5-2. Keiko's story

Keiko was born in 1957. She seems to have been a fairly independent child.

直子2-15：自分のことは自分でやる習慣はあったの？
恵子2-15：私は、どちらかと言うと、そうですね。なんでも自分のことは自分でやりたいほうです。勉強する時でも、私はそばに誰かがいるとちょっとうるさいし、ラジオなんかも消して勉強する。
直子2-16：それって性格？
恵子2-16：どうなんでしょうねえ。性格なのかなあ。

Naoko 2-15: Did you usually do things for yourself?
Keiko 2-15: More or less. I prefer doing things for myself. I was a bit annoyed if someone was around when I studied. I even switched off the radio.
Naoko 2-16: Is it your personality?
Keiko 2-16: Well, I don't know.

Although Keiko went through primary and secondary education without any big problems, she developed a belief that English was not for her during these years in spite of the fact that she had some relatives living in the States and had opportunities to exchange letters with them in English. She describes its cause as follows:

恵子2-6：あれは単に点数が悪かったとか、それだけじゃないかと思いますね。国語なんかは勉強しなくても割といいんですよ。英語はもう努力。英語に割く時間と国語に割く時間を考えると、全然違う。それは数学もそうですよ。数学と英語にはほとんどの時間をかけてるわけでしょ。でも国語は、その頃は古文、漢文、現国っていう分け方をしてたけど、どれも、それほどの努力をせずに、他のマイナス分を埋め合わせるくらいはなんとかできた。だからやっぱり英語はダメなんだろうなと思ってたんですよね。
直子2-7：例えば先生の教え方が気に入らなかったとか、そういうことじゃなかった。
恵子2-7：じゃなかった。むしろ、先生の教え方はすごくよかったんです。私は中学くらいまで、英語もそこそこしか勉強しなかったんですけど、高校に入ったときに、英語の先生が、先入観が入るから、自分は生徒の中学までの成績は見ないって言ったんです。＜中略＞でも、すごく熱心に教えてくださるのが、私たちにもひしひしと伝わって来るんですね。教え方はすごくゆっくりなんですよ。すごく丁寧で。これ！これ覚えるんだみたいな感じで、大声上げて教えてくれたりすることもあったけど、それがみんなを和ませるような所もあって。それと、時事英語みたいなのも結構やってくださった。高校１年生にはちょっと無理かなと思うようなことを、ボンボン。
直子2-8：この前、その先生のことちょっと言ってた。
恵子2-8：そんなのが面白いなと思ったんだろうと思うんですね。だから、その時に英語を勉強した。それとやっぱり宿題と言われたことは、ちゃんとやるというふうなところがまだあったし。
直子2-9：素直だった。
恵子2-9：そう、素直に。ちゃんと明日の単語だけは調べておいて。その先生は高校１・２年を見てくれたんですけど、ちゃんと準備してくれる先生だったんです。３年では別の先生だったんですけど、その先生はそうでもなかった。それはそれでよかったかなという気もしますけど。だから、英語に関しては、その１・２年の時の先生にむしろいい影響を受けた。でも、その後は、英文科にも行かなかったから、英語はそんなにちゃんとやってないという気持ちが今でもあります。

Keiko 2-6: I suspect it was simply because the grades were poor. I was able to get good marks in Japanese without studying too much. English required a lot of effort. The time I had to put into English was much much more than I put into Japanese. Maths as well. I spent most of the time on maths and English. But Japanese was easy. It was divided into classical Japanese, classical Chinese, and modern Japanese in those days. All three subjects compensated for my poor achievement in others although I didn't make much effort. So I thought I wasn't good at English.

Naoko 2-7: So it wasn't because you didn't like the way your teachers taught or anything like that?

Keiko 2-7: No. On the contrary, I had a very good teacher. I didn't study English much at junior high. When I entered senior high, the teacher in English said he wouldn't look at our grades at junior high to avoid developing any preconceptions. <Omission> But we felt his enthusiasm in teaching. He taught at a very slow pace. But his teaching was so detailed. He sometimes shouted things like "This is important, remember it," but that somehow relaxed us. He also often brought materials in current English. Quite a lot of stuff which seemed to be a bit too difficult for first-year senior high students.

Naoko 2-8: You told me about that teacher a bit in the first interview.

Keiko 2-8: I suppose I found such a style interesting. So I studied English then. And I was still the kind of student who would do her homework without fail.

Naoko 2-9: You were biddable.

Keiko 2-9: Yes, biddable. I looked up the words in the text to be covered on the following day. We had this teacher for the first and second years. He prepared for lessons well. Another one we had for the third year wasn't like him, although I don't mean to criticize him. So in terms of English I was influenced by this teacher in first year and second year. But I don't feel I studied English properly because I didn't major in English at university.

Keiko loved Japanese in spite of the fact that the Japanese teachers she had were not quite as conscientious as the English teacher. She read all the textbooks, with the help of a reference book in her family library in the case of classical Chinese, as soon as they were given to students at the beginning of the year. Learning to speak English seemed to be a distant dream. She decided to major in classical Japanese at university. There she joined an extra curricular seminar.

恵子1-43：英語ね。大学時代に、東南アジアの学生との交流セミナーがあって、それに声をかけてやってくれた先生がアメリカ人の英文学の先生で、キリスト教徒の人だったんですね。第三世界についてみんなもっと学びましょうって、奥さんと二人で一生懸命やってくれた。実は最近亡くなられたんですど、お人柄もすばらしかった。その時の経験がすごく強烈だったんです。＜中略＞周りに英語

ができる先輩とかが何人もいて、英語でディスカッションしましょうとか言う。私なんか黙って横にいるしかなかったんですよ。でも、聞いてたら何となくみんなが言っていることがわかるし、アメリカ人の先生だから、I mean とか、別に大した言葉じゃないんだけど、先生がちょこちょこと言うような言い回しは、ああ、この言葉、何回も聞くなあとか思ったりしたんですね。で、あちらの学生たちが日本に来て、共通語は英語で、すごいくせのある発音の英語だったんですけど、一月ぐらい合宿して、みんな友だちになったんです。それで、あ、これは英語やらなきゃいけないと思った。自主セミナーみたいなもんですから、全然授業の単位とは関係ないんですけど、みんなで、ちょっとしたリーフレットみたいなのを英語で読んでくる課題があったんですよ。あと、周りに英語のできる日本人学生がいて、その人たちの言ってることを聞いて、ああこういうふうに話すのかとわかった。それって、サイレントピリオドですよね。そういうサイレントピリオドがあって、２年目に今度は私たちが相手の大学を訪問することになった。＜ターン後半省略＞

＜インタビューアーの１ターン省略＞

恵子1-44：＜ターン前半省略＞で、２年目の夏に私たちが行くことになって、その前にちょっとだけ春休みに英語を習いに行ったんですけど、なんか物足りなかったですね。セミナーにいたら、できないけれども、もっと実践的で難しいことをガンガンやらされてた。語学学校に行くと「これはなに色ですか」とかでしょ。そういうのが、まどろっこしい。これからやらなきゃいけないのかなあと思うと、すごく面倒で、語学学校に行くのはやめたんですね。で、２年目に向こうへ行ったら、いきなり話せるようになってた。というか、去年来た人と再会して、単語レベルで話したり、先生が講義してくれる話の要点がなんとなくわかるようになっていたんです。とうとう会話学校へは行かなかったんですけど、後輩や次に来た人たちにとったら、私は英語が話せる人になってたんです。それで、習うより慣れろで、話してて、単語はもちろん高校生ぐらいでやってたようなことですけど、意志疎通ができたっていうのがすごく嬉しかった。書いたりなんかはあんまりしなかったんですけど、まあまあちょこちょこ見たりすることはあったんです。

Keiko 1-43: English. I joined a seminar at university. It was an exchange project with South East Asian students organized by an American teacher and his wife. He was a teacher of English literature and a Christian. He encouraged us to learn more about the Third World. He passed away recently in fact, but he was a marvelous person. The experience was very powerful for me. <Omission> There were many senior students who spoke English. When they suggested we discussed in English, all I was able to do was to sit there without speaking. I was able to understand them. Small phrases the teacher often used, like "I mean," became familiar to me. Then those South East Asian students came to Japan. Our common language was English. Honestly, their pronunciation was terrible. But we lived together for about a month, and made friends. That experience motivated me to learn English. The Indonesia Seminar was a non-credit, extra-curricular activity. But we occasionally had homework like reading a leaflet for the next meeting. And I was able to learn how to say things by listening to those Japanese students who spoke English. That was a Silent Period, wasn't it? I had some Silent Period, and the second year was our turn to visit their university. <The rest of the turn omitted>

<A turn by the interviewer omitted>

Keiko 1-44: <The first part of the turn omitted> So we were going to visit <NAME OF COUNTRY> in summer of the following year. I went to a language school during the spring break, but it was boring. It's true I wasn't very good at English, but we did a lot of practical and

difficult things in the seminar. At the language school, though, I was asked questions like "what color is this?" Such lessons were really a bore. I didn't want to start with such basic stuff, so I quit the school. And we went to <NAME OF COUNTRY> in the second year. I suddenly started speaking. Well we had a reunion with those Indonesian students who'd come to Japan the previous year. And I talked with them using the words I knew. I was able to vaguely understand the points of the teacher's lectures. So I didn't take any lessons in conversation. But I was a competent speaker in the eyes of people who joined the group after me. It was really like practice makes perfect. I was very happy to be able to communicate, although the words I used were of course not much beyond senior high level. I didn't write much, but I had opportunities to see English used.

After graduation Keiko got a part-time teaching position at a senior high school.

恵子2-29：教師になることだけは、嫌だったんですよ。
直子2-30：なんで？
恵子2-30：文学部だったし、一応みんな教職課程をとってたんですよね。でも、もっと違うことをやってみたいというような気持ちがあって、みんな先生になるの？、他のことしようよって考えてたんですけど、自分が仕事を探す頃になって、やっぱり資格があるような仕事の方が、結婚にしろ、なんにしろ、自分で何かを決めるときに、より自由にいろんなことができるんじゃないかと思ったんです。いわゆるお勤めだったら、ほんとに短い期間しか働かないだろうし。そう思ったら、教師しか仕事が思い浮かばなかった。私、付和雷同するんですよ。たまたま友だちに、仕事決まった？って聞いたら、私は非常勤をやることにしたって言うんです。えっ非常勤って何？という感じで、あわてて教育委員会に履歴書を出して、非常勤の仕事があったらお願いしますって言ってたんですよ。そうしたら、たまたま私の母校から電話がかかってきたんですよ。タイミング的にすごくよかったんですね。困難高に行ってたらきっと辞めてたと思うんですけど。＜後略＞

Keiko 2-29: A teacher was the last thing I wanted to be.

Naoko 2-30: Why?

Keiko 2-30: I was in the literature department. Everyone was taking courses required for a teaching qualification. But I wanted to do something else. "Is everyone planning to be a teacher? Why don't we do something else?" That was the kind of thing I thought. But when the time came to look for a job, I thought professions which required a qualification would enable me to make decisions, marriage or whatever, more freely. I'd only work for a short period of time if I went to work in a company. Then teaching was the only job I could think of. I tend to follow the crowd. I asked a friend one day if she'd found a job. She said she was going to be a part-time teacher. I went "What's a part-time teacher?" and rushed to the local board of education with my CV to sign up on the waiting list. Then the senior high I graduated from contacted me. I guess the timing was right. I'd have resigned quickly if I had been assigned to a difficult school. <The rest of the turn omitted>

Keiko seems to have kept rather a detached attitude while teaching at the senior high school.

恵子2-32：＜ターン前半省略＞高校の教師をやってたときに、国語でもなんでも、一応マニュアルあるでしょ？本時の目的が書いてあって、どういう順序で教えるとか、解説が全部、書いてある。だからそれを見て、自分の講義ノートを作ればいいんです。先輩の人がみんな「教材研究だけできるときは、やった方がいいのよ」とか言ってくれるし、担任ももちろんないし、ほとんど教材研究をしてたんですけど、他の先生を見てると、ずーと学生が相談に来て、入れかわり立ちかわり個人面談やったり、引率で学生をどこかに連れて行ったり、そういうことばかりやってらっしゃるんですね。ああ、なるほどなあと思った。教職は教材研究だけが仕事じゃないとわかった。だから、その時はやっぱりそういう先生たちを観察してたんでしょうね。

それからあと、私が一生懸命教えたからといって生徒が伸びたかっていうとそうでもないんですね。できる子はいつの点数を見ても９０点以上だし、初めから国語のセンスもよかったなと。で、人数が多いですよね。４０人から４５人くらいいるでしょ。だから、プログラムなんて全部できてるわけだし、それを、これはテストに出ますよっていう言葉の下に教えていればいいんですよね。受験勉強がなかったら教師は何の仕事をするのかなとか思いましたね。国語、古文なんかいらないのにとか、本当に思いました。だけど、そのうちにこの人たちが古文とか、国語の本に出てくるような文章を読まなくなる日が来るんだけど、その時に、あそこにこういう話があったなとか思い出せればいいんじゃないかなとか。受験勉強がなければ、国語で習ったことが、教養として人生の楽しみになればそれでいい。国語はまだそれになるかなと思ったんです。

あと、生徒と付き合うのが難しかったですね。私もまだ２２才とか２３とかそんな時ですから、やっぱり怖かったですよね。どんな態度をとっていいのかわからない。やっぱり偉そうにしなくちゃいけないし、距離がないと困る。だけど放課後にみんなが喋りに来たりすると友達喋りになっちゃって。それとか、周りで同僚の教師に対して学生が相談している内容を聞いてると、ずいぶん深刻なことがあって。私はあんな仕事できるかなと思いましたよね。すごく大変。大学を出て、教師になったりできるのは、やっぱり恵まれてるんだなあとその時にわかりましたね。進学校に来てても、いろんな家庭環境の子がいるわけだし、その人たち一人一人と付き合っていくのは、大変な事なんだなあと思った。結局、高校教師は、それ以上続けなかったですけど。

Keiko 2-32: <The first part of the turn omitted> They have a manual for Japanese and everything, don't they? It states the objectives of each lesson. It has all the explanations about what to teach in what order, so all you have to do is to make lecture notes out of the manual. When I was teaching at senior high school, senior teachers told me to spend my time in materials study while I was free from other responsibilities. I wasn't a homeroom teacher, so I spent most of my time at school studying materials. I watched the other teachers too, though. Students incessantly came in, and the teachers had to have a train of individual consultations; or they had to take students on field trips. Those were the kind of things that took up most of the teachers' time. I felt I understood how things are there. Being a teacher involved more than studying materials. Yes, I was observing the teachers then.

Students didn't make progress because I taught them. The good ones always got more than 90 percent in tests. They had a good sense of Japanese from the very beginning. The classes were huge. I had forty to forty-five students in each class. All you had to do was teach the ready-made programme letting the students know that they were going to be tested on the material. I wondered what the teachers' job would be if the students weren't

going to take college entrance exams. Neither modern nor classical Japanese seemed necessary to me. The days would come when the students no longer read texts like those in school books. I convinced myself that it'd be good enough if they just remembered stories they read in the textbooks. I thought that Japanese could be one of life's pleasures if there were no entrance exams.

Dealing with students was also difficult. I was twenty-two or three, and I was afraid. I didn't know what sort of attitude to take towards them. I felt I needed to look authoritative. I thought I should keep some distance. But when they came to have a chat with me after school, our talk turned into friend-friend mode. Or I heard really serious problems discussed in the staff room. I doubted my capacity to carry out a teacher's job. It's very tough. I then understood how lucky I was to have graduated from university and got a teaching position. Students at a public high school come from all sorts of family background. Teachers had to have a personal relationship with each of them. That's tremendous work. I quit the job after all.

While teaching part-time, Keiko took an evening course in JSL teacher training. She says that she was not confident teaching modern Japanese and that she thought she would be able to learn about contemporary grammar in the course. She describes her motivation as "the same kind as you would have for flower arrangement lessons." After a few years Keiko went back to graduate school. She thought about studying JSL, but she did not think she would be able to get into the prestigious universities which offered a JSL MA programme. So she continued studying classical Japanese at the university she graduated from.

恵子2-36：なんでしょうね。２０代の時って、もうすぐ結婚するっていう意識が常にあるでしょ。ほんとにモラトリアムですよね。結婚するまでの何年間かに何かできればいいなみたいな。大学を卒業して高校の教師になったけど、それでずっとやっていくつもりはなくて、もうちょっと別のことをやってみたかったんでしょうね、きっと。ところが大学院に行ったら、ここはぜんぜん私に合わないと思ったんですよ。ほんとに勉強するのが嫌いだと思ったんですよ。それともう一つは、もう一回学生をやるってなかなか難しいですね。お金を稼がなくなってまったくの学生をやるってことはちょっとした苦痛ですよね。
＜５ターン省略＞
恵子2-39：＜ターン前半省略＞あと、周りの人も、男の人なんかでも、必死で塾の先生とかやってるんですよ。私は大学院の研究室の事務みたいなことを手伝ってて、それで奨学金代わりのお金をくれたから、勉強と言うよりは、学校に通勤してたんですね。大学院に行く人の数も今ほど多くなかったし、とにかく、入ったら高校教職１級の免許が取れるでしょ。
直子2-40：さっき付和雷同って言ってたけど、友だちがやってるから、私もやるわみたいなことだったのかしら？
恵子2-40：そうです、そうです。なにか信念があってこうなったわけでもなんでもないんですよ。たまたまこうなっただけ。大学院の時に先生に何をやりたいのと言われて、いやー、高校の教師をするのになんか勉強も足りないと思うしみたいなことしか言えなかった。その程度のことで入ったんです。
＜後略＞

Keiko 2-36: I wonder why. When you're in your twenties, you're always aware that you'll get married soon. It's a moratorium, isn't it. So you hope to do something in the few years before your marriage. I graduated from university and got a job at senior high school. But I didn't mean to be a teacher for ever. I suppose I wanted to try something else. At grad school, though, I discovered the place was not at all for me. I found out that I really hated studying. Another difficulty was going back to student life. Being a full-time student with no income of my own was a pain.

<5 turns omitted>

Keiko 2-39: <The first part of the turn omitted> Students in the same programme, even male ones, spent a lot of time teaching at cram schools. I worked as an assistant at the departmental office. The pay was a sort of scholarship. So I commuted to school to work. The number of students who went to graduate school was fewer than it is now. Anyway, you get an advanced teaching qualification for senior high schools when you finish your MA, don't you? That was a plus.

Naoko 2-40: You said you tended to follow the crowd a few minutes ago. So was it like I'll do it because my friends are doing it sort of thing?

Keiko 2-40: Yes, yes. I didn't have any kind of determination. It just so happened that way. When I was asked by my grad school teacher what I wanted to do, all I was able to say was I felt I needed to study more to teach at high school. My motivation was as poor as that. <The rest of the turn omitted>

After she finished her graduate work, Keiko started teaching JSL.

恵子1-26：＜ターン前半省略＞外国はすごく興味があったんですよね。で、大学院を終わるときに、また高校教師に戻るか、日本語教育をやるかって考えて、私はとても古典で食べていけるとは思えなくて、高校よりはちょっと不安定だったんですけど、たまたま先輩がいたので、＜日本語学校名＞というところで雇ってもらったんです。そしたら、そこの２年間の仕事っていうのが、毎日びっくり箱みたいにいろんな面白いことがあったんですよね。お金は少なかったんですけど、高校教師とも全然違うし、ティーム・ティーチングも初めてだったし、ちょうど日本語教育がブームになりかけの時だったから、面白いことが次々にあった時代で、

直子1-27：さっき、その２年間でトレーニングされたと言ってたけど、それは同僚とかからいろんなことを教えてもらったっていうこと？

恵子1-27：そうですね。その時、学校には６・７人ぐらいしか先生がいなかったんですね。その中で私だけが２０代。その時２５・６だったんですけど、あとはポーンと一回り上だったんですよ。なかなか厳しかったんですけど、その時に、いろんな教えかたを教えてもらいました。授業のぎりぎり前に、これはどういうふうに導入したらいいんでしょうと聞いて、これはこうこうよとか教えてもらったり。でも、いちばん印象に残ったのは、時間配分と、次に人に渡すまでに自分がやらなければいけないことはなにかっていうことを考えなきゃいけないということですね。そんなに何回もじゃないんですけど、先輩方が授業のオブザーブに入って下さって、そのクラスは初めは西洋人が多かったんですけど、「彼らから質問が来たときにあんなに引っ張られちゃダメよ」とか言われました。高校教師だったら、じゃあ今日はここまでにしましょうと言って、次は自分でやればいいわけですけど、ティーム・ティーチングでやるときは、月曜日にわたしがやったら、次の日は別の人がするんだから、

その人に渡すまでに自分がやるべきことはきっちり終えて次の人に渡さなきゃいけない。だから、いい意味でのシステマティックなやり方を、或いは、外国人の学生の処理の仕方というか（笑）そんなのを教えてもらったとおもいます。半年目ぐらいの時に、全日制プログラムが始まって、韓国人とか中国人とか、全然タイプが違う人たちが入ってきたんですね。しかも目的も違って、今度は予備教育みたいな感じ。目的の違う人には別のことをやらなきゃいけないというのもでてきて、ほんとに手探りでしたけど、その２年と言うのは、学校自体も日本の日本語教育の受け入れも変わってくる時代だったので、いろんな経験をしました。あと、２年目は専任にしてもらったので、大学の挨拶に廻ったりとか、そういう教務的なこともしました。＜ターン後半省略＞
直子1-28：＜日本語学校名＞のチームティーチングって、ある意味では学習者が自分で自分をマネージするとか、そういうのと違うじゃない？そこら辺は、その当時は、どう思ってたの？
恵子1-28：その当時は全然そんなの考えてなかったですね。むしろ、文型を導入して、それをパターンドリルで廻すっていうやり方だったんですよね。だから、ある意味で、その２年間は私にとっては、パターンドリルのやり方のトレーニングみたいなときでしたね。学生の中には英語を教えてるイギリス人なんかもいるから「もっとまわさなきゃだめよ」とか、向こうから教えられたりして。その時はまだ若かったですから、クラスの中で私が一番下だったりとかいうこともありましたし。その時は、とにかく自分に与えられてることをやるのが精一杯だったんです。その後、全日制で、午前も午後も勉強してビザを貰ってという大学予備教育的なコースを持ったときに、もちろんパターンドリルもやったんだけど、彼らの方がそれじゃものたりなくなってきたんですよね。でも、そうすると、今度は高校教師に逆戻りで、国語の教育になっちゃうんですね。なんか私が作る問題を見ると、日本語教育より国語だなあとか思った。そのどっちかしか無かったですね。＜ターン後半省略＞

Keiko 1-26: <The first part of the turn omitted> I was very much interested in foreign countries. I didn't think I could make my living by teaching classical literature. So when I was finishing my MA I decided to go for JSL, although the job wasn't as stable as a high school one would be. I knew a graduate of my university who taught at <NAME OF LANGUAGE SCHOOL>. So I got work there. The two years I spent there were full of interesting surprises. The pay wasn't so good, but it was totally different from the work at high school. Team teaching was new to me. JSL was just about to boom. So I had lots of interesting experiences one after another.
Naoko 1-27: You said you'd been trained in those two years a few minutes ago. Does that mean you learned things from your colleagues?
Keiko 1-27: Yes. We had only six or seven teachers. And only I was in my twenties. I was twenty-five or six, the rest were about twelve years older. It was rather tough, but they showed me various ways to teach. I asked one teacher how to present a structure just before the class, and she told me how. That kind of thing. The thing I remember most was time allocation during each class and having to cover my share before the end of the lesson. The students were mainly Westerners when I started. The senior teachers observed my lessons a few times, and advised me not to spend too much time answering students' questions.[1] High school teachers can decide how far they go in each lesson. They can start from where they left off in the previous lesson. But in team teaching I teach a class on Monday, and some

[1] Among teachers of Japanese Western students are famous for asking a lot of questions.

other teacher teaches the class on the next day, so I have to properly cover what I'm supposed to. I learned a systematic way of teaching in the good sense of the word, or how to handle foreign students. <Laughter> After about six months, they started a full-time programme, and different types of students, Koreans and Chinese, came to the school.[2] Their purpose was also different. It was like pre-college language training. We had to do different things for people with a different purpose. It was trial and error. Those two years were a transition period for the school itself, and also in the government's policy on JSL. So I had a variety of experiences. I taught full time in the second year, and did some administrative work too, like visiting universities. <The rest of the turn omitted>

Naoko 1-28: Team teaching at <NAME OF LANGUAGE SCHOOL> in a sense goes against the idea that learners manage themselves. How did you feel about it then?

Keiko 1-28: I didn't think about it at all. What I was doing was presenting a structure and giving the students a lot of pattern drills. So in a sense those two years were a training in pattern drills for me. I had one British student who was a teacher herself. She suggested I should go faster in drills. I was young then, sometimes the youngest in the class. So I had to try hard just to do what I was supposed to. The full-time pre-college programme had classes in the mornings and afternoons to meet a visa requirement. I of course did pattern drills, but the students got dissatisfied with them. What I did then was go back to my teaching style at high school. My classes were like ones for teaching Japanese as L1. The test items I wrote looked more like Japanese as L1 than JSL. I had only two options. <The rest of the turn omitted>

Teaching Asian students seems to have been an eye-opening experience for Keiko. She started learning Asian languages.

恵子1-32：<ターン前半省略>たまたま、日本語教育の仕事について、韓国人の人とか、中国人の人とかが学校に入ってきた時、あっ、国際交流とか言いながら、英語だけ見てたんじゃダメだなと思ったんです。それで<大学名>の大学院生とかが中心になって、市民向けの韓国語講座をやってたので、それに行ったんです。結局何ヵ月ぐらい行ったのかな。一期が３ヶ月ぐらいですから、２回ぐらいいったのかもしれない。半年ぐらい。先生は皆さん元々それが専門だけれども、まだ学生さんですから、発音とか、すごく一生懸命教えてくれるんです。漢語の発音とか、その時、私自身も興味があったんです。というのは、学習者の漢語の発音がみんなずいぶんまずいということは、たぶん母語の干渉があるんだろうと思ってたからなんですが、自分が韓国語の発音を勉強した時に、なるほどと思う

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[2] According to Tanaka (1995), the so-called One Hundred Thousand Overseas Students Plan, launched by the then prime minister, Yasuhiro Nakasone, in 1983, led to the government's decisions 1) to legalize overseas students' part-time work, and 2) to simplify the visa application procedure for those intending to study Japanese in Japan. These changes boosted the number of learners and Japanese language schools. In 1985 the number of students learning at a language school increased almost eight times from the previous year. The dramatic increase continued till late 1988, when the government tightened the visa issuing policy. The learner population in 1989 decreased to one third of the one in 1988.

ことがいろいろあったわけです。もっとやればよかったんですけど、文字と発音ぐらいやっただけで、満足しちゃって、仕事も忙しくなったんで、それは止めた。あと、私の勤めてた学校に、第三世界に興味がある職員が一人いて、ネパールとか、インドとか、アフリカとかの文化紹介をしたり、語学講座をひらいたりしてたんですよね。そこでインドネシア語講座があったから、それは楽しみとして出てたんです。<ターン後半省略>

Keiko 1-32: <The first half of the turn omitted> Just as I started teaching JSL, people from Korea and China started coming into the school. And I realized international exchange required more than English. There was a course in Korean run by grad students of <NAME OF UNIVERSITY> and some others, which was open to the public, so I started going. How long did I go after all? One term was three months. I probably went for two terms. So that's six. All teachers specialized in the language, but they were still students. So they taught us pronunciation enthusiastically. I myself was interested in the pronunciation of Chinese loan words, because my students' pronunciation of Chinese loan words was rather poor. I'd guessed that was L1 interference. Learning Korean pronunciation solved many puzzles for me. I should have studied more, but when I'd learned how to read Korean characters and pronunciation, I felt I learned enough. I also got busy at work, so I quit. That was Korean. And we had one staff member at school who was interested in the Third World. He organized events to introduce the cultures of Nepal, India, Africa and so on. She also organized language courses, and one of them was Indonesian. So I attended it for pleasure. <The rest of the turn omitted>

Keiko felt the need to have some experience in teaching overseas. She applied for the job of a Japanese language specialist in the Japan Foundation, and she was assigned to a position in Hong Kong. She spent two years there, but her status was very much a sheltered one. To borrow her expression, she went and came back as the person she had been in Japanese society. Her teaching load was light. The teaching skills she acquired at the language school in Japan seemed to be good enough. She thought, mistakenly, her teaching method was communicative, but it did not cause any problems. She learned some survival Cantonese as a continuation of learning a series of languages, and this made it easier for her to move around the city. She was quite happy to be able to handle greetings and shopping in Cantonese.

When Keiko came back to Japan two years later, she found the situation in Japan had completely changed.[3]

恵子1-29：<ターン前半省略>私、<日本語学校名>時代も、非常勤で<大学名>とか、いくつか大

[3] This change was brought about by the government's policy change explained in the footnote 2 of this chapter.

学の授業もやってたんです。それのお陰で、帰ってきてからすぐ、非常勤ではいくつか声を掛けて戴いて、<大学名>、<大学名>、あと<大学名>と三つぐらい行ってたんですね。だけど、非常勤しか無かったんですよ。日本に帰ると自分は専任の仕事にはつけないという現実がよくわかったんです。そうなろうと思ったら、やっぱり日本語教師養成のコースを持っているような大学院に行き直す以外ないみたいな気持ちだったけど、そのときもう30でしたからねえ、またこれから大学院に行くという決心がとてもできなかったんですよ。で、日本に帰って１年半ぐらい経ってから、たまたま昔の同僚が、<大学名>で専任を募集してるから受けないかって言ってきてくれたんです。もう一回香港に行くっていうのは、自分としてもとても勇気がいったんですけど、そんなに長くなると思ってなかったんですよ。１・２年経って経歴ができたら、日本語学校でもいいし、大学でもいいし、日本で専任を募集しているところを受ければいいと思ってたんですよね。でも、なかなかそんなにうまくいかないのと、香港自体も香港の日本語教育も、とにかく毎年毎年どんどんどんどん変わる時期だったので、結果的に６年半ぐらい、いついてしまった。

Keiko 1-29: <The first half of the turn omitted> When I was teaching at <NAME OF LANGUAGE SCHOOL> I also taught part-time at a few universities like <NAME OF UNIVERSITY>. Because of that I was able to find part-time jobs at <NAME OF UNIVERSITY>, <NAME OF UNIVERSITY>, and <NAME OF UNIVERSITY>. But there was nothing but part-time work. I realized my qualifications were not good enough to get a full-time job in Japan. Doing another MA in JSL seemed to be the only way to go, but I was already thirty and I couldn't decide to go back to grad school. After about a year and a half, an ex-colleague in Hong Kong told me <NAME OF UNIVERSITY> was looking for a full-time teacher. It took me some courage to decide to go to Hong Kong again, but I didn't expect I'd be there so long. I thought I'd be able to apply for a full-time job in a language school or university after a couple of years. But my plan didn't work out very well, and Hong Kong itself and JSL in Hong Kong were dramatically changing each year at that time.[4] So I ended up staying there for six and a half years.

In contrast to the first position Keiko held in Hong Kong, the second one required a high degree of commitment to the job because her employer was a Hong Kong university rather than the Japanese government. These six and a half years had an immense influence on Keiko.

恵子1-13：<ターン前半省略>大学教育の中での、教育の内容とかプロセスとか結果とかが、みんなに見やすいようになってる社会だと思ったんですね。私の所属していた学科は翻訳、言語学などの複合した学科で、日本語はあくまでその中の一つだったんです。だから、会議に、全然違う分野の人もいて、そういう人が、その分野に関しては素人だけれども、ここに出てくるデータはおかしいんじゃないかというふうに言える所があってね。日本的な専門といわれる人だけの密室会議に比べて、素人、門外漢も入った会議が実際に優れているのかどうかはわかりませんけど、そういう寄り合い所帯で仕事をしてたのも私にとってきっと面白かったんでしょうね。で、その人たちに納得してもらえるようなプログラムを作らないといけなかった。日本語だけが秘密のベールにつつまれているわけにはいかない、日本語は特別ですからっていうふうな言い方で逃げられない部分があったと思うんですね。実

[4] The period in which Keiko lived in Hong Kong was immediately prior to its return to China.

際、授業時間数、非常勤講師の数、前任者のつけたAやBの数なんかが他の科目と違ってたんです。どうして日本語だけこうなのかって叩かれることは、教科の内容に関しては無かったですけど、予算の配分とか、そういった時にはありました。だから、そういう時に、納得してもらえるように、学内的な工作が必要でした。だから、そういう意味では、私たちが作ってたプログラムもやっぱり人が見てわかるようにしておかなくてはならなかった。日本語プログラムはこういうプロセスで、3年目にはこうします、で、卒業生はこういう分野で働いてて、2年生でやった、この科目がこの場面でとても役にたったという評判を得ていますとか。どこまで厳密なデータがとれたかは疑問ですけど、とにかくそれぐらいのデーターはとっといたほうがいいな、自分のやってる業務に対して、第三者からどう評価されるかっていう考え方を、そこで身につけたと思います。

＜インタビューアーの1ターン省略＞

恵子1-14：＜ターン前半省略＞もう一つ、あそこで学んだのは、一般に日本語教育というのは、一部、西洋社会に先生を派遣しているのを除いては、大体が、日本で経済発展の秘密を勉強したいとか、進んだ技術を勉強したいとか思ってる国の人たちに対してするんだと思っている人たちいるでしょ？でも、実際はある部分で日本よりうんと進んでる社会がアジアにもあるんです。シンガポールもそうだと思うんですけど、そこには、英語で発表して、世界的な標準で仕事したいと思っている人たちがいるんですよね。それも私にとってはショックだったけど、面白かったですね。彼らは、日本とは全然違うコンテキストで仕事してるし、日本で進んだ技術を多少勉強したいと思ってても、それがすぐに役立たないと思ったら、パッと乗り換える人はいくらでもいる（笑）。それが、例えば、会社見学とか、ホームステイとかで、日本に学生を連れてくると、なんか手をつないで仲よく国際交流しましょうねえという雰囲気のグループとかがいて、それはそれで有り難いんですけど、日本人が考えてる国際化と現実の世の中の動きにあまりにもギャップがあるんで、ショックでしたね。でもそういうことは日本で言うと嫌われるから、あんまり言えないんです。そういう意味でまだまだ、私もリエントリーカルチャーショックのまっただ中だなあと思う。

Keiko 1-13: <The first part of the turn omitted> I had the impression that it was a society where the content, process and outcome of tertiary education was visible to all. The department I belonged to was a hybrid of translation, linguistics and many more disciplines. Japanese was only one of the components. So teachers of many disciplines got together for meetings. So at meetings, specialists in other disciplines who might know very little about your field could question the validity of your data, for example. I don't know whether such a style of meeting which includes non-experts as well as experts is better than the Japanese style closed-door meetings of experts only, but I found it interesting to work in a mixed group. We had to design a programme which made sense to these people. The Japanese programme couldn't stay secret when the other programmes were not. "Japanese is special" didn't make a good excuse. In fact the number of class hours, the number of part-time teachers, and the proportion of As and Bs my predecessor gave were different from other programmes. They didn't question why Japanese was different in content, but they did when it came to allocating a budget and things like that. So I had to do some groundwork to convince people on such occasions. We had to make our programme transparent. We go through this process, and we do this in the third year. The graduates work in such and such fields, and they find this course in the second year to be useful in this kind of work situation. I collected that sort of data, although I'm not sure how rigorous they were. I suppose I learned to think about how a third party would evaluate my work there.

<A turn by the interviewer omitted>

Keiko 1-14: <The first part of the turn omitted> Another thing I learned in Hong Kong was that there were societies much more advanced than Japan in Asia. Singapore is another example. Some Japanese people think JSL is mostly for people from developing countries who want to learn the secret of Japanese economic development or Japanese advanced technology, apart from when we send teachers to Western countries. They are wrong. There are societies in Asia, like Hong Kong and Singapore, that are more advanced than Japan in some respects. In these countries there are people who publish in English and want to work according to global standards. That was a shock to me, but interesting. The context they work in is totally different from Japan. They may learn Japanese to study Japanese advanced technology, but if they find Japanese technology of no use, they'll change their plan right away. <Laughter> When I brought my students to Japan for company visits or for a home stay, I often met groups of people who seemed to think international exchange meant making friends in a rather patronizing way. I appreciated their hospitality, but the gap between the image of internationalization Japanese people have and the actual state of the world was so big and that was a shock to me. But people in Japan are not happy with me when I say such a thing, so I don't say it too often. In that sense, I'm still in the middle of a reverse culture shock.

Keiko's teaching also changed.

恵子1-11：＜ターン前半省略＞２回目に行ったときに教えることになったのは、日本で言う経営学科の学生だったんです。前は文学部で日本語副専攻みたいな感じだったんですけど、次は、日本の経営学みたいなのをとってる人が多かったんですね。最後に小論文を日本語で発表しなきゃいけないという課題が主専攻のコースデザインにあって、いきなり私がそれの指導をすることになったんです。だけど、後から考えて面白かったのは、彼らがやっていたデータ分析、ファーストハンドインフォーメンションをどういうふうに得て、どういうふうに分析するかとかっていうのが、言語教育の中のプロジェクトワークとかと、ぴったり同じだったんですね。世の中の流れってそうなのかなって思いました。実は私はそこですごく勉強させてもらったんですね。短い時間で、自分たちが集めてきたり分析したことを、どういうふうに発表するかっていう指導するときに、いままでのパターンプラクティスにプラスアルファーが必ずいると思った。彼らがもっている知識や能力をもっとうまく活用すれば、この程度の内容は、かなり自分たちで日本語で準備できるし、その上で教師と学習者が内容や表現を相談していけば、日本語を学習したことが自分の専門分野で活かされるということをもっと認識してもらえるんじゃないかなと思って、勤めた２・３年目ぐらいから、ちょっといろいろなプラスアルファーをやり始めたんですよね。

直子1-12：なに？プラスアルファーって

恵子1-12：たとえばね、＜中略＞書き言葉の指導でも、香港の会社で働いていると、日系企業じゃなくても、けっこう日本語の書き言葉に接することがあるので、本物のビジネスレターとかを使って、日本語を勉強すると、自分たちが１・２年先にやる仕事と実はこんなふうに関係があるよっていうのを彼らにみせられる。私自身ではできないこともたくさんあったので、現地の同僚と協力して、読み書きものを開発したんです。上級教科書に出てくるような教材って、いわゆる日本研究とか文学部とかの学生にはいいかもしれないけど、それがいらない人たちが世の中にはたくさんいることに気づい

たんです。そういう学習者と環境がボーンと私に与えられたんです。そこでいろいろと一工夫する余地があった。それは面白かったですけどね。

Keiko 1-11: <The first part of the turn omitted> My first position was in a literature department, and Japanese was a minor for the students. I taught management majors the second time I was there. Many took a course in Japanese management, which had an assignment of giving a presentation in Japanese at the end of the course. I had to take care of the preparation right after I arrived. It was interesting in retrospect because what they were doing, that is collecting first hand information and analyzing data, was exactly the same as project work in language teaching. I wondered if it was the trend in the world. I actually learned a lot then. You definitely need something extra on top of the pattern practice I was familiar with in order to be able to collect and analyze data and to prepare for a presentation in a short period of time. I thought by utilizing the knowledge and the ability they had the students should be able to do most of the preparation for themselves. Then I could help with the content and the expressions by discussing what they'd done. I thought I'd be able to show how learning Japanese could be useful in their specialized fields that way. So after a couple of years I started teaching there, I started trying bits and pieces of extras.
Naoko 1-12: Could you tell me about those extras?
Keiko 1-12: For example <Omission> People working for companies in Hong Kong have quite a lot of opportunities to handle written Japanese, even if their company is not Japanese. So I used real business letters in teaching writing to show my students how learning Japanese was relevant to the work they'd be doing in a couple of years time. There were things I couldn't do myself. So I developed materials for reading and writing in collaboration with Hong Kong colleagues. I realized materials in normal advanced textbooks might be good for students of Japanese studies or literature, but there are many people in the world who don't need such materials. That was the kind of learners and environment I was assigned to. There was room for creativity there. That was interesting.

This time Keiko seriously took to learning Mandarin.

恵子1-32：<ターン前半省略>２回目に行ったときに、夏休みの明けた９月から着任だったんですけど、２ヶ月ぐらい早く行って、<大学名>っていう大学で、マンダリンの集中コースを受けたんです。どうしてかというと、広東語でもいいけど、広東語はあくまでも話し言葉で、読み書きができないし、標準語を知ってるのは悪くないと思ったんです。そこでやっと文法のシステムとか、いろんなことがわかったんです。マンダリンは広東語とはもちろん違うんですけれども、同じ中国語同士ですから、共通することもたくさんあって、そしたら自分ができると思ってた広東語はその２ヶ月で全部もう終わっちゃったんです。で、やっぱり構造シラバスも大切だなあと実感したんです。というか、構造シラバスもいるし場面シラバスもいるし、もちろんそれだけじゃダメなんだけど、オーディオリンガル的なことだって、やっぱりとても大切だと思ったんですよね。で、結局、２回、夏休みにマンダリンを勉強したんですけど、そうしたら広東語も伸びたんです。広東語とマンダリンの発音のルールが何となくわかってくると、サバイバルの決まり文句や単文レベルではなく、文章のまとまりとして、こ

れはこうなってこうこうこうですっていう所がわかるようになった。広東語ではなかなかそれは習えなかったんです。＜中略＞だから、マンダリンの勉強をすることで広東語がよくわかるようになった。特にテレビのニュースは、その時はまだ少なかったですけど、字幕も出たんです。字幕が出ると、マンダリンと同じだし、それが広東語ではこう発音するのかというのがわかる。だから、２回目と言うのはもちろん住んでる時間も長かったですけど、マンダリンを勉強して広東語がわかるようになったっていう違いがすごくありました。だから、システムとかやっぱり勉強しなきゃいけないなあと思う。映画を２０回も３０回も見て覚える人もいますけど、それよりはやっぱりある程度理屈を押さえた方が、私にとっては早道だなと思いました。

Keiko 1-32: When I went there for the second time, I was supposed to start working in September. I went a couple of months earlier and took an intensive course in Mandarin. Cantonese wouldn't have been bad, but it's primarily a spoken language and you don't read and write. I also thought it wouldn't be a bad idea to know a standard language. Then I finally learned the grammatical system and much more. Mandarin isn't of course the same as Cantonese, but they are both varieties of Chinese. They have much in common. I'd thought I was fairly good at Cantonese, but my knowledge barely lasted for the two months. So I understood the importance of a structural syllabus, or rather that both structural and situational syllabuses were necessary. Audiolingual-style practice is of course not enough, but it's indispensable. I spent two summers learning Mandarin after all. Then my Cantonese improved too. When I came to understand the correspondence between Mandarin and Cantonese pronunciation, I was able to understand stretches of discourse as well as lexical phrases for survival and simple sentences. It had been difficult to learn it directly in Cantonese. <Omission> So my Cantonese improved by learning Mandarin. In those days a few television news programmes had subtitles. Subtitles are identical to Mandarin, and as I listened I learned how to pronounce them in Cantonese. It's true I lived there for a long time, but it's mainly the study of Mandarin that helped. That was the difference from the first time I lived there. I really think you have to learn about the linguistic system. Some people learn a language by watching a film twenty or thirty times over, but understanding its logic to some extent was a short cut for me.

Although the teaching method of the Mandarin course was rather a primitive one, Keiko developed the confidence that she CAN learn foreign languages. This awareness gave Keiko a new insight into language learning.

直子2-27：そういう経験と、＜研究協力者の名前＞さんが日本語を教えるときの考え方と関係あると思う？
恵子2-27：やっぱりあると思います。今でもすごく覚えてるのは、今、習ってきたことを外で言ってパッと通じた時の快感。なんて言うのかな、心の中にっていうか、身体の中に残ってますね。だから、あの快感があるからこそ、みんな勉強できるんじゃないかという気がするんですよね。それと、授業中に、誰かが日本語で話したことを、教室のみんながワーッと笑ったりした時の一瞬の快感。滅多にないんですよ。何年間か教えてても、１年に何回もあることじゃない。単に受けるとか受けないとか

じゃなくて、この人たちが言ってることがパッとわかったっていう快感ってすごくありますよね。そういうのすごく嬉しいですよね。そういうことは誰でも同じだろうと思うし、情意面は大切なことだと思いますね。

Naoko 2-27: Do you think the experience affected your thinking about teaching in any way?
Keiko 2-27: Yes, it did. I still remember the good feeling I experienced when I said something I'd just learned at school to someone in town and they understood it. How shall I describe it? It still stays in my heart, or in my body, rather. I guess it's that good feeling that enables us to learn. Or the momentary pleasure you have in class when someone says something in Japanese and everyone laughs. It only happens once in a while. You teach for years, and you only experience it once a year or something. It's not just saying something funny. It's the pleasure of understanding what people are saying there and then. You feel very happy, don't you? I guess everyone feels the same. So I think affective factors are very important.

Learning Mandarin also transferred to Keiko's competence in English.

恵子1-34：<ターン前半省略>もう一つは英語ですね。英語にも影響が出てきて、例えば、aとかtheとかsomeとか、日本人が弱いというのがあるでしょ。あれは中国語にもちゃんとあるんですよね。中国語は、例えばコップとかいう言い方は無くて、それに必ず定冠詞みたいなのがついたり、副詞を表す言葉が付いたりするんです。それがないと、例えばケーキくださいといっても、ケーキ一つなのか、一切れなのかがわかんないんですよね。そういう数量詞があるんですけども、特に広東語はそれが代名詞的な役割するので、それをはっきり言わないと通じないんですよね。会話でももちろんそうだし、私はあんまり書かなかったですけど、書く時もそうなんです。だから、それをやってると、英語を見たときに、英語もそうだったんだ、裸というのがなくて、複数になるかsomeをつけるかなんかしなきゃいけないんだ、なるほどなあと思う。そういうことが、もちろんそんなにたくさんじゃないんですけども、ありました。だからいくつかの語学を勉強するっていうのはいいことだとその時は思いました。<ターン後半省略>

Keiko 1-34: <The first part of the turn omitted> Another thing is English. It had an influence on my English. For example, Japanese speakers find "a", "the", "some" and so on difficult, don't they? Those function words exist in Chinese too. For example you can't just say cup. You have to have a definite article or an adverbial expression. Without it they wouldn't understand whether you want a piece of cake or the whole loaf of cake. Especially in Cantonese those quantifiers function as pronouns. So you wouldn't be understood without specifying how much etc. It's true in conversation as well as in writing, although I didn't write much. So when I saw English after I'd learned Chinese, it finally made sense to me that nouns can't be naked and you have to make them plurals or have "some" or what have you in front of them. I had a few experiences like that. So I thought learning several languages was a good thing. <The rest of the turn omitted>

At the same time Keiko also learned the need to set realistic goals in learning foreign languages.

恵子2-59：<ターン前半省略>あと中国語を勉強して変わったのは、外国語学習の限界がわかったということですね。英語に関してはどうしても、もっとうまくなりたいという理想をいつまでも求めてしまうんですね。だけど、中国語というのは書き言葉はすごく難しいし、ちゃんと勉強しないと、一朝一夕じゃできないですね。だから、私は、書き言葉はやっぱり英語しか書けないですね。そういう意味では、英語は学校教育で時間をかけてやってるだけのことはあるんだろうなと思うんですね。中国語は、仕事の言葉とかになったら書けない。外国語を学ぶ時って、みんなすごく理想を求めて、ほんとにニアネイティブになりたいと思うんでしょうけど、それはよっぽどのことがない限り無理ですね。逆に中国人がかんたんに［日本語の］新聞は読めますと言うのを聞くと、そんなことないんだけどなあと思う。それからバイリンガルというのも非常に難しいことだっていうのもわかる。あくまでも自分の日本語があって、外国語を学習するというか。私はそう思うんですね。他の人はどうなのかわかんないですけどね。自分が昔書いた日本語を見ると、中国人が書いた日本語みたいだなあとか思うこともあるので、日本語がよくなったとは思わないんですけど。だからたまにすごく日本語っぽい日本語を読みたくなるときがありますね。私、目的のはっきりした、誰が読んでもわかる、わかりやすい文章を書けるという自信があります。だけどそれはとても日本語らしくなかったりするんだろうなという気がするんです。

直子2-60：日本語らしい日本語っていうのは？

恵子2-60：クネクネしてる。そういう日本語は今ちょっと自信ないです。ただ、そのおかげで、今、教えている人たちなんか特にそうですけど、なんらかの目的があって、これだけの時間で日本語をしたいという条件が出てるわけですね。そういう人には、自分である程度、線を引いて、ここまでとか思わないとだめですよ、永遠に勉強し続けることはできないのよとは、私は言えますね。

Keiko 2-59: <The first part of the turn omitted> Another change learning Chinese brought about was that I learned about the limitation of learning foreign languages. In terms of English I couldn't help pursuing the ideal. I couldn't stop trying to get better. Written Chinese is extremely difficult, and it requires formal study to become a proficient writer. It can't be done overnight. So I can only write in English. It's probably the time I spent learning English at school that made it possible. I can't write Chinese for professional purposes. When you learn a foreign language, you probably pursue the ideal and want to be near native. But it's impossible unless you put a tremendous amount of time into it. I don't think Chinese people who claim they can read newspapers in Japanese are right. They can't. I also know bilingualism is extremely difficult. My language is Japanese first and last. I study foreign languages on top of it. That's my feeling. I don't know about other people. The Japanese I wrote in Hong Kong sounds like Japanese written by a Chinese. So I don't think my Japanese improved. I sometimes feel a craving for reading Japanese-like Japanese. I'm confident in writing Japanese everyone can understand. But that probably doesn't sound like Japanese at all.

Naoko 2-60: What do you mean by Japanese-like Japanese?

Keiko 2-60: Meandering.[5] I can't write like that now. But people who have a specific purpose to learn Japanese have only a limited amount of time to spend on learning. The learners I

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[5] The original Japanese wording, kunekune shite iru, does not necessarily have the connotation of being aimless which meandering has.

teach now are of this kind. Such people need to set a limit for themselves. They need to decide how far they want to go. I can tell them they can't keep studying for ever, thanks to my experience of learning Chinese.

This comment may also reflect Keiko's perception of her proficiency in English. She learned to write English by writing administrative documents with help from her colleagues. She is now confident in practical writing, but there are areas which she feels she cannot cope with.

恵子1-45：<ターン前半省略>ただやっぱり同僚の香港人の人たちが、今、論文書いてるのよとかって５０枚ぐらいを英語でバーッと書いてるのを見ると、とてもこの人たちに英語の力はかなわないと思いました。初めは<大学名>かなんかで、もっと勉強した方がいいかなあとか思いましたけど。働きながら上の学位をとるのが奨励されてたし、あなた何年にマスター取ったの？８０何年？その後何かやってる？って言われるんですよ。例えば学会発表やってるとか論文書いてるっていうのが無いと、仕事をしてないというふうに見られる。それから、同僚たちが次々にドクターに行きだしたんです、それがいいかどうかは別ですけども。
直子1-46：スタッフディベロップメント
恵子1-46：スタッフディベロップメント。学校でお金を貰って、６年でも７年でもいいから時間を掛けて、PhDを取るっていうのやっているんですね。だから私も、<人名>ていう<大学名>にいる先生に会いに行ったこともあるんです。でも、もっと分野をしぼりなさいって言われたのと、英語の本をまとめてブックレビューを書いてきなさいっていう宿題がやっぱりできなかったですね。だから、英語で研究するのは仕事しながらは無理だなあと思って、それでズルズルと今まできてしまってるんです。

Keiko 1-45: <The first half of the turn omitted> But I thought I couldn't keep pace with Hong Kong colleagues when I saw them write a fifty-page paper non-stop. In the beginning I thought I should study more at <NAME OF UNIVERSITY> or somewhere like that. They encouraged teachers to get a higher degree as they worked. And they'd ask "When did you finish your MA? Eighty something? Have you been doing anything since then?" If you didn't have any conference presentations or publications, they'd think you were not doing your job. And my colleagues started a PhD one after another, although whether it's a good thing or not is another matter.
Naoko 1-46: Staff development, isn't it?
Keiko 1-46: Yes, staff development. The school provided funding. You could take as much time as six or even seven years to get a PhD. So I went to see the teacher named <NAME> at <NAME OF UNIVERSITY>. She told me to narrow down my research topic and to write a literature review, but I wasn't able to do the homework. I thought it was impossible to study in English as I worked. I've just let it slide since then.

Keiko came across the term learner autonomy while working in Hong Kong.

恵子1-4：<ターン前半省略>後から考えれば、その頃に、自律的な学習者とか、流行語のように、英語の言葉として入ってくることがたくさんあったと思います。で、それが日本語になると　自分を律

するというほうの自律になるんだというのを同僚から聞いたりしたのが初めだったんですけどね。だから、たまたま日本に仕事が見つかって帰ってきて、専門書とか読みだして、それで、香港の時、<大学名>で、顔も多少知っていたような人たちが、その分野のものを書いていたので、用語とか、考え方とかには割と入りやすかったですね。

直子1-5：香港で、オートノミーっていう言葉を聞いたりとか、知った時も、割にすんなりと受け入れられたの？

恵子1-5：うん、すんなりと。ただ内容自体は、私、今でも、実はとってもあやふやな部分があるんですね。定義づけとか、どういうふうに解釈してるかっていうところが。オートノミーという言葉とか、自律学習という言葉自体、香港時代に思ってたことと、変わってるような気がするんです。だから自分の中でまだそんなにはっきりと確立してない気はします。

直子1-6：みんなそうだと思うけど。香港時代はどう思ってたの？

恵子1-6：香港時代は、学習者が自分で自分をマネージできることぐらいの認識で、じゃあ、教師はどうするかは概念としてはあんまり考えてなかったんですけど、現場報告や論文を書くときに、こじつけかもしれないけど、教師の役割で持っていったりとかしてた。後から、Tudorなんかも、そんなことを書いてるのを読んで、あっこれは前に私も感じてたことだと思って、喜んだりしたんです。その時に感じたのは、技能を与えるとかじゃなくて、場面があって、そこに学習者と教師の両方が参加して、やりとりがあって、っていうところぐらいまででした。どういうふうに場面を作るかっていうのは、教師の仕事としてとても大切な事だなあと思ってたんです。

Keiko 1-4: <The first part of the turn omitted> Looking back, I often heard terms like autonomous learner like buzz words. A colleague told me it's translated as JIRITSU with RITSU meaning to judge in Japanese. That was the first time I heard the word. When I came back to Japan and started reading books on learner autonomy, I found familiar names among authors. So I easily took in the word and the thinking behind it.

Naoko 1-5: Were you able to accept the idea fairly easily when you heard it in Hong Kong too?

Keiko 1-5: Yes, easily.[6] But I still have only a vague idea of the content itself, its definition and how I interpret it. My understanding of words like autonomy and autonomous learning seems to be different from the one I had when I was in Hong Kong. So it's not established in me yet, I suppose.

Naoko 1-6: That's true of anybody, I guess. How did you think in Hong Kong?

Keiko 1-6: In Hong Kong I only had an understanding that autonomy means learners can manage themselves. I didn't think much about what teachers need to do. But I built a far-fetched argument to relate it to teachers' role in my papers and reports. When I read Tudor much later, I was glad to find a similar argument. Teaching is not giving skills. You have a situation, and the teacher and learners participate and interact. That was as far as I was able to go. I was thinking it was an important job for teachers to create such situations.

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6 Keiko put a note to this part of her story that she had been able to accept the idea easily because she lived in Hong Kong where doing one's own business for oneself was quite natural and there were a wide variety of choices.

Keiko now describes Hong Kong as a place she feels sympathy with. She analyzes why she got so much involved as follows:

恵子2-20：全然わからないですよ。でも、大学生くらいの時に行っても、ダメだったと思うんです。大学生の時は東南アジアの人たちとの国際交流みたいなのをちょっとやって、面白い日本人もたくさんいた。で、高校の教師をして、日本人の社会で働くことも２・３年経験したでしょ。それから、日本語教育をやり始めて、ほんの２年位だったけれども、やっぱり発想の転換を迫られることが山のようにあったんですよね。日本語教育って、やっぱり教師にとってはいろんなチャレンジがあると思うんです。例えば英語なんかでも、自分たちが今まで使ってたのと全然違ってたりとか、あるいは英語ではこうだけど日本語ではこうなんだと言ってたのが、実は他の言葉でもそうだった、要するにそれは日本語の特色だったっていうのがわかったり。だから日本語教師をやり始めてからの２年間は、やっぱりいろんな意味で発想の転換があったと思います。
直子2-21：今のその話は二つとも日本語をどういうふうに見るかっていう
恵子2-21：こと。
直子2-22：発想の転換というのは主にそういうこと？
恵子2-22：そうですね。相対的に日本語を見るようになった。日本人の価値観とか、行動様式とかもそうでしたね。あと、まわりにインドネシア語とか韓国語とか、マイナーな言葉をやってる友だちがいて、いろんな言葉を勉強するのは面白いなと思い始めたんです。その後で、香港に行ったから、それの続きみたいでしたよね。世の中にはいろいろなバラエティーの言葉がある。それから、もともと漢字・漢文の世界が好きで、そのルーツをたどるようで面白かったんです。リンガフランカとしての漢語のバラエティが面白かった。日本語では漢語の音はこうで、韓国語はこうで、中国語ではこうらしいっていうルールが少しわかっていたから、広東語の発音もすんなりと頭に入った。高校まで英語教育を普通に受けただけで行ったら、ちょっと違ったかもしれません。だから、たまたま順番がよかったんですね。初めに日本で日本語教育をやった２年間があったので、次の段階に割にスムーズに移れたんだと思います。それに、異文化での経験や言葉の面白さについて話をして、一緒に面白がれる友だちがいたからでしょうね。自分一人で全部を受けとめてたら大変だったと思うけど、私の疑問に答えてくれたり、フィードバックをしてくれたりする香港人の友だちも日本人の友だちもいたから、暮らしていけたんじゃないかと思います。
直子2-23：経験を対象化できたっていうこと？
恵子2-23：そうですね。あとは、例えば家族で行ってたり、組織で行ってたりしたら、また違ってたかもしれない。個人でポーンと入ってしまったので、かえって面白かったのかもしれないなとは思いますよね。
直子2-24：ひとり旅をするようなもの。
恵子2-24：確かに、ひとり旅みたいなものでね。で、私がそうやって面白がるからかもしれないけど、香港の人も助けてくれるし。ま、皆さんよく受け入れてくれたなと思います。でも、実は香港人社会こういうことだったのかと理解するまでには時間がかかりますね。社会的文脈って、今でも本当にわかったかどうかわからないです。

Keiko 2-20: I don't know at all. But I guess it wouldn't have worked out if I'd gone when I was a student. I experienced a bit of international exchange with South East Asian students in university. I also had a lot of interesting Japanese friends. Then I became a teacher at senior high school. I worked in Japanese society for a few years. Then I started teaching JSL. I only taught for about two years before I went to Hong Kong, but I had a lot of experiences which forced me to change my way of thinking. Teaching JSL is, after all, a challenging job in many ways. For example I discovered some English I'd used was totally wrong. Or I used to say "we say this in Japanese whereas they say that in English." But I learned there were many other

languages which were similar to English. I learned about the characteristics of the Japanese language that way. So in the first two years I taught JSL my way of thinking changed a lot.

Naoko 2-21: Both of your examples just now were about language, so you changed in the way you saw the language?

Keiko 2-21: Yes.

Naoko 2-22: So the change in your way of thinking mainly concerned language?

Keiko 2-22: Yes. I learned to see the language and the values and behaviour patterns of Japanese people in relative terms. I also took courses in Indonesian and Korean, and made friends with people who learn those less widely learned languages. I started feeling learning many languages was fun. Then I went to Hong Kong. So it was like a continuation of learning a series of languages. There are a variety of languages. I'd loved Chinese characters and classical Chinese literature. Learning Chinese was interesting because it was like finding out where they came from. Chinese words are in a way a lingua franca for East Asians. It was interesting to know the varieties in pronunciation. The pronunciation of Chinese loan words in Japanese is such and such. It's such and such in Korean. And I had some idea of how they were pronounced in Chinese. I knew the rules of how the pronunciation corresponds among the three languages. So Cantonese pronunciation came naturally into my head. If I'd gone with just the experience of learning English at high school, things would have been different. So the order was right. The two years of teaching JSL made a smooth transition to the next stage possible. Another factor might be the friends. I was able to tell them about the fun I found in cross-cultural experiences and language, and we were able to enjoy them together. It would have been hard if I'd had to face them alone. I had both Hong Kong and Japanese friends who answer my questions and provide feedback. That's probably why.

Naoko 2-23: Does that mean you were able to objectify your experiences?

Keiko 2-23: Yes. Also if I'd gone with my family or I'd belonged to a Japanese institution, it would have been different, too. I was on my own. That probably made it more interesting.

Naoko 2-24: It's a bit like travelling on your own.

Keiko 2-25: Yes, you're right. It was like travelling on my own. And perhaps because I made fun of my experiences, people there helped me a lot. I appreciate their tolerance in accepting me. But it took time to understand the Hong Kong society. I still don't know if I really understand the social context there.

Keiko was very much a part of the community, but she came back to Japan.

直子1-16：なんで帰ってきたの？

恵子1-16：やっぱりねえ、すごく刺激的な社会で、勉強にはなったけれども、大変でしたねえ。だから、香港にいる時もずっと、仕事があればやっぱり日本に帰りたいと思ってたんですね。いくつか応募もしたんですけど、たまたま<機関名>に採用してもらったんで、帰ってきたんです。なかなか面

白かったですけど、
直子1-17：でも一生はやりたくない
恵子1-17：一生はねえ、厳しい。あちらに家庭があったりすれば別ですけど。もう一つは、あの社会自体が非常に流動的なんですね。競争も激しいし。だから、友たちであれ、同僚であれ、周りの人も常にクルクルクルクル変わっていく。＜ターン後半省略＞

Naoko 1-16: What made you decide to come back?
Keiko 1-16: Well, it was an exciting society, and I learned a lot. But it was tough. So I'd always wanted to come back as soon as I found a job. I applied for several positions, and <NAME OF INSTITUTION> happened to decide to take me on. So I came back. Working in Hong Kong was rather interesting, but
Naoko 1-17: You didn't want to do it for life.
Keiko 1-17: No, not for life. It's hard. If you have a family there, that'd be a different story, though. Another factor was that the society itself was in flux. And it was very competitive. Friends and colleagues kept coming and going. <The rest of the turn omitted>

Keiko got a job at a government-subsidized institution. A couple of colleagues who had been interested in learner autonomy invited her to form a study group. Keiko started reading in learner autonomy, and her teaching came to consciously target learner autonomy. Then she faced some problems.

恵子1-6：＜ターン前半省略＞香港時代は、職場に日本語の教師の人数が少なかったし、ほぼ自分の好きにできたんですよね。だから、同僚の合意を作るってことが、こんなに難しいものだと気がついたのは、日本に帰ってからです。香港では、例えば言語教育とか日本語教育とか、そういうことを話し合う教師の研究会みたいなのがあって、そこで自分がこんなことやりましたということを好きなように発表しても、それがお互いの場を侵害することは絶対なかったんですね。日本に帰ってきて、たまたま＜人名＞さんとか＜人名＞さんとかに誘ってもらって、専門書を読むぐらいはよかったんですけれども、アイディアを実践に移すとなると問題で、私なんかいまでも同僚との合意がどこまでできてるのかわからない。同僚のなかには強制されるのはとっても困ると思ってる人もいるだろうなと思うんですよね。表面だって諍いは起こせないですから、あなたこうしてくださいとか言えない。今のところは、やらせてもらえる範囲ではまあまあやってますけども。

Keiko 1-6: <The first half of the turn omitted> When I worked in Hong Kong, the number of Japanese language teachers at work was small, and I was able to do almost anything I wanted to do. So it was only when I came back that I realized building consensus among colleagues is so difficult. We had study meetings in Hong Kong, where colleagues discussed language teaching, JSL and so on. Giving presentations on your teaching practice would never mean violating someone else's territory. I came back, and <NAME> and <NAME> invited me to join them. We read books together. So far so good. But when it came to the point where we implemented our ideas, problems arose. I still don't know how much consensus we have among our colleagues. Some probably don't want our ideas imposed on them. We can't

cause conflicts. So we cannot tell them what to do. At the moment we're doing as much as they allow us to.

Asked what makes the difference in teachers' attitude towards learner autonomy, Keiko analyzes as follows:

恵子1-7：自律学習を学習者の意に任せてやらせればいいというぐらいの認識の人と、自律的学習に教師が関わるべきことの多様さに気がついた人たちはやっぱり仕事の仕方が変わってくると思うんです。
直子1-8：どういうふうに？
恵子1-8：語学はトレーニング的な要素がありますよね。だから、結構、単純作業で教えられたものが、そうじゃなくて、もうちょっとメタ認知的なものをしかけていくことも含めて、それからそれをどういうふうに評価するかも含めてやっていくと、大げさに言うと教育観とか、もっと身近なことで言うと、準備する教材とか、授業運営とか、或いはフィードバックとか、全てが変わってくると思うんです。そういった所を見直すことに興味がある人はやっていただけると思うけども、私たちが意識改革を強制するのはどうかなと思う。あとは、プログラム全体の評価として、結局、ことばの技能ができるようになったかならないかで評価するとすれば、またちょっと違ってくるから、
直子1-9：あ、そうすると、やっぱりできるようになるっていうことが日本語教育の究極の目的だっていうふうに考えてる人だと、
恵子1-9：だと、ちょっと。短期的な成果か、もうちょっと長い目でみる成果かによっても違いますよね。長い目でみる成果というのはちょっとデータがとりにくいんですけど、私は長い目でみるというのが必ずしも何年も先のことだというふうには考えてない。私に与えられてるのは九ヶ月という時間ですが、その中で必ずなんらかの形が出てくると思っています。<ターン後半省略>

Keiko 1-7: Teachers who perceive learner autonomy as letting learners learn as they wish and those who are aware of the variety of work they need to be involved in in the development of learner autonomy work differently.
Naoko 1-8: How?
Keiko 1-8: Language learning has a training aspect, doesn't it? So teaching can be simple mechanical work. But when you start thinking about how to stimulate learners' metacognition and how to evaluate it, everything changes, from your view of education, if I may exaggerate it a bit, to more practical things such as materials you prepare, classroom management, and feedback. People who are interested in rethinking these things would probably not mind working for learner autonomy, but we shouldn't force them to change their attitude. Another thing is programme evaluation. If you evaluate a programme by whether learners become more proficient, it'd be a bit different...
Naoko 1-9: So people who think the ultimate purpose of teaching JSL is making learners proficient...
Keiko 1-9: would be a bit problematic. Whether you're after a short-term achievement or you take a more long-term view makes it different. Long-term achievement is difficult to get data on, but I don't necessarily think long-term means years. I have nine months to work with my students. I believe we can achieve visible change in that period of time. <The rest of the turn

omitted>

Another problem was posed by learners.

> 恵子1-57：<ターン前半省略>それともう一つは、去年やってみて思ったし、今年もちょっと言われたんですけど、学習者の中には「あなたはどう思う？」とか「自分ではどういうふうに勉強したいと思ってるの」とか言われるのが苦痛な人がいる。「先生、何月何日までに何ページまでやれと私に言ってください」という要求があったり、「何でも自分で考えろって言われるととっても辛い」って言われて、そういうこともあるんだなあと思ったんですよね。その人はほんとに全てを強制されたいと思ってるわけじゃないと思うんですけども、こちらの提示の仕方とか、一工夫二工夫いるんだろうなと思いますね。
> 直子1-58：明日まで２００ページ読んで来なさいと言われたら、いや５０ページにしてくださいっていうかも知れない。
> 恵子1-58：どうやるか見てきなさい、自分で考えてきなさいというのが民主的だと私たちは思ってるけれども、日本語を習ってる人たちにオートノミーなんて言葉は関係ないし、そういう人たちの目的は日本語ができるようになることだと思うので、もっと範囲を限った自律学習ってできないかなとか、初級はできない、中級以上はできるっていうものでもないですけど、そこをどういうふうにしたらいいのかなと思って。<ターン後半省略>

> Keiko 1-57: <The first part of the turn omitted> Another thing I felt last year and a student told me this year is that there are learners who find it painful to be asked what they think or how they want to learn. A student asked me to tell her to do how much by when. She said it's hard to be told to think for oneself. That was a discovery. I don't think she really wants us to force her in everything. But we need to think of alternative ways to invite them to make decisions.[7]
> Naoko 1-58: If you tell her to read 200 pages by tomorrow, she may ask you to make it fifty.
> Keiko 1-58: We think it is democratic to tell them to go and see how people work for themselves [in field trips] or to think for themselves, but those people who are studying Japanese have nothing to do with the term autonomy. Their purpose is becoming proficient in Japanese. So I'm thinking about whether more limited autonomous learning is possible. I don't agree that autonomy is only possible with intermediate learners and above. But I'm still exploring ways to work with beginners. <The rest of the turn omitted>

Keiko's thinking about learner autonomy was in flux. When she checked the transcript a few months after the first interview, she underlined the words "more limited autonomous learning" in the above quotation, and put a comment that she did not think so any more. She says in the second interview:

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7 Keiko put a note to this part of her story that she thought struggling to make decisions was worth the pain. Her thinking changed in the several months between the time of the interview and the time she checked the story.

恵子2-2：<ターン前半省略>最近、研究発表をやっていて、オートノミーの定義って、私の思ってたのと違うのもあるということがわかってきたんです。教育のプログラムを作る立場にあるから、やっぱりどういうプログラムでどういう仕掛を作って行けば、彼らの自律性を促すことができるかなと考えていて、それはシステム作りとして必要なことだとは思っています。でも、先生のいっているような、教室の中での自律性の問題にフォーカスをおいてるわけじゃないと思うのと、自律学習の定義とか、それをどのように実行するのかとかは、まだ私の中でも混沌としてますから。どうなんだろうと、ますますわからなくなってるというか。

Keiko 2-2: <The first part of the turn omitted> I've recently found out, as I prepare for my presentations, that there are definitions of autonomy different from the one I knew. As I'm in a position to make an educational programme, I think of how a programme can be designed so that it cultivates learner autonomy. I think it's a necessary factor in making a system, but I don't think I'm after the learner autonomy in the classroom that you advocate. My thinking is still chaotic in terms of the definition of autonomous learning and how to implement it. I'm getting more and more confused.

Keiko refers to an incident which forced her to reconsider the teacher's role.

恵子1-62：<ターン前半省略>今の仕事は、学習者の生活の部分でもかかわるでしょう？精神的にずいぶん苦しんでて、病院に一緒についていったりした人もいます。とっても悩みを持ってる人でも、特に勉強のことで問題があったときしか、私は話さないんですけど、その時に、私はそんなつもりないんですけど、私の前ではやっぱりいい子に見られたいという気持ちが彼らにはあるんですね。どうしたのずいぶん成績悪いわね、でも、わかってるわよね、あなたは自分でマネッジできますよねとか言うと、はいもちろんできますって言うんです。でも、後から考えると彼女はずいぶん無理してたんだなと思うんですよ。その時に私自身も迷いがあったと思うんですけど。例えば香港の時だったら、完全に教師と学生でよかったんですよね。授業以外のつきあいといえば、ときどき、ご飯を食べに行って、ちょっと楽しくワーとしゃべって、それでよかったんですね。彼らは家庭に帰って行くし。だけど、ここにいる人たちとは、いろんな場面で接触することがあるので、かえって私としては、教師対学習者という形にしておこうと意識しすぎていたのかもしれないし、あるいは、いくつもの顔をやっていいものかどうかすごく迷いがあったと思うんですね。自分の中でいろんな情報が飛び交ってて、そういうのは専門のカウンセラーに任せた方がいいという考えもあったし、彼女にとって私はどうしても評価者になっちゃうので、評価者はカウンセリングしちゃいけないとも思って、もう一歩が進めなかったんですけど、本当にカウンセラーに任せちゃったほうがよかったのか、あるいはそのひとつ手前で、その人ともうちょっと別の形でお話してもよかったのかなあとか。<中略>教師の仕事って、これに関してこういうプログラムを作ってこう教えますっていうことだけじゃなくて、形にはできない、関わり方としての仕事っていうのも本来あるはずですけど、香港時代は、そういうのを忘れて、ドライにバサバサと組み立てて行く方がよかったし、私にとってはそれのトレーニングの時だったなと思うんですよね。こっちに帰ってきたら、もちろんそれも必要なんだけども、別の意味でどういうふうに、自分とその人たちとの距離を持って行くのか、接触していくのかっていうのがありますね。

Keiko 1-62: <The first part of the turn omitted> We need to be involved in students' lives in my present work. I had a student who had a serious psychological problem, and I accompanied her to the hospital. I don't talk with my students unless they have problems in

their learning. When I did talk with her, she wanted to be a good student to me. I never expect my students to be always good, but she must have tried very hard. I said things like "You're doing rather poorly these days. But you know what to do, don't you? You can manage yourself, can't you?" And she said "Of course I can." I was indecisive then. When I was in Hong Kong, I was able to always stay in the teacher role. The only time I had contact with them outside class hours was occasional dinners in town. We enjoyed chatting, and that was good enough. The students had a home to go back to, which my current students don't have here. So we have contact on many occasions. Perhaps I tried to maintain the teacher-student relationship too consciously. Or I wasn't sure if it was OK to have more than one face. There were many different thoughts inside me. One said I should leave such a problem to a professional counsellor. The other said an evaluator, which I inevitably was, shouldn't play the role of counsellor. I wasn't able to do anything. I was in such a bind. But would it really have been better to leave it to a counsellor? Or should I have talked with her in a different manner before the problem got out of hand? <Omission> The teacher's job is not just designing a programme and carrying it out. It must essentially involve relating with students. In Hong Kong I was expected to design a practical programme dispassionately without going into the second role. It was a training to develop such an ability in me. On top of that practical ability, I now need to learn how to keep the optimal distance with the students or how to have contact with them.

Keiko seems to be becoming more and more aware of the educational side of language teaching. She talks about a friend who goes to a language school in Australia:

恵子2-3：<ターン前半省略>このあいだ、友人からＦＡＸが来て、あなたの仕事の片鱗を見たような気がしたわって書いてあるんですよ。どうしてかって言うと、オーストラリアだといろんな人が勉強しに来てるから、教室に入ると、まず初めにファイルをもらって、お買い物のようにあなたの好きな教材を選んで篭に入れればいいのよみたいな方式になっていて、先生は花から花へと蝶が飛び交うようにくるくる廻って教えてると。昔、テレビかなんかで、アメリカかどっか英語圏の国で、子どもがあっちで遊びこっちで遊びしてるような教室の様子を見たけど、まさにその通りだっていうふうなことが書いてあったんです。彼女は、先生に見てもらうと、文法は、冠詞の問題だけ時々出てくるけど、それはどんどん書いて行けばいいからというふうな上級レベルらしいんです。そういう人と、移民して来たばかりのおばさんが一緒の教室にいたりするそうなんですよ。そういうのを聞いていると、やっぱり自律教育が必要な国は、背景が全然違うんだろうなと思います。日本でも、実は、帰国者のところとかでこそ、必要なんだろうなという気がしました。私たちが今までやってきたことは、自律学習の一端を理解するための実践みたいなつもりだったけれども、根本的な所は、私にはわかってなかった。いいとは思ってるんだけども、まだ理解してないなと思うところがあるんですよね。
直子2-4：どこら辺がいいと思うの？
恵子2-4：どうなんでしょうね。よく同僚に、私は効率を追求して自律学習をやってるというふうに、誤解されるんですね。でも、そうじゃないんです。効率を追求するために、それが一番いい方法だというんじゃなくて、結果的に効率もよかったということなんですよ。香港人と付き合ってて、あんなにいい条件が揃ってるのにどうして日本語がうまくなりにくいんだろうと常々思ってたんですよね。あれは、ある意味で、日本語教育のコースデザインが効率を追求し過ぎてることが一つの原因だろう

と思うんですよ。だから、もうちょっと広い枠組みで教育とか、情意面とか、そんなことも考えた方がいいんだろうなと思っているんです。自律性というのは単にモティベーションだけの問題じゃなくて、もっと大きい枠組みのものじゃないかなという気がするんですけどね。でも、むずかしくて。

Keiko 2-3: <The first part of the turn omitted> I got a fax from a friend the other day. She says she glimpsed what my work is like. They have all kinds of people in one class in Australia. So when you go in, you get a file and choose whatever materials you like as you'd pick things up in a supermarket. The teacher is moving around like a butterfly flying from one flower to another. She's seen on television a long time ago a classroom with children playing here and there. Her class is exactly like that. She has no grammatical problems except occasional errors in articles. The teacher says writing a lot will solve the problem. A student of such an advanced level and a middle-aged woman who's just immigrated to Australia study in the same classroom. When I read her fax, I felt countries which need learner autonomy have totally different backgrounds. In Japan, too, places like resettlement programmes for war orphans actually need learner autonomy more than we do. Our practice so far has been an effort to understand what autonomous learning is. But I didn't know the fundamentals. I think it's good, but I don't understand it yet.

Naoko 2-4: What makes you think autonomy is good.

Keiko 2-4: Well, colleagues often presume that I plan autonomous learning in order to pursue efficiency. I don't. It's not that autonomous learning is the best way to pursue efficiency, but it so happened that the programme turned out to be efficient in the end. I often wondered why learners in Hong Kong had difficulty in learning Japanese when they had so many favourable factors. I now think one of the reasons might be that JSL course designs pursue efficiency too much. So it's better to think about education and affect in a slightly wider framework. I sense autonomy is not just a matter of motivation. And it's a larger concept, but it's difficult.

Keiko traces her change back to her experiences in Hong Kong.

直子2-52：さっき、オートノミーっていうのは単にドライな認知じゃなくて、情意的なものとか、もっと教育的な概念だと言ってたけど、初めてそういうこと考えたのは、いつ頃？

＜2ターン省略＞

恵子2-53：うーん。いつ頃かな。たぶん、香港から帰ってきてからか、帰る前かそのあたりだと思うんですけど。ていうのは、日本での留学生との付き合いって、ウェットでしょ。韓国人学生との付き合いとか、普通の日本人の同士の教師と学生の関係よりはずっと親密度があったり、感情移入もありますよね。そういう世界から香港に行ったら、そうでもなかったんですね。だから、異文化トレーニングなんだか、教師としてのトレーニングなんだかよくわからないですけど、香港で、私自身が彼らと仕事する中で合理的に実務性を重視する仕事のやり方のトレーニングを受けてたんだと思うんです。で、ある程度それがわかるようになってきたら、これだけじゃないんじゃないかと思い始めたんですね。

Naoko 2-52: You said that autonomy didn't only concern dry cognition but also affect and that it was an educational concept earlier today. When did you start thinking like that?
<2 turns omitted>
Keiko 2-53: Well, I wonder when. Perhaps around the time I came back from Hong Kong. Teachers' relationship with foreign students in Japan is very much personal, isn't it? It's more intimate and emotionally involved with Korean students, for example, than with Japanese students. I was in such a world before I went to Hong Kong, and I found the climate very different there. So I suppose I was trained as I worked in Hong Kong in putting emphasis on efficiency and practicality in my work. I don't know if it was cross-cultural training or teacher training. And when I'd understood it to some extent, I guess I started thinking there's got to be more to it.

This awareness may be related to Keiko's emotional involvement in Hong Kong. Trying to identify incidents which led to this change, she remembered the big anti-Japanese movement in Hong Kong triggered by a territorial dispute between Japan and Taiwan around the time she decided to come back to Japan. During that movement Keiko witnessed people in Hong Kong to become emotional.

恵子2-55：<ターン前半省略>私は、もともと自分にはプラクティカルな部分が欠落しているという劣等感がすごくあって、ある意味で、香港のプラクティカルな部分を崇拝してた部分があったんです。そこを香港ですごく勉強できたと思ってるんです。でも、当然のことですけれど、香港人といってもプラクティカルなだけではない。人間ってそんな単純なものじゃないなと思いましたね。

Keiko 2-55: <The first part of the turn omitted> I'd had this inferiority complex that I lacked practical ability, and I admired the practical ability in people in Hong Kong. I learned a lot about it there. But people in Hong Kong quite naturally have other faces. Human beings were not that simple, I think.

Keiko now seems to be in the next stage of professional development. She has started inviting a group of volunteers, which consists mostly of business people, to her institution in order to provide her students with opportunities to meet Japanese people.

恵子2-70：<ターン前半省略>去年は学生はそんなに勉強熱心でもなかったんですけど、市民のグループの方と彼らとのつながりはすごくできたんです。そうすると、私たちが教えきれないことを、全部市民の方がやってくれるんですよ。ボランティアの人っていうのは喜んでいろんなことをやってくださるんですね。物質的なことじゃなくて、例えば、私たちはマーケティングのことを聞きたいって言われても話せないけど、彼らはリソースになってくれる。だからリソースを彼らに引き合わせるということが、日本に帰ってからできたことですね。それは面白いと思いますね。そうすると、ます

ます、 それこそ自律ですよ。私はお膳立てだけするから、お互いにそこでやりとりをやってくださいっていう。<ターン後半省略>

Keiko 2-70: <The first part of the turn omitted> The students last year were not that diligent, but the connection with this group of people was firmly established. Then they do everything we can't. Those volunteers are willing to do all sorts of things. For example we can't tell our students about marketing, but they can. It's not materialistic help; they are resources. So matching students with relevant resource persons is what I've achieved since I came back to Japan. It's interesting. And it's more and more about autonomy. I set the scene. You have whatever interaction there. <The rest of the turn omitted>

Keiko is comfortable with her new role. She has been promoted to programme coordinator, and has found a new role in working with younger teachers too.

恵子2-72：<ターン前半省略>今、後輩の先生たちが出てきましたよね。たまたま今年、私がリーダーになったから、私がする仕事と、他の人たちにやってもらう仕事を分けるようになった。私が新人に「こんなの考えてみて」とタスクを出すと、皆さんやってきてくれるんですけど、それも今まではなかったことです。
直子2-73：そういうのがやれるようになると、肩の荷が下りたような気がしない？
恵子2-73：下りましたね、ほんとに。なるほど何から何まで全部やらなくてもいいんだと思った。私がするのは苦情処理ですね。苦情がいろいろ出てくるから、それをどう処理するかというのはこっちに廻ってくる仕事ですね。
直子2-74：それすっごくよくわかる。やっぱり、自分にしかできない仕事ってあって、例えば、そういう苦情処理とかは若い人に任せる訳にはいかない。
恵子2-74：いかないですよね。それは私に持ってくればいいと言えば、彼女たちも安心して仕事ができるし。そういう人たちが出てきたっていうのは今までなかった経験ですよね。

Keiko 2-72: <The first part of the turn omitted> We have teachers younger than myself. I happened to be leader this year and started dividing the work into mine and theirs. I give the new teachers a rough idea of what I'm after, and they produce something. I hadn't done this before, either.

Naoko 2-73: Don't you feel relieved to be able to work like that?

Keiko 2-73: Yes, really. I've learned I don't have to do everything myself. What I have to do is to handle complaints. We have all kinds of complaints, and it's my job to do something about them.

Naoko 2-74: Yes, yes, yes, I know it very well. There are jobs only you can do, handling complaints for example. You can't leave them to young people.

Keiko 2-74: No, you can't. And if I say they can bring the problems to me, they can work without worrying. It's a new experience to have such people around me.

Towards the end of the second interview I asked Keiko what she thought had driven her in

professional development. She says that every position she has held was a temporary one for her although she did not have any concrete idea of what she really wanted to do. She just did her best at each job. She says:

> 恵子2-76：今から考えると、どこの段階でも、これでいいと思えばそれでよかったんですよね。センテンスパターンの導入ができるようになれば、それはそれでよかったんだけど、そういう時に、きっと、物足りなくなっちゃって、次のものを考えてしまうんでしょうね。性でしょうか。
>
> Keiko 2-76: When I look back, I realize I could have been satisfied with what I was doing at any of those stages. Learning to present sentence patterns was all that was needed. But when I've learned something, I start feeling it's not challenging enough and start thinking about the next thing to do. I wonder if it's my nature.

Chapter 6 Chidori

6-1. How I met Chidori and how our interviews evolved

Chidori was a Japanese language instructor at a government-subsidized language training institution at the time of the interviews. I had known her through her publications before I actually met her at a teachers' meeting on learner autonomy a few years previously. Chidori had known me too, and we established a colleague-colleague relationship fairly easily, although Chidori seemed to be uncertain whether she should talk to me in formal style[1] probably because I was older and had had a longer career[2]. Chidori is an energetic, outgoing person, and willingly accepted my request for collaboration with my research. Two interviews were carried out in my kitchen.

The first interview took about 90 minutes, but only the first sixty minutes were recorded due to a technical failure. In the beginning of the interview before I actually started asking questions Chidori asked about my research methodology, which I felt she did because of her concern with her own research. In this interview I asked highly personal questions, and Chidori frankly answered them. At the end of the interview she said that she felt happy to be listened to. I was also happy with how the interview went. I made notes of what Chidori said right after the interview, and checked my recollections with her in the second one.

The second interview, which we had four months later, was a bit problematic. Chidori was running late that day, and she was only able to stay for 90 minutes. She had just been offered a new job, and was very much excited about it. The topic often shifted to this job, and I had difficulty in doing two things at the same time, steering the flow of the interview and responding to Chidori's comments on the job as I would do in a normal conversation. We somehow managed to cover all the points I needed to know about before Chidori rushed out for the next appointment.

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[1] The Japanese language has two major speech levels, formal and informal, which is similar to the French distinction between "vous" and "tu." These levels are most notably marked by sentence final verb endings.

[2] Chidori connects phrases without marking sentence boundaries for a very long period of time. This phenomenon was observed in the other interviewees too, but Chidori does it more often than the other interviewees. I suspect that in her case this is an avoidance strategy of formal style. In the second interview, informal verb endings cropped up more often, which I assume was due to the change in the perceived degree of closeness which I felt myself towards the interviewees and also detected in them towards myself, most likely because of the personal nature of the interviews. I have tried to reflect the difference between the first and the second interviews in the edited versions of the transcripts.

6-2. Chidori's story

Chidori was born in 1958. She describes her childhood as follows:

直子2-4：<ターン前半省略>この前、話してもらった時に、私が録音ボタンを押さなかったんで、２０分くらい入ってないところがあったのね。<研究協力者の名前>さんが帰ってから、一生懸命、思い出して、メモを作ったんだけど、そこのところの確認をまずさせてください。時間の順番を追っていくと、まず子供の時、ご両親の決めてくれたことをはいって言ってやってればよかったとか、困ったことがあったら、泣けばお兄ちゃんが助けてくれた、
千鳥2-5：お兄ちゃんが必ずやってくれた、
直子2-5：そういうことを言ってたと思うんだけど、どんな感じだった？
千鳥2-6：気持ち的に、なんかすごく幸せだったような、幸せだけど、もうちょっと自分で自由にやりたいっていうような、何でもかんでもお父さんお母さんお兄ちゃんが決めちゃうというようなことを、中学から高校くらいに感じたことはありますよね。
直子2-6：やりたいことをやらせてもらえないとか、そういうこと？
千鳥2-7：うーん、やりたいことをやらせてもらえないっていうんじゃないんだけど、なんか小さなことを決めさせてもらえなかったみたいな。遊びに行くのにも、こう行ってこう行くとか、今日はここの料理屋さんに行ってこの寿司を食べて帰るとかいうふうにもう決まっているという、そういう感じ。突然思いついてこれがしたいと言っても、それはもう今日のプログラムの中に入ってなくて、今日は<地名>の寿司屋で寿司を食べて帰るのといわれるから、あっそうなんだと思うんだけど、それで、ふーんという感じの時と、なんか寿司は嫌だなあと思う時とありましたよね。でも寿司が嫌だとは絶対に言えなかった。そのぐらいですね。でも、飛び出していって自由にしたいみたいな、そんな不満ではなかった。

Naoko 2-4: <The first part of the turn omitted> In the last interview we had I didn't push the recording button, and twenty minutes or so of your talk weren't recorded. I tried my best to make notes of what you said after you left. So let me check my notes with you first. Following chronological order, you said when you were a child you only had to do what your parents decided for you and when you were in trouble and cried your brother would help you.
Chidori 2-5: My brother never failed to help me.
Naoko 2-5: You said something like that. How did you feel then?
Chidori 2-6: I suppose I felt very happy. I was happy, but I also felt I wanted to do things for myself more freely. I did feel that everything was decided by my father, mother and brother when I was in junior high or senior high.
Naoko 2-6: Do you mean they wouldn't let you do what you wanted?
Chidori 2-7: Well, it wasn't that they wouldn't let me do what I wanted. It was only that they didn't give me choices in small things. On a family outing, for example, where to go and what to eat were already decided. It was that sort of thing. If I suddenly thought of something I wanted to do, but the idea was not part of the programme that day, and they would simply tell me that we were going to a sushi shop in <PLACE NAME> and have sushi. On such occasions I would go "Oh, I see," and sometimes I was convinced, but I didn't feel like having sushi at other times. But I couldn't say I didn't want sushi. That's about all. I wasn't so unhappy

as to think I wanted to escape and get free.

Chidori went to prestigious junior and senior high schools which her parents chose for her, but her father passed away when she was in senior high school, and she started having problems with learning English around that time.

直子2-7：この前入ってなかったのは、そのことが一つと、もう一つは英語の話。
千鳥2-8：最悪の英語。
直子2-8：どういう経緯でそうなっちゃったの？
千鳥2-9：中学の時は別にそんな問題はなかったし、中３から高校に入る時も大丈夫だったけど、高校１年か２年くらいの時からもう覚える作業ができなくなった。すごい受験のための英語だったので、例えば、コンポジションの授業なんかなんにも教えてくれなかった。黄色い本、今でも覚えてますけど、当たる場所が決まってて、休むんだったらちゃんと他の人に頼んでおく。授業では、いきなり、前と後の黒板に２０人ずつ割り振られて、その黒板に書く。それを先生が直す、みんなが写す、それで終わり。なんでこの表現がいいかって教えてくれない。毎回かなりの数をこなしていくんですよ。みんなそれを暗唱するのね。
直子2-9：テストかなんかあるの？
千鳥2-10：小テストが毎日あって、英単語のテストも毎日あって、ラッピド・リーディングの時間もあって、私はそこからはずれちゃった。みんなははずれてなくて、どんどん覚えてパッパッと答えていけるのに、私はできない。ま、そういうのと、前に言ったように父親が死んだので、１年か２年くらい英語だけじゃなくて数学も物理も全部何もしなかった時期があるんですよ。その時期に遅れちゃったというか、もうできなくなっちゃった。ofなのかatなのかよくわかんないようになっちゃって、そのままできなくなっちゃった。
直子2-10：英語ってやっぱり暗記するものだと思ってた？
千鳥2-11：思ってた。思ってたというか、それしか勉強のやり方がなかったから、高校では語学はそういうふうにしてやるものだと思い込んでた。でも、私が小学校か中学校の時に、お父さんがロシア語とかフランス語を勉強してたやり方は違ったよなあと思ってた。１日中、家で、その頃あまり手に入らなかったビデオみたいの流して、歌いながら覚えてたりしてて、いいなあ、あんなことができるのかみたいに思ってた。フランス語の面白いテープ、テープというか円盤でしたよね、それとテキストで、毎日毎日一人でぶつぶつ楽しそうにフランス語を話してた。ご飯を食べてるときに、お母さん、シルブプレとか言いながらお茶をもらったりする、親父がいるという環境だったんです。
直子2-11：自分の英語の勉強と
千鳥2-12：違う。
直子2-12：全然違うと思ってたんだ。

Naoko 2-7: Another topic that wasn't recorded is English.

Chidori 2-8: English, my weakest subject.

Naoko 2-8: How did you end up being so weak?

Chidori 2-9: I didn't have any particular problems in junior high. The senior high entrance exam was also OK. But in the first or second year at senior high I became unable to memorize things. English classes were exclusively for college entrance exams. In the composition class, for example, we were taught nothing. I still remember the yellow book [we used]. Everyone was assigned a sentence to translate beforehand. If you were going to be absent, you had to ask someone to take care of your share. The classroom had two blackboards,

one in front and the other at the back. In actual classes we had to write the translation on the boards. Twenty of us for each board. Then the teacher corrected them. We copied the corrections. That was all. We never knew why a certain expression was better. We covered quite a number of items each class. And we memorized them.

Naoko 2-9: Did you have a test or something?

Chidori 2-10: We had a little test every day. We also had a vocabulary test every day. There was a class in rapid reading too. I fell completely behind. Everyone else kept up with the pace. They memorized one sentence after another, and were able to say them without hesitating. I couldn't do it. That was one thing. And, as I told you before, my father died and for a year or two after that I didn't study at all, not just English but maths and physics too. I fell behind during that period. Or rather I became unable to cope any more. I wasn't able to tell which was right, "of" or "at." That was the end of it.

Naoko 2-10: Did you think learning English meant memorizing it?

Chidori 2-11: I did. Or that was the only way I saw in senior high. So I believed that was how you studied English. But I was aware that the way my father learned Russian and French at home when I was at primary school or junior high was not like that. He played videos, which were hardly available those days. He played it all day long and sang to learn. That was something I'd never thought of. I wished I could do it too. With an interesting tape, or disk rather, and a text in French he talked to himself in French every day, and he seemed to be having fun. At meal times he'd say, "Mother, s'il vous plaît" and get his tea cup refilled by my mother. It was that kind of environment I grew up in.

Naoko 2-11: So you thought his way was...

Chidori 2-12: Different.

Naoko 2-12: Totally different from your learning of English.

During the time between the first and second interviews Chidori remembered about a reading class at the high school which she now thinks provided her with basic knowledge of European culture. In the second interview Chidori said that the English classes at the senior high school had not been as bad as she had thought they were, and attributed her problems in English to her detachment from school because of her father's death.

直子2-15：試験を受けるなと言われたとか言ってたけど。

千鳥2-16：あっ、そうそう。あれは旺文社の試験で、私が受けると、総合点が低くなって、＜高校名＞と＜高校名＞に負けるから受けなくてもいいとかいわれたんです。すごいショックでね。でもそういうことなんだな、私は別にいらない人間なんだなあとすごく思った。あれはきつかったですねえ。

直子2-16：この前の話を聞いて、それこそ五寸釘で呪い殺したい先生とかがいっぱいいたのかなあと思ったけど。

千鳥2-17：その時は、学校はあんまり行かなかったし、何を言われてもボーとしてたから、活を入れるために言ってたのかもしれない。私の問題は学校ではなくて、なんでお父さんが死んだんだろう

とか、家族ってなんなんだろうっていう方が大きかったので、先生に勉強できないねとか言われても、はあーできませんっていうだけだった。してないんだからしょうがないと思ってたし、ある意味で、やればできるっていう自信もあったから。その時の関心は、学校の成績をあげて、大学に入ることじゃなくて、父が死んで、母が働きにでるという中で、死ぬって一体どういうことなんだろうとか、そういう自分の中にあるモヤモヤしたものだった。友だちが何かにキャーキャー言ったり、どこどこの予備校へ行くんだみたいな話をされたりしても、自分には関係ないっていう気持ちだったし、先生もこいつは、こんな超進学校に何の思いで来ているのかと思ってたと思う。修学旅行も行かないって宣言して、行かなかったお金をもらって、ずっと映画に行っていたりしてたけど、別にぐれるわけでもないし、変な奴みたいなことでしょうね。でも誰も私の状況をわかろうとしないし、わかんなくていいっていうのは感じましたね。みんなは大学入試という態勢で、勉強だけしてる。私は違うところに生きてたけど、だからひどくいじめたりもされなかった。別に先生に楯突いたりしないから、ちょっと精神的に不安定な子っていうレッテルがはられただけ。進路相談の時、先生が遠回しに、僕の教え子に笛の上手な子がいてね、笛の先生になったよとか言うんです。進路相談で私がどこの大学に行くかを決めたいのに、なんで先生は笛の話ばかりしてるのかなと思ったら、大学ばかりが人生じゃないしね、君、なんか特技ある？とか聞くんですよ。はあー？とか言ったら、どうするの、これじゃどこにも行けないよって言う。へーどこも行けないんですか？＜大学名＞の推薦は？って言ったら、＜大学名＞の推薦は英文科に行きたい何とかちゃんが決まったからって言うんですよ。えーっとかいったら、じゃとにかく国立を目指しますかねとかいう感じ。国立を目指せば落ちても先生の指導の失敗ということにはならないからということですよね。＜大学名＞を目指したけど、＜地名＞の方に移ってしまったので、家からは通えないっていうのがわかった時点で、じゃあ、もう家の近くならどこでもいいからみたいなことになった。とにかく早く嫁に行こうと考えていたので、勉強する気はなかったんですけど、＜ターン後半省略＞

Naoko 2-15: You said you had been told not to take a test.

Chidori 2-16: Ah, yes. That was an Obunsha[3] proficiency test. I was told not to take it because my score would bring down the school's average score and it could fall behind <NAME OF HIGH SCHOOL> and <NAME OF HIGH SCHOOL>. I was shocked. But I felt I understood what I was for them.They didn't particularly want me at school. That was tough.

Naoko 2-16: When you told me about it in the first interview, I thought you must have felt resentful of many teachers.

Chidori 2-17: I wasn't going to school too often in those days. I didn't respond very well to whatever the teachers told me. So that teacher might have wanted to stimulate me. My problem wasn't so much about school as about why my father had died and what a family was. So teachers said to me, "You're not doing well," and I'd just go, "No, I'm not." I thought it was natural my grades were poor because I didn't study. In a sense I had confidence that my grades would improve if I studied. My interest was not in improving my grades and making it to a university. It was an unarticulated feeling that I had. My father died, and my mother started working. I wondered what it was to die. Friends got excited with this and that. They talked about prep schools they planned to go to. But I wasn't able to feel those topics were relevant for me. Teachers must have wondered what I was there for. The school was one of

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[3] Obunsha is a publisher which administers nation-wide tests for high school students to predict their chances of making it to the universities of their choice.

the most competitive academic high schools. I didn't go on the school excursion, got the money for it back, and spent the time they were away at the cinema. I didn't misbehave, but I must have been a strange kid. I felt no one tried to understand my situation, nor did they have to. Everyone else did nothing but studying for university entrance exams. I lived in a different world. But I wasn't bullied for that. I didn't argue with teachers. So they just labelled me as psychologically unstable. At the time of a career guidance interview a teacher told me about his ex-student who was a good flautist and became a flute teacher. I didn't understand why he talked about flutes when we should be discussing universities I could go to. Then he said university was not the only important thing in life, and asked me if I had any special skills. I was puzzled. Then he said, "What are you going to do? Your grades won't get you into any university." I went, "Is it that bad? How about recommendation[4] to <NAME OF UNIV ERSITY>?" Then he said that it had already been decided that so and so got the recommendation. I was surprised. Then the teacher rounded up the talk by suggesting I should try a national university. Failing in an entrance examination to a national university wouldn't be attributed to a teacher's misguidance. That's why. So I thought of going to <NAME OF NATIONAL UNIVERSITY>, but they moved their campus. When I learned it'd be impossible to commute from home, I gave up the idea, and started thinking any university that was close to home would do. I wanted to get married soon anyway, and I didn't mean to study. <The rest of the turn omitted>

Chidori was accepted by a couple of universities, and decided on a women's university following her teacher's advice that graduating from that university was a big plus for a good arranged marriage. While she was studying at the university Chidori took to learning German.

直子1-27：ドイツ語が専攻だったの？
千鳥1-27：いや違うんです。社会学だったんですけど、とにかく高校のときから、英語が欠点で、全然、英語を勉強する興味がなくて、それで、大学に入ったら英語はできないから、とにかく話せる言語を一つつくらなくっちゃねえとか思って、第二外国語にドイツ語を選んだんです。そしたら、どんどん勉強したくなって、大学の授業は面白くないから、＜語学学校の名前＞とか、＜地名＞の＜語学学校の名前＞に通ったりして、一生懸命勉強した。そこのやりかたは、話せるようになることを目的としていて、自分の興味のあることをドイツ語で書いていったら見てくれる。テキストも自分の意見を引き出すような仕組になっている。なんなんだ、これは、すごいじゃないかって思った。文法を覚えるってゆうんじゃなくて、あなたの意見をまとめてみましょうとか、あなたの言葉でなんかしてみましょうとかいう欄がいっぱいあって、どんどんどんどん書いていくと、それを先生が見てくれて、つたないドイツ語でディスカッションしていくみたいなやり方。言葉を学ぶってこういうことなん

[4] A recommendation-based entrance examination is a system in which a university gives a certain number of places to each high school. The high schools choose their candidates based on their record. The candidates still have to take an examination, but it is less competitive, and considered easier because it usually takes into account factors other than academic performance such as attendance and participation in club activities.

だって思って、結構楽しかった。<語学学校の名前>では、テレビの１シーンを見て、みんなで言葉をドイツ語で作って、アフレコやったりとかもした。そんなことは高校の英語では考えられなかったし、大学のドイツ語でも考えられなかったから、すごく面白く楽しく勉強できた。試験の制度がきっちりしてたから、試験を受けるっていう楽しみもあった。この試験に通るとガストアルバイターとして雇ってもらえるんだよっていう一番下のレベルの試験で、文法的なものもあれば、ものを書くのもあったし、インタビューもあった。インタビューは好きな項目から選んで先生としゃべっていいとか、それから、聴解もそのニュースの聞き取りとか、天気予報の聞き取りとか、ほんとに使える聴解で、重箱の隅をつつく、だまし討ちみたいなテストではないので、楽しいなあ、合理的になってるんだなあって思った。<ターン後半省略>

Naoko 1-27: Did you major in German?

Chidori 1-27: No. I majored in sociology. I failed in English at senior high, and I had no interest in learning English. So I wasn't able to take English at university, but I wanted to have a foreign language I could speak. So I chose German for my second foreign language. I wanted to learn more and more as I went along. As the classes at university were not interesting, I started going to <NAME OF LANGUAGE SCHOOL> and <NAME OF ANOTHER LANGUAGE SCHOOL> in <PLACE NAME> and studied hard. Their objective was speaking. You'd write about whatever you were interested in in German at home, and they'd check your writing. The textbook was designed so that it would elicit students' opinions. I was impressed. It wasn't so much learning grammar. There were lots of sections to summarize our opinions or to do something in our own words. We wrote a lot, and the teacher checked our writing. Then we had discussions in not very fluent German. I thought this was the way to learn a language, and I enjoyed myself. At <NAME OF LANGUAGE SCHOOL> we wrote a script for a scene in a television programme, and dubbed our voices onto the video recording. Such a thing was unthinkable in high school English and university German classes. So learning was interesting and fun. They had a very good examination system too. So taking an exam was also something to look forward to. We were told if we passed the lowest level, we'd be allowed to work as *Gastarbeiter* . The test had grammar and writing sections, and an interview. In the interview we talked with a teacher on a topic of our choice. The listening section had news and weather forecast pieces. It was really practical listening, and there was no surprise attack which asked about trivial information. I thought it was enjoyable and rational. <The rest of the turn omitted>

Although Chidori had to be financially independent and started working for a cramming school as soon as she entered the university, her desire to get married persisted for quite a number of years. She started seriously developing her career only after she got married to her German husband. She describes the process of this change in her as follows:

直子2-20：嫁に行こうと思ってたと言うけど、それがやっぱり仕事しようっていうふうに、ある意味で考え方が変わったわけでしょ？

千鳥2-21：勉強していって、大学院に行きたいなあって思い、大学院を受けたけど落ちて、＜大学名＞の３年に編入できたから、次に大学院を受けるつもりで動いてる時くらいに、親戚の義理とかもあったし、いろいろお見合いをしなくちゃいけなくなって、自分も結婚しながら院に行ってもいいなとちょっと思ってったんですね。近所に、＜学校名＞なんかの先輩で、そういう人がいっぱいいたから。彼はちゃんとした仕事をしていて、家のことしながら、彼が仕事に行ってる間に勉強っていうのもいいなと思って、これだこれだというふうに考えて、お見合いもした。このあいだ、お見合い破棄事件というのは言ってませんよね。

直子2-21：ううん、それは聞いてない。

千鳥2-22：大学の先生の紹介でお見合いして、うーんと年の離れた人だったけど、別にそんな変な人じゃなかったし、僕は大学院に行くお嫁さんいいなあとか言ってくれたし、まっいいかと思ったんです。式の日取りも決めてあったんですけど、結納の１日前に彼と会って食事をした時に、僕はやっぱり家にいてほしいんだっていうんですよ。はい、そうですかって言って、帰って、すぐお仲人さんのところに電話して断わった。全部大どんでん返しになったんですけど、結納の１日前だったので、倍返しにせずに済んだ。やっぱりそれは契約違反だというか、その時までは結婚するから好きなことしていいんだよ、僕はお給料渡すしねって言ってたのに、お給料は渡しません、何なにしませんって、なんか条件がコロッと変わった。女が勉強したって何とかって言われたんですよ。だから、ちょっと待ってくださいっていうことで、婚約破棄して、それから、これからどうやって行こうと考えたときに、やっぱり仕事をしていこうかなあと思った。お見合いはたくさんしましたよ。大学３年の終わりくらいから、３年の間に１５・６回したんじゃないかな。

直子2-22：破棄事件は学部生の間？

千鳥2-23：えーとね、＜大学名＞に学士で入ったときですね。学士で入った２年目くらい。３年かかって出たので２年。その後、実は病気をしてしまったんです。それも心労だったのかな、卵巣の膿腫が大きくなってきて、手術をして、その後ちょっと経過が悪くて、半年くらい休学したんですよ。それで３年かかった。その時に、勉強はもういいかな、向いてないのかなっていうような気もした。大見得切って、婚約破棄したんだけれども、卒論もあまりいいものが書けなかったし、大学院は違うなというふうに気持ちが失せてた。それで彼と知りあったり、ドイツ語を勉強したり、彼と再会して結婚することになったから、それからドイツで暮らしたりとかした時は、本当にあまり何にも考えてなかった。でも彼から独立採算でやって行きましょうって言われて、彼は養ってくれないんだということがはっきりしたから、こりゃいかんと思った。＜ターン後半省略＞

Naoko 2-20: You said you wanted to get married. So you changed your mind at a certain point to thinking that you wanted a career, didn't you?

Chidori 2-21: As I studied, I started feeling I wanted to go to a graduate school. I took an entrance exam [for the graduate school at another university], and failed. But I was admitted to the university as a junior. I was planning to try the graduate school again, but I had to meet prospective bridegrooms my relatives chose for me. I myself thought going to a graduate school after getting married wasn't a bad idea. I knew quite a lot of women in our neighbourhood who did this, some of whom went to my university. Their husbands had proper jobs, and they did housework, and studied when their husbands were at work. Such a life actually seemed quite good to me. I thought that was the way to go, and had quite a few arranged meetings. I don't think I told you I'd broken an engagement?

Naoko 2-21: No, you didn't.

Chidori 2-22: A teacher at the university introduced me to a man. He was much older than me, but didn't seem to be too bad. He said he'd like a wife who was a graduate student. So I

thought he was acceptable. It was one day before we were supposed to exchange betrothal gifts and the date of our wedding had already been fixed. I met him for dinner, and he said he wanted me to stay home. So I said, "Oh, do you?" and went home and phoned our go-between, and told him that I wasn't going to marry the man. I reversed my decision in rather a drastic way, but that was before exchanging betrothal gifts so my family didn't have to double the betrothal money to return[5]. And that was a breach of contract on his part. He'd been saying he'd marry me and let me do whatever I liked and give me all his salary. Then he suddenly said he wouldn't give me his salary, wouldn't do this and that. The conditions were completely changed. He even said a woman didn't need to study or something. So I went, "Wait a minute," and broke the engagement. After that I thought about how to live and kind of decided to work. Yes, I had quite a lot of arranged meetings. From the end of my third year at the first university I had perhaps fifteen or sixteen of them in three years.

Naoko 2-22: You broke this engagement when you were an undergraduate?

Chidori 2-23: Well, that was after I was admitted to <NAME OF THE SECOND UNIVERSITY>. The second year there, I suppose. It took me three years to graduate, so it was the second year. I actually got ill after that. Could have been the stress. I had a problem with enlarged ovarian cysts and I had to be operated on. My recovery was slow, and I was out of school for six months. That's why it took three years. I felt I'd had enough of studying then. It seemed I wasn't fit for studying. I made the grand gesture of breaking an engagement, but my dissertation wasn't satisfactory, and I'd lost the motivation to go to graduate school. Then I met my husband, studied German, and decided to marry him when we met again after a while. We went to live in Germany after we married. I really wasn't thinking anything then. It was only when my husband suggested we should be financially independent of each other and I clearly understood he wasn't going to provide for me that I realized I had to do something. <The rest of the turn omitted>

Chidori spent a couple of years in Germany , where she continued learning German. This learning experience changed her beliefs about language learning and gave a hint as to her future career.

千鳥1-33：<ターン前半省略>で、そのときに、難しい話は無理だけど、暮らすのには全然困らなかった。やっぱりドイツの語学教育はすごいです。ぶらぶらしててもしょうがないから、ユーロセンターの学校に通ったんですね。そこは、シミュレーションとプロジェクトワークのやりたおしの授業で、楽しかった。最低限の文法項目は学習してるから、基本ができてるので、どんどんできるし、そこには日本人が誰も入ってなかった。日本人は一番下のクラスか、すごくできる上のクラスで、まん

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5 According to the traditional Japanese custom, a man pays a certain amount of money to his prospective bride's family when an engagement is made. If a woman wishes to break the engagement, her family has to give the man's family double the amount of money they have received.

なかのクラスはスイス人とかイタリア人、フランス人。そのクラスはほとんどスイス人だったかな。スイス人だけど、イタリア系フランス系の人達で、もうどんどんしゃべるクラス。文法のテストをしたら<インフォーマントの名前>が一番だけど、話すと一番下っていう、そういう一番話すクラスに入れられて、みんなのアプローチのしかたはすごく違うんだ、私たちだったら文法の試験ができたら一番偉いって思ったけどそうじゃないんだとかわかった。その中で、日本語の構造について質問されたり、漢字で名前を書いてくれと頼まれたりとかいうのがあって、もしかしたら帰ってから日本語を教えるのもいいかもしれないって思った。まあ割と多いパターンですよね。で、帰ってきて、塾の先生は夜できますよね。土日もできますよね。で、昼間あいてるので、日本語の先生になろうと思った。そのころは誰でも日本語の先生になれた時期だったので、

直子1-34：何年ごろ？

千鳥1-34：今から十三年くらい前ですね。私が二十七八の頃

直子1-35：８６年とか？

千鳥1-35：うん

直子1-36：ああ、一番増えた時期ね

千鳥1-36：そうですよ。大卒の女性だったら、マクドナルドのアルバイトするより日本語教師やったほうがいいぐらい。いやだったらやめてくださいっていう使い捨て状態で、時給千円ぐらいでどんどん仕事があった時代。だからすぐになれたんですよね。まあ試験は受けましたけど、国語教育でたくさん教えてたし、試験する先生が国語教育系の先生が多かったので、簡単に通って、<日本語学校の名前>でほとんど準専任みたいな形で

Chidori 1-33: <The first part of the turn omitted> I didn't have any language problems when living in Germany, although I wasn't able to cope with complicated topics. Language education in Germany is superb after all. I had nothing else to do, so I went to a Eurocentre. The course consisted exclusively of simulation and project work, and it was fun. I'd learned basic grammar, which enabled me to actively participate. There were no other Japanese in the class. Generally speaking, Japanese students are placed in the lowest or advanced classes, and the intermediate ones had mostly Swiss, Italians, and French. The majority of my classmates were Swiss, Italian Swiss actually. And they were very talkative. I was the top in grammar tests, but at the bottom end in speaking. That was the class I was in. I learned that everyone has their own approach to language learning and being good at grammar wasn't necessarily the most important thing. My classmates asked me about the structure of the Japanese language. Some asked me to write their name in Chinese characters. I thought teaching Japanese in Japan wouldn't be a bad idea. Not an original idea, is it? We came back, and I worked for the cramming school again in the evenings and at weekends. I was free during the day on weekdays. So I decided to be a JSL teacher. It was the time anyone could be one.

Naoko 1-34: When was that?

Chidori 1-34: About thirteen years ago when I was twenty-seven or eight.

Naoko 1-35: Around 86 then?

Chidori 1-35: Yeah.

Naoko 1-36: JSL was booming then, wasn't it?

Chidori 1-36: Yes, it was. A female graduate who wanted a part-time job might consider

teaching Japanese in the same way as working at McDonald's. Teachers were disposable. There were abundant jobs available on the market. You got paid like 1,000 yen[6] per hour. "Leave if you don't like it" was the common attitude among employers. So it was easy. I had to take an exam, but I'd had long experience of teaching Japanese as L1, and as most of the examiners had come from the same field I got the job with no difficulty. I started working almost full-time at <NAME OF LANGUAGE SCHOOL>.

Around this time Chidori's view of education started changing.

友子1-22：<ターン前半省略>私、十八くらいから、ドイツにいく二十六ぐらいまで、あと、日本語教師だととても食べていけなかったので日本語教師しながらも、ずっと塾で教える仕事をしてたんですね、それはどんどんどんどんインプットするんです。教えてる様子も全部ビデオでとられてるし、変な冗談とか言うと減点になったりするんです。楽しい雰囲気っていうのはいいんですけどね、ばかな話ばっかりしてたらだめ。で、役にたったかたたないかとか、小学生の子供に評価をさせるんですね。それでお給料が決まるというシステムだったんです。小学生の気持ちを引き付けながら、役にたつって思わせるのは、すごく難しかった。でも小学生に役にたつっていうのは、次のテストがうまく解けるとか百点とれるとかいうことだから、要するにテストに出る内容を上手に覚えこませればいいっていうだけなんですよ。で、そうやって培養した子供達が、中学校でノイローゼになったとか、高校で刃物振りまわしたとか聞くと、ああこれはまずいと思いましたね。あのー、<塾の名前>ですよ、
直子1-23：すごい有名な塾よね
千鳥1-23：で、そこで、評価が良かったから、結構お給料高かったんですね。支持率百％とか、支持率何％とか出るんですよ。それでお給料が時給１５００円から６５００円まで、差があるんです。支持率百％の報奨金っていうのも出るし、それで月に三十万以上稼ぐ人もいれば、大学院生とかで百万超える人もいる。それ以外にも、例えば、支持率がいいってことで、そこに来てる子達の親から家庭教師してくださいって頼まれて、塾が終わったあとにホテルの部屋を借りて、３人か４人、科目ごとの先生が来て２時間ずつ教えて帰るとか。<中学名>とか<中学名>とか付属に入れるためですけど、もう異常な世界ですね。合格したらみんなをハワイに連れてってくれるとか、車を買ってもらったりとか、お礼に何十万もらったりとかね。お医者さんとか弁護士さんの娘さんや息子さんだけど、そういうお金で教育を買うっていう枠組みに入ってうまく動けば、学生でもどんどんお金が入るんです。でも、そこで一生懸命教えた子供たちが潰れていく噂を聞いて、自分は何をしてたのかな、せっかくいいものをもってるのに、牛の角をたわめて殺しちゃうみたいなことをしてたんじゃないかなっていう思いがあった。<ターン後半省略>

Chidori 1-22: <The first part of the turn omitted> I taught at a cramming school from when I was eighteen. I continued till we went to Germany when I was twenty-six. And I also taught there while teaching JSL because JSL didn't bring a big enough income. It was just input, input, and input. They video-recorded teaching, and you got demerit marks if you made a useless joke, for example. Enjoyable atmosphere was OK, but no irrelevant talk. And those primary school children evaluated teaching on the basis of usefulness. That was how your pay was decided. It was very difficult to induce positive feelings towards you in these children

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6 1,000 yen was approximately equivalent to four pounds starling in those days.

and make them feel the class was useful at the same time. But being useful for these children meant their doing well in the next test or getting full marks. So the point was, after all, making them memorize the anticipated content of future tests efficiently. When I heard that children taught in this way got neurotic in junior high or tried to attack people with a knife at senior high, I thought there was something wrong in what I was doing. It's <NAME OF CRAM SCHOOL>.

Naoko 1-23: It's a very famous cramming school, isn't it?

Chidori 1-23: My pay was fairly good because I was highly valued there. They calculated the percentage of the children's positive evaluation, and the pay, based on that figure, ranged from 1,500 to 6,500 yen per hour. You got a bonus for 100% positive evaluation. Some earned more than three hundred thousand yen per month. Some graduate students even earned more than a million yen. On top of that, parents would ask teachers with a good approval rating to give private tutorials after the cramming school classes were over. Children would stay in a hotel, and three to four teachers of different subjects would come to teach for two hours each. It was for passing the entrance exam of <NAME OF JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL>, <NAME OF ANOTHER JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL> or <NAME OF YET ANOTHER JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL>. It was an abnormal world. The parents were doctors and lawyers, and they would take teachers to Hawai'i, buy them a car, or pay them some hundred thousand yen gratuities when their children made it to a good junior high school. The practice of buying education with money let even college students earn a lot of money, if they worked well. But hearing the rumours that those children I taught with a lot of effort had problems later, I wondered what I was doing. I felt I'd killed their potential by restricting their possibilities. <The rest of the turn omitted>

Chidori kept teaching at the cramming school because, to borrow her words, she had to earn her living. She went to a graduate school to study pedagogy as she worked, but the school she went to was a disappointment. She says that the courses were too theoretical and disregarded the realities of schools and cramming schools. Her scepticism of traditional education grew further.

千鳥1-24：<ターン前半省略>あと、主人っていうのは、学校に行かずに、自分の興味から自分で勉強していって、日本語があやつれるようになった人なんです。語学の教師をしているから、勉強のし方がわかっているということもあると思いますけど、ICUの本はどうだとか、長沼はだめとか、なになにの本はどうだとか、すごくいろんなことを教えてくれる。彼の生活を見てると、ほんとに生活そのものが一種のプロジェクトワークですね。教科書で勉強した内容を、私みたいな人をリソースパーソンにしながら、自分で実践に移していく。これはどういうふうに言う？こういうときはどういうふうに言うのって聞いて、上手に学習していって、日本人の友達もたくさんいるし、外国人っていうよりも、共同体の成員の一人として社会に受け入れられてる。だから、学校の教育だけでのびるもんでもない、教室作業よりももっと大事なことがあるってことも、いやっていうほどわかった。日本語学校で、教科書を教える作業をしながら、そっちのほうの刺激ができないかなあっていうふうに思ってました。あの頃、シミュレーションとかプロジェクトワークっていう本が、ちょうど出たとこ

ろでしたよね。もっと自分から発表したりする方法はないのかなとか思ってたから、やってみたんですけど、うまくいかない。それで、＜機関名＞に行って勉強したらシミュレーションとかプロジェクトワークの授業がもっと上手にできるようになるかもしれないと思って、＜大学名＞の教育でなんの勉強もできなかったし、いっそのこと一回行ってみましょうっていうことで、他の先生にもそう話して、試験を受けて、行った。

Chidori 1-24: <The first part of the turn omitted> My husband learned Japanese without going to school. He studied on his own out of his own interest, although it's true that the fact that he's a language teacher and knows how to learn a language must have helped him succeed. He tells me many things like how he finds the ICU (International Christian University) textbooks, how he doesn't like the Naganuma[7] books, and what he thinks of such and such a book. His life itself is a kind of project work. He brings into practice the content he learns in textbooks by using resource persons like myself. He asks what something is called in Japanese or what I would say on such and such an occasion. He learns well, and has a lot of Japanese friends. He's not so much a foreigner as an accepted member of the community. So I know only too well that schooling isn't enough for learning and that there are more important things than classroom activities. As I taught at the Japanese language school I kept wondering how I could possibly stimulate that aspect of learning. Books like "Simulation" and "Project Work" had just come out, hadn't they? I tried them because I'd been looking for ways to provide learners with opportunities to give presentations of their own and so on, but it didn't work. So I thought studying in the teacher training programme at <NAME OF INSTITUTION> might give me the ability to teach through simulations and project work. As I wasn't able to learn anything at the school of education at <NAME OF UNIVERSITY>, I thought I might as well go. I told this to other teachers, took an exam, and went.

This teacher training institution which Chidori went to was a very progressive one. It had a crucial role in shaping Chidori's thinking about teacher's roles.

直子1-12：うん、＜間＞だから、当時オートノミーっていう名前を知らなかったとしてもいいんだけど、きっかけになった出来事があったら話してほしいの。どこから始めてもいいんだけど。
千鳥1-12：そうですね。一番大きいのは、＜人名＞先生でしょうね。もちろんそれ以前からもってたものもあるんだけども、具体的にそういう考えに出会ったのはやっぱり＜機関名＞ですね。私の入ったのは、コンテントベーストってことで、プロジェクトワークをやりたおした年なんです。で、どんどん学習者が離れていくという嫌な思いもして、教えない教師の存在っていうのを、頭で分かっていても、実際に自分でやると、ものすごくパニックをおこした。最後にこのコースを通してどうでしたかって書かされたときに「教師として今まで動いてきた自分と、これから目指そうとしてる自分とのすごいギャップで、死にそうな思いがした」みたいなことを書いてるのを、後で＜人名＞先生に

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[7] The now defunct Naganuma School was probably the oldest Japanese language school in Tokyo.

見せてもらいました。そのときにセルフアクセスという言葉も知ったんだと思います。＜人名＞先生が例のオックスフォードの、オックスフォードでしたっけ？オレンジ色のセルフアクセス、
直子1-13：ああ、スーザン・シーリンのやつ
千鳥1-13：うん、あれをテキストにして、読まされたり、レベッカ・オックスフォードのストラテジーの話の中にもオートノミーって出てましたよね。ああいうところから、知識としてまずインプットされて、もう全然わかんなかったっていうのが一番印象に残ってますね。＜機関名＞のコースっていうのはほとんど、そのとき＜人名＞先生の頭に入ってたものが私たちにインプットされたんです。＜人名＞先生の本にクラスジャーナルとか意識化とかについて書いてありますけど、そういうのを私たちを相手に実際にやったんですね。、
直子1-14：その時はあの本を書く前だった
千鳥1-14：ちょうどまとめてる最中だったんじゃないですか？＜人名＞先生は自分の講義が終わった後に「じゃあ、僕は消えるから、みなさんで今日の授業の感想を話し合うように」とか言っていなくなるんですよ。で、話し合うと「ということなんだ」っていうのが五回あったとか数えてた人がいたりして、なんのためにやってるのか全然分からなかったけども、実際には、あれがクラスジャーナルですよね。「はい、終わります」って解散したら何も分からないけども、先生の話し方が眠たかったとか、私は正直いって寝たとか、なになにっていう言葉が出て来たけど分かった？って言ったら、クラスのほとんどが分かってなかったんだってことが分かって、じゃあもう一回説明してもらおうとか相談したり。そのときにはわかんなかったですけど、御自分の書いてる理論を実際にその場でやられたんだってことがわかったら、信頼度が増しましたね。あんまり覚えてないけど、その中で自律学習っていう言葉が出て来てたんだと思うんですよ。＜ターン後半省略＞
直子1-15：そのころやってたことが、謎が解けたって思うようになったのはいつごろなんですか？
千鳥1-15：一年間、わけのわからないままで、友達関係も悪くなったり、もうこれで日本語教育は辞めるっていう人も出てきたりしました。私は、今までやってきた日本語教師としての自分と、そういうインプットをされて、なんか新しくしなくちゃいけないなと思ってる自分とが、ちりじりばらばらになったけど、その後二年間、研究補佐員として事務室に勤めましたので、＜人名＞さんとか＜人名＞さんとかがやりたいことがどういうことで、普通の日本語教師がどういうふうに拒絶反応を示すのかっていうのを見せてもらえたんですね。それで、二年目が終わるころに、ああこういうことか、こういうことがやりたかったんだっていうのがわかって、すごく気持ちが楽になった。普通の日本語教師だと苦しむんですよ。今までの自分のアイデンティティがありますよね？教室の中で上手に効率よくインプットできる人になることを目指してたのに、そうじゃないっていう見方があるのがわかると悩むんです。教えた経験がない人は、こういうふうにするんだと思うから、悩まない。そういう人は、逆に、現場で苦しむ。＜日本語学校の名前＞とかに行った友達が死にそうになったとか言ってました。先輩に「あんた、何考えてんの？」とか言われたそうです。そういう話を聞いて、＜機関名＞は主流の日本語教育より先を行っていて、そこを乗り越えないといけないんだと思いました。＜機関名＞は何かが違うんだけど、それが教育に対する取り組み方なんだっていうのがわかったのは、＜機関名＞の実習コースで教えたからだと思います。二年間、昼間は＜機関名＞で仕事をして、夜は＜機関名＞の実習コースをもったんですね。そのときに、＜機関名＞の先生たちと、＜機関名＞系っていう二つのグループで教えるっていうのが作為的に仕組まれたんです。＜機関名＞の教えかたと、私たちのアプローチが、いい悪いっていうんじゃなく、全然違うんだあっていうのがよくわかりました。講師会で話をしてても、＜機関名＞の先生たちが「あの人はできてますね、もうきっちり教えられますね」っていう評価と、同じ人に対する私たちの評価がまっぷたつに分かれるし、＜機関名＞の先生に教わってる前期で生き生きしてたのに、私のところに来てノイローゼになる人とかいて、違いがあるっていうことを、すごく感じましたねえ。＜ターン後半省略＞

Naoko 1-12: Yes. <pause> So could you tell me about incidents which have influenced your attitude towards learner autonomy. It doesn't matter if you didn't know the term then. You can start from anywhere.
Chidori 1-12: Well, the biggest influence was Mr <NAME>, I suppose. Of course my

experiences before that did contribute, but it was at <NAME OF INSTITUTION> that I first came across that kind of thinking in any concrete form. The teaching practicum of the year I was there focused on content-based teaching, and we exclusively had project work. I had the sad experience that learners left the course one after another. I theoretically understood that a teacher who didn't teach was a viable option, but I panicked when it came to the point where I had to be one. Mr <NAME> showed me my final reflection on the course later. I'd written something like "I felt I was almost dying from the gap between the teacher I had been and the one I was trying to be." That was when I learned the term self-access. Mr <NAME> brought the Oxford book. Was it Oxford? The orange one on self-access.

Naoko 1-13: Ah, Susan Sheerin.

Chidori 1-13: Right. He had us read it. There were some references to autonomy in Rebecca Oxford's strategies book, weren't there? The knowledge was input from these sources. It left a strong impression that I didn't understand it at all. Generally speaking, Mr <NAME> input what he had in his mind each year in the course at <NAME OF INSTITUTION>. He wrote about class journals and consciousness raising in his book, didn't he? He tried them on us.

Naoko 1-14: Was that before he wrote the book?

Chidori 1-14: He was probably working on it. At the end of his lectures Mr <NAME> would leave the room saying, "OK, I'll disappear now. Discuss your reflections on today's class among yourselves." In the discussions we sometimes discovered that someone had counted how many times Mr <NAME> had said "which means". I didn't understand what we were doing it for, but that was actually a class journal, wasn't it? If you dismiss a class by "Enough for today" students wouldn't know what others thought of the class. "The way he talked made me sleepy." "Honestly I fell asleep." "Did anyone understand such and such a term?" We discovered no one did, and decided to ask Mr <NAME> to explain it again. When I realized he put the theory he was writing into practice later, I came to trust him more. I don't remember well, but I think I heard the term autonomous learning there. <The rest of the turn omitted>

Naoko 1-15: When was it that you thought you'd solved the puzzle?

Chidori 1-15: I stayed in the dark for the entire year. I had clashes with friends. Some of the teachers said they would quit teaching JSL. With the input we had I got schizophrenic between the teacher I had been and the awareness that my teaching needed to be changed. But I worked in their office as an assistant for two years after I finished the programme, and I was able to see what Mr <NAME> and Ms <NAME> were driving at and how ordinary JSL teachers rejected it. So around the end of the second year I felt I understood what it was and what they wanted to do. That made me feel better. Ordinary JSL teachers suffer. They have their identity from before, don't they? They've tried to be a teacher who can provide input effectively in a classroom. Learning there's another point of view confuses

them. Those with no teaching experience don't suffer because they just take in what's told to them. They suffer when they go into a classroom instead. A friend who got a job at <NAME OF LANGUAGE SCHOOL> said she almost died. Senior teachers said to her, "What on earth are you thinking?" Hearing such stories, I thought <NAME OF INSTITUTION> was far ahead of mainstream JSL education, and that we had to overcome the difficulties arising out of the fact. I think it was because I taught a teaching practicum at <NAME OF ANOTHER INSTITUTION> that I understood what made <NAME OF HER INSTITUTION> different from other institutions was their approach to education. For two years I worked at <NAME OF INSTITUTION> during the day and taught a teaching practicum at <NAME OF ANOTHER INSTITUTION> in the evening. The programme was intentionally organized so that each trainee was taught by two groups of teachers -- one consisted of teachers at <NAME OF JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOL[8]> and the other of those who studied at <NAME OF HER INSTITUTION>. I wouldn't say our approach was better than theirs, but I saw the difference clearly. At a teachers' meeting, for example, the evaluation of a student would often go in opposite directions. Teachers from <NAME OF JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOL> might say, "This one is competent. He can teach effectively now. " We didn't think much of the trainee. Or someone who had been taught by teachers of <NAME OF JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOL> in the first term and was very happy came to me in the second and became neurotic. Yes, I felt the difference very strongly. <The rest of the turn omitted>

Around this time Chidori encountered the idea of counselling.

直子2-63：カウンセラーとしての役割というのも数えていくとたぶんあるんでしょう？この前、カウンセリングの話をちょっとしてくれてたけど、それも入ってなかったの。
千鳥2-64：はいはいはい、カウンセラーの話。
直子2-64：この前聞いた話は、順番からいくと、＜機関名＞の時にグループエンカウンターみたいなのやったっていう話と
千鳥2-65：参加したっていう話と、
直子2-65：それから、フェミニストカウンセリングのワークショップに行ってるっていう話と、今の仕事でカウンセリングをやっててという話と、だいたい三つくらいカウンセリングにまつわることを話してくれた。悪いけどもう一回、話してくれる？
千鳥2-66：そうですね、＜機関名＞の時に＜人名＞さんっていうカウンセリングにとっとも興味のある人と知り合って、彼女がカウンセリング関係のいろんな本を貸してくれたんです。カウンセリング熊の話とか。カウンセリングが童話になっているんですよ。それはすごく面白かった、あと国分康孝の本とか。で、彼女はコミュニティ心理学の＜人名＞さんの所の院に入って、お友達を紹介してくれて一緒に遊びに行ったりしてたのもひとつあったし、職場の人間関係に疲れててグループエンカウンターっていうのに行ってみようと思って、行ってみた。その中で自分を表現できてないということ

8 This school is one of the oldest in the country, and some teachers think their method is outdated, whereas others consider it to be orthodox.

にいろいろ気がついて、いろんな活動をやってみてた。その中に学習カウンセリングっていう話が情報として出てきてて、ストラテジー研究と一緒にそういうのも少し<機関名>の中で情報としてあって、自分の時はプロジェクトワークだったから知らなかったけど、学習カウンセリングを実際にコースに取り入れた実習もされてたのを見た。それで、プロジェクトワークではずれていった人、辞めていった人たちなんかに、何で辞めるんですかとかいう相談をもうちょっとしていたら繋げたかもしれないなとかも思った。それが一つかな。それで、市川伸一さんの『認知心理学』の中で、認知カウンセリングという話が出てきて、その本を読んだり、その活動に行ってる人の話を聞いたりして、これは是非、自分の実践の場で学習カウンセリングをやってみたいと思うようになったんです。<ターン後半省略>

Naoko 2-63: When you count the roles [a teacher has] counsellor is probably one of them. You told me about counselling in the first interview, but that wasn't recorded either.

Chidori 2-64: Yes, yes, yes. Counsellor.

Naoko 2-64: The stories I heard were, chronologically, the group encounter or something like that you experienced when you were at <NAME OF INSTITUTION>...

Chidori 2-65: I participated in one.

Naoko 2-65: And the feminist counselling workshops you were going to then, and counselling you do at work now. So you told me three things related with counselling. Would you mind telling them again?

Chidori 2-66: Well, I met a person called <NAME> who was very interested in counselling at <NAME OF INSTITUTION>. She lent me a lot of books on counselling, one of them being a story of a counselling bear. In that book counselling was made into a children's story. That was very interesting. She also lent me books by Yasutaka Kokubu[9]. She eventually went to graduate school to study community psychology with <NAME OF TEACHER>. I met other people in the field through her. I was also exhausted with my relationship with my colleagues at work. So I went to a group encounter. There I realized I wasn't able to express myself in many respects, and did a lot of activities. I came across the concept of learning counselling in those activities. <NAME OF INSTITUTION> also had some information on learning counselling together with studies in strategies. The course I did focused on project work, so I didn't know about counselling then, but I later saw a teaching practicum which incorporated learning counselling [while I worked in the office]. I thought, then, that we might have been able to retain those students who didn't get involved in project work and/or quit the course if we had had consultations like why they were quitting. That was probably one. Then I read about cognitive counselling in "Cognitive Psychology" by Shin'ichi Ichikawa and heard about the experiences of people who practice it. I began to think I wanted to try learning counselling in my practice very much. <The rest of the turn omitted>

After all Chidori did not receive any pre-service JSL teacher education. She now perceives it as her

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9 Yasutaka Kokubu is a leading figure in the field of counselling in Japan.

weak point, but at the same time she sees her strength in her background in education.

直子1-37：じゃあ、教師養成講座とかは全然
千鳥1-37：行かなかったんです。アルクの通信教育で勉強したりとかはしましたけど。行ったのは＜機関名＞で、＜機関名＞じゃ全然勉強にならないしね、
直子1-38：別の種類の勉強でしょう？
千鳥1-38：そうそう。いわゆる基本的なことをやってない。だから実はその部分は今でも弱いっていうのも、よくわかってる。音韻論とかそういうところの細かいことになると、やっぱり限界がある。＜大学名＞とか＜大学名＞とかできちっと勉強してきた人とは違うなって思う。それはすごく偏りがあるんだってことも一緒に働いてて、よくわかりますけどね。自分はすごくだめだと思ってたけど、そうでもないなっていう気がする。でも、＜大学名＞の勉強会とかも参加して、ちんぷんかんぷんだけど一生懸命ついていこうとしてた自分もいましたね。でもここは日本語教育じゃなくて、日本語学なんだ、こういう人達も絶対必要だけど、この人達、現場じゃつぶれちゃうだろうなと思った。
直子1-39：役にたたないだろうなって？
千鳥1-39：うん。あれじゃ学習者が寝ちゃうし、専門的過ぎてわかんない。じゃあ先生、私は何をすればいいんですかって言われちゃうだろうなとか。私は、授業の中で人を動かしてみたりとか、課題を出してみたりとかいうことに慣れてるけど、そういうことに興味ない人もいるな、＜大学名＞とかの先生方に足りないのはそこじゃないかなっていう気がした。日本語教育学科とか教師養成の講座を担当されてる先生が、学習活動とか教育学とか教育心理学にはあまり関心がないことが多いっていう事実はあると思う。＜ターン後半省略＞

Naoko 1-37: So you didn't attend any pre-service teacher training programmes.
Chidori 1-37: Not at all, although I did ALC's[10] correspondence course. What I attended was <NAME OF INSTITUTION>, but they don't teach you anything there.
Naoko 1-38: You learned different kind of things, didn't you?
Chidori 1-38: Yes, yes. I didn't do any basics, so to speak. So I know I'm actually weak in those areas. I don't have detailed knowledge of phonology and the like. People who studied properly at <NAME OF UNIVERSITY> or <NAME OF UNIVERSITY> are strong in those areas, although I'm well aware that their knowledge is rather partial because I work with them. I'd thought I was very weak, but I now feel I'm not that bad. I used to go to study meetings at <NAME OF UNIVERSITY> and try hard to keep up with the incomprehensible discussions. I thought their topic was Japanese linguistics, not language teaching, and that people of their kind were absolutely necessary, but they'd find it hard to survive in a classroom.
Naoko 1-39: They'd be useless. Is that what you mean?
Chidori 1-39: Yeah. They'd put learners to sleep. Their talk was too academic to understand. Learners would ask them, "What should I do then, sir?" I'm used to moving people around and setting tasks in a classroom. Some people were not interested in such things. I felt what was missing in teachers of <NAME OF UNIVERSITY> was that interest. I don't think we can deny the fact that not many teachers in university JSL departments and language school teacher training programmes are interested in learning activities, pedagogy, and educational

10 ALC is the name of a Japanese publisher.

psychology. <The rest of the turn omitted>

After she left the teacher training institution, Chidori got a part-time job of coordinating a teacher training programme in a private language school. She was also in charge of teaching practicums.

直子1-62：そういう授業って、どういうふうにやってたの？
千鳥1-62：実習を担当してるので、じゃあ、授業を作りましょうっていうところからやるわけですよねえ。中上級の教育ってテーマだとすると、まず中上級の人を集めるチラシを作る。それからニーズ調査をする。プレースメントテストをする。そして、じゃあ、どういう作り方をしようかって考える。そして最後のフィードバック、評価はどうする、教育目標を何に置くかを考える。そういう一連の作業を作りながらやっていく。教え方を教えるんじゃないから、その中で、受講者が出してきたものに対して何か言うっていうやりかた。こういうものがありえますっていうふうな形ではいっさいやってないので、かなりみんな苦しかった。先生が何を目標としてるのかわからないっていうところは＜機関名＞方式そのまま。でも自分がそれで良かったっていう自信があった。ほんとに力のある人は絶対ついてくる、何も教えてくれないっていう言葉は出て来ないっていう自信があったので、それで落ち着けてたっていう気がしますね。流れがあるから、わかってくる。多分、教室の中でどうふるまいましょうとかっていうことを教えてたら、たとえば『新日本語の基礎』を上手に教える教え方を教えてたら、それでおわっちゃうと思うんですね。やっぱり型を教えてくれの世界だから。そうじゃなくて、学習者がどんな人たちか私もわかんないし、どういう条件で来るかもわかんないし、その人たちの目標も知らないから、ずっと一緒に調べながら、私がサポートしていく形でやりますよっていうふうにやった。自分でも、どういうふうになるのか全然わかんないから、本当は不安でたまらないんだけど、でもやってみましょうとか、すごく偉そうにしてる。
直子1-63：ああ、じゃあ、やっぱり一応、頼りになる人っていうふりをするわけ？
千鳥1-63：私は、こういうふうに＜機関名＞でやってきましたみたいにしないと、皆が離れていっちゃうといけないから。私も、＜機関名＞のやり方を人に教えるということの有効性はまったくわかっていなかったんです。でも、それをやった人で、職に就けてない人から、家庭教師のやりかたがわかったっていわれた。個人教授の組み立てが同じ。その人に合わせてやっていって目標を決める。だから個人教授で使えるってこともわかったっていうふうに。だけど、日本語教師は結構きつかったみたい。学校に入った人には、学校それぞれのやり方があるから、どんな形で教えてもいいのよみたいなことをいいましたけど、愚痴をこぼす人には、耐えましょうみたいなお手紙を書いたりしました。海外に行った人は、ああいうやりかたはすごく良かったみたいですね。
直子1-64：ああ、そうだね。一人でやんなきゃいけないときはすごく大切だね。
千鳥1-64：逆に、教え方だけを教わった人は、潰しがきかない。こういうコースの作り方を学習できたのはすごく良かった。＜ターン後半省略＞

Naoko 1-62: How did you teach then?
Chidori 1-62: I was in charge of teaching practicums. So we started with "Now we're going to make a class." If it was a practicum with intermediate and advanced learners, we made flyers to recruit such learners. Then we had needs analysis. Then a placement test. Then we thought how the course should be designed. We also decided on how we'd get the final feedback, how we'd go about evaluation, and what educational objectives should be like. I didn't teach how to teach. I only gave feedback on what trainees did in this series of activities. They must have found it tough because I didn't show any possible alternatives. It was exactly like <NAME OF HER FORMER INSTITUTION> in the sense that trainees didn't have the

foggiest idea of what the teacher was driving at. I was confident that I'd learned a lot in their approach. So I was sure those with the capacity would keep up and wouldn't complain that I wasn't teaching anything. I was able to stay calm because of that. You learn in the flow. You'll stop learning if taught how to behave in a classroom or how to teach with textbooks like "Shin Nihongo no Kiso"[11] effectively. Too many trainees want models and teaching these things would just satisfy their perceived needs. I said I'd support them in the process of course design because I myself didn't know who the learners were, under what conditions they 'd come to us, and what their objectives were. I felt uneasy because I didn't know how things would turn out to be. But I pretended to be an expert, and said, "Let's try."

Naoko 1-63: So you made believe that they could count on you?

Chidori 1-63: I feared they might leave unless I told them that was how they did it at <NAME OF HER FORMER INSTITUTION>. I wasn't sure at all about the effectiveness of teaching the way they design a course at <NAME OF HER FORMER INSTITUTION>. But one person who did my course and wasn't able to find a job told me that she learned how to give private tutorials. One-to-one teaching is constructed in the same way in that you choose objectives for each individual. So she was able to put what she learned in the course into practice in private tutorials. JSL teachers, on the other hand, seemed to have a hard time. I told those who got a job at a language school that each school had their own policy, so they didn't have to teach in the same way as we did. Some still grumbled though, and I wrote to them to be patient. Those who went abroad seemed to find it helpful.

Naoko 1-64: Ah, yes. That kind of approach helps when you have to do everything all by yourself.

Chidori 1-64: Those who were just taught how to teach, on the other hand, would be at a loss in unfamiliar situations. It was fortunate I was able to learn how to make a course like this. <The rest of the turn omitted>

Although Chidori is aware that some of the trainee teachers she worked with did not appreciate her approach, the issue of initiative and control in teacher education seems to have been fairly straightforward for her then:

直子1-66：私、日本語を教えてるときは、相手の人のニーズとか、やりたいことを尊重するのは当然だって思えるんだけど、教師教育をしてるときって、やっぱりこちらに言語教育はこうあったほうがいいみたいな信念があるから、必ずしも先生になりたいって思ってる人達の希望を

千鳥1-66：こういう先生になりたいっていう

直子1-67：そう。こういうことが勉強したいとか。それこそお作法教えてほしいとか思ってる人もいるわけじゃない？

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11 "Shin Nihongo no Kiso" (New Basics of Japanese) is one of the most popular JSL textbooks in Japan.

千鳥1-67：さしてはいけないみたいな
直子1-68：そうそう。で、すごく兼ね合いが難しい。自主性は尊重したい。だけどやっぱり、これはできるようになってほしいとか、こういうふうに考えるようになってほしいとかあって、私にはそれが一番難しいんだけど、そのころそういうこと考えたことなかった？
千鳥1-68：自主性を、ああ、向こうのニーズに合わせるということ？
直子1-69：まあ、もっと簡単な言葉を使っちゃえば、教師教育を受けてる人のオートノミーをどうやって尊重するかっていう問題と、自分がこういう教師を作りたいんだという気持ちの間にコンフリクトはなかった？
千鳥1-69：うーんと、教師になりたい人の希望っていうか、目指す教師像ってすごく狭いっていうことがわかってるので、私はそれよりもっと大きなものを目指してるんですよっていうのを投げかけることのほうが大変だったような気がします。たとえば、理想の教師っていうのは、どんな文法的な質問にも的確に答えられて、いろんな小説も読んでいて、「あの先生、すごい」っていわれるような人。そういう教師になりたいっていう人のほうが多いようだけど、そうじゃない教師像もあるということをわかってもらうのに、私のアプローチがヒントになるかもしれない。一番いいと思ってるわけじゃないけども、こういうやりかたもあっていいんじゃない？こういう接し方だとあなたはどうですか？っていうような、投げかけはしたような気がする。

Naoko 1-66: When I teach JSL, I can feel it natural to respect learners' needs and wishes, but when I teach teachers, I have beliefs that language education should be this way or that and I cannot necessarily respect their wishes...
Chidori 1-66: As regards what kind of teacher they want to be?
Naoko 1-67: Yes. They have their agenda of learning. Some want to know about do's and don't's, don't they?
Chidori 1-67: Like don't point your forefinger at learners?
Naoko 1-68: Yes, yes. So it's very difficult for me to keep the balance. I want to respect their spontaneity, but I expect them to be able to do this and to think in this way at the same time. That is the most difficult bit for me. Did you never think anything like that then?
Chidori 1-68: Spontaneity. Ah, does that mean to adjust yourself to their needs?
Naoko 1-69: Well, to put it simply, did you never feel a dilemma between the issue of respecting the autonomy of people going through teacher education and your wish to produce certain kind of teachers?
Chidori 1-69: Well, I knew the wishes of those who wanted to be a teacher, or their image of teachers rather, were rather limited. I found it more difficult to convey the message that what I was aiming at was bigger than that. An ideal teacher, for example, is one who could answer any questions on grammar, reads all kinds of novels, and is admired for their knowledge. That's the image the majority of people have. I wanted them to know that there were other images of a teacher, and thought my approach could be a clue for them. "I don't necessarily think my approach is the best, but this is a possibility. How do you feel about the way I work with you?" That was the kind of question I posed for them, I suppose.

At the same time, though, Chidori seemed to have realized that traditional ways of teaching did not

necessarily have to be utterly rejected:

千鳥2-54：＜ターン前半省略＞それから変わったっていうことで、もう一つ思いだしたのは、日本語学校の時代とか、オーディオリンガルでぎゅっと効率よくやるということを強いられて、それができないとお給料がもらえないし、首になるっていう状況をくぐり抜けてきたわけですよね。パターン・プラクティスの練習も一生懸命して、飽きさせないでどんどん反応させていくようなことをやって、それでこれはおかしいと思って＜機関名＞に行ったわけです。で、あっ違うなっていう発想にであって、学習者の動議とか要求を引き出しながら、その人にあったものは何かも見ていく流れを上級からいきなりやるんじゃなくて、初級から少しづつ一貫してやったほうがいいと思ったんです。初級でやめちゃってもだめだし、上級から急に始まってもいけないし、間違ってるかも知れないけど、２本の流れみたいのがあるのかなっていうのは感じてたんですね。そういう２本の流れっていうのが今、感じてることなんです。前はもっと過激にプロジェクトワークをやり倒して、日本語学校で、あれは授業じゃないっていう批判もされたけど、今の仕事をやってる中で、やっぱりゼロの人は、文法をきちっと積み上げていくのと、それをどう使えるかみたいなコミニカティブな活動と、日本にいるんだから、もっと外へ行って使ってみるという活動がいると思うようになった。留学生じゃないから、外に出さないと出ないですよね。だからこれは完全な仕掛。そういう三つの作業を、上手に織りなしていって１枚の布を作って行くみたいなことが必要だと思う。若い人はこの三つの流れのどれを取るかみたいな形になってしまうけど、私たちみたいにオーディオリンガルをぎゅーとやらされて、それでご飯を食べて行く競争に勝ち残って、それから他のやり方を学んだ人は、どっちもできるから、逆に幸せなのかなとふと思ったりする。

直子2-54：＜研究協力者の名前＞さんは、オーディオリンガルばかりやっててなんか変と思って、＜機関名＞に行って。

千鳥2-55：一回死にそうになっちゃって、

直子2-55：死にそうになっちゃって、だけど、＜機関名＞で働いてる２年間に、プロジェクトワークがいいものだって納得できたわけでしょ。それで

千鳥2-56：それで、逆に信奉者になっちゃって

直子2-56：信奉者になっちゃって、だけど両方必要なんだって考え始めたのは何時頃？

千鳥2-57：＜日本語学校名＞なんかで非常勤をやってたときに、オーディオリンガルで初級を３０年くらい脈々と教えてきた先生は、きちっと毎回毎回、文法項目を押さえて、テストも作って、ちゃんとやってらっしゃったんですね。私はその中に一応入れてもらってそれもやって、でもこういうプロジェクトワークをやりましょうってやってたんですけど、学習者の１年なりなんなりの仕上がり見たときに、やっぱり大学院に行ってちゃんとしたことが書けたりできるのは、基本的なことをちゃんとやってる力のある人。私が教えたんじゃないんですけど、＜日本語学校名＞ですごく成績が悪かったっていう女の子が＜大学名＞に入ってきたんですね。その子は他にどこにも行けなくて＜大学名＞に行ったのにも関わらず、他の日本語学校から来た子たちと比べて、いちばん文章が書けるし、話せるし読めるんですね。＜日本語学校名＞では、一年半で、『新日本語の基礎』をばしっとやって、最後は『表現文型』までやるんですけど、そういう面白くない授業をきちっとこなしてたらやっぱりできる、底力がある。４年生の時にいい論文を書いて出たんです。あっこれだっていうのがよくわかった。

直子2-57：よその学校は、そういうのはやってないわけ？

千鳥2-58：＜日本語学校名＞のやり方があまりよくないと思ってたんですよ。よその学校がやってるかどうかは知らないけど、＜日本語学校名＞のあの面白くない授業はとっても役に立ってる。しゃべれないけど底力はあるっていうことがよくわかって、その子は＜日本語学校名＞で文法とかの成績がすごく低かったっていうのを知ってるから、やっぱりああいうことは大事なんだと思った。私は文法の積み上げなんか一生懸命しないで、日本語を使う方へ使う方へ授業をしてたけど、もしかすると、一人の人が二つすることはなくて、昔からオーディオリンガルできっちりやってきた先生と私が組んで、間に立って、学習者と相談しながらやったら一番いいんじゃないかなと思う。彼女なんか、１級ちゃんと通って大学に入ったけど、話はできないし、すごく苦しかったと思う。１年か２年、棒に

振ってるんですよ。ちょっとの時間でいいから、バイト以外で、普段から日本人とつきあうようにもっていったら、彼女は１年生２年生を無駄にしなくてよかっただろうなとかふと思って。
直子2-58：その人に会ったのはいつ頃？
千鳥2-59：私が＜大学名＞の非常勤をした時に＜日本語学校名＞を出たって言ってたから、５・６年前かな。＜ターン後半省略＞

Chidori 2-54: <The first part of the turn omitted> Another thing I remembered concerning change is this. At the time I worked for the Japanese language school, I was forced to teach efficiently using the strict audiolingual method. If you failed, you wouldn't get paid and would get sacked. That's the kind of situation I went through. I spent quite a lot of time practicing how to do pattern practice. The point of teaching was making learners quickly respond without boring them. And I did it. Then I thought there was something wrong there, and went to <NAME OF HER FORMER INSTITUTION>. I encountered totally different ideas there and thought we should consistently stimulate learners' motivation, elicit their wants, and look for things suitable for them from day one, instead of suddenly starting to do it at advanced levels. You shouldn't stop at the end of elementary level nor should you suddenly start at advanced levels. I suspected there were two trends there, although I thought I might be wrong. I used to be an extreme believer in project work, and I was criticized at the language school [where I taught after leaving the teacher training institution] that what I did was not teaching. Now I think beginners need three types of activities. One is to systematically learn grammatical items. The second is communicative activities which explore the use of those grammatical items. And the third is going out of the classroom to use the language. Unlike university students learners I work with do not go out unless they are pushed. So the third type requires completely deliberate planning. It's a bit like weaving a cloth to incorporate the three kinds of activities in a programme. And that's what's required. Younger teachers tend to feel they have to choose one among the three. It sometimes occurs to me that people like me who were forced to teach in the strict audiolingual method, have survived the competition to earn our living by doing it, and then learned other ways of teaching, are probably fortunate because they can go either way.

Naoko 2-54: You originally taught using the audiolingual method, and felt something was wrong and went to <NAME OF INSTITUTION> and...

Chidori 2-55: Almost died once.

Naoko 2-55: Almost died, but you were convinced that project work was a good thing during the two years you worked there, weren't you? And...

Chidori 2-56: I went to the other extreme to be a disciple.

Naoko 2-56: You became a disciple. So when was it that you started thinking both approaches were necessary?

Chidori 2-57: When I taught at <NAME OF LANGUAGE SCHOOL>, I saw teachers who'd taught beginners using the audiolingual method for about thirty years. They had grammatical

items to cover for each lesson, wrote tests, and did it all properly. I was among them, and did the same. I invited them to do project work, but I noticed that the students' achievement after one year for example corresponded to how well they did in basics. The ones who had the proficiency to cope with academic writing at a graduate school for instance were those with the linguistic competence. I met a girl at <NAME OF UNIVERSITY> [where I teach part-time] whose achievement I heard was rather poor at the language school. The reason she was there was she hadn't been accepted by any other universities. But she was a better writer, speaker and reader than the students from other language schools. At <NAME OF LANGUAGE SCHOOL> they start with "Shin Nihongo no Kiso" and finish off with "Hyoogen Bunkee"[12]. Boring lessons, but you acquire potential competence if you seriously follow their curriculum. This student graduated with a good dissertation. I understood what's important very well.

Naoko 2-57: They don't do that at other language schools?

Chidori 2-58: I'd thought the approach <NAME OF LANGUAGE SCHOOL> took wasn't very good. I don't know what other schools do, but the boring lessons of <NAME OF LANGUAGE SCHOOL> are very helpful. She didn't speak too well, but I learned she had potential competence. As I knew her grades in grammar were rather poor at <NAME OF LANGUAGE SCHOOL>, I thought basics were important. I hadn't made much of systematic teaching of grammatical items and oriented my teaching towards using the language. Maybe one teacher need not do both. It might be best if I pair up with a teacher who's neatly taught using the audiolingual method for a long time, play the role of go-between, and consult with learners to make a course. The student I've just told you about had passed the first level of the Japanese Proficiency Test, but she wasn't able to speak very well in the first couple of years. It must have been hard for her. If the course had been so designed that learners socialized with Japanese people outside their part-time jobs, she would have been able to make better use of the first two years.

Naoko 2-58: When did you meet her?

Chidori 2-59: She finished her language training when I started teaching part-time at <NAME OF UNIVERSITY>. So five six years ago. <The rest of the turn omitted>

Sharing teacher's roles seems to be a key concept in Chidori's current thinking. She got her present position at a government-subsidized institution in 1996, and she has built one-to-one learning counselling sessions into the course she designed there, and taken on the role of counsellor herself. She describes her approach as follows:

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12 "Hyoogen Bunkee" (Sentence Patterns for Expression) is one of the first JSL textbooks organized by notions and functions.

千鳥1-16：うん、私の中でそこがいちばん問題で、自分がもってる形をきっちり分かってもらうっていう部分と、「この先生はこういうことが得意だから、聞いてみよう」みたいに学習者が自分から私たちのもってるものを引き出してくれるような持っていき方と、やっぱり二つあると思うんです。プロジェクトワークみたいな、やりたいことだけを一生懸命やっていくみたいなものと、教師がこれだけは分かってほしいっていうようなものの、二つのアプローチが重なる方がいいのかなあと思うんです。いわゆるカフェテリア方式だと、甘いものばっかり食べて栄養過多に、
＜虫に邪魔されたので５ターン省略＞
千鳥1-19：えー、なにを言ってたんでしたっけ？
直子1-20：カフェテリア方式
千鳥1-20：ああ、そうそう。カフェテリア方式っていう自由度の高いものにしてしまうと、おやつばっかり食べちゃって基本的なものを食べなくなるんじゃないかっていう心配を持ってますね。私が中心になってやってたコースはどちらかと言えば自由度の高いもので、基本的なものをここまで覚えてくださいっていうのは、私は自らやらないで、そういうことがすごく得意な非常勤にここを必ずインプットしてくださいってお願いしましたね。自分で両方やるのはやっぱり難しいから、私はやりたいことを応援して引き出す係。そのかわり教科書を決めて、大事だと思うところは必ずおさえてもらえるように、何章何章何日までで、ここがわかってるかどうかを確認するテストをしてくださいって、信頼のおける非常勤に任せたんです。＜ターン後半省略＞
直子1-21：＜インフォーマントの名前＞さんは、やっぱりのせて、学習者の潜在能力を引き出す役割のほうがカンファタブルなわけ？
千鳥1-21：でもないんですよね。でも、そこに気付いてて、そういう役割をしようと思ってる人のほうが少ないから、非常勤の先生にはそれはあまりお願いができないので、インプットをきちっとする役割をふったほうが楽かなと思ったんですね。ほんとは、教科書をがんがん教えたいっていう自分も持ってます。そういうことが要求されるところでは、そういうことをします。日本語教師としての仕事以外に、別のところで別の仕事をしてるんですけど、そこではがんがんインプットして、教科書をしっかり教えてます。
直子1-22：それは日本語を教えるんじゃなくて？
千鳥1-22：教育原理とか、看護学校では人間関係論とか論理学とか。大学でも日本語の授業してますけど、精読をがんがんして、語彙のテストをしてっていう、かなり私の一方的な押し付けみたいなものをやってるので、ここではそういうことをしなくてもいいんじゃないかっていうのがありますね。ここではそういうことは要求されていない。ここに来てる人達は、今ここでがんがんやることよりも、日本っていう場をもっと上手に利用して、帰ってからも勉強できるような力とか感覚とかを身につけたほうがいいんじゃないかというのがありますよね。＜ターン後半省略＞

Chidori 1-16: Yeah, that's the biggest problem for me. I think there are two approaches after all. One is to have learners fully understand the patterns you have. The other is to let learners elicit what you have. They might go, "This teacher is good at such and such a thing. So I'll try asking her." I think it's better to have both approaches, the one in which learners exclusively focus on what they want to do like in project work, and the other in which teachers teach what they think is a must. The so-called cafeteria-style of learning might allow learners to have sweets only to make them overnourished...
<Five turns referring to an unwelcome bug in the room omitted>
Chidori 1-19: So what was I saying?
Naoko 1-20: Cafeteria-style
Chidori 1-20: Ah, yes. I'm concerned learners might choose sweets only and avoid basic

food in cafeteria-style learning which allows learners a high degree of freedom. The course I was in charge of had a relatively high degree of freedom, and I asked part-timers who are good at input to do that part of the job instead of doing it myself. It's difficult to play both roles. So I stayed in the role of supporter and facilitator. Instead I selected a textbook, and left it with reliable part-timers. I told them to cover the items I thought were important and to have tests to check learners' understanding of these items, and gave them a schedule. <The rest of the turn omitted>

Naoko 1-21: Do you feel more comfortable in the role of making learners feel confident and eliciting their potentials?

Chidori 1-21: Not really. But there aren't many teachers who are aware of these roles and willing to take them on. So I couldn't possibly ask part-timers to do it. I thought they might find it easier to input what needs to be known. Part of myself actually wants to teach textbooks in a Spartan way. I'll do it when it's required. Apart from the job of teaching JSL, I have another type of job elsewhere. I input a lot and teach a textbook from cover to cover there.

Naoko 1-22: That's not teaching JSL?

Chidori 1-22: Subjects like educational principles. Theories of human relationships and logic at the school of nursing. I also teach JSL at a university, where I have a lot of intensive reading followed by a vocabulary test. That's rather an imposition of my agenda. So I feel I don't have to do that at my main job. It's not required there. People I work with will be better off if they make a better use of Japan as a field and acquire abilities or the feel which will enable them to continue to learn after they go back to their country. <The rest of the turn omitted>

Chidori's approach provoked conflicts with both teaching and administrative staff, and her relationships with them became emotionally loaded. I shall not quote her on this topic because those who are criticized would easily identify themselves if they should read this thesis. I shall only mention here that Chidori perceives that the major cause of these conflicts lies in the difference in images Chidori and these people hold of what a teacher and teaching should be like.

At the time of the first interview Chidori expressed her strong desire to move into educational studies.

直子1-43：やっぱり次に勉強するとしたら、カウンセリング？

千鳥1-43：教育心理学とか学習理論とかそっちのほう。あとカウンセリングかな。自己尊重とか、自己意識とかそういう部分。勉強しつつ実際に生かして、食べていければいいなーとは思いますけどね。

直子1-44：でも、話を聞いてると、ほんとにやりたいことを全てやってきたっていう感じがするけど、かなりそういう性格なのかな？

千鳥1-44：そうみたいですね。全然、我慢はしてませんね。やりたいと思ったことがあって、それ

がうまく実を結ぶかどうかはわからないけども、一生懸命やってる最中が一番楽しいのかもしれませんね。<間>今、迷ってるのは、教育学とかそっちのほうに行くのにうまい方法を考えないといけないけど、今の日本語教師のポストも、食べていくのに必要だなっていうこと。あそこで要求されてるものは日本語教師的な要素よりも、ものすごく違うものが実は多い。コーディネイトしたりとか、異文化トレーニングじゃないけど、ちょっと調子が悪くなりそうな人を支えたりとか、継続学習の準備をしたりとか、今までの日本語教師の役割と違って、教科書をきっちり教えて確認する以上のことが要求されてるような気がするので、ここにいながら別なことをちょっと考えてもいいかなあっていうような気はしてるんですけど、でもできたら移りたい。<後略>

Naoko 1-43: If you're going to study something now would it be counselling that you would like to study next?

Chidori 1-43: Educational psychology, learning theories, and something in that line. And counselling maybe. Self-respect, self-awareness, and that sort of thing. It'd be good if I could study them and earn my living by putting them into practice.

Naoko 1-44: Listening to you gives me the impression that you've done everything you wanted to. Is it your personality?

Chidori 1-44: It looks like it. I don't give up on anything. I probably enjoy the time most when I'm doing my best at what I want to do whether or not it's going to be a success. <pause> My dilemma now is that I want to think of a good way to move into the field of educational studies, but I need my current position of Japanese language instructor in order to make my living. What's required at work is far beyond what's normally required of a language instructor. Coordinating people, supporting students who are psychologically at risk, which is a bit like cross-cultural training, and getting students prepared to continue learning. They are all beyond the traditional role of Japanese language instructor, which is to teach a textbook properly and to check learners' attainment. So staying and doing a bit of something different might not be a very bad option, but I'd like to change jobs if I could. <The rest of the turn omitted>

In contrast with the rather depressing situation at work, Chidori enjoys teaching at a school of nursing where she works part-time.

直子2-66：この前の時にこれも入ってなくて、私の記憶違いかもしれないけど、カウンセリングをやる時に、やっぱり自分がどのくらい成熟してるかも関係あるわよねという話をしてたでしょ。看護学校で、３５の時は何か聞かれたら、はい、それはって、ばーっと説明しなきゃいけないみたいに考えてたけど、今は、じゃあ、そうですね、一緒に考えてみましょうみたいに、余裕が持てるって。

千鳥2-67：わからないことは恥ずかしくないから。それ、ほんとわかんないとかいうと、みんながおろおろしちゃう。でも、馬鹿にされはしない。そうやって一回はずしておくと、この先生、肩肘張らないで、調べておきますとか言ってるけど、ちゃんと調べてきたかなという、先生にも自分達が課題を与えられるんだみたいな、違う何かができるでしょう。この先生も勉強しているのだというような姿勢を見せていいんだなとか思うようになった。看護学校が、年を取れば取るほどすごく楽しくなってきちゃった。授業をしてて、年を取っていくと幸せなことがあるのだということがわかって、すごく嬉しいっていうのが今の実感ですね。人がよく話を聞いてくれるようになった。

直子2-67：それってなんなんだろう。人を見てると必ずしも生物学的な年齢が高くなればみんなそうなると言うわけでもないでしょ？
千鳥2-78：なんなんでしょうね。自分に余裕があると感じる時には、人がよく相談してくれたりとか、別に何も喋らなくてもすごく心地よかったりすることがある。信頼関係があれば、ずーと関係を繋いでなくても、黙ってても気持ちいいことっていっぱいあるなあと思う。
直子2-68：余裕って、どこから来るの？
千鳥2-69：たぶん自分には何もないということがわかってるから。あれを持ってる、これを持ってる、私はこんなことを知ってるっていうんじゃなくて、知ってるかもしれないけど、ちょっと危ないから、それはあんまり出さないようにしようっていうくらい。でも聞かれたら、間違ってるかもしれないけど、こういうことかな、ああいうことかなって言えるみたいな。だから自分がこんなこと知ってるっていうのが大切なんじゃなくて、ソクラテスじゃないけど、無知の知っていうか、知らないことを知ってるぞっていうようなことじゃないかな。知らないけど恥ずかしくない、知らないけど調べられるっていうところ。わかんなかったら誰誰さんに聞こうとか、そういうネットワークがあるとかね、そういうのが余裕かなあと思う。前だったら、私はこれを知ってますとかいう感じで、それを前面に出すようなタイプだったけど、今は、新しい仕事もちょっと心配だけど、たぶん何とかなるだろう、きっと泣けば誰か助けに来てくれるだろうと思う。

Naoko 2-66: Another thing that didn't get recorded in the first interview. If I remember correctly, you said the counsellor's maturity counts in counselling. You'd thought you had to explain on the spot when you were asked a question at the school of nursing when you were thirty-five. Now you are relaxed enough to say, " Well, let's think about it together."
Chidori 2-67: Because I'm not ashamed of not knowing. When I say, "I really don't know," students get bewildered. But they'd never make a fool of me. Once you go against their expectations like that, you create something different. "This teacher doesn't put on airs and says she'll find out. We CAN give a task to a teacher. Will she try to find out as she promises?" sort of thing. I've come to think it's OK to show students that this teacher is also learning. As I grow older, I get more and more fun out of teaching at the school of nursing. I feel very happy to realize while I teach that growing older can bring happiness. People listen to me more than before.
Naoko 2-67: What do you think it is? We know about cases where growing biologically older doesn't necessarily bring that kind of state, don't we?
Chidori 2-68: I wonder what it is. When I feel relaxed, people often come to me to discuss their problems or I feel comfortable with being with someone without speaking a word. With a trusting relationship you don't have to always keep the channel open. It often happens that you stay silent, and still feel good.
Naoko 2-68: What makes you relax?
Chidori 2-69: Perhaps my awareness that I don't have anything. It's not that "I have this, I have that, I know this." It's "I may know this, but my knowledge is not very reliable. So I'll stay silent" sort of thing. But if I was asked, I could say, "I may be wrong, but it could be this or that." So what you know is not important. It's a bit like Socrates, but knowledge of ignorance or knowing not knowing. I don't know, but I'm not ashamed. I don't know, but I can find out. If I

can't find out, I'll ask so and so. I have the network for it. I think those things relax me. I used to be a type who'd overtly show my own knowledge, but I've changed now. I'm a bit anxious about my new work, but I should be able to manage. Someone will come to help if I cry.

"Cry and help will come" seems to be the strategy which Chidori developed as a child. When she told about the feminist counselling workshops in the first interview, she said that she had not been able to articulate her wishes in the early stages of her marriage and that her indecisiveness made her husband angry. His anger made her weep. Over the years Chidori learned to articulate her opinions, but perhaps a bit too logically according to her view. Chidori says that the counsellor at the workshops suggested she should use I-language (e.g. I don't like it.) instead of You-language (e.g. You should do this.) or They-language (e.g. It's good for them.) Chidori is probably trying to find a point comfortable for her in the continuum between the two extremes of a weeping child and a logical analyst of the situation. Her view of autonomy seems to reflect this.

直子2-72：オートノミーって、＜研究協力者の名前＞さんにとって何？
千鳥2-73：自律性っていうのは、今の日本の社会で必要とされていること。必要とされてたんだけど、日本の教育とか日本の社会のあり方が潰してたのかもしれない。その中で自律性を持って、これはこれでこの時にいるって信じて頑張ってた人は必ず抜きんでてるような気がするんですね。これでいいやと判断するのも自律性なんだろうけど、みんなと同じでいいやと思わないで、ここの部分だけ自分でこうやりたいって思ってやった人は、そういう意味で自分ていうのを掴んでいるような気がする。
直子2-73：やっぱり自分を掴むために
千鳥2-74：生き方の自律性と言うのは自分で責任を持つことだから、親があの大学に行けって言ったからとかいうんじゃなくて、自分で決めるっていうことですよね。ま、行けと言われて行っても、その中で何を掴んでそれからどうするかは自分だけど。それに、いつもいつも自分で決められるわけじゃないから、人とのいろんなやり取りの中で決めて行くんだけど、その中で自分で責任を取って、やってるかやってないかで全然違うだろうなっていう気がする。
直子2-74：やっぱり＜研究協力者の名前＞さんにとって、自律性というのは自分で責任を取ること？
千鳥2-75：うん、最終的には。まあ、いろんな人間が生きて行くためにはルールがあるから、法的なこととか、死体をミイラにするみたいな人の死に関わるレベルのことは別だけど、人を死にいたらしめたりすることでなければ、人が反対しても、自分がやりたいとか、やろうと思ったことは、責任が持てるのであれば、やり通すことでしょう。で、他人との関係の中で、それがうまく行っているかどうかを感じて、修正していくもの。一人で生きてないから、他人との関係がやっぱりすごく大事かな。＜ターン後半省略＞

Naoko 2-72: What's autonomy for you?
Chidori 2-73: Autonomy is what's needed in the present Japanese society. It's been needed from before, but education in Japan and the way Japanese society was might have been suppressing it. Even in such an environment people who were autonomous and did their best knowing what they were doing and believing what they did would be needed for their purposes seem to have always surpassed others in what they did. It's true that deciding how

far one would like to go is part of autonomy, but I think those who didn't give up their wishes, instead of deciding to go as far as everyone else did, grasped who they were.

Naoko 2-73: So it's for grasping who one is after all?

Chidori 2-74: Autonomy in life means taking responsibility for oneself. So it means making decisions for oneself, rather than following your parents' advice to go to a certain university, doesn't it? Well, you may follow your parents' advice, but what you get out of it and what you do later depend on you. You cannot necessarily make a decision for yourself. So you make decisions in interaction with other people. But I feel it makes a big difference whether you take responsibility for what you do.

Naoko 2-74: So autonomy means taking responsibility for you?

Chidori 2-75: Yes, ultimately. We have rules to live by. So we can't violate laws, or mummify someone's body[13]. But as far as we respect those rules it's to stick to what you want to or intend to do, on the condition that you take responsibility, even if you experience objections from other people. And it's to feel whether your plan is going well in relationship with other people and to review what you do. We don't live alone. So I guess the relationship with others is very important. <The rest of the turn omitted>

Teaching for Chidori seems to be a means for self-actualization.

直子2-70：ちょっと話は変わるけど、今、何のために教師をやってる？
千鳥2-71：自分のためかもしれない、
直子2-71：どういうふうに？
千鳥2-72：今、私にとっては特に一番いい時なんです。思い通りに行かなかったこともいっぱいあるけど、今年はいろいろなことが思い通りに進んだので、自分がすごくゆとりを持ってきたり、ものが考えられるようになったりしてるなあとすごく感じる。そのためにやってるんだと思う。教師をやるのは一つの手段で、お寿司屋さんはお寿司屋さんの自分というのを掴んでるんだと思う。私はこの道でこれからも自分を追求していくのかなっていう感じ。そういうふうに自分のためにやってて、今、有り難いのは自分のやりたいことでお金がもらえるということ。そうじゃない人もいっぱい周りにいる。だからそうやって生きていくんだなあと思う。自分のためですね。

Naoko 2-70: Changing the subject, what do you teach for now?

Chidori 2-71: For myself, perhaps.

Naoko 2-71: Could you elaborate on that a bit?

Chidori 2-72: It's a particularly good time for me. I had many things that didn't work out as I'd have liked, but many other things went very well this year. So I've been more relaxed and able to think more. I strongly feel it. I think I teach for that purpose. Being a teacher is a

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13 One of the hottest topics in the media at the time of the second interview was a cult which doesn't believe in death and kept a follower's father's body in a hotel room until it was discovered after several months, mummified.

means. In the sense that a sushi cook grasps himself as a sushi cook, I'll probably keep trying to find out who I am in this profession. It's that sort of thing. The good thing about it is I can earn my living by doing what I want to. I know many people who cannot do that. So I think that's how I continue. Yes, I teach for myself.

Chapter 7 Sawai

7-1. How I met Sawai and how our interviews evolved

Sawai[1] was an associate professor of adult education at a Japanese university at the time of the interviews. A friend of mine told me several years previously that he had met someone who had studied with "a Brazilian scholar named Paulo Freire." I immediately pushed this friend to introduce me to this person. That was how I met Sawai. Since then Sawai and I had been involved in a few projects together, but we never got close before our first interview. His background being educational studies, I felt that I had to treat him as a guest when I invited him to projects related to JSL. Also, the difference in our speech styles often produced clashes of turns in our conversations. I seemed to talk faster and wait less. I always felt that I had to be very careful not to dominate our talk. Relative inexperience on my part in social and political issues made my concern even bigger. I was not sure if we spoke the same language.

When I asked Sawai to be my research participant, however, he willingly agreed. We decided to meet midway between where he lived and where I lived because he had some business to do there. This may not have been a wise idea, because we were not able to find a private space to have an interview and ended up in a noisy coffee shop. In any case we talked for 153 minutes, and Sawai commented afterwards that he enjoyed the talk because he was able to talk a lot about the topics of his interest.

The second interview was carried out in my office several months later. I had attended some lectures which Sawai gave between the first and the second interviews, which probably decreased the psychological distance between us. I felt much more comfortable in talking to him. Although we had to finish the interview quickly between two other commitments, we were able to cover the points which I had planned to discuss. Sawai offered to talk again later if it was necessary, but I did not think that it was. We talked for ninety minutes.

7-2. Sawai's story

Sawai was born in 1961. Although his family seems to have provided him with a supportive environment, Sawai was not happy at junior and senior high schools. The following quotation is about his reflection during his early years at university.

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[1] Sawai is a family name. I asked the interviewees about their preference concerning a pseudonym to represent them. I requested them to give me a first name because I felt more confortable with using their first name in my writing in English. Sawai gave me a family name and I did not push him to change it to a first name because some Japanese people, particularly men, prefer to be called by their family name.

沢井1-13：うーん、教育の勉強をすればするほど、例えば、林竹二とか、そういう優れた教育者とか教師とかの実践記録を読むじゃないですか。そうするとやっぱり小学校の時にこういう先生に出会えたら、中学校の時にこういう先生に出会えたら、高校の時にこういう先生に出会えたらって思ったわけですよ。中学校の時に意識調査だか、アンケート調査だか、性格検査だかなんかやりますよね。何の検査だったかよく覚えてないんですけども、性格検査かなんかだと思うんですけどもね、その時に、今の政治に不満があるか、今の社会に不満があるか、そういう項目があって、そこに印をつけたんです。なんでつけたのかよくわかんないけど、やっぱり、うちの父親が国鉄の職員で、国労に入ってて、社会党だから、国会中継なんかを見ては、自民党の大臣が答弁してるのを見て、ブツブツ言ったりするの見てたりしたのもあるし、いろいろ政治の問題だとかに関心があって、これはおかしいなとか思ってたから、それを正直に書いたんですね。そしたら、あとで職員室に呼ばれて、おまえはどういうことに問題があると思ってるのかって聞かれたんですよ。ぼくが答えたことに対して、きちっと向き合ってくれるんじゃなくて、なんかよからぬことを考えてるんじゃないかって、チェックされたっていう感じだったんですね。そういうことをやる教師はいたけども、どういうことに関心があるのか聞いてくれて、例えば、平和の問題だとすると、そうだよなとか、実は先生もそう思ってんだよとかいうふうに、そこで話が深まっていくような教師はいなかった。そういう教師にもし出会っていたら、やっぱりずいぶん変わっただろうと思う。＜後略＞

Sawai 1-13: Well, as you study education, you read records of practice by distinguished educators or teachers, don't you? I thought that I would have liked to meet such teachers when I was at primary school or junior and senior high schools. You have a questionnaire survey of opinions or a personality test at junior high, don't you? I don't remember what kind of test it was. It was probably a kind of personality test. In the one we had there was an item which asked whether we had any dissatisfaction with contemporary politics or society, and I marked it. I don't know why I did. My father worked for JNR[2] and was a member of their socialist labour union. He used to watch television programmes broadcasting diet sessions, mumbling his disagreement with LDP[3] ministers. That was one of the reasons I was interested in political issues and felt something was wrong. I just wrote it honestly in the test. Then I was called to the staff room and asked where I thought the problem was. The teacher didn't treat my answer seriously. I felt he just checked if I had any unfavourable thoughts. The teachers that I had were like that. No one asked me what I was interested in or had any meaningful discussions on peace, for example. I would have liked a teacher who sympathized with me and shared his thoughts. Then I would have been a lot different.

Sawai went to a competitive academic senior high school, and started playing rugby.

沢井1-6：全国的にそうだけども、エリート校っていうのは、他に比べるとわりと自由じゃないです

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2 JNR stands for the now defunct Japan National Railways.

3 LDP stands for Liberal Democratic Party.

か。で、自由だ自由だって言われてて、たしかに他の高校と比べると、自由だったと思うんだけど、大学に入ってから考えると、かなり窮屈というか、厳しかったっていうか、非人道的なことが行われているところだった。体罰っていうかね、殴るっていうんじゃないんだけども、忘れ物をした生徒の頭を出席簿で平気でパンとたたいたりする。そういうのに、ぼくらはすごく反感をもってた。おかしいとは思ってたんだけど、抵抗できないっていうか。でも、そうか。自治っていうことでは、ラグビー部を作ったりしましたね。1年の時にはバスケットやってたんですけどね、バスケットはインターハイまでいった、すごく強いとこだったんです。ぼくは中学校まで剣道をやってたから、バスケットは初めてで、1年だから、球ひろいとか、ドリブルをやってた。先輩とか、同じ1年でもうまい人、中学校からやってる人たちは練習に参加してるのを、ドリブルをして見てたりとか、そういうのがあまり面白くなくて、結局1年でやめちゃった。それで、たまたまラグビーをやろうっていう人が同じクラスにいて、で、＜間＞　面白そうだなと思って、7、8人で始めちゃったのかな。ラグビー部は、昔はあったんだけど、よくあることで、なにか悪さをして廃部になった。それでOBがいて、そのOBが日曜日にOB会で練習してたのに参加しながら、人を集めて同好会にして、3年の時に部にしちゃったのかな。

青木1-7：それは、いろいろ手続きがあるんでしょ？

沢井1-7：うん、それは、あるんだけれども。だから、それもややオートノミーに近いですね。高校の時も、自分たちで、ないものを作っていくということにかかわっていたといえば、かかわっていたね。＜後略＞

Sawai 1-6: Students of elite schools generally have more freedom than other schools, don't they? Everyone said we had freedom, and it's true we did compared with other senior high schools. But when I thought back after I went to university, it was rather rigid or strict. We had inhumane treatment. You may call it corporal punishment. You wouldn't call it "beating," but a teacher would hit a student who didn't bring something on the head with an attendance book without questioning whether his action was justifiable. We had antipathy against these teachers' behaviour. We thought something was wrong, but we weren't able to resist. But, yes, in terms of self-government, we made a rugby club. I played basketball in the first year. They had a very good team which had competed at the inter-high school games. I practiced *kendo*[4] at junior high, and was a complete novice in basketball. As I was in the first year, collecting balls and dribbling were all I was allowed to do. It wasn't terribly exciting to watch seniors and first year students who had played basketball since junior high practice as I dribbled. So I quit at the end of the year. Than I had a classmate who wanted to play rugby. So <pause> I thought it might be interesting, and seven or eight of us started. The school used to have a rugby team, but, as often happens, members misbehaved in a way or another, and the team had been discontinued. So there were past pupils. We joined their practice on Sundays, got more people to give our group unofficial club status, and in the third year we had it officially recognized.

Naoko 1-7: You had to go through lots of procedures, didn't you?

Sawai 1-7: Yes, we did. So that was close to autonomy. I was involved in creating something new at senior high too. <The rest of the turn omitted>

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[4] *Kendo* is Japanese fencing.

Sawai seems to have wanted to spend his time on things that were meaningful to him, but this caused conflicts with his teachers.

沢井1-8：うーん＜間＞、いや、ぼく２年生の時に担任とけんかをして．．．
直子1-9：なんで？
沢井1-9：ラグビーをやってて、試合と試験が重なってたのかな。ぜんぜん強いチームじゃないんだけども、弱いは弱いなりに、やっぱり試合にいっしょうけんめいになるわけでしょ。それで、あのう、ラグビー知ってます？
直子1-10：うーん、まあ、見たことはあるけど。
沢井1-10：１５人いますよね。で、スタンドオフっていう、よく指令塔っていわれるポジション。スクラムから球が来て、右に出したり左に出したりっていう。ほんとはいちばん俊敏で、何でも全体がわかってる人がなるんだけど、ぼくは足が遅くて体が細くて、他に行きようがなかったから、いちおうそこになったって感じなんだけども、やっぱり個人技じゃないから、人に迷惑かけちゃいけないと思って、試合を優先させようと思って試験勉強をしなかった。そしたら担任がそのことに対して文武両道だみたいなことを言い始めたから、それでけんかした。たぶん中途半端なのがいやな性格なんでしょ。だから極端なんです。勉強しない時はしないで、１学年５００人ぐらいいて、４００何十番とかいうこともあれば、ちゃんとやって１００番台とか、１００番内っていうこともあった。だから、もういいやと思って、今回はラグビーを優先させてみたいな感じでやって、それでけんかしたりとか、あと進路指導のことでもけんかした。その時は、やっぱり受験勉強に対してやや批判的に見てたんだと思うんだけども、一方ではスポーツもせずに、ただ点とり虫になっていっしょうけんめい受験勉強ばっかりやってる人たちもいるわけですね。で、自分はそうじゃなくて、今しかやれないことをやりたい、自分は、人が点をとるために勉強してる時間にいろんなことを他にやってるわけだから、偏差値が低くなるのも当然だ、だから、一年間くらい浪人して、それで納得がいく勉強をして、大学に行きたいって、進路指導でいったんです。あ、家庭訪問でいったのか。親は浪人は困るみたいな感じでいってたんですけどね。ま、経済的な事情もあったんだけど、それでも、その時に、教師に、そんなこといっても経済的な事情もあるから、とにかく入れるところに入れと言われたのが嫌だった。今考えると、やっぱり現役で何人どこに通ったということが重要視されるからということもあったと思うんですよね。で、そういうことがあって、全部話が食い違ってたっていうか、けんかもしたし、けっこうさぼってた。ずる休みしてたんです。布団の中から、親に電話してもらうんですよ。自分ではやれないから。今日いやだ、なんかきついなと思ったら、今日かぜ、お母さん電話しといてよって。よく親も電話したと思うんだけども。
直子1-11：おかあさんもグルなのね。
沢井1-11：グルっていうか、自分のやりたいようにやらせてくれてたんじゃないかと思うんですけどね。だから、学校にはちょっと距離をおいてるというところはありました。

Sawai 1-8: Well, <pause> well, I had a fight with my homeroom teacher when I was in the second year ...

Naoko 1-8: Why?

Sawai 1-9: A rugby match was scheduled around examination time, if I remember correctly. We were not a strong team, but a weak team gets serious in their way, doesn't it? So, well, do you know rugby?

Naoko 1-10: Well, I've seen a match.

Sawai 1-10: A team has fifteen players. I was a standoff. The position is often called the control tower. The ball comes from the scrum and you get it out to right or left. Normally a

player who is the quickest and knows the entire working of the team is chosen. I was thin and a slow runner, and there was no other position I could be in. So it was a compromise for the team. Rugby isn't an individual sport. I didn't want to be a problem for the team, and gave priority to the match and didn't study for the examination. Then the homeroom teacher started saying things like "You need to be good at both civil and military arts." So we had a fight. Perhaps it's my personality that hates doing things halfway. I go to extremes. When I didn't study, I didn't at all. There were about 500 second years and when I didn't study, I was number four hundred and something. At other times I studied, and made in the one hundred something or even within the top hundred. So I gave up studying, gave priority to rugby, and had a fight with the teacher. We had another fight about what I was going to do after school. I guess I was a bit critical about studying for university entrance exams. There were people who don't play any sports and swotted to get good marks in the exams. I didn't want to do that. I wanted to do what I was able to do only then. So I told the teacher that it was natural my rank in the year got low because I was doing various other things while other people studied to get good marks. At a career guidance interview I said I'd wait for a year after graduation to take entrance exams and study to my satisfaction. Ah, it was when he visited our home, I remember. My parents wanted me to go directly to university because of our financial situation. But I didn't like the teacher to tell me to go to any university I could go because of my family's financial situation. I suppose it was partly because teachers' work was evaluated by how many students directly went to which university. So it was like that. Our communication always went wrong, and we had fights. I often played truant from school too. I'd stay in bed and ask my mother to call school because I couldn't possibly do it myself. When I didn't feel like going to school or I was tired, I said "Mom, I've got a cold today. Could you call school?" It was great she did.

Naoko 1-11: So your mother was your accomplice.

Sawai 1-11: Accomplice may not be a right word for it. She let me do what I wanted to do, I guess. So I kept my distance from school.

Sawai never wanted to be a school teacher. He explains the reason why he chose education for his major subject at university as:

直子1-14：でも、教育学部に行こうと思ったのはどうして？

沢井1-14：ぼくはそういう教師を見てきてるから、教師になろうとはぜんぜん思わなかった。ほんとにひとかけらも教師になろうなんて思わなくて、今でも教職の免許をもってないんですよ。とろうとも思わない。それはほんとに正直だったと思います。誰かいい先生に出会ってたら、もしかしたら先生もいいかなというふうに思ったかもしれないけど。先生になろうと思って入ったんじゃなくて、難民の子どもだとか、あとやっぱり貧しい、ストリート・チルドレンだとか、第三世界の子どもの問題に関心があったんです。ぼくの大学入試の時、今のコソボ問題のように、インドシナ難民の問題があって、ちょうどポルポトが大量の住民虐殺をした頃で、難民の中に子どもたちがいたんですよね。

で、（間）ま、教育に関心があったというより、そういう貧しい子どもたちをどう救っていくかみたいな理想に燃えて、それで比較教育を選んだんですよ。今は大講座制でむちゃくちゃになってますけど、＜大学名＞の教育学部の中に比較教育という講座があったんですよ。で、［浪人していた時に見た］受験雑誌にね、グローバルな子どもの問題、第三世界の問題を解決するためにはどうすればいいかとか、ユニセフやユネスコのやってることが紹介してあって、そういうことに関わっていく人は比較教育を勉強したほうがいいって書いてあったんで、あっこれだって思って、比較教育をやりはじめた。

直子1-15：そうすると、そういう子どもたちのことは、高校のころから知っていて、何かしたいというように思ってたの？

沢井1-15：昔、NHKの特派員報告ってありましたでしょ？７時半から８時まで、ほんとに短い時間だけれども、世界中からいろいろな特派員のレポートがあって、難民の問題とか、ビアフラの問題とかが放送されてて、ぼくはあれを一生懸命見てたような気がします。（間）でも、それを見てて、そのまますうっと教育のほうにいったんじゃなくて、現役の時には、経済学部とか、なんかいいなとか思ってました。結局、海外にあこがれてたのかもしれないですね。そういうのはあったかもしれない。

Naoko 1-14: What made you decide to study education?

Sawai 1-14: I never thought of becoming a school teacher because I'd seen such teachers. I didn't want to be a teacher at all, and I don't have any teaching qualifications even now. Nor shall I. I think I was really honest in my feeling. If I had met a good teacher, I might have thought a teaching career might be good, but I didn't choose education because I wanted to be a teacher. I'd been concerned about refugee children and poor street children in the third world. A big issue around the time I took university entrance examinations was Indochinese refugees as Kosovo is now. Pol Pot was killing Cambodian people, and there were children among the refugees. So <pause> It's not so much that I was interested in education as that I had an idealistic ambition to help those children that I chose comparative pedagogy. The department of education of <NAME OF UNIVERSITY> had a chair of comparative pedagogy, although the system has been messed up since it was amalgamated with other subjects into a bigger department. In a magazine on university entrance exams which I read while I was preparing for the exams after graduation from school, there was an introductory article on global children's issues, solution to the issues in the third world, and activities of UNICEF and UNESCO. It said people who wanted to be involved in that type of work should study comparative pedagogy. I thought that was what I wanted, and started studying comparative pedagogy.

Naoko 1-15: So you'd known about these children since you were at senior high school and wanted to do something?

Sawai 1-15: NHK[5] used to have foreign correspondents' reports, didn't they? From seven thirty to eight o'clock in the evening, they had brief reports from various parts of the world. Refugee issues and the situation in Biafra were reported there. I dimly remember I watched

[5] NHK is the Japanese government-subidized broadcasting company.

them seriously. <pause> But I didn't go to education directly from there. Economics was an option for me when I was at senior high. I might have been attracted to foreign countries after all. That could have been it.

The university which Sawai went to had a system which was rather rare in the country at the time. Sawai considers his experiences in this system to have been a decisive factor in forming his thinking and attitude towards education.

沢井1-2：ていうのは、大学から自治会活動をかなりやってたから、典型なんじゃないかと思うんです。＜大学名＞の教育学部はすごく人数が少なくて、ぼくが入った時、学生運動はもうだいぶ下火だったんですけど、まだ学生大会が成立して、その議決したものを大学当局に示していたし、それなりに発言権をもってる自治会だったんです。

直子1-3：何年ごろ？

沢井1-3：８０年前後ですね

直子1-4：大学入ったのが８０年？

沢井1-4：８０年かな。８１年か。だからそこで決定的に［影響を受けたと思う］。自治会がしっかりしてて、学生大会もずっと成立をしていて、すごく自治意識が強かったんですよね。なおかつ、学部連絡会っていうのがあって、教授会に出る審議事項、協議事項、報告を、学部長が必ずじきじきに、院生自治会と学生自治会と助手会と教職員組合の四者に説明するんです。今あるかどうかわかんないんですけども。＜間＞当時は教養部がありましたけど、やっぱり自治会がしっかりしていた関係で、１、２年の教養部のたて割のクラスなんかも、すごくまとまりがよくて、クラス活動が活発だったんです。クラス活動を支えてたのは、やっぱり自治会の役員の人たちでした。だから、やっぱり［自治会の影響は］教養の時もかなりあったんですけども、３年になって学部に入ってから、学部の自治活動に参加し始めたんです。＜間＞それで、ぼくは、３年の後期か４年生の前期かに、自治会の委員長もやったりしたんです。だけど、自治会の委員長っていっても、闘志に燃えた、生涯をかけて、学生運動に身も心も捧げるっていうような感じじゃなかったです。学生大会が成立するような雰囲気だからすごく自然なんですよ。自然に自治会の役員にもなる。非常に意識の高い人だけがやるんじゃなくて、それぞれいろんな考え方があるけど、そういう人たち皆の声を反映できるような自治会にしていこうという考え方があったんです。とにかく同じ人が何回もやるっていうことがないように、いろんな人にまわしていくってことで、それでぼくも［委員長になった］。＜後略＞

Sawai 1-2: Well, I was rather active in the students' council at university. I guess I'm a typical case. The department of education of <NAME OF UNIVERSITY> is very small. Although the students' movement had already declined when I entered the school, the students' council's general meetings were still possible. Decisions of these meetings were shown to the university authorities, and the council had a voice to some extent.

Naoko 1-3: When was it?

Sawai 1-3: Around 1980.

Naoko 1-4: You entered university in 80?

Sawai 1-4: Was it 80? 81, I guess. So I think I was decisively influenced there. The students' council was functioning. General meetings always had a quorum. The students had a strong sense of self-government. What's more, we had a meeting called the departmental liaison conference, where the dean explained reports and items of deliberation and discussion of

faculty meetings to the students' council, the graduate student's council, the assistants' council and the union. I don't know if they still have it though. <pause> They still had a general education department[6] and the classes in my first and second year gelled very well and had a lot of activities together because of the active students' council. Officers of the council organized the activities. So the influence of the students' council wasn't small when I was in the general education department, but I started participating in the students' council's activities in the third year when I entered the department of education. <pause> And I was chair of the council in the second semester of the third year or the first semester of the fourth year. But I was never a chair who was ready to fight and willing to devote his whole life and sacrifice his body and soul to students' movement. In the atmosphere in which general meetings always had a quorum it seemed very natural, we became officers naturally. We had a policy that everyone should be involved, not just the politically-conscious ones, and the council should reflect a variety of voices that existed. We thought the office should rotate so that the same person wouldn't hold the same office often. So I became the chair too. <the rest of the turn omitted>

Sawai spent the first couple of years at university on non-academic activities, as many university students do, in order to "wash off the scum of studying for university entrance examinations" to borrow his expression. In the fourth year, however, all his previous interests formed one entire picture.

直子1-29：で、フレイレの研究をするようになったのは？
沢井1-29：フレイレの研究は、社会教育の勉強を始めるのと、ちょうど重なってるんですけれども、オートノミーとの関わりでいえば、フレイレよりも社会教育との出会いのほうが大きいですね。ていうのは、やっぱり、社会教育で、自由に学ぶこと、学ぶ自由の大切さだとか、社会教育の自由を担保するいろんな制度とか仕組だとかを勉強しはじめて、戦前と戦後の違いとか、やっぱりこういう自由がなくなると、それから自由を担保する自治が崩壊すると、また戦前に逆戻りするんだなってことがわかった。その時は、社会教育を専攻している学生が多くて、自治会で中心になってた人もけっこう多かったんですよ。ぼくは最初は社会教育はあんまり関心がなかったんだけども、中南米に関心が、あ、中南米の話もしなきゃいけないんだな。いろいろ、中南米の話をしなきゃいけないんだ。大学に入ってからフォルクローレ同好会に入って、で、ずうっと笛をピーヒャラピーヒャラ吹いてたんです。学部の勉強のほうは、ま、それなりには一生懸命やってたんですけど、社会教育には特に入らなかったんです。で、4年にあがって（間）4年にあがる時に、誘われて、社会教育のゼミに入ることになったのかな。その時の指導教官が＜人名＞先生で、その人がパウロ・フレイレっていう有名なブラジルの教育学者がいるから読んでみないかっていうことで、いろいろ本を紹介してくれて、読み始めたのがきっかけなんです。だから、ちょうど社会教育を勉強し始めたころ。自治会活動をやってたし、わりとすうっと入っていけたんです。社会教育もやっぱり、国家による思想統制とか、思想強化とかに抵抗して、成人が自由に学ぶ権利を保障していかないといけないということを言っているでしょ。社

6 All students took courses of a general education department in the first and second years of university, which consisted of PE, foreign languages, and introductory courses in natural, social, and human sciences irrespective of the student's intended major.

会教育の勉強をしていくなかで、大学だけじゃなくて、社会一般では、地方自治とかがどういうふうになってるのかってことも考えた。結局、学習者のオートノミーの問題ですよね。社会教育で、（間）学習者自身が講座を作っていくというかね。カルチャーセンターのようなメニュー選択方式じゃなくて、学習者が自らもっている学習要求をどんどん掘り起こしていって、それを組織化していく。で、学習者が主体で、自らの学習をコントロールしていく。そういうことの大事さ、それからそれを具体的にどうやっていくかについて、公民館なんかでいい実践をやってる人たち、職員たちはいっぱいいますから、そういう人たちの話を聞いたりしながら、ああこういうふうにして、学習者主体、住民主体の学習活動が行われてるのかって学んだり。

直子1-30：じゃ、さっきの中南米の話は、そこらへんとどういうふうにからんでくるの？

沢井1-30：中南米は偶然なんですけども（間）大学に入ったら、フォルクローレ同好会に入らないかと誘われた。やっぱり泥臭いものが好きだったのかもしれない。（笑い）第三世界に関心があるくらいだから、どっかで引かれるものがあったのかもしれないけど、フォルクローレ同好会に入った。でも、1、2年、3年の間は、自分の中で中南米と自分が専攻している教育学はあんまり結びつかなかった。あんまり真面目に考えてなかったかもしれない。で、卒論を書く時になって、4年の頭にだいたい卒論のテーマって決めますよね。なんにしようって思ってたら、中南米といえば、ブラジルにこういう優秀な人がいるからっていわれて、読んでたら、あっと思った。その時ぼくは自治会活動で苦しんでたわけですよ。どうやってうまく一つの組織をまとめていくのか、自治会活動に対する拒否反応だとか、対話が成立しないだとか、そういう問題を抱えてた時に『伝達か対話か』を読んで、これだって思った。自分は対話対話っていいながら、伝達型のコミュニケを出すだけのことをしてたんじゃないかとか、あるいは＜学生政治団体名＞とか、＜学生政治団体名＞とかが学生を組織化する過程で使ってるのは対話じゃなくて、意識操作じゃないかとか、そういうのがだんだん見えてきて、これはすごいと思って、のめりこんだ。（間）だからオートノミーと『伝達か対話か』．．．

Naoko 1-29: How did you come to study Freire?

Sawai 1-29: I started studying Freire around the time I started learning about adult education. In relation to autonomy, adult education had more impact than Freire, because it was only when I began to learn about learning freely in adult education, the importance of freedom to learn, and the systems and structures which guarantee the freedom of adult education that I understood the difference between the pre-war and post war periods and how the lack of freedom and the collapse of self-governance which guarantees freedom could turn the situation back to the pre-war state. In those days many students majored in adult education. Quite a few active members of the students' council were there. I wasn't interested in adult education so much in the beginning. Latin America was my ... Oh, I have to tell you about Latin America, too. After I entered university, I joined the Folklore Music Club and played the flute. I studied fairly seriously, but I didn't participate in the adult education seminars. In the beginning of the fourth year <pause> Around the end of the third year someone suggested I should join the adult education seminar, I suppose. My advisor was Professor <NAME>, and he suggested I should read a famous Brazilian pedagogue named Paulo Freire. So I started reading. That's how it happened. So it was around the time I started studying adult education. As I'd been active in the students' council, I didn't have any difficulty in starting. Adult education, too, claims that we have to resist state thought control and indoctrination and that adults' right to learn freely should be guaranteed, doesn't it? As I study adult education I thought about how self-governance in society in general as well as in university

worked. After all it's a matter of learner autonomy, isn't it? In adult education <pause> learners themselves create courses. Unlike culture centres where learners choose what they want to learn from a given menu, adult education needs to find out about learners' needs and organize them. Then learners independently take control of their own learning. I learned about the importance of such learning and how it was implemented in practice by listening to practitioners and staff of local community centres. There were quite a few good practitioners. That's how I learned how learner-centred or resident-centred learning activities were carried out.

Naoko 1-30: How does Latin America come into the picture then?

Sawai 1-30: It was a coincidence. <pause> Someone invited me to the Folklore Music Club when I entered university. I probably liked rural simplicity. <laughter> I'd been interested in the third world, so it might have been a natural consequence. Anyway I joined the club. But I didn't make any connection between Latin America and my major, pedagogy, in the first three years. I probably didn't give too much serious thought to it. Then when I had to start writing the final thesis... You normally decide on a topic in the beginning of the fourth year, don't you? I was thinking about what to do, and my advisor said, "Talking about Latin America, there's this distinguished pedagogue in Brazil." I read the book and thought "This is it!" I was having a hard time in the students' council. I had organizational problems. Some students didn't want to be involved in the students' council's activities. Dialogues were often impossible. Then I read *Extension or Communication*. I thought that was it. I'd wanted dialogues, but I'd just issued communiqués, I thought. I gradually came to see that how students' political organizations organized students by manipulation of opinions and not by dialogues. So I thought his thinking was very powerful, and got enthusiastic about it. <pause> So it was autonomy and *Extension or Communication*...

Sawai went to graduate school of the same university. The decision seems to have come naturally.

直子1-31：じゃ、大学院に行くっていうのはごく自然な流れで、いろんな選択肢があって、深く考えて決めたってことじゃなかった？

沢井1-31：ぼくの代は、けっこう周りの人が大学院行ったんですよね。それで、中南米をやる人がいないし、フレイレやなんかやってる人がいないから、指導教官にも言われたか、聞かれたかしたのかな。なんとなくそういう期待はあったんですね。変わり者ですよね。みんな欧米とかを見てるのに、中南米に関心があって、フレイレで卒論を書くとかいって、で、笛なんか吹いてたから、そういうことは誰もやってないし、ちょっと大学院に行って、やったらどうかと言われ、周りからもそういうふうに期待されてて、で。

直子1-32：で、ああ、そういうもんかと思っていった。

沢井1-32：うーん。

Naoko 1-31: So was it a natural course of events for you to go to grad school? Did you make the decision after considering other options too?

Sawai 1-31: Many people of my class went to grad school. I think my advisor suggested I should go because no one was studying Latin American education or Freire, or he asked about my plan. I felt that sort of expectation. I was unusual, wasn't I? I was interested in Latin America, my final thesis was going to be about Freire, and I played the flute, where everyone looks to Europe and North America. So he suggested I should go to grad school because no one else studied such topics. Other people had the same expectation too. So...

Naoko 1-32: So you were convinced and went.

Sawai 1-32: Yeah, sort of.

Sawai continued to be active in the students' council at the graduate school.

直子1-17：大学で自治会活動をやって、自分が変わったって思うことあります？

沢井1-17：（間）あ、やっぱり、ぼくは大学院に行ってから、あれでしたね。大学院も、自治会がしっかりしてて（間）院生の出してる雑誌とかありますよね。院生中心の。阪大もあります？

直子1-18：いちおうあります、はい。

沢井1-18：今でもあると思うんですけど、＜大学名＞教育学部の教育学研究科にもあるんですけど、それを院生自治会が出してた。

直子1-19：すごい。

沢井1-19：自治会が、で（笑い）

直子1-20：（笑い）すごい。阪大は書きなさいといわないと書かなくて、編集は教官がやっている。

沢井1-20：自治会がやってて、それで自治会に学部から、編集費っていうお金がおりてくる。自治会の年間予算は100万か150万くらいもらってたんじゃないかな。その中で40万とか50万とかぐらい使って、＜雑誌名＞っていう名前で、雑誌の編集をしてた。単なる自治のための組織じゃなくて、院生間の研究交流というか、研究活動を、お互いに刺激しあうのも重要な活動に位置づけてて、修論検討会だとか、そういうのも院生自治会が主催してたんです。

直子1-21：すごいね.

沢井1-21：昔は講座制だったから、講座に入っちゃうと、そこだけの授業で単位が全部たりちゃうでしょう？それでタコ壺化するのを防ぐ目的もあったんだと思うんだけど、Ｍ１の時にその＜雑誌名＞って雑誌に研究ノートを書かされるんです。ぼくは、解放の神学についてちょっと書いたんですけど、Ｍ１の段階から、自治会の上の人たちに、書くトレーニングをさせられるんですよ。

直子1-22：代々Ｍ１はそういうのを書くということになってるの？

沢井1-22：ええ。で、Ｍ２の修論検討会なんかだと、日頃あんまり出てこないＤ２Ｄ３が出てきて、かなり手厳しくやるんですけど、それが他の専攻の人なんですよね。ぼくは社会教育の講座でしたけども、教育内容とか教育史とか教育行政とかの人が、いろいろ批判をするんです。内容に関わることもあるし、論文の書き方、研究方法論に関わる部分も含めて、いろいろ厳しく。

直子1-23：それに教官は関わらない？、

沢井1-23：全然関わらない。

直子1-24：出席しない？

沢井1-24：全然。それで、その中で、だいたいどこの講座がどういう研究をやっていて、誰がどういう研究をやっていてっていうのがわかるし、Mの学生がドクターの学生を逆に批判することもあるんですよね。ま、けんかにはならないんですけども、あの、この研究どういう意味があるんですかって、厳しいチェックをしちゃって。そういうお互いに刺激しあっていく院生自治会でも役員をやって、委員長もやった。あそこは全構成員自治というか、とりあえず教授会が学内自治の基本的な組織だけれども、教授会、それから評議会だけじゃなくて、基本的には全構成員で自治を守っていくという考えが強かった。自分たちもそう思ってたし、大学当局もそれを認めてた。学部連絡会をやって、要望

があれば、そこから教授会にいろんな事項が行くわけですよね。だから、かなり自治意識が培われたんじゃないかな。ぼくは、大学院の時に、助手をしかりつけたことがありますよ。学生参加の投票で一定数とらないと、学部長候補者からはずすっていう内規があって、それに文部省からずうっとクレームがついてて、ついに耐えられなくなって、変えるっていう時に、ちょうどぼくは大学院の委員長をやってたんですね。で、学部連絡会で、議論してる時に、助手会の代表の人が、ここはもう先生方のおっしゃる通りにしてみたいなことをいったんです。心理の人だったですけど、私たち下々の者が言ったところで、先生方はよくわかってらっしゃるからって感じで、院生学部生をなだめようとした。だからカチっときて、そんな低次元な話をしてるんじゃないって言ったんです。学部長が横で笑ってましたけど。

＜7ターン省略＞

沢井1-28：ええ。そういう中で、全構成員自治の考え方もあるから、教員も、学生のくせにとか、院生のくせにという雰囲気じゃなくて、対等に見てくれる。だから、自分たちもいい加減なことはできないし、それに甘えることはできないから、（間）それなりに厳しく、自治会の活動も研究もきちっとやってましたね。要するに自分の研究も、なんのためにやってんだとか、平和のためじゃないかとか、そういうことを話してて、そのときも、産学共同を問題にしてたんですよね。危ない危ないって言ってたらこないだつかまちゃったでしょ？だから、ほんとに活発でしたね。

Naoko 1-17: Did you change in any way by participating in the students' council at the university?

Sawai 1-17: <pause> Oh, in fact, at the graduate school, I did. The graduate students' council was also active. <pause> Graduate students put out a journal, don't they. The one they make. Do you have one at Osaka U?

Naoko 1-18: More or less.

Sawai 1-18: I guess they still have one. <NAME OF UNIVERSITY>'s graduate school of education has one, too. And the graduate students' council published it.

Naoko 1-19: Wow.

Sawai 1-19: The graduate students' council publishes it. And... <laughter>

Naoko 1-20: That's great. Our students wouldn't write unless we tell them to, and the teachers edit the journal.

Sawai 1-20: That was the graduate students' council's job. The faculty provided some budget for editorial expenses. Our annual budget was, if I remember correctly, around one million or a million and a half yen, and we spent four to five hundred thousand to put out <NAME OF JOURNAL>. So the students' council was not just an organization for self-governance. It was our important aim to provide academic stimulus or opportunities for academic exchange among graduate students. The council organized MA thesis discussion meetings.

Naoko 1-21: Marvelous.

Sawai 1-21: They used to have a professorship system. So once you became someone's student, you were able to get all necessary credits in this professor's courses. I suppose it

was to prevent students' view from narrowing that students were encouraged to write a paper even in the first year of the MA programme. I wrote about liberation theology. Seniors in the council trained juniors in writing.

Naoko 1-22: So the first year students every year had to write something, didn't they?

Sawai 1-22: Yes. And doctoral students who didn't often come to school came to MA thesis discussion meetings and made rather severe comments even to the students whose topic were not in their specialized fields. I was in adult education, but doctoral students of educational content, educational history, or educational administration provided a lot of critical comments. The comments could be about the content, writing, or research methodology. It was tough.

Naoko 1-23: Teachers weren't involved?

Sawai 1-23: Not at all.

Naoko 1-24: They didn't show up at the meetings at all?

Sawai 1-24: No. In those discussions we learned which professor was doing what and who was doing what. MA students criticized doctoral students too. We didn't fight, but we asked questions like "What significance does your research have?" So we stimulated each other. I was an officer of the graduate students' council. I chaired it too. The idea was self-governance by all members. The faculty was the basic unit of self-governance of the school, but they had a strong conviction to maintain self-governance not only by the faculty and the councilors but by all constituent members. That was our thinking, and the university authority respected it. We were able to voice our demands at the departmental liaison conferences, and they were considered at the faculty meetings. I guess that was how our sense of self-governance was developed. I once denounced an assistant. The school had a bylaw that teachers cannot be candidates for dean unless they had certain number of votes in a ballot of students. The ministry of education didn't like it. And the school was feeling they could resist no more. That was the time I was chairing the graduate students' council. At a departmental liaison conference a representative of the assistants' council said we should follow the teachers' decisions. This assistant was a psychologist, and tried to appease undergraduate and graduate students by saying something like "Teachers need not be told what to do by us juniors. They know better." I got furious and said, "We're not discussing such a paltry topic. The dean was smiling beside me.

<7 turns omitted>

Sawai 1-28: Yes, in such an atmosphere and with the idea of self-governance by all constituent members, teachers treated undergraduate and graduate students as equals. So we felt we should be responsible for what we did and shouldn't take advantage of the

teachers' attitude. <pause> We were self-disciplined in our own way, and did both students' council's activities and research seriously. In short we discussed what our research was for, and our conclusion was it was for peace. We were concerned about financial involvement by companies in research. We felt the situation was very dangerous. So we were active.

Around this time Sawai started learning Spanish and Portuguese. At the end of the first year of his graduate work, he briefly visited Brazil to collect materials for his Master's thesis. When he completed his thesis, he went back to Brazil with a scholarship after one year he started his doctoral study. Sawai seems to have acquired Portuguese without too much difficulty. Of course he had to make some efforts, but the way he relates his language learning experiences is calm and detached.

直子1-63：言葉が専門だから、すごく興味があるんだけど、ブラジルに言った時、ポルトガル語はしゃべれたの？
沢井1-63：いや、行く飛行機の中で、ポルトガル語の数字を覚えた。
直子1-64：うそうそ。だって論文を読んでたんでしょ？
沢井1-64：発音がすごく難しいから。スペイン語はわりとわかるんですけどね。M１の時、最初にブラジルに行った時には、留学生に、個人指導で習ったんだけども、ポルトガル語は発音がやっぱり大変なんですよ。それを一生懸命練習しながら、それでも、行っちゃうところがやっぱり若いですよね。若かったんでしょうね。
直子1-65：へえ、どのくらいかかった？
（間）
沢井1-65：うーん、半年ぐらいっていうか、でもやっぱり一年間ぐらいはさすがに授業にはついていけなかったですね。一年近く。授業って大学院の授業ですけどね。
直子1-66：学校に行ってたの？
沢井1-66：いや、大学で、留学生向けの、ポルトガル語の補習授業があって、それには出てたけれども、まあ、気安めですね。日常会話程度で、生活のサバイバルの部分がけっこう多かったかな。あとはとにかく、専門用語を覚えることが大変だった。でもそれは、本を読んでいくしかない。（間）とにかく耳を慣らさなきゃいけないから、毎日、２回、テレビのニュースを見てたのかな。（間）１時間のプログラムを２回見てたのかな。あと新聞を読んで。ほんとにぜんぜんだめなんです。野菜の名前とか、色の名前とかぜんぜん覚えない。教育学の専門用語だったら、ブラジルの人でも知らないようなのが、ぱっと出てきたりとか、アンバランス。ま、当然っていえば当然なんですけどね。

Naoko 1-62: I study language learning. So I'm curious. Were you able to speak Portuguese when you went to Brazil?

Sawai 1-62: No. I learned numbers on the plane flying there.

Naoko 1-63: No kidding. You said you'd read academic papers.

Sawai 1-63: Pronunciation is difficult. Spanish was relatively easy. The first time I went to Brazil when I was in the first year of MA programme, I'd learned Portuguese from a Brazilian student, but pronunciation was difficult. But I went all the same, even while I was practicing very hard. I was young.

Naoko 1-64: Hmm. How long did it take?

<pause>

Sawai 1-64: Well, six months maybe. But I wasn't able to follow lectures for about a year. Nearly a year. They were graduate courses.

Naoko 1-65: Did you go to a language school?

Sawai 1-65: The university offered supplementary Portuguese courses for overseas students. I attended them, but they were to make us feel better. They mainly taught survival daily conversations. Learning technical terms was tough. But the only way to cope with it was to read on. <pause> I had to get used to listening to Portuguese in any way I could, so I watched news programmes on television twice a day, I guess. <pause> I watched an hour long programme twice, I suppose. I read newspapers too. I was really weak. I wasn't able to learn the names of vegetables or colours at all. But I could say technical terms in pedagogy which even Brazilians didn't know fairly easily. My ability was out of balance. But I guess that was natural.

Sawai attended graduate seminars at a Brazilian university, but people he met outside the university seem to have been as memorable to him as the university teachers, if not more. He tells of a Japanese Brazilian woman who is a Freirean practitioner.

沢井2-20：<ターン前半省略>その<人名>さんという人は、民衆教育の運動にずっと関わってきた人なんですけど、<地名>っていう市の教育委員会でコーディネートをやっていて、その人の所にも行って、<地名>で当時、新しく取り組んでいた学校作りの話を聞いて、実際にその学校の開校式にでたり、施設を見せてもらったりもしたんです。えと、ブラジルは64年から85年まで軍政でしたよね。チリのアジェンダ政権が倒れたときもそうだったし、アルゼンチンでもそうだったけど、ディスアパレシーダっていって、行方不明者がたくさんいるんですよ。政治的な理由で虐殺された人たちがかなりいて、<人名>さんは、そういう人たちの中に自分の親戚とかがいるという人なんですよ。で、<人名>さん自身もやはりブラジルの中でも革新的な運動を進めてきた人なんですよね。パウロ・フレイレっていうのは世界的には有名なんだけれども、ブラジル国内の若い人にはあんまり知られてないんですよね。軍政だった20年の間、フレイレのことは新聞もほとんど報道できないし、教育でも何にも言えなかった。64年のクーデターは革命だったっていう教育を受けてるわけですよ。クーデターと革命は全然違う話なのにね。だから、若い人たちは知らないんだけれども、50代60代人たちは知ってて、ある日系の人はあの人は危険人物だから、フレイレの研究をしにきたとはあんまり言わない方がいいよって丁寧にアドバイスしてくれた。そのことによってこの人はこういう政治的な立場の人だとわかるんですよ。どうして<人名>さんといろいろ話をするようになったかっていうと、やっぱりパウロ・フレイレっていう共通の部分があったんだけれども、<人名>さん人が「ああ本当、パウロ・フレイレの勉強に来たの、それはもうほんとによく来たね」みたいな感じで、歓迎してくれたから。その人が、カシアス・ド・スルという南部の町で全国の識字大会があるから行ってみないかって誘ってくれて、一緒に行って、そこでペルナンブコ州の人たちと出会った。紹介してくれるわけですよ。この人は日本でパウロ・フレイレの研究をやってて、来たんだよって。そうすると、じゃペルナンブコに来てくださいよという。で、連絡を取り合って行ったら、向こうでいろいろ案内してくれたりとか。パウロ・フレイレの翻訳をするときにも、どうしても歴史的な事実だとかはわからないでしょ。それから、フレイレも非常に言葉で遊ぶんですよね。口承の文化が豊かな所ってそうでしょ。だからやっぱりすごく難しいんですよ。そもそも僕もあんまり文学的な素養がないっていうのあるんだけれども。ほんとにブラジルの文化とか歴史とかを理解してないとわからないような表現とかがあって、そういうことについては非常に丁寧に教えてもらった。彼女もわからないことがあったりしたけど、すごく助けてもらったんです。（間）その人はすごくすてきな人です。今でも連絡を取

り合っています。<後略>

Sawai 2-20: <The first part of turn omitted> <NAME> has been involved in popular education for a long time, and was a coordinator at the local board of education in <NAME OF CITY>. I visited her there, and she told me about the school she was trying to establish then. I attended the opening ceremony of the school, and saw their facilities. Brazil was under military regime from 1964 to 1985, wasn't it? Just like when Allende was removed from power in Chile, or under the Argentinean military regime, a lot of people disappeared in Brazil during that period. Quite a few people were slaughtered for political reasons. <NAME>'s relatives were among them. And <NAME> herself has been involved in progressive movements in Brazil. Freire is internationally known, but not many young Brazilians know about him. During the twenty years of military rule newspapers were hardly able to report on Freire. Educators had to remain silent too. They taught children that the *coup d'état* in 1964 was a revolution, although a *coup d'état* and a revolution are totally different events. So young people don't know Freire. People in their fifties or sixties do, and one Japanese Brazilian kindly advised me not to tell people I'd come to study Freire because he was a dangerous character. That's how you tell the person's political stance. I came to talk with <NAME> a lot partly because we shared our interest in Paulo Freire. Another reason I got close to her was <NAME> welcomed me like "Oh really? You came to study Paulo Freire? It's so nice to have you here." She invited me to a literacy conference in the southern town of Caxias do Sol. I went with her, and met people from the State of Pernambuco. She introduced me to them saying "This man studies Paulo Freire in Japan and that's brought him here." Then they invited me to Pernambuco. So I stayed in touch with them, and visited them there. And they showed me around. When I translated Freire, there were points I didn't understand such as historical facts. Freire plays with words too. He was in the rich tradition of oral culture. My ignorance in literature was also part of the problem. So translation was very difficult. <NAME> taught me very kindly about expressions which you'd never understand unless you know Brazilian culture and history. She helped me a lot although she wasn't able to answer all my questions. <pause> She's a fantastic person. I'm still in touch with her.

Sawai visited several educational sites in Recife, a city in the northern state of Pernambuco. The experience seems to have been extremely impressive.

沢井2-11：あのー（間）えっとね、例えばレシフェで見た識字学級は、建設中のビルの中に教室があるんですよ。工事現場の労働者は奥地から来ている人が多くて、読み書きできない人が多いんです。そういう人たちのために州政府が補助金を出して、州が現場に教師を派遣する。そこの識字教室は、電気の配線だとか、机なんかも全部その工事現場の人たちが作ったもので、すごく綺麗ないい感じなんですよ。壁はなくて吹きさらしなんだけれども、仕事が終わってシャワーを浴びて、みんなそこに集まってきて、一生懸命識字を覚えるんです。その時に一番印象的だったのは、「ベントスワー

ビー」って日本語でなんと言うのかって聞かれたことです。ベントスワービって、そよ風なんですよ。ベントっていうのは風ですね。スワービって言うのは軽いっていうことだから、おそらくそよ風という意味。そよ風かなあって教えたんです。そこで少し漢字を教えたんです。もちろん彼らはわかるわけないんだけれども、目を丸くして、はー、これが漢字かって。そういう中で、ベントスワービーって日本語でなんて言うのかって聞かれたんですけどね。そういう字も読めない人たちが一生懸命ビルを作るんだけれども、結局、彼らはそういう所には住めないわけですね。住むのは金持ちが住むんですよね。その州の教育委員会の成人教育の識字担当の人が、ここで識字を学んでた労働者達がこのビルを建てたんだという記念として、本当はこの教室はここに残しとくべきだと言っていた。それがすごく印象的でした。なんか現場の労働者としての誇りみたいなのがあるんですよ。ちゃんとシャワーを浴びて、さっぱりしてから、よし！っていう感じで、識字教室に参加するんですよね。そういう情景もすごく印象深かったです。あと、そこで教員の研修も見たんです。黒人差別の問題と、もう一つなんかテーマがあった研修なんですけど、その時に、いくつかグループに分かれて、ディスカッションをしてたんですね。日本だったらグループ・ディスカッションをすると、普通はグループ毎に誰か代表の人が出た意見のメモを読み上げるでしょう。ところが、おもむろに演劇を始めたんですよ。あれは演劇でやるように指示を出したのかとか、あるいは何か特別な意味があるのかって聞いたら、いやそんなことはない、あのグループはプレゼンテーションのやり方として演劇を選んだんだというんですよ。演劇で自分達が議論したことを表現してるんですね。そういうのを見て、日本ではこんなことは有り得ないというか、自然にそういうことができるっていうのが非常に面白いと思った。あと、やっぱり口承の文化っていうかね、文字社会の中で文字が読めないことによる不利益は非常に大きいと思うんだけれども、元々口承の文化が豊かな所だと、読み書きができなくても、政治について考えたり、文化について考えたり、経済について考えたりする手段は持ってるっていうことを感じたんですよね。フレイレもいうんだけれども、場合によっては、字を知らないけれども、いろんな手段に依って、字を覚えてる人より深く物事を考えている人はいるんだと。だから単に文字を覚えればいいっていうことではなくて、世界を読む力をつけるべきなんだってフレイレは言ってるんだけど、そのことを向こうに行って、なるほどなあと思った。ベルナンブコなんかでは、流しの人がいて、必ずしも外国人相手の店じゃなくて、普通にブラジルの人たちも一緒に食事をするようなカフェテリアみたいなところで、即興で音楽を作る。♪あー、地球の裏から来た、ようこそいらっしゃいました、何を食べてる？ちょんまげはないな♪みたいに、即興で歌いながら。かと言ってお金を要求するわけではない。そういう文化があるんですよ。＜後略＞

Sawai 2-11: Erm <pause> Well, for example, the literacy class I observed in Recife was in a construction site. Many construction workers come from the interior, and many of them don't read or write. The state government subsidizes literacy classes for such people and sends teachers. The classroom there was made by the workers. Wiring work, carpentry and all. It was very beautiful and nice although it didn't have walls and was exposed to the wind. When they finished the day's work, they had a shower and got together to learn to write. What was most memorable for me was I was asked what "vento suave" was in Japanese. "Vento suave" means a gentle breeze. "Vento" is a wind. "Suave" means light. So it must be a gentle breeze. So I taught them it was probably a gentle breeze. I taught them a bit of Chinese characters. Of course they didn't understand. They just seemed surprised. Then someone asked what "vento suave" was in Japanese. Those people who don't read or write work hard to build apartment buildings, but they cannot live there. They are for the rich. The person in charge of adult literacy programmes of the local board of education commented that they should keep the classroom as it was to commemorate that the workers who learned literacy

there built the building. That was very impressive. They seemed to have a pride in being workers. They had a shower and got refreshed. Then they were ready to participate in the literacy class. The scene was very impressive too. I also observed a teacher training session there. The themes were discrimination against blacks and something else. They were having a group discussion. You'd normally have a representative of each group read out notes from the discussions after group work in Japan, wouldn't you? But one group started a drama there. I asked if they had been instructed to have a drama or whether having a drama had any special meaning. I was told it was just the group's choice of style in presentation. They reported their discussion through drama. I thought it wouldn't be possible in Japan and it was interesting that they could do so naturally. And they have an oral culture. Being illiterate in a literate society is a serious disadvantage, but in places with rich oral culture people have the means to think about politics, culture and economy without reading or writing. As Freire said, people who don't read and write sometimes think more deeply with other means than those who do read and write. So, he claimed, it wasn't just a matter of learning letters, but it was a matter of acquiring the ability to read the world. I felt convinced when I was in Brazil. In Pernambuco strolling musicians improvise songs in restaurants. The one I went to wasn't for foreigners. It was a cafeteria where locals dined. The musician sang like ♪You travelled half the world to come here. We welcome you. What are you eating? You don't have a topknot,♪ but he never asked for money. They have that sort of culture. <The rest of the turn omitted>

Soon after he arrived in Brazil, he was approached by a Japanese Brazilian community in the neighborhood and asked to teach Japanese to their children.

直子1-76：＜ターン前半省略＞いちばん、初めに日本語教室をやったのは、＜地名＞？
沢井1-76：あ、日本語教室。日本語教育に関わったのは、ブラジルで、＜大学名＞に行ってた時に、＜地名＞っていう日本人の入植地が大学の近くにあって、そこに毎週土曜日の午前中通って、日系人の子どもたちに日本語を教える先生をやってた。それは、日本語教育に関心があったからっていうんじゃなくて、頼まれて、アルバイトでやった。
直子1-77：その頃はどんな先生だったの？
沢井1-77：その頃は（間）ま、けっこう日本語を話せる子がいたから。親が２世で、子どもが３世で、おじいちゃんおばあちゃんが生きてる人もいたから、親も話す人がけっこういたし、子どもたちもけっこう日本語はできた。それで年齢でちょっと分けたのかな、ちっちゃい子どもはちっちゃい子どもで。
直子1-78：よく向こうで聞いたけど、複式授業っていうの？同じ部屋の中でいろんなレベルの子とかいろんな年の子を教えなきゃいけないんだとかって。
沢井1-78：それはそうですよね。
直子1-79：教師にはなる気がぜんぜんなくて、第三世界の子どもたちのことに関心をもっていて、で、実際に自分が人に何かを教えるとか、人の学習をサポートするっていうか、そういう立場になった時って、どんなこと考えてやってた？
沢井1-79：（間）何を考えてたんでしょうね、いや、（間）あんまり、先生になろうとはしなかったような気がします。だから子どもたちと楽しく遊んでたというか、要するに、日本語に慣れ親し

むって感じで、けっこう遊んでたような気がします。
直子1-80：今まで、自治とか自由とか権利とかが大切なんだっていう考え方を作ってきたわけでしょ？、でも、そういうことを考えてるとか知ってるっていうことと、実践として何ができるかっていうのとはまたちょっと別でしょう？実際にその哲学が、実践に移せるようになる過程に興味があるんだけど、＜研究協力者の名前＞さんの場合はどうだったの？
沢井1-80：ぼく、＜地名＞でやる前にブラジルでやってたんだけど、＜地名＞の初期の段階でも、あんまりフレイレとか結びつかなかったっていうか、あんまり自分が教育実践をしてるっていう意識はなかったんじゃないかな。

＜6ターン省略＞

直子1-84：いったいなにをやってるつもりだったの？
沢井1-84：ブラジル（間）塾。親も日本語は話せるんだけども、昔の日本語というか、１世の方言とかいろいろ混じってるし、古いようだし、カメラのことを写真機っていったりとかね、トイレのことを便所っていったり。自分ができることって限られてたから、ある程度話せる子どもたちの場合だと、間違いっていうか、おかしな、今は使われない言葉だとかを指摘してあげる、伝えてあげるっていう程度。ま、一週間に一回、ほんとに土曜の午前中の、一時間半とかそのぐらいだから、それこそ自分が日本語教育を勉強してるわけじゃないし、自分が知ってることを伝えていく程度。子ども会ですね。そう、子ども会の指導者。

Naoko 1-76: <The first part of the turn omitted> Did you teach Japanese in <NAME OF TOWN> for the first time?

Sawai 1-76: Oh, Japanese. The first time I was involved in teaching Japanese was when I was going to <NAME OF UNIVERSITY> in Brazil. There was a Japanese area named <NAME OF TOWN> near the campus, and I taught Japanese to Japanese Brazilian children on Saturday mornings. I didn't do it because I was interested in teaching Japanese. I was asked to. It was my part-time job.

Naoko 1-77: What kind of teacher were you then?

Sawai 1-77: Then <pause> Well, many children spoke Japanese. Their parents were the second generation, and they were the third. Some grandparents were still around. So many parents spoke Japanese, and children too. So I guess I got them into groups by age. Little ones together.

Naoko 1-78: I often heard in Brazil that they have to teach children of different levels and age in one classroom. Do you call it a double class?

Sawai 1-78: Yes, that's true.

Naoko 1-79: You were not going to be a teacher, and were concerned about children in the third world. Then you found yourself in the position where you taught something or supported someone's learning. What did you think then?

Sawai 1-79: <pause> I wonder what I thought. No <pause> I don't think I tried to play the role of teacher too much. So I played with the children. In other words, I tried to create an opportunity for them to become familiar with Japanese. We played a lot.

Naoko 1-80: You'd developed your thinking that self-governance, freedom and rights were

important, hadn't you? But doing it is a bit different from thinking and knowing, isn't it? I'm interested in the process where you became able to put your philosophy into practice. How did it happen?

Sawai 1-80: I taught Japanese in Brazil before I started the Japanese study group in <NAME OF TOWN>. Even in the early stages in <NAME OF TOWN> I didn't make the connection between Freire and what I did. I wasn't aware what I was doing was educational practice.

<6 turns omitted>

Naoko 1-84: What did you think you were doing?

Sawai 1-84: Brazil <pause> A private school. The parents spoke Japanese, but it was an old-fashioned Japanese. Dialects of the first generation were still in use, and they used old words for things like cameras and toilets. What I could was limited, so for those children who spoke Japanese to some extent, I just pointed out strange words which people in Japan nowadays never used. That was about all I did. Well, the class was only once a week and lasted about ninety minutes. I'd never studied JSL, so the best I could do was to tell them what I knew. It was like a residents' association children's section. Yes, I was a leader of a residents' association children section.

Sawai came back to Japan after two and a half years, and started teaching Japanese to Brazilian immigrant workers.

直子1-86：帰ってきて、日本語教室を始めた経緯はどうなの？

沢井1-86：いや、＜地名＞の日本語教室に関わり始めたのは、日本語教育に関心があったからじゃなくて、ブラジル人に関心があって、覗きにいったんですよ。そしたら、いろいろと、困ってることだとか、日本語の先生の批判とか、わーっと聞いて、あ、こりゃ大変なことが起きてんだな、と思って、じゃあ、ポルトガル語もできることだし、いろいろ相談にのろうかっていうことになった。それから、当時公民館で日本語を教えてた人が、退職教員で、やっぱり一斉授業みたいな感じで、（ここで場所を変える）

直子1-87：うん、それで、さっき話してたのは、＜地名＞で日本語教えてた人が退職教員で一斉授業をやっていたっていう話だった。

沢井1-87：それで、とにかく、そこの日本語教室に行ってた人が、かなり日本語のできない人で、かなり参っちゃってた。日本語ほとんどできないにもかかわらず、板書したりして、難しい話をとうとうとやってるもんだから、人数も減るし、来てる人もうんざりってところがあって、じゃあ、多少はポルトガル語ができるから、わからないよりは、わかった人が教えたほうがいいだろうってことで、始めた。で、始めてから日本語教育に少し関心をもちはじめたかな。やっぱり公民館でやってた授業だったから、実際に、フレイレの方法だとか、成人教育としてどう考えるかとか、少し、考えるようになったのかな。

直子1-88：そういう時に、今まで勉強したり考えたりしてたことが、わりにスムーズに実践に移せたのか、それともやっぱりいろいろ試行錯誤というか、紆余曲折があったのか、そこらへんはどうですか

沢井1-88：そりゃ紆余曲折ありましたよ。っていうか、日本語教育と、これまで学んだこと、例えば、フレイレの識字の方法が、どう結びつくのか、当時はやっぱり、なんとなくぼんやりとしてた。今ではわりと結びついてるんだけど、なんかきっかけがあったわけじゃない。人間化のための日本語教育というか、フレイレがこういうこと言ってるからって、なんとなくぼやーっと思ってたのが、やっぱり具体的に日本語を教えてみると、こりゃ大変だなってわかってくるし、難しいなって見えてくるし。
直子1-89：どんなとこが難しいの？
沢井1-89：いえ、それはもう、質問されて答えられないんだよね。しどろもどろになってしまう。
直子1-90：つまり、言葉についての知識っていうこと？
沢井1-90：うん、要するに自分は国語の勉強はしてるけれども、外国人に第二言語として日本語を教えるってことをぜんぜん勉強してないわけだから。
直子1-91：それは、どうやって解決したの？
沢井1-91：（間）ブラジルで、日本語普及協会が使っているテキストをもってかえってきてたのかな、それを使って、やったりとか。文法事項の説明がポルトガル語で書いてあったりするから、それをコピーしたりして。（間）とりあえずは、そういうのに助けを借りて。

Naoko 1-86: How did you start the JSL study group when you came back?
Sawai 1-86: I didn't get involved in the JSL study group in <NAME OF TOWN> because I was interested in JSL. I was interested in Brazilians, and went to have a look. Then they told me about all the problems they had. They criticized their JSL teacher. So I realized the seriousness of the situation, and suggested I could offer advice because I spoke Portuguese. The person who taught Japanese at the community centre then was a retired school teacher, and his classes were lockstep teacher fronted ones. <We changed places here.>
Naoko 1-87: Yes, we were talking about the retired school teacher who taught Japanese in <NAME OF TOWN> in a lockstep manner.
Sawai 1-87: Yes, anyway, people who went to the class didn't speak Japanese very much, and they were tired of the class. Although the learners hardly knew any Japanese, the teacher used the blackboard a lot and his talk was lengthy and difficult. So many stopped going, and the ones who remained were also fed up. So I thought I might do a better job because I spoke Portuguese. That's how I started. I suppose I gradually came interested in teaching Japanese after I started. We had classes in a community centre. So I became to regard it as adult education and tried to make a connection with Freirean methodology a bit.
Naoko 1-88: Were you able to put what you'd learned and thought into practice fairly easily? Or did you have to go by trial and error or did you have many twists and turns?
Sawai 1-88: Of course I had many twists and turns. Or I only had a vague idea of how what I'd learned, Freirean literacy teaching method for example, was related to JSL then. I now make the connection relatively well, but I didn't have any critical incidents. You might call it JSL for humanization. I'd vaguely thought of it because of what Freire said. But when I actually taught, I found it tough and began to see the difficulties.
Naoko 1-89: What did you find difficult?

Sawai 1-89: Oh, I wasn't able to answer their questions first of all. My explanations were incoherent.

Naoko 1-90: Do you mean your knowledge about the language?

Sawai 1-90: Yeah, I studied Japanese as L1, but I never studied how to teach Japanese as L2 to foreigners.

Naoko 1-91: How did you solve the problem?

Sawai 1-91: <pause> I'd brought back some textbooks used at Centro de Estudos da Língua Japonesa in Brazil. I used them. They have grammatical explanations in Portuguese, so I made photocopies of them. <pause> They helped as a quick fix.

Around this time Sawai discovered that he was in the situation where getting a teaching position at university was the only feasible option for his future career.

直子2-25：<ターン前半省略>大学の教師になろうと思い始めたのはいつ頃なの？
（間）
沢井2-25：大学の教師になろうと思った記憶はあまりないんです。
直子2-26：じゃあ、来た船に乗っちゃったみたいなこと？
沢井2-26：なんかねえ（間）自分でなるべく思わないようにしてたということもないと思うんだけど、どっちかと言うと、ならざるを得なくなったっていうことかな。日本育英会の奨学金を借りてたんですよね。マスター、ドクターまで借りると５００万円近い借金になる。で、これはもう大学の教員になるしか道はない、ならないと、この借金を返さなきゃいけなくなるんだと思ったときに、すごく怒りがこみ上げてきたっていう記憶がある。えっ、大学の教師になるしかないの？なーんだ、これは詐欺じゃないか。騙されたみたいな。
直子2-27：そういうふうに思ったのはいつ頃？
沢井2-27：それはＤ３を終わるくらい。あれ、猶予期間がありますよね。でも、非常勤も何もやらない期間が一年あるとそれでおしまいなんですよ。だからほんとに綱渡りをしているようなもので、そういうのがわかったので、指導教官に、先生、非常勤一つ廻してくださいって頼み込んだ。非常勤をやったのは、その時が初めてだったと思う。大学の教員になるならないっていうよりは、この借金を返さずに済ますには大学の教員になるしかないんだなあと思って。でも、その時でもやっぱり、大学の教員に魅力を感じてたわけではあまりない。いろんな選択肢は考えたんですよ。というのは、彼女が働いていて、しかも公立の学校の教員に正規採用されてたから、ふっと、このまま専業主夫でもいいなとかね。でも、借金５００万円を抱えるのは嫌だなと思って。それで、とりあえず非常勤をしながら、どっか就職を探さなきゃいけないのかなと思って、いくつか公募に出しましたよ。そしたら割と早く就職先が見つかった。

Naoko 2-25: <The first part of the turn omitted> When did you start thinking about becoming a university teacher?

<pause>

Sawai 2-25: I don't remember thinking I'd be a university teacher.

Naoko 2-26: So you mean it wasn't your choice and you just took the opportunity that came up?

Sawai 2-26: Well <pause> I don't think I tried not to think about it, but it was more like I had to

be. The Japan Scholarship Foundation's scholarship[7] was a loan. I had it for my master's and doctoral work, and my debt was nearly five million yen. I remember I felt angry when I realized that there was no other choice for me than getting a teaching job at university because I had to pay back the debt otherwise. What? Do I have to be a university teacher? It's a swindle. I was cheated. That sort of feeling.

Naoko 2-27: When was it that you had that feeling?

Sawai 2-27: Around the end of the third year of my doctoral work. They allow some period of grace, don't they? But you need to teach part-time. If you don't teach for a year, that's the end of the grace period. So it was like walking on a tight rope. When I found it out, I asked my advisor to give me a part-time job. That was the first time I taught part-time, I think. It wasn't so much a choice of whether to became a university teacher as it was the only way to escape from the debt. But I wasn't attracted to teaching at university too much then. I thought about other alternatives. My wife was a full-time teacher at a public junior high school. So I thought I could be a house husband. But I didn't want the debt of five million yen. So I taught part-time and looked for a full-time position. I applied for several positions that were publicized. Then I got a job fairly soon.

Sawai talks about his teaching practice at university as follows:

直子1-113：学生の時に、すごく自治的な雰囲気のあるところで育って、今度は、逆に、教師という立場になったわけでしょ？自分の今までの経験が今度は教師としての実践の中に、何か影響してる？

沢井1-113：（間）うーん、基本的には、違っていれば矛盾していることになるし、必ずしも一緒とは言えないだろうし。（間）でも、それは、例えば、具体的に授業の中味としても出てくるし。例えば授業の中で、大学の自治の問題とかも出てくるし、それから、社会教育の授業だと、そもそも自分の学習をちゃんとコントロールできないような人は、他の人の主体的な学習なんか支援できない、まずカイより始めよじゃないけど、社会教育を志す者は、まず自分が主体的に学習をできる存在にならないといけないということを言ったりだとか、そういう自治の大切さはもちろん中味として伝えていくし。

直子1-114：今、大学の教師になって何年め？

沢井1-114：6年かな

直子1-115：じゃ、その6年間で、考え方とかやり方とか、何か変わってきてる？

沢井1-115：あんまり変わってないと思うけれども。うーん、×××、（間）＜大学名＞と＜大学名＞で、ぜんぜん対象が違うから、そこでやっぱり変わったっていうのはあるし（間）講義の科目名によっても違う。（笑い）＜大学名＞の時は社会教育の人たちには期待をこめてけっこう厳しくやった。一方で専門職制度の確立を目指すような運動をやってるから、少なくとも、いちおう＜大学名＞の、＜研究協力者の名前＞の授業を受けた学生は、ある一定の専門的な力量を身につけていると評価されるようにトレーニングをするという意味で、けっこう厳しくやりましたよね。毎回、毎回、授業の感想を書かせたりとか。でも、70人とか80人とかいる授業だから．．．

直子1-116：書かせても読みきれないでしょう？

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7 This scholarship is provided for Japanese students studying at Japanese senior high schools and universities. It has to be paid back unless a recipient becomes a full-time teacher.

沢井1-116：まあ、小さいものですけど。
直子1-117：あたしも数が少ないとそういうことをやって、読んで、お返事を書いたりするんだけど、やっぱり、50人60人になったら、とてもできないから、そういうのでやり方は変わらざるをえない。
沢井1-117：最初はレポートをやってたけども、レポートだと、写す学生がいて、不正をきちっと見抜くのが大変だということがだんだんわかったので、評価はレポートじゃなくて、テストにしたりとか、最初の授業で、５問か６問くらい問題を出して、この中から２つ出すとか、そういうやり方をしてた。
直子1-118：静大の場合は、実際に日本語教師になる人はほとんどいなかったの。まず大学院に行く人がほとんどいないし、はっきり言って、地方の副専攻の大学を出たくらいでは、採用してもらえないから。協力隊とか受けたってだいたい落ちちゃうし、静岡市内で食べていけるような職はないし。だけど、阪大っていうところは、卒業生が日本語教師になろうと思えば、ほんとになれちゃう。だから、私はその人たちが教える学習者に責任があると思うから、ある程度のスタンダードは要求したいって思うわけ。だけどそれが、学習者オートノミーをいかに尊重するかってことと、私の中でコンフリクトを起こすことが、けっこう多くて、どうしていいか、いまだにわかんない。そういうこと感じることない？
沢井1-118：あ、ありますよ。だけど、完全なオートノミーなんてありえないわけだから、そこら辺は割り切る。そもそも、マスプロの授業で学生の自治を尊重した授業形態なんかとてもできない。ま、工夫すればいろいろできるかもしれないけど、時間もエネルギーも限られてるから、学習者のオートノミーをちゃんと尊重して授業をやってるかっていうと、そうじゃない部分も当然でてくると思う。だから、せいぜい限られた条件の中で最大限のオートノミーを目指してやっていくしかないんじゃないかと思うんですよね。ほんとは条件を変えていくだけのオートノミーが生まれればいいんだけども、それはやっぱり自分の授業だけで責任をもてることじゃない。他の授業の中でも、そういうものを育てていかなきゃいけないし、大学全体でも育てていかなきゃいけないから、自分の授業だけではなかなか難しい。だけど、やっぱり、評価は一種の強制ですよね。だから、本人も納得した上での評価にするようには心がけてる。

Naoko 1-113: You spent your student life in an atmosphere of self-governance. Then you become a teacher. Have your experiences as a student had any influence on your teaching practice?

Sawai 1-113: <pause> Well, basically I'd be contradictory if my practice was different. But I don't think it's necessarily the same. <pause> But the content of my courses, for example, is influenced by my previous experiences. I discuss the issue of self-governance of universities, for instance, in my courses. I tell my students that they need to be able to learn independently if they want to be involved in adult education because you cant support independent learning unless you can control your learning yourself. I also tell them about the importance of self-governance.

Naoko 1-114: How long have you been teaching?

Sawai 1-114: Six years, I suppose.

Naoko 1-115: Have you changed in any way in these six years? Your thinking or your practice?

Sawai 1-115: I don't think I've changed much. Umm... XXX <pause> The students are entirely different in <NAME OF FIRST UNIVERSITY> and <NAME OF SECOND UNIVERSITY>. <laughter> I was rather strict with the students at <NAME OF FIRST UNIVERSITY> because I

had high expectations. I'm involved in a movement aiming for professionalization of adult education workers. So I wanted the students I taught to be evaluated as having a certain level of professional ability outside the school. So I trained them rather hard. I had them write a reflection after each class. But I had seventy or eighty students...

Naoko 1-116: It's too much to read them all, isn't it?

Sawai 1-116: Well, it wasn't too long.

Naoko 1-117: I do the same with a small group and write some comments, but fifty or sixty is impossible. I have to change my approach.

Sawai 1-117: In the beginning I evaluated them by assignments. But some students copied a friend's work, and it was difficult to catch that sort of cheating. So I switched to a test. In the first class of the term I gave five to six questions, and I chose a couple of questions for the test from them.

Naoko 1-118: Not many students became JSL teachers in my former work. Few went to graduate school first of all, and, honestly, language schools wouldn't employ someone who only graduated from a university of a small city with JSL as their minor. Few passed the JOVC's[8] screening test. There was no job in the city which pays enough to make a living. But my current students could be a teacher after graduation if they wanted to. So I feel I have to be accountable to the learners my students teach in the future. I want to expect a certain standard in my students. But it often conflicts with my intention to respect the students' learner autonomy, and I don't know how to go about it yet. Don't you have that feeling?

Sawai 1-118: Oh, yes. But perfect autonomy doesn't exist. So I don't get sentimental about it. It's impossible to teach in a way that respects students' self-governance in large classes. Well, there may be ways, but our time and energy are limited. So it's quite natural that part of our teaching practice does not respect learner autonomy. The best we can do is to aim the maximum autonomy possible in the conditions we work in. It'd be good if autonomy to change those conditions develops, but that couldn't be done in my courses alone. It needs to be developed in other courses and by the school itself. So it's difficult to do it single-handedly. But evaluation is a sort of enforcement, isn't it? So I try to make it acceptable to the students.

Sawai continued his commitment to the JSL study group with a few years' break right after he got a position to teach adult education at a university in another city. He does not, however, consider himself as JSL teacher. Asked about his role, he replies as:

沢井1-95：あのう（間）研究者としての、個人的な、研究上の関心もあって関わってるし、ボランティア・コーディネーター役もやってるし、日本語を教えてるっていうか、日本語学習を支援して

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るっていう点では、確かに日本語教師なのかもしれないし、なんでしょうね。自分では、日本語教師っていう自覚はあんまりないですね。それだけは言える。っていうのは、本来、自分がやるべきことじゃないと思ってるから。うん、もっとちゃんと行政が保障して、きちっとやっていれば、ぼくなんか出ていかなくてもいいのになとか、ぼくみたいに日本語の専門的な勉強もしてないのが、出ていく必要もないのになって。
直子1-96：それは謙虚に言ってるだけ？ほんとに専門的な勉強した人のほうがいいと思ってるの？
沢井1-96：ぼくは思ってる。いや、中味の問題はあるけれども。教授法だけやっとけばいいっていうんじゃなくて、前から言ってるように、社会教育とか、教育学の勉強もして、オートノミーの問題もきちっとわかってる人で、なおかつ教授法をきちっと、ちゃんと学術的な成果にもとづいて教えるっていう、ぼくはそれがひとつの仕事として存在すべきだと思ってる。そういう職業があってもいい、あるべきだと思ってるから、ぼくは基本的に違うと思ってる。日本語教師ではない。確かにぼくが日本語教師養成の７２０時間じゃない、なんだっけ？
直子1-97：４００。
沢井1-97：４７０、４７０時間。
直子1-98：２０。
沢井1-98：２０か、４２０時間をやったら、社会教育とか、教育学とか学んでるから、いい教師になるんだろうなと思うんだけれども、自分がほんとにやりたいと思ってることはそれじゃないし、そこでほんとの自分らしさが発揮できてるかどうかも今のところ疑問だし。だから（間）日本語教師だという自覚はない。

＜5ターン省略＞

沢井1-101：ま、端的にいうと、ぼく、あんまり日本語に関心がないんですよ。日本語っていうと、教育の内容の問題ですよね。他にもいろいろ、識字教育とか成人、高齢者教育とか障害児教育とかいろいろあるけども、その中で特に自分がとりたてて日本語に興味をもってるわけでも、日本語を教える、あるいは日本語学習を支援するっていうことに、とりたてて興味・関心があって、それに生きがいを感じてるわけでもない。関心は他にいろいろ行っちゃうんですよ。お年寄り、高齢者の学びはどうなってるかとか。
直子1-102：それで、加古川に行ったのね。
沢井1-102：そうそう。障害者はどうだとか、あるいは平和教育はどういう中味でやるべきだとか。そういうふうにいろいろ行っちゃうから。
直子1-103：そうすると、さっき、自分らしくないって言ってたけど、それはそういうことなんだ。
沢井1-103：そうそうそう。ほんとにできなくて困ってる人がいるから．．．
直子1-104：見るにみかねて。
沢井1-104：見るにみかねてっていうか、それはありますよ。＜後略＞

Sawai 1-95: Erm <pause> As a researcher I have a personal research interest. I coordinate volunteers and teach Japanese, or rather support the learning of Japanese. In that respect I may be a JSL teacher. But I wonder what I am. I don't consider myself to be a JSL teacher. That's for sure. Because essentially this is not what I should be doing. Yes. I wouldn't have to be there if the administration properly guaranteed the opportunity to learn and implement their policy. I haven't studied Japanese professionally.
Naoko 1-96: You aren't saying it out of modesty, are you? Do you really mean that specialists are better?
Sawai 1-96: Yes, I do. Of course there's the issue of the content. Studying methodology isn't enough. As I've been saying, you need to study adult education and pedagogy and

have an understanding of what autonomy is together with scientific knowledge of teaching methodology. Such a profession should exist. I don't basically fall into that category. I'm not a JSL teacher. It's true if I do a 720 hours or how many hours?

Naoko 1-97: Four hundred

Sawai 1-98: 470 hours

Naoko 1-99: Twenty

Sawai 1-99: Twenty, OK. If I do the 420 hours teacher training programme, I'll make a good teacher because I study adult education and pedagogy. But that's not what I really want to do. I wonder for the present if I could make full use of my strength that way. So <pause> I don't consider myself to be a JSL teacher.

<5 turns omitted>

Sawai 1-101: Frankly, I'm not interested in Japanese very much. Japanese is the content of education, isn't it? There other types of education like literacy education, adult education, education for the elderly, and education for the handicapped. For me Japanese is not a specially interesting topic among them. I'm not particularly interested in teaching Japanese or supporting the learning of Japanese. I don't feel it gives meaning to my life. My interest goes to many other fields like how the elderly learn.

Naoko 1-102: That's why you went to Kakogawa[9].

Sawai 1-102: Yes, yes. I think about the handicapped or the content of peace education. That's how my mind works.

Naoko 1-103: That's what you meant by saying you wouldn't be able to make full use of your strength.

Sawai 1-103: Yes yes yes. I do it because there are people who are in trouble because they don't speak Japanese.

Naoko 1-104: You can't ignore the people in trouble.

Sawai 1-104: Can't ignore the people in trouble. Yeah. <The rest of the turn omitted>

Sawai seemed to have what may be called an aversion to teaching JSL at the time of the first interview. This may be related to his perception of and frustration with JSL teachers. He says that JSL teachers are not welcome in local communities and analyzes its cause as:

沢井2-35：地域の問題と人間をトータルに見られない。要するに、外国人を見ると、日本語のできない、かわいそうな人としか見れなくて、地域で生活している人間、地域共同体の一構成員だという

9 Kakogawa is a city in Western Japan and has a unique educational programme for the elderly.

視点がない。そういう視点で日本語教育を考えるトレーニングを全然受けてないからでしょう。地域のボランティアは逆なんですよね。日本語教授法なんて全然しらないけれども、同じ地域に住んでる人間どうしとして、スーパーで会ったら、世間話をするし、怪我をした時、病院に行くにはどうしたらいいかという相談にものる。忙しくても、ほんとに困っている人が隣にいれば、なんとかしなきゃと思って自分の時間を割いて、もちろんボランティアでやる。それから、地域のいろんな共同作業も一緒にやる。だけど、日本語教師はそういうものに対する理解がほんとに欠けていて、地域のボランティアを、あの人達は専門性を持ってないから、自分達がコーディネートしていくんだという意識が強いと思うんですね。本当は、地域のことがよくわかってるボランティアの力が活かされてこそ、日本語教室があるんだと思うんだけど、地域の外国人支援と日本語教育を一緒にしないでほしいって日本語教師の人は言うわけでしょ。だから、ボランティアの人たちは、そういう考え方はどっか違うと思ってるし、こういう人たちとは一緒にやれないと思うわけですよね。だって、言葉ができないことによって病院にも行けないとか、買い物が充分できないとか、そういう問題を解決するのに日常的に協力をしたり、手伝いをしたりしてるわけですよね。そこの理解が欠けてるから嫌われるんですよ。

Sawai 2-35: They cannot see the issues in the community and human beings as a whole. In other words they only see foreigners as poor people who don't speak Japanese. They don't see them as people living in the community or as members of the local community. That's probably because they haven't been trained to do so. Volunteers in local communities are at the opposite end. They don't know about teaching methodology at all, but as someone living in the same community they'll have a small talk with foreigners at a super market and give advice when someone had an injury and has to go to a hospital. Even if they are busy, they'll sacrifice some of their time to help their neighbour in trouble. And that's of course on a volunteer basis. And they do community work together. But JSL teachers hardly understand that. I think they have a strong attitude that they have to coordinate volunteers in the local community because they don't have specialist knowledge. JSL study groups depend on those volunteers who know about the community well, but JSL teachers say teaching JSL and supporting foreigners in the community are different matters. So volunteers feel there's something wrong in such thinking and they cannot work with them. You see? Volunteers are in daily contact with foreigners and help solve problems like going to a hospital or doing necessary shopping. JSL teachers don't understand that. That's why they are not liked.

However, Sawai does enjoy working with Brazilians learning Japanese.

直子2-13：帰ってきて、日本語教育だけじゃなくて社会教育でもいろんな実践をしてるわけでしょ。そういう時にブラジルで見たものを思い出したりする？
（間）
沢井2-13：うん。ていうかね、直接具体的なイメージが思い出せるわけじゃないけれども。（間）なんていうかな、例えば、今、＜地名＞で日本語教室をやってますよね、それで、国際交流センターをやってますよね。なんか半分はブラジル人って感じ。この間もブラジル人商店会を作って、その代表をどうするかって決めたときに、僕になってほしいと言われた。自分でも日本人だとかブラジル人だとかあまり意識してないけど、これだけポルトガル語が話せて、ブラジルの文化がわかっているから、おそらく、半分ブラジル人で、半分日本人って思われてるのかもしれない。だから、外国人住民組織を作ったときに、国籍は日本だけれども、もしかしたら私はブラジル人だと手を上げて、そうい

う外国人の組織に入ってもいいんじゃないかなと思った。そのくらいブラジル人やブラジルの文化に対するシンパシーを持ってるっていうか、それが身体に染みついているというか。具体的なイメージなりシーンなりを思い出すより、もう身体に染みついてしまったという感じですよね。だからいろんな意味で彼らの視点から物事が捉えられるようになったんじゃないかと思うんです。日本人の血が流れてる日系人よりも上手にダンスを踊るとか、彼らよりもブラジル的な料理をよく食べるとか。フェジョアーダ、あれは日系の人はあまり食べないんですよ。

＜8ターン省略＞

直子2-18：＜ターン前半省略＞で、アイデンティティーとしてブラジル人みたいなところがあるとか、ポルトガル語ができることって、＜研究協力者の名前＞さんが言葉を教えるときに何か影響してると思う？

沢井2-18：うーん、日本語教室では、やっぱり他の人にはこれはできないなあって、自分でも感じながらやってる。例えば、僕は89年から91年までいたけども、その間にコロール大統領っていうのがいて、預金凍結をやったのね。その時、僕も大騒ぎしたんですよね。そういう経験をもってるから、日本語の授業の中でそういうことをちょっと一言言うと、わーと大爆笑になる。あれを知ってるのかみたいな感じで。それから、大統領選挙で、コロール大統領は誰と競い合ったとかも、ほとんど毎日ニュースを見てたからよくわかるわけですよね。要するに、同じ国で、同じ社会の中で過ごしてるから、ある程度共通の経験があるわけですよね。それを授業の中でパッパッパッという。こんなことはブラジルに2、3年留学した人じゃないとやっぱり話せないだろうなと思いますよね。そういうのを他の人は見てるから、ああいう授業は＜研究協力者の名前＞さんしかできないと言う。だから日本語はよくわかってないんだけれども、それ以外のところで割と引きつけてるというか、非常にユニークな授業をやってるんじゃないのかなと自分でも思ったりしますよね。

直子2-19：自分でもやっぱりそれはプラスの面だと認識してるの？（間）教師としてかどうかわかんないけど、自分の強いところっていうか。

沢井2-19：うーん、強いところ。うーん、そうですね。というか、日本人の中では、みんなそういうことは知らないから、言っても全然受けもしないわけですよね。だけど、89年、あの時は、コロール大統領がいて大変だったんだっていうような話をすると、みんな乗ってくる。そうすると僕もすごく楽しいから、あまりそれがメリットだというふうには感じない。楽しいから、自然と出てくるっていうか。＜ターン後半省略＞

Naoko 2-13: Do you remember what you saw in Brazil in your practice of teaching Japanese or adult education?

Sawai 2-13: Yeah. Or I don't remember concrete images directly, but <pause> What shall I say? I organize a JSL study group in <NAME OF TOWN> now, for example. We've established an International Exchange Centre too. I'm half Brazilian there. We discussed the possibility of making a Brazilian shop proprietors' association the other day, and they wanted me to be the representative. I don't care about my nationality much myself. They probably think I'm half Brazilian and half Japanese because I speak Portuguese rather well and understand Brazilian culture. So when we made a foreign residents organization I thought I might as well join it claiming I was Brazilian although my nationality was Japanese. I sympathize with Brazilians and Brazilian culture that much. Or I'm deeply immersed in them. Rather than remembering concrete images or scenes, they've become part of myself. So I think I can see things with their eyes in many ways. I dance better than Japanese Brazilians. I

have Brazilian food more often than they do. Japanese Brazilians don't eat *feijoada*[10] too much.

<8 turns omitted>

Naoko 2-18: <The first part of the turn omitted> Does the fact that part of your identity is Brazilian or you speak Portuguese influence your teaching in any way?
Sawai 2-18: Well, I do feel other people wouldn't be able to teach in the way I do at the JSL study group. For example, I was in Brazil from 1989 to 1991. During that period President Collor froze deposits. I made a fuss then too. I comment on that experience, and they burst into laughter. It's a "So you know that?" kind of feeling. I know who competed with President Collor in the presidential election because I watched news programmes every day. In other words we spent time in the same country and in the same society and have some common experiences. I refer to them in my class. This wouldn't be possible unless you'd studied in Brazil for a few years. People who have observed my class say other people can't teach in my way. So I don't know much about Japanese, but I have other factors to attract learners. I myself think my teaching is probably very unique.
Naoko 2-19: Do you consider it to be a plus? <pause> Do you think it's your strength as a teacher or whatever?
Sawai 2-19: Well, strength. Hmm. Maybe not. People in Japan don't know about Brazil, so they don't appreciate my talk like that. But people in my class get excited when I say something like 1989 was a tough year with President Collor. Then I get happy. So I don't see it as a merit. I just say what comes naturally because I enjoy it. <The rest of the turn omitted>

10 *Feijoada* is a meat stew and considered as a Brazilian national dish.

Chapter 8 Sakura

8-1. How I met Sakura and how our interviews evolved

Sakura was a head of a Japanese studies programme of a university in an English speaking country at the time of the interviews. I had met her at an autonomy conference several years previously. We made friends then, and have remained so since, although our communication has mainly been through e-mails. When I asked her to be my research participant, Sakura immediately agreed. I did not have any worries at all, as I did with some of the other participants, concerning the influence which our relationship might have on the process and the content of our interviews. The interviews were conducted while Sakura was in Japan on a holiday; the first in her hotel room and the second in a coffee shop.

In the first interview, which took 78 minutes, Sakura was very sharply focused and took a lot of initiative in our interaction. In spite of the fact that I was rather tired on that day and had to finish the interview because I felt I was not able to concentrate any longer, the content of her talk was extremely rich and relevant to my research questions. Sakura asked if I was happy with her talk several times in the course of the interview, and I kept assuring her that I was.

We had the second interview a few weeks later because I wanted to finish both interviews while Sakura was in Japan. I did not have the time to check and edit the transcript of the first interview before then as I did with the other teachers, and I had to make notes for this interview directly from the audio recording of the first one. At the beginning of the interview Sakura seemed to be conscious of the public nature of the environment, but the coffee shop was reasonably quiet and we talked more than two hours including a chat after the interview was finished. I enjoyed our talk very much, and some parts of the interview were actually more like sharing our experiences than an interview. There were several possible reasons for this. For one thing, I did not have to worry about dominating the conversations partly because of our relationship and partly because our communication styles are very similar perhaps due to our bilinguality and the fact that we speak the same dialect of Japanese, which is notorious for being quick and blunt among speakers of the other dialects. Another factor is that our work contexts are similar in that both of us teach at a university. I knew, from my personal experiences, the nature of the challenges Sakura faced and was easily able to sympathize with her. Finally, we share the same sort of intellectual orientation and have a large base of shared knowledge.[1] Towards the end of this interview, Sakura asked if I had found any pro-autonomy teachers who had been born in Japan and had never lived abroad. I took

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[1] In reading the edited transcriptions, Sakura commented that she had been relaxed and able to talk with ease because she could use English words and talk about her work with me.

up this suggestion and decided to include Kaede in my research. This interview itself lasted 99 minutes.

8-2. Sakura's story

Sakura was born in 1958. In our chat after the first interview, she said that she had never been close to her mother. She seems to have been fairly happy at school, however.

直子2-3：ええと、どっから行きましょうかね。初め、英語の勉強の話から。英語が好きだったって言ったけど、
さくら2-3：好きだった。
直子2-4：どうして好きだったの？
さくら2-4：よくわかんないねえ。いちばん最初の頃？中学校から普通に他の子と一緒に英語を始めたわけだけど、どうしてかなあ。まあ、中学校は、あの区域で、あの時代初めての完全ＬＬ教室があった。校長先生が非常に自慢にしてた。それがノベルティーみたいな感じで、幼い私の心に焼きついたのかもしれないとかって。
直子2-5：そういうのあるかもしれない。
さくら2-5：そういうのあるかもしれないね。それと、英語の先生で、女の先生は少なかったのね。一年生の時に習った先生は男の先生で、フライの過去はフライドだって言うような先生だったんだけど、女の先生がいて、その先生がすごく素敵に見えたのね。男の先生は英語が話せなかったんだけども、その女の先生は結構話せたらしくて、授業も当時にしてみれば比較的コミュニケーションをさせてくれたのかもしれないね。その女の先生には憧れてたことは憧れてたね。どうして好きになったのか。でもね、その頃（間）英語が好きっていうより、勉強が好きだったの。今思えば、おかしな話なんだけど、友達と競争して勉強してたの。あの頃って、いろいろテストがあったじゃない？中間テスト、期末テスト、それから、なんていうの？模擬試験？あんなのでみんなで点を比べっこして、今度は誰が一番だとかって言って、それがゲームみたいだったわけ。今思うとなんか片寄った子供時代だと思っちゃうけど。その中で英語のテストで１００点取るのが嬉しかったのかなあ、そういう理由もあったかもしれない。

Naoko 2-3: Well, where shall we start? Your studying of English first? You said you had liked English...
Sakura 2-3: Yes, I liked it.
Naoko 2-4: What made you like it?
Sakura 2-4: I don't know. The beginning? I started learning English at junior high like everyone else. So I wonder why. Well, the school had the first fully equipped language laboratory in the area and the principal was very proud of it. The novelty of it could have impressed the young person that I was. That could have been a reason...
Naoko 2-5: Could be that.
Sakura 2-5: Could be that. And we only had a few women teachers of English. The one we had in the first year was a man, who said the past form of "fly" was "flied." But there was one woman teacher who looked very attractive to me. The man teacher didn't speak English, but she seemed to be fairly good. Her classes may have been relatively communicative by the standard of those days. I felt attracted to her. Why did I come to like English? Well, in those

days (pause) I liked studying, not just English. It's strange in retrospect, but we compared our marks in mid-term exams, end-of-term exams and what do you call it -- mock exams-- to find out who was the best. It was a bit like a game. I'd now say it was rather an unbalanced childhood, but I guess I was happy to get full marks in English tests. That could have been a reason too.

Sakura even had a positive experience in a subject in which she was not very strong. In discussing evaluation, our topic shifted to our experiences in PE classes.

直子2-99：ちびだったし、３月生まれで、小っちゃい時って、１年違ったらいろんなことがものすごく違うじゃない？でも、体育の時間にみんなと同じことをやらされるわけよ。当然できないじゃない？で、私は体育はできないんだと思いこんだの。でも、それはみんな結果でしか見てくれなかったからそうなったと思うんだ。あの時に、私は跳び箱５段は飛べないけど、跳ぼうとして頑張ったとかって評価してくれる先生がいたら、もうちょっと違ってたかもしれないなあって思うんだよね。だからそういう所では絶対努力を評価するって大切なことだと思う。
さくら2-99：それに似た話があるの。私も体育が苦手だったんだけど、私は、小っちゃかったからじゃなくて、太ってたから、走るのは遅いし、飛び上がれないのね。だから、ハードルの時に泣いちゃったりして、いつも体育の成績が２だったの。
直子2-100：私もそう。
さくら2-100：１は誰がもらってたのかなあ。不思議だよね。
直子2-101：考えても、私よりひどい人なんか見あたらなかった。
さくら2-101：いなかった。
直子2-102：いなかった。
さくら2-102：でも２をもらった。中学２年生の時だったかな、いい先生はちゃんと名前を覚えてるの、＜人名＞先生という男の先生がいて、その先生はみんなに表を配ったの。毎日腹筋１０回とか、縄跳び何回とか、必ず朝お水を飲んでトイレにいく習慣をつけるとか、いろんな項目があって、毎日毎日こなしていって、印をつけていくの。親の判子かなんか押したと思うけど。そういう習慣をつけるのが体育の目標の一つだったのね。たぶん、健康な生活習慣を持つって言うことかな。あの頃は体育じゃなくて、保健体育だったでしょ？授業もなかった？
直子2-103：うん、あった。
さくら2-103：あったでしょ。
直子2-104：教科書もあった。
さくら2-104：あったよね。うん。それが含まれてたと思うんだけども、私は真面目にやって、４をもらったの。４をね。すごいでしょ？その先生は私がハードルを飛べなかった時に、泣くまでやらせた先生だったんだけど、そっちの方できちんと頑張ってよくやったって言って４をくれたの。そして高校に行って、私はテニス部に入ったの。そんなに上手にはならなかったけど、体育系のクラブでちゃんと３年やったよ。だから、＜人名＞先生のお陰だよね。たぶん、逆の例。そういう先生もいたの。
直子2-105：私も高校の時に、先生の名前は忘れたけど、とにかくダンスの時間があって、ダンスだけそんなに嫌じゃなかったんだけど、なんかの時に、ちょっと前に来てやってご覧とか言われて、やらされて、褒められたの。それから、私はダンスはできるんだとか思うようになった。
さくら2-105：褒められるってすごいよね。私も子どもをできるだけ褒めるようにしてる。私は親から、母親には特に、比較的けなされて育ったから。評価って難しいよね。

Naoko 2-99: I was small and I was born in March. Being a year younger means a lot when you

are a child, doesn't it?[2] But in PE classes I was expected to do the same as everyone else. Of course I wasn't up to it. So I convinced myself I was no good at PE. I think that was because people only looked at the result. If I'd had a teacher who appreciated my efforts to vault over the box, even though I failed, I think things might have been a bit different. So in such situations I think it's essential to evaluate the effort.

Sakura 2-99: I have a similar story. I was weak in PE too, but not because I was small. I was chubby. I was slow at running, and wasn't able to jump. I burst into tears jumping hurdles. My grade in PE was always 2.[3]

Naoko 2-100: Me too.

Sakura 2-100: I wonder who could have got 1. That was a mystery.

Naoko 2-101: I couldn't think of anyone who was worse than me.

Sakura 2-101: No.

Naoko 2-102: No.

Sakura 2-102: But I got a 2. Then in the second year of junior high, I think, there was a man teacher named Mr <NAME>. I remember the names of the good teachers. This teacher gave out a list of things to do every day: ten sit-ups, a certain number of times skipping rope, drinking water and going to the toilet every morning, etc. etc. You did them every day and ticked them off. I think we had to get our parents' signature too. Acquiring these habits was one of the goals of PE, I suppose. It was probably meant to establish a healthy life style. In those days it wasn't PE, but health and physical education, wasn't it? Didn't we have some classroom work too?

Naoko 2-103: Yeah, we did.

Sakura 2-103: Yeah.

Naoko 2-104: We had a textbook too.

Sakura 2-104: Yeah, we did, didn't we? So I guess that was included in my mark. I did everything seriously, and got a 4. It was a 4! Wasn't that great? The teacher was the one who insisted on me jumping hurdles till I burst into tears, but he appreciated my efforts and gave me a 4. And I joined the tennis club in senior high. I didn't get to be very good, but still I stayed in a club doing sport for three years. So it was thanks to Mr <NAME>. My case was opposite to yours. There were these sorts of teachers too.

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[2] The school year starts in April in Japan. Children born from April to March of the following year start school together. Being born in March means being one of the youngest in class.

[3] Japanese primary and secondary education in Sakura's childhood used relative evaluation based on the idea of the normal curve, with 1 being the bottom 2.5 % and 2 the next 13.5 %. I recently heard from an ex-primary school teacher that teachers were allowed not to give 1 to any pupil. Our mystery has been resolved.

Naoko 2-105: At senior high we had dancing classes, although I don't remember the teacher's name. I didn't hate dancing so much. One day I was told to go out in front and do something, and my performance was praised. After that I started to think I could dance.
Sakura 2-105: Being praised has an enormous effect, doesn't it? I try to praise my daughter as much as possible, because when I grew up, my parents, particularly my mother, tended to criticize me. Evaluation is difficult, isn't it?

In her last year at senior high school Sakura started going to English classes at a community centre in her neighbourhood.

さくら1-83：ずっと昔の世界に入ってもいい？今、ふと想いだしちゃったんだけど。自分が英語を習ってたときに、英語が好きだったから一生懸命習ってて、すごく成績よかったんだけれども、大学に入ったときにひょんなことから、市役所がやってる地域社会の英語教室みたいのを発見して、家のすぐ近くだったから、夕方、週に一回行くようになったの。そこは全然、授業という形態じゃなくて、家が米軍基地の近くだったんだけど、米軍基地の外人が来て、みんなでおしゃべりする会だったわけよ。で、そこで、ああ、こういう勉強のしかたもあるんだって思ったのを覚えてる。教室ではなくて、そこで話し言葉を習ったの。だから、アメリカに行って、そんなに上手ではなかったけれども、話すことに対する恐怖がなかったのは、学校教育のお陰ではなく、基地の外人さんたちのボランティア活動のお陰。教室に行くだけじゃなくて、みんなで一緒に遊びに行ったりとかして、勉強してるつもりは全然なかったけど。
直子1-84：地域の日本語ボランティアみたいな感じね。
さくら1-84：そそそ。その逆のパターン。なんの話してたのか忘れちゃった。

Sakura 1-83: Can I talk about the very distant past? I've just remembered something. I liked English and studied hard. My grades were very good. And when I entered university I happened to find an English course organized by the city council. It was in our neighbourhood. So I started going there once a week in the evening. It wasn't the usual sort of class at all. Our house was near an American base, and in that class we just chatted with foreigners from the base. I remember thinking that was another way of studying. I learned to speak there, not in a classroom. So when I went to the States, I wasn't very good, but I wasn't afraid of speaking. And that was thanks to the volunteer work of those foreigners from the base, not to formal education. We not only met in the classroom but went out together. I didn't feel as though I was studying at all.
Naoko 1-84: A bit like community volunteers in Japanese.
Sakura 1-84: Right, right. The reverse pattern. I forgot what I was talking about.

Sakura describes a learning strategy which she employed then as follows:

さくら2-9：<ターン前半省略>英語がいやだったとか、覚えられなかったとか、つらかったという記憶はあんまりないね。ただ話すのが恥ずかしいっていうのを克服するのには少し時間がかかったし、今でもまだそうよ。大きな会議の席で、学部長とかを前にして話さなきゃならないと、すごく下手になっちゃう。後、娘の先生の前で話すときもすごく下手になっちゃう。

直子2-10：緊張して？
さくら2-10：そそそ。
直子2-11：それを克服する過程って、いつ頃起きたの？
さくら2-11：何を？
直子2-12：喋るのが恥ずかしいという気持ち。
さくら2-12：それはまだ克服してないと思うけど、それなりに、くぐり抜けてきたというか。あ、予習したりしてたね。明日あるだろう場面を、お風呂に入って予習したりしてた。
直子2-13：いつ頃？
さくら2-13：高校生・大学生の頃。
直子2-14：市役所の英語教室は、高校の時から行ってたの？
さくら2-14：高校のいちばん最後の年あたりから行き始めたの。明日はこういう所に行って、こういうことがあるからこういうことを言うんだって自分で決めて、自分で言ってみて、相手はなんて言うだろうか、たぶん、こう言うだろうから、そう言われたらこういうふうに答えるんだとかって、お風呂の中で練習したのを覚えてる。ストラテジーを使っていたの。

Sakura 2-9: <The first part of the turn omitted> I don't remember any times when I felt I didn't like English, when I couldn't memorize things, or when I found it hard. But it took a while to overcome my shyness in speaking. I still have that problem. I feel really awkward when I have to speak to the dean and the like in a large meeting. Talking to my daughter's teacher is a problem too.
Naoko 2-10: Do you get nervous?
Sakura 2-10: Yeah.
Naoko 2-11: When did you start the process of overcoming it?
Sakura 2-11: Overcoming what?
Naoko 2-12: Shyness in speaking.
Sakura 2-12: I don't think I've overcome it yet. But I've managed somehow. Oh, I used to rehearse. I'd think of situations I would be in the next day and rehearse in the bath.
Naoko 2-13: When was that?
Sakura 2-13: Senior high, university.
Naoko 2-14: Were you going to the city council's English course when you were at senior high?
Sakura 2-14: I started going in the last year of senior high. I'd think tomorrow we are going to such and such a place and doing such and such a thing, and I'd decide what I was going to say, and say it. I also thought about how people might respond and thought how to respond. I remember I practised in the bath. I used a strategy.

Sakura wanted to major in languages at university, but her wish did not materialize.

さくら1-6：<ターン前半省略>それで、うちは弟がいるんだけれども、私の大学受験と弟の高校受験が重なったのね。うちの父親が男の子はよい教育を受けなくてはいけないという主義だったから、弟の高校受験の方が大事であるということで、私は受験をしなくて入れる大学に行かされたわけ。それが<大学名>だったんだけど。
直子1-7：推薦で入ったの？

さくら1-7：そうそうそう。東京外大に行きたかったから、不本意だったんだけどね。でも、その時は不本意だったけど、今、思うと、あれは正しい選択だったかも知れないっていう気もする。だから普通の、伝統的な道を通っていますね。
直子1-8：その中でそんなに不満ではなかったの？
さくら1-8：その頃は気がつかなかったのね。弟の受験の方が大事だと言われればそうかなと思ったし、その頃の夢はなんと外交官の奥さんになることだったから。自分がなるんじゃないのよ。外交官の奥さんになるのが夢だったの。
直子1-9：ヒラリー・クリントンのように、亭主を大統領にするのが夢。
さくら1-9：そそそ。まあ亭主を大統領にするとは思ってなかった。外国に行けたらいいと思ってたから、外交官になる素質のある人に自分がくっついていくっていう考えだった。だから疑問とかなかった。

Sakura 1-6: <The first part of the turn omitted> I've got a younger brother. My university entrance exams and his senior high entrance exams fell in the same year. My father had this belief that boys should receive a good education. So he put priority on my brother's exams and I was sent to a university which I could get into without taking an entrance exam. That was <NAME OF UNIVERSITY>.
Naoko 1-7: So you went there by recommendation?[4]
Sakura 1-7: Yes. I wanted to go to Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. So it wasn't what I wanted. But now I feel it might have been the right choice. So I followed an ordinary, traditional path.
Naoko 1-8: Weren't you unhappy at all?
Sakura 1-8: I wasn't aware then. When my parents said my brother's exams were more important, I thought they might be right. My dream then was to be a diplomat's wife. It wasn't to become a diplomat myself. A diplomat's wife was my dream.
Naoko 1-9: Like Hillary Clinton. A dream to make your husband president.
Sakura 1-9: Right. But I didn't intend to make my husband president. I wanted to go abroad. So my idea was to attach myself to someone with the potential to be a diplomat. So I didn't question my parents' thinking.

Sakura was admitted to a department of English literature, and she took the offer without knowing that studying English literature was not the same as learning English language. Although the courses in the department were not what Sakura had expected, she seems to have enjoyed her student life reasonably well. She took a lot of elective courses taught by English speaking teachers in a more or less communicative manner. She also joined the English Speaking Society and played an active role in the group. Her turning point came after graduation.

直子1-10：いつ頃、転換が起きたの？
さくら1-10：たぶん素地は父親の影響でできたと思う。そういったダブルスタンダードがあるにも

[4] See Note 4 in chapter 6.

関わらず、教育の面では非常に啓蒙してくれる父親だったから。高校に入って初めて古典の授業が始まったときに家に帰って、こういうことを習ったよっていうと、その内容を話せるような父親だったの。なんて言うのかな、自分の夢が果たせなかった人なのよ。本当だったら、司法試験を受けて弁護士になりたかったんだけども、戦争で召集されちゃって、大学を中退しちゃったっていう人でね。その夢を弟に託して、弟が今、弁護士をしてるんだけども、今、考えてみると、たぶんうちの父親は弁護士には向いてなくて、もし時と場所が許したら、大学の先生になってただろうなあと思うような人なの。だから私は結構、父を継いでいるのかなあと思う。私にも弟にも対等にいろんな難しい話をしてくれて、いろんな所に目を開かせてくれたという意味では、学究心を植えつけてくれたんじゃないかしら。学校の勉強とは別にいろんなことに興味を持っていろんなことをディスカッションしてという素地はたぶん父が作ってくれたと思う。ただ、なんか違うって気づきが起きたのは社会人になってから。会社に２年、勤めたのね。

直子1-11：それはアメリカに行く前？

さくら1-11：前。大学を卒業して父のコネで某輸入業者に入り、某有名ブランドを扱っておりましたんですが。別に某じゃなくてもいいんだけど。スイスの貿易会社でエルメスとかシャネルとかやってたの。（笑）

直子1-12：それで今でもスカーフなんかしたりするの？

さくら1-12：うん、そうねえ。あの頃のものが結構残ってたりする。本当は私は外資系の銀行に行きたかったんだけど、父がコネで探してきてくれたのがあって、コネのほうが大事だから、外資系の銀行を断らなくちゃいけなかったの。ちょっと不満だったんだけど、まあ、父の言うことは大事だからと思って、あまり疑問視しないで、そっちの方に行くことにしたの。そうしたら、話が決まっちゃったあとで、私は大学を出てたんだけれども、うちの会社は女子社員に関しては給与体系が短大卒までしかないので、給料は短大卒待遇ですって言われたの。で、おっなんか違うなと思った。そこから始まった。入社したら私より10才年上の先輩の女性たちがいたんだけども、その女性たちは私と同じ仕事してたのね。

直子1-13：コピーとったりとか？

さくら1-13：そそそ。毎月のレポートを書いたりとか、データを作ったりとか、そういう仕事してたわけ。結局、10年後の私はあれだと思って、会社の中で男の人と女の人といろいろ違うような感じだし、なんか変だな、それでいいのかなと思って、それで．．．

直子1-14：辞めて？

さくら1-14：辞めて留学しようと思ったの。

直子1-15：どうして日本語教育について勉強しようと思ったの？

さくら1-15：うーん、その時は、まだ若くて、すごく傲慢だったから、今思うと笑っちゃうんだけど、どうしてだかよくわからないけど前から外国語が好きで、それを使って世の中に貢献したいと思ったわけよ。そしたら、私は日本語を外国の人に教えてあげられると、恥ずかしながらも思ったわけ。それで、＜日本語学校名＞って学校があるんだけど、そこに行って、オーディオリンガル法を学習いたしまして。

直子1-16：ドリルの仕方とか？

さくら1-16：はい。オーディオリンガル法を使った文法の説明とかを勉強したんだけど、それじゃなんか物足りないし、会社に10年いる先輩の女性たちが、私に夢を託してくれたのね。私たちはもうなっちゃった、もう遅い、だけどあなたにはまだ時間がある。留学するっていう道もあるし、もっと専門性のある職につく道がいろいろあるって、いろんなオプションを教えてくれたの。結局、自分たちが果たせなかった夢をいろいろ語ってくれたのね。そういうすごくよい先輩たちに恵まれて、勧められて、会社を辞めて、アメリカに行っちゃったわけ。＜ターン後半省略＞

Naoko 1-10: When did you change your views?

Sakura 1-10: Perhaps my father had some influence in shaping my attitudes. Although he had that double standard, he was an enlightening father in terms of our education. When I first learned classical Japanese literature at senior high and told him about what I had learned,

he was able to discuss it with me. What shall I say? He was a person with an unfulfilled dream. He wanted to take the bar exams and be a lawyer, but he got drafted in the war and didn't finish university. He wanted my brother to pursue his dream, and in fact my brother is now a lawyer. But I don't think my father was cut out to be a lawyer. He could have been a university teacher if the time and circumstances had been right. So I have a lot of him in me. He talked equally to my brother and me on various difficult topics, and opened our eyes to many things. In that sense he planted some scholarly motivation in me, I think. He probably made me into a person interested in and ready to discuss many things outside the school curriculum. But it was only when I started working that I realized something was wrong. I worked for a company for two years.

Naoko 1-11: Was that before you went to the States?

Sakura 1-11: Before, yes. I graduated from university and took a job my father found for me through his friends. It was a trading company importing goods of certain famous brands. Well, I don't have to keep the names secret. It was a Swiss company and they dealt with Hermes, Chanel and so on.

Naoko 1-12: That's why you still wear those scarves?

Sakura 1-12: Yeah, maybe. I still have some stuff from those days. I wanted to work for a foreign bank, but my father got this job for me, and his relationship with his friends was more important. So I had to turn down an offer from a foreign bank. I was a bit unhappy, but I thought I should respect my father's decision and didn't question it much. So I decided to work for this company, and when everything was finalized, they told me that their salary system for women only recognized junior college graduates, and so my salary would be that of a junior college graduate, in spite of the fact I had graduated from a university. I thought something was wrong. That was how it started. When I started working, I found female employees ten years older than me doing the same work as me.

Naoko 1-13: Making photocopies and things?

Sakura 1-13: Right. Writing monthly reports, preparing data and so on. I thought that was how I'd end up after ten years. I could feel differences between the men and women in the office that struck me as strange, and I wondered if it was right. So...

Naoko 1-14: You quit?

Sakura 1-14: I decided to quit and go abroad to study.

Naoko 1-15: What made you decide on studying JSL?

Sakura 1-15: Well, I was still young and very arrogant then. It makes me laugh now to think about it. I don't know why, but I had always liked foreign languages, and I wanted to make my contribution to society by using languages. Then I thought I could benefit foreigners by teaching them Japanese. I feel ashamed of having thought that way now. There's a school called <NAME OF JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOL>. I went there and learned the

audiolingual method.

Naoko 1-16: How to drill your students and things like that?

Sakura 1-16: Yes. I also learned how to explain grammar within the audiolingual method, but I wasn't satisfied. And those women who had been with the company for ten years confided their dreams to me. They said they were already cast in a mould, that it was too late for them. But I still had time. I could go abroad to study. They told me there were many ways to get a professional job, and mentioned various options. They were recounting their own unfulfilled dreams. I was lucky to have such good seniors. With their encouragement I quit the company and went to the States. <The rest of the turn omitted>

Sakura elaborates her feeling of dissatisfaction with her initial teacher training as follows:

さくら2-24：あんまり新しくなかったからかなあ。終わったら、ドリルマスターみたいになっちゃったからね。あの時はドリルがすごい上手だったよ。
直子2-25：どのくらい行ってたの？
さくら2-25：よく覚えてない。たぶん週一だったから、長く通ってたんだと思うけど。一応初級文法が教えられる位。終了証みたいのをもらったけど。
直子2-26：まだ４２０時間のガイドラインはなかった頃よね。
さくら2-26：なかった。もっと前。
直子2-27：古かったっていうのは、もっと新しい教え方を知ってたから？
さくら2-27：そうだと思う。大学を出てから＜日本語学校名＞に行ってるから。大学の時はもう外国人の先生達によるコミュニカティブな授業を受けてたわけよね。その後＜日本語学校名＞でオーディオリンガルだから。そういった意味でもうちょっと期待が大きかったのかなあ。それと、こんなこと言うのは傲慢かもしれないけど、クラスに来てる人たちのレベルが低かったね。もう一人、翌年から国連の次官かなんかになることが決まってるっていう研究員の人がいて、その人はどっかの大学の修士かなんか持ってる人で、将来、自分の職業の主になるとは思わないけど、脇で役だってくれるんじゃないかと思って、＜日本語学校名＞に来てたのね。その人だけは覚えてる。他の人は全然覚えてないんだけど、なんでこの人たちはこういうことをしてるんだろうっていうような感じがしたの覚えてる。人のことをジャッジしちゃいけないんだけど。＜ターン後半省略＞

＜2ターン省略＞

直子2-29：＜ターン前半省略＞で、実際ドリルのやり方をトレーニングされてたわけでしょ？物足りなかったかもしれないけど、なんか役に立っていることはないの？
さくら2-29：あるある。役に立ってるわよ。その時、初めて国語を日本語として見直したから。それまでは日本語としては、たぶん何も説明できなかったと思うんだけど、そこで初歩的な外国語としての日本語の文法的説明の仕方、考え方みたいなのを習った。それが最高のものだとは今は思ってないけども、そこで、なんていうの、視点の転換みたいなものがたぶん始まったんじゃないかと思う。
直子2-30：ほかには？
さくら2-30：あそこね。あんまりよく覚えてない。（間）でも＜日本語学校名＞はアルバイトを紹介してくれて、製薬会社かなんかの駐在の偉い人に日本語を教えてたけど。
直子2-31：それが日本語を教えた初めての経験？
さくら2-31：お金をもらって教えたのは初めてかもしれない。米軍基地の友達に教えてとか言われて、ボランティア的に教えたことはあったけど。お金をもらったのは、たぶん、その時が初めてだね。で、＜日本語学校名＞で紹介されたから、＜日本語学校名＞の本を使って、＜日本語学校名＞と同じ

方法で教えてたわけ、ドリルでね。達成感はあるのかなあって思って、いつもお金をもらっていいのかなあって思ってた。あんまり気持ちのいいアルバイトじゃなかった。上手になるのが見えないんだもの。その人は仕事が忙しくて、朝早くしかできなかったの。7時から8時まで、私と一緒に1時間ドリルをやって、こんなにたくさんお金をもらっていいのかなあって思ったのを覚えてる。

Sakura 2-24: It could have been that the method was rather old-fashioned. I was like a drill master when I finished the course. I was very good at drilling.

Naoko 2-25: How long were you there for?

Sakura 2-25: I don't remember very well. I went there probably once a week, so it must have been a long time. I reached the point where you can more or less teach elementary grammar. I got a certificate.

Naoko 2-26: It was before they brought in the 420 hour guidelines, wasn't it?

Sakura 2-26: Yeah, long before that.

Naoko 2-27: Did you find it old-fashioned because you knew of newer approaches?

Sakura 2-27: I guess so. I went to <NAME OF JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOL> after I graduated from university. At university I had communicative language classes taught by foreign teachers. Then I was taught the audiolingual method at <NAME OF JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOL>. I probably had higher expectations. And it may be arrogant to say this, but most of the people coming to the course were not particularly outstanding. There was this person who was to be a UN official the following year. He was a researcher and had an MA from some university. He didn't see JSL as vital to his profession, but thought it might be helpful and so he came to <NAME OF JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOL>. I only remember him and not the others. But I remember wondering why the others were there. I shouldn't be judging people, though. <The rest of the turn omitted>

<2 turns omitted>

Naoko 2-29: <The first part of the turn omitted> So you were trained in drilling? Maybe it wasn't very satisfying, but was there nothing helpful about it?

Sakura 2-29: Oh, yes. It was helpful. I saw our language as a foreign language for the first time. I don't think I could have explained anything about Japanese as a foreign language until then. I learned an approach and a method of explaining elementary Japanese grammar. I don't think now it was so great, but it marked the start of, what shall I say, a change in my views.

Naoko 2-30: Anything else?

Sakura 2-30: That school. I don't remember very well. (pause) But they gave me a part-time job teaching Japanese to an executive of a pharmaceutical company.

Naoko 2-31: Was that your first experience of teaching Japanese?

Sakura 2-31: It may have been my first paid job. I'd taught some friends from the base, but that was on a volunteer basis. Maybe that was the first time I received money. I used their textbook and taught in their way because <NAME OF JAPANESE LANGUAGE SCHOOL> gave me the job. Drilling. I wondered if the student had any sense of achievement and I felt bad about getting paid. It wasn't a very comfortable job, because I didn't see any progress in the student. He was busy and could only have classes in early mornings. So I drilled him from seven to eight in the morning, and I was well paid. I remember I wondered if I deserved the money.

In the States Sakura was enrolled in an adult education programme. She describes how that happened as follows:

さくら1-1：そうねえ、オートノミーという言葉を知ったのはアメリカに行ってからだったのね。日本では知らなかったの。えーとね、何年にアメリカに行ったんだっけ、２４の時にアメリカに修士号を取りに行ったの。日本語教育か日本語学で修士を取りたかったんだけれども、まったく勘違いをしてて、教育の対象は年少者ではなくて、大学生、社会人あたりを対象にした教育をしたいと思ってたから、知り合いに頼んで、高等教育・成人教育のプログラムに願書を出してもらったわけ。その当時、日本では高等教育・成人教育が大学で勉強できるのは東北大学だけだったの。東北には行きたくないし、その時はそこに行くものだと思って行っちゃった。自分がやりたかったこととはほとんど関係なかったし、今思えば行くべきではなかったんだけれども、入っちゃったからそこに行ったのね。で、＜大学名＞に行ったんだけれども、高等教育・成人教育の中では高等教育のグループと成人教育のグループに分かれてて、私の指導教官になった先生が成人教育のグループだったの。その人が、次の年、日本に行きたいという野心があって、私をとったんだって。そういうわけで、なんだかわからないうちに、成人教育のグループに入れられちゃったの。そしたら成人教育の方でその頃はやってたのが、この学習者オートノミーだったわけなんですよ。
直子1-2：なるほどなるほど。
さくら1-2：それで、オートノミーという言葉を知ったんだけど、その時は辞書を引いても、何なのかわからなかった。あの頃使ってたテキストは、ロービー・キッドとかパトリシア・クロスとか、あとはマルコム・ノウルズ、あの辺だったんだけども、成人教育におけるオープン・ラーニングだとか、壁のない教育、ヨーロッパのエルダー・ホステルだとか、そんなようなのを勉強するうちに、既成の伝統的な教育の他にも形があるんだということが、だんだんわかってきた。それで、何となく洗脳されちゃったわけ。実際の体験として、＜人名＞という先生のクラスだったけれども、そのクラスは全員が成人学習者だったのね。夜のクラスで、みんな仕事を持ってて、教育経験だけではなくて、プロフェッショナルとしての経験のある人ばっかりが取ってるクラスだったの。例えば、看護婦さんを３０年やってきたけれども、社会人教育を何らかの形で看護に結びつけたいだとか、今まで牧師をやってたけれども、牧師というのはどうも社会人教育とだいぶ関係があるようだとか、そういう人たちの集まりのクラスだった。そのクラスで、セルフディレクティド・ラーニングについてみんなで勉強しようと言うことになって、いったい何をしたかっていうと、地元の成人教育学会が大会を開くから、みんなで大会の運営の仕方を学ぶことにしようということになって、＜教師の名前＞がそれを、クラスでやりますって言って、引き受けてきちゃったわけ。それで、そのグループみんなで２０人位いたかなあ、みんなで学会運営委員会を作って、その学会を運営したの。学会の運営の仕方をいろいろ調べて、実際にやってみて、あとで自己評価をするというサイクルを一通り実際にやるというクラスだったわけ。すごいクラスだね。そのクラスで実体験してみたら、これは結構おもしろいって思った。個人プロジェクトもあって、それはラーニング・コントラクトによるプロジェクトだったの。ビール作りを習うとかみんな変なプロジェクトを考えて、自分でラーニング・コントラクトを書いて。

Sakura 1-1: Well, I learned the word "autonomy" in the States. I didn't know it in Japan. Erm, when did I go to the States? I went there when I was twenty-four to study for an M Ed. I wanted a degree in JSL or Japanese linguistics, but I was completely mistaken in my choice of courses. I wanted to teach university students and adults rather than younger people. So I asked an acquaintance to apply on my behalf to a higher and adult education programme. In those days Tohoku University was the only place in Japan that offered a higher and adult education programme. I didn't want to go to Tohoku.[5] So I thought I should go to a programme in the States, and I went. The programme had hardly anything to do with what I wanted to do. I shouldn't have gone, but I went because I was accepted. It was <NAME OF UNIVERSITY>. There, the higher and adult education programme was divided into two: higher education and adult education. My advisor was in the adult education group. I later learned he accepted me because he wanted to go to Japan the following year. That's how I was put in the adult education group before I knew what was going on. And this learner autonomy was a fad in adult education at that time.

Naoko 1-2: I see.

Sakura 1-2: That's how I learned the word, but I didn't understand it even after I looked it up in the dictionary. We used textbooks written by people like Robby Kidd, Patricia Cross, and Malcolm Knowles. As I studied open learning in adult education, education without walls, "elder hostels" in Europe, and so on, I gradually understood there are many forms of education other than the established traditional form. And I was brainwashed somehow. I attended a course given by a teacher named <NAME OF TEACHER>. It was an evening course and everyone had a job. Everyone had work experience, not only in teaching but in a variety of professions. For example one had been a nurse for thirty years and wanted to link education to nursing in some way or other. We also had a church minister who thought her profession had a lot to do with adult education. It was a group of people like that. We decided to study self-directed learning, and what we did was organize a conference. The local association of adult education was going to have a conference, and our teacher told them our class would run it. There were about twenty students in the class. We formed a steering committee and organized the conference. We experienced the whole cycle of researching how to organize a conference, implementing our plan, and evaluating our achievement for ourselves. An incredible class, wasn't it? I found it really interesting. We also had individual projects based on learning contracts. Everyone thought up a strange project, like learning to make beer, and wrote a learning contract.

Sakura analyzes her positive reception of the idea as:

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[5] Tohoku is the name of a district in the northern part of Japan.

直子1-4：どういうふうにおもしろかったの？
さくら1-4：まず、グループ・プロジェクトの方は、私はそれまで、アカデミアにいなかったから、学会というものがなにかもわからなかったの。だけど、人に助けられながら、いろいろ学習した。その頃はわからなかったけども、今、思えば、結局、人っていうのはラーニング・リソースなの。そこで、人に助けられながら教室活動でない場面で、いろいろ学びが起こるということに気づきがあったわけよ。それがおもしろかった。別に先生がこうやれああやれと言ったからじゃないのよ。もちろん学習者オートノミーの講義はあったの。理論の方は講義で進んでいってるんだけれども、実体験が同時に進んで行くというクラスだったわけ。理論ではよくわからなくて、ああそうだったのかなって、４年位経ってわかった。とにかく、その気づきが大きかったんじゃないかしら。やっぱり日本で教育を受けて、枠の中で勉強するという習慣に浸ってたでしょ？だから、日本で紹介されたらそんなに吸収できなかったかもしれないね。アメリカの大学院というのがずいぶん新しい経験で、それにのっかって、すごく不思議な学習方法が紹介されたから、考え方の転機と一緒にやってきたから、吸収されたのかもしれない。
直子1-5：これはアメリカというものだろうとか、そういう感じ？
さくら1-5：そうかも知れない。もしかしたら、ああいう学習方法をアメリカ的なものとして受け入れたのかも知れない。行った頃はアメリカを崇拝してたから、その一部として受け入れたのかも知れない。今は少し冷静にアメリカを見ることができますけど。

Naoko 1-4: In what way did you find it interesting?
Sakura 1-4: In terms of the group project I'd never been in academia before and didn't even know what an academic conference was. But I learned a lot with the help of other people. I didn't understand then, but now I realize that people are in fact a learning resource. I noticed that learning can take place outside the classroom with the help of other people. That was interesting. The teacher didn't tell us what to do or how to do it. Of course we had lectures on learner autonomy. The lectures dealt with the theory, and our experiential learning proceeded simultaneously. I didn't understand the theory very well, and it took me about four years to see the mechanism that was working. Anyway I think noticing it was very significant for me. I had been educated in Japan and immersed in the habit of studying within a framework. So I might not have been able to absorb the idea if I had been introduced to it in Japan. Graduate school in the States was a very new experience for me, and with it came this very strange way of learning. It came at the same time as changes in my thinking. That could have been why I absorbed it.
Naoko 1-5: This is what America is all about. Was it that sort of feeling?
Sakura 1-5: Could be. I might have accepted that way of learning as American. I now have a more reasoned view of America, but I admired it very much at that time. I might have accepted that way of learning as part and parcel of America.

Sakura taught Japanese as a teaching assistant as she studied, and experienced a range of formal and informal in-service teacher training. She took a foreign language methodology course which all second language teaching assistants were supposed to take and was exposed to the idea and the practice of the communicative approach and humanistic approaches such as Silent Way and

Community Language Learning. She also team taught with a few experienced teachers, and the teaching plans which they shared with her was a valuable source of learning. The biggest influence on her, however, seems to have been her advisor in JSL.

直子2-72：あと、この前、<人名>先生ってすごくいい先生だって言ってたけど、かなり影響を受けた？
さくら2-72：うん、受けた受けた。
直子2-73：どういう感じで？
さくら73：あのね、飄々としてて、今まで自分が経験した先生と全然違うのよ。先生っていうと、これしてあれして、これはこういうもんだよとかって言う人だと思ってたの。全然そうじゃないの。じゃあ、いちばん最初のティーム・ティーチングは、<人名>さんと<人名>先生と私じゃなくて、<人名>先生も入ってたのかなあ、よく覚えてないけど。あ、思いだした。<人名>さんと<人名>先生と私と３人で、というか、私はアシスタントだったんだけれども、フェデラル・グラントをもらったプログラムの日本語版の教材を書いてたの。スペイン語とドイツ語と日本語とフランス語だったかな、中国語もはいってたのか、よく覚えてないけど、これから<州名>は国際的で、しかも言語を話せるビジネスマンを養成しなくてはいけないということで、<大学名>の中のビジネス・カレッジと提携して、そういうプログラムを作ろうとしてたわけ。その時に教材開発に加わって、確か<人名>先生のリサーチ・アシスタントみたいな形でお給料をもらってたのかあ。その時の指示の与え方が、すごく手放しなのよ。こういう課があってこういう目的だから、じゃ、お願いねっていう感じで。すごく今までと違って、とても新鮮だった。
直子2-74：それで自分のものの考え方が変わったとか、あるいは自分の教え方とか、同僚と一緒に仕事をするやりかたとかに、彼女の影響はあった？
さくら2-74：あるあるある。あのね、時々、口うるさく言いそうになっちゃうのね。その時、あ、<人名>先生だったら言わないだろうなと思う。それは娘の育て方にも反映されてると思うけど。むっと黙るとかして、相手が自分で考える時間を与える余裕を、自分に無理矢理持たせる。意識しないとできない。意識しないとできないときしか<人名>先生のことは思い出さないんだろうけれども、意識しないとできないときが往々にしてあるから。

Naoko 2-72: You said in the first interview that Dr <NAME> was a very good teacher. Were you influenced by her a lot?

Sakura 2-72: Oh, yes.

Naoko 2-73: In what ways?

Sakura 2-73: Well, she was buoyant and completely different from the teachers I'd known up till then. I had thought teachers were people who told you what to do and gave you the facts. She wasn't like that at all. So the first team teaching could have been with Dr <NAME>, not <NAME>, Dr <NAME> and myself. I don't remember very well. Ah, I know. <NAME>. Dr <NAME> and I wrote Japanese materials for a programme with federal funding. <NAME OF A STATE> had decided they needed to educate business people with foreign language proficiency, and they were trying to establish such programmes in collaboration with the business school in our university. They had Spanish, German, Japanese, and French programmes, I guess. Chinese might have been included too. I don't remember very well. I was involved in the materials development. I got paid as Dr <NAME>'s research assistant, I suppose. Her way of giving instructions was very much laissez-faire in a good sense. Here's

the lesson and its purpose is this. So could you take care of it? Like that. It was very different from my past experience and very new to me.

Naoko 2-74: Has it changed your way of thinking? Has she influenced your way of teaching or working with your colleagues?

Sakura 2-74: Oh, she has. Um, I'm sometimes tempted to say fussy things, but then I remember Dr <NAME> wouldn't say anything. It also comes out in the way I bring up my daughter, I guess. I shut up and force myself to give her time to think for herself. I can't do it unless I consciously make the effort, and it's probably only those moments that I remember Dr <NAME>, but I do have many such moments.

When she completed her MA, Sakura married an American and continued her study for a Doctrate against her previous promise to her parents that she would return to Japan after she finished her Master's degree. Sakura's Ed D thesis was about intercultural communication and, according to her, had nothing to do with learner autonomy. Asked if she had learner autonomy in mind when she taught then, she replied in the negative.

直子1-21：そういう時に学習者のオートノミーみたいなものは意識したりした？
さくら1-21：全然してなかった。ただし、オートノミーは意識してなかったけれども、学習者中心っていうのは意識してたと思う。学習者が一番たくさんアウトプットのできるクラスは先生と学習者の間でやりとりするのじゃだめだって、＜人名＞先生のワークショップで聞いてたから、グループ・ワークだとかタスクシートだとか、そういうのをやらせてて、特にタスク・シートは毎週毎週何十枚も作ってた。＜ターン後半省略＞

Naoko 1-21: Did you have learner autonomy in mind then?

Sakura 1-21: Not at all. I didn't have learner autonomy in mind, but I had learner centredness in mind, I guess. I heard in Dr <NAME>'s workshop that the maximum output from learners couldn't be achieved in interaction in class between teacher and learners. So I used a lot of group work and task sheets. I produced dozens of task sheets each week. <The rest of the turn omitted>

Sakura elaborates what she means by the term, learner centred, as follows:

さくら2-36：自分の考えがオートノミーに行き着く前の学習者中心。教師中心の中の学習者中心。言っている意味わかる？わかんない？あのう、本当に学習者中心になるためには、学習者一人一人が、自分からのインプットをプログラムなりカリキュラムなりに入れていく力とか姿勢がないといけないと思うんだけど、そうなるためには学習者が自律的な学習能力だとか自律的な学習能力に対するポジティブな姿勢とかを持っていないと、成り立たないと思うのね。でも、その頃はあんまりそういうふうに考えてなくて、学習者がインプットを入れられるような体制作りのみを考えてたわけ。だから教師の側でできることだけしか考えてなかった。
直子2-37：例えば？
さくら2-37：コミュニカティブなタスクを作る場合に、どうやって学習者がタスクにインプットを

入れられるかとか、そういうことは考えてた。だけど、学習者が、それを入れられるような人間になるにはどうしたらいいのかっていうのは考えてなかった。
直子2-38：学習者がインプットを入れられるっていうことは 例えば、ピア・インターアクションがあって、そこでピア・ティーチングが起こるとか、そういう意味？
さくら2-38：そこまでは全然考えてなかったと思う。例えばインフォメーション・ギャップがあった場合、学習者が本来の自分の情報を言えるだとか、例えば、いくつかタスクがあった場合、学習者が一つのタスクを選べるとか、そういったレベルでの、教師が持っている枠の中での学習者のチョイスを広げるみたいなふうに考えてたと思う。あの頃、何をやってたんだろうなあ。タスク・シートの鬼みたいに、いっぱいタスク・シートを作ってたけど、タスク・シートを学習者に作らせようとは思ってなかった。タスク・シートを私がたくさん作ってあげて、その中から学習者が選んでやるんならよかったんだけど。学習者がタスク・シートを自分達でクリエイティブに作っていって、それを使いながら活動するということは考えてなかった。
直子2-39：その時の学習者中心って、定義するとしたら、なんて定義すればいいの？
さくら2-39：一方通行の教師中心の一斉授業と比べたら、それも比較的学習者中心だと思うんだけど、どうなんだろう。たぶん教室活動の中だけ考えてたのかなあ。教室活動のほかはあんまり考えてなかったのかもしれない。どうしてだろう。（間）よくわかんない。
直子2-40：一つには、インターアクションのパターンとして、教師が前にいて常に質疑応答は教師と学習者の間でだけ起こるというパターンじゃなく、ネットワークを書くとしたら、もっと蜘蛛の巣状態になっているようなもの。ま、それを学習者中心って呼ぶこともできるかも知れないね。教師主導型の反対として。
さくら2-40：反対としたらね。でも、ちょっと違うわね。それだけではなかったような気がするのね。
直子2-41：うん。今いろいろ話を聞いてると、タスクがいろいろあって、選べたっていうわけだから、ある程度はチョイスのある組み立て方をしてたのね。それも学習者中心と言えなくもないね。
さくら2-41：ない。で、聞いてたね。アメリカの授業って毎日やるのよ。月火水木金って。で、確か、金曜日は学生がやりたいことが言えるようにしてたの。だんだん思い出してきた。うん。今週の金曜日は何をしようかって、こっちがこんなのがいいんじゃないかとかって、いろいろ出すんだけど、最終的には学生が文化の勉強がしたいと言ったら、それの準備をして、金曜日の授業をやってたのを覚えてる。
直子2-42：学生は準備しないの？
さくら2-42：そそそ。教師がセットアップしてあげて。
直子2-43：そうすると、今の言葉で言えば、学習者のニーズとか興味・関心とかに合わせるっていうことかな。
さくら43：そうだね。
直子2-44：そういう意識はあった？
さくら2-44：意識はあったね。ただ、先生がすごくしょい込む。
直子2-45：合わせてあげる。合わせてあげて、準備をしてあげる。
さくら2-45：そそそ。その頃はそういう感じだったと思う。
直子2-46：学習者中心という言葉自体、その頃から使ってたの？
さくら2-46：使ってないと思う。その頃は学習者中心って思ってたのかなあ。学生のニーズっていう言葉は知ってた。使ってたと思う。大学院で、マルコム・ノウルズとか勉強してたから、そういうのは知ってる。
直子2-47：そうすると、例えば、この前言ってた＜人名＞先生のワークショップとかでそういう概念を教えてもらったとかいうことじゃなくて、
さくら2-47：＜人名＞先生のクラスはいろんなものを紹介してくれたけれども。例えばサイレントウェイだとかね、コミュニティ、なんだっけ？
直子2-48：ランゲージ・ランニング？
さくら2-48：そそ。あんなのとか、いろんなものを紹介してくれて、できるところではその実演を見せてくれたの。その頃はコミュニカティブ・アプローチが最新鋭よね。だから、コミュニカティブ・

アプローチの裏にある理念とかも教えてくれたし、コミュニティ・ランゲージ・ラーニングでロシア語なんか教えてくれるわけよ。サイレント・ウェイでもロシア語を教えてくれたりしちゃって。だから、疑似体験みたいなのはいろいろさせてもらったけれども、その上にある大きな枠組みみたいなのは、そのクラスにはなかったね。それはやっぱり成人教育のほうがあったような気がする。

Sakura 2-36: Learner centredness was before my thinking got to learner autonomy. Learner centredness within teacher centredness. Do you know what I mean? You don't? Well, true learner centredness requires an attitude on the part of learners to offer their input in the programme or curriculum, but it's only possible if they have a capacity for autonomous learning and a positive attitude towards it. But I didn't think that way then. I only thought about developing a system where learners' input could be included. So I only thought about what the teacher could do.

Naoko 2-37: For example?

Sakura 2-37: When I created a communicative task, I thought about how learners' input could be included. But I didn't think about what could be done to develop in learners the ability to do it.

Naoko 2-38: By learners' input, do you mean, for example, having peer interaction that might lead to peer teaching?

Sakura 2-38: I don't think I thought that far at all. What I had in mind was, for example, information gap tasks where learners could offer some authentic information about themselves or providing several tasks from which learners could choose one. It was on that level. I tried to expand learners' choices within the existing teaching framework. I was almost obsessed with producing task sheets, but I never thought of having learners produce them. It was OK for me to produce a lot of task sheets for them to choose from. But I never thought of the possibility of learners' creative production of task sheets and activities based on them.

Naoko 2-39: So how would you define your learner centredness in those days?

Sakura 2-39: My thinking was relatively learner-centred compared with one-way teacher fronted classes. But I wonder. Perhaps I was only thinking about classroom activities. I didn't think much about activities outside the classroom. I wonder why not. (pause) I don't know.

Naoko 2-40: For one thing, in terms of interaction pattern, it wasn't one where the teacher is always at the front of the room and question-answer sequences always occur between the teacher and the learners. It was more like a cobweb. You could call that learner-centred as opposed to teacher-controlled.

Sakura 2-40: Yes, if you consider them opposites. But that's not exactly it. I feel it had more to it than that.

Naoko 2-41: Yeah. You had a variety of tasks and learners could make a choice from among them. So you structured your class with some space for learners' choices. That could be called learner-centred.

Sakura 2-41: Right. Yeah, I asked them. You have classes every day from Monday through Friday in American universities. So I made Friday the day when students were allowed to say what they wanted to do. Now I remember. Yeah. I'd say "What are we going to do this Friday." I provided ideas I thought might be suitable, but ultimately the choice was with the students. If they wanted to learn about culture, I prepared something for the lesson.

Naoko 2-42: The students didn't prepare anything?

Sakura 2-42: No, I set up the class.

Naoko 2-43: So, put in the terms we use these days, you taught in response to your students' needs and interests. Was that how it was?

Sakura 2-43: Yes.

Naoko 2-44: Were you aware of doing that?

Sakura 2-44: Yes, I was. But the teacher took on everything.

Naoko 2-45: You matched the students' needs. You prepared the lesson for them.

Sakura 2-45: Right. It was like that.

Naoko 2-46: Did you use the term "learner-centred" then?

Sakura 2-46: I don't think so. I doubt if I thought what I did was learner-centred. I knew the term "learners' needs". I think I used it. I knew it because I studied Malcolm Knowles and others at graduate school.

Naoko 2-47: So it wasn't a concept you learned in Dr <NAME>'s workshop, which you mentioned in the first interview?

Sakura 2-47: Her class introduced me to many ideas like Silent Way and Community... what was it?

Naoko 2-48: Language Learning?

Sakura 2-48: Yeah. She introduced us to those ideas, and when possible gave us demonstrations. Communicative approaches were the newest thing those days, weren't they? She taught us the principles behind the approaches. We learned Russian through Community Language Learning. Through Silent Way too.So we had a lot of quasi-experience, but there was nothing in those classes that dealt with the larger framework over and above those methods. Adult education had more of it, I think.

After all Sakura did not study Japanese linguistics in her formal education. She perceives this lack of knowledge as follows:

直子2-33：それについて、どう思ってる？自分の教師としての能力の中で別にあんなものはいらないと捉えてるか、それともちょっと欠けてる部分として捉えてるか。

さくら2-33：必要だと思う。私がたまたま通ってきた道にそれがなかったというだけ。それで、ここまで来っちゃったから、必要な時に足りないものを大急ぎでつけ焼き刃的に勉強して学生に接してる。もっと体系的に入ってたらいいなあと思う。だからアルクで出してるビデオとか、時々見たりしてるけど、超初心者向けみたいなやつばっかりだから、あれも今となってはあまり役に立たないのよ

ね。本を買って読んだりはしたし、後は、アメリカの大学院にいるときにＴＡをしたり、ＴＡに少し毛が生えたみたいなので、なんて言ったのかな、ファカルティ・アソシエイトっていう仕事があるんだけれど、そんなのをしてたりした時に、先生方とティーム・ティーチングがあったから、文法はこうやって教えるのかっていうの目の当たりにして、そこで実地に習ったっていうこともあると思う。
直子2-34：そうなのよ。私がインタビューしてる人たちって、全然、教師養成を受けたことがないとか、全然違う分野から入ってきた人で、言語学はほとんど知りませんとかいう人が結構いるの。知識とかスキルとかって、いろいろあったらいいと思うだろうけど、例えば言語学をやってきた人と比べたら、教育学についてはさくらの方が知識が多いわけでしょ。そういうふうに考えたときに、どう思う？つまり、一緒に働く人だったら、いろんな人がいていいっていうふうに考えるか、やっぱりこれがないと絶対に困ると考えるか。
さくら2-34：いろんな人がいてほしいと思うし、今の現場がそうなのね。私が教育の方だとすれば、＜人名＞さんは第２言語習得をやるし、＜人名＞さんは理論言語学をやってるし、＜人名＞さんは社会言語学をやってるとか。そういうふうにみんなバラバラで意見が合わないこともあるんだけど、やっぱりその方が健康的じゃないかなと思う。意見が合わないなりに感化しあってる所があるし。自分一人では、絶対に、この広大な領域をカバーできないから、教えてもらったり、こちらがアドバイス的なことができたりしたりとかしながらやっていった方が効率がいいような気がする。今までずっとそういうふうな感じだったの。＜国名＞の時もいろんな考え方の人たちがいて、その中の一人だったから。

Naoko 2-33: What do you think about it now? Do you think that knowledge is unnecessary for your capacity as a teacher? Or do you think it's something you lack.
Sakura 2-33: I think it's necessary. It's only that I happened to have no opportunity to study it. I've never had the opportunity, so I've hurriedly studied whatever is necessary when I needed it and made do. I wish I had studied it more systematically. So I sometimes watch videos produced by ALC or something like that, but they aren't very useful now because they are aimed at complete beginners. I have bought books and read them. And I was a teaching assistant at graduate school in the States and the one a bit more senior than that... what did they call it... a faculty associate. They gave me the opportunity for team teaching with the teachers and I saw how they taught grammar. So I learned on the job too.
Naoko 2-34: Yeah, quite a few people I've been interviewing have had no teacher training, or have come from a completely different field, and they know nothing about linguistics. I guess the more knowledge or skills we have, the better. But you know more about education than people who've done linguistics, for example, don't you? So what do you think? I mean, do you think it's good to work with a variety of people? Or do you think linguistic knowledge is a must?
Sakura 2-34: I like to work with various people. My current work place is like that. I've studied education, <NAME> second language acquisition, <NAME> theoretical linguistics, and <NAME> sociolinguistics. Everyone has their own specialty and sometimes we differ in our opinions. But I think that's healthy. We differ in our opinions, but at the same time we influence each other. It's simply impossible for one person to cover this vast field. So it's more efficient if I learn what I don't know from colleagues, and give advice when I can. I've

always worked like that. In <NAME OF COUNTRY> too, I was just one of a group of people who all had different ways of thinking.

After she completed her Ed D, Sakura got a job at a university.

さくら1-28：＜国名＞は何でも非常に風当たりが強かったのね。その頃、学生を外に出して、いろんなことをやらせたりとか始めたんだけど、何でこんなことしてるんだみたいに言われた。比較的教師のコントロールの少ない環境での学びを促進したいと思ったし、＜国名＞っていう国は人口の100人に一人は日本人という土地柄だったのね。そのリソースを使わない手はないっていうことで、学生を外に追いやっていろいろ始めたら、学科長になんかうさんくさいと思われた。それでますます反発して。

＜6ターン省略＞

直子1-32：そういうコンフリクトが起こって、考え方が変わったりした？
さくら1-32：あの頃は、縛られれば縛られるほど他の方向に行きたくなっちゃったね。たぶん、自分がすごく辛かったから、自分が求める自由を学生にあげたいみたいな感じかしらね。カリキュラムのことに関しても、教科書から、講義で何をいっていいか悪いかまでいわれて。私の講義に突然、学科長が来たわけ。ネウストプニーのモデルで、コンピテンス３つあるでしょ。文化と社会文化と言語とね。今、思えば、その枠組みなんだけれども、講義で、文法の説明だけではなくて、社会文化的な説明もしてたの。そしたら、日本語のクラスは文化の講義をする必要はない、やめなさいって言うわけ。そういうところだったわけ。
直子1-33：それって大学よね。
さくら1-33：そうよ。大学よ、大学。そういうところだったの。それでも言うこと聞かないで教えてると、奥さんが非常勤講師をやっていて、その人から全部伝わるわけよ。その反動かな、今思うと。やっぱり自分が自律的に物事を決断できることの贅沢さを欲していたのかもしれないね。
直子1-34：学生はそういうのをすんなり受け入れた？
さくら1-34：あのね、たまたま私は学科長の嫌がらせにあってたから、学年が持ち上がりだったの。１年生で教えた子を２年生に持って上がって、３年生に持って上がったのね。３年間違うコースを受け持たされたわけよ。
直子1-35：あ、なるほど、嫌がらせとして。
さくら1-35：そそそ。
直子1-36：でも、よかったじゃない。
さくら1-36：そうそう。学生をずっと洗脳してたわけよ。＜国名＞人にしてみれば不思議な先生だったかもしれないけれども、その学生に関してはかなりいろんな変なことが浸透してたんじゃないかな。最初、小さいところから始めて、教室内でオートノミーが少しでも発動されるような、かなり学習者主導的な授業をして、で、だんだん外に出かけさせて、というか、外の人を呼んでとか。みんなよくできるから、３年めくらいで日本語能力試験の２級位受かっちゃう。だから３年の時点ではみんなに会社訪問に行かせるくらいになっちゃうわけよ。だから、会社訪問に行かせて、ビデオをとってこさせてなんて、できるようになってたの。それもかなり自主的にやることができるようになってた。でも、あれは３年だけ受け持ったらたぶんできなかったんじゃないかしらね。

Sakura 1-28: In <NAME OF COUNTRY> they were very critical about everything I did. Around that time I started to get students to leave the classroom to do many things. People didn't understand what I was doing it for. I wanted to promote learning in an environment relatively little controlled by the teacher. One in a hundred of the country's population was Japanese, so I thought there was no point in not using that resource. So I started sending students out

of the classroom. Then the dean got suspicious of me. So I reacted to that with even greater conviction.

<6 turns omitted>

Naoko 1-32: Did you change your thinking after such conflict?

Sakura 1-32: The more they tried to restrict me, the more I wanted to go off in a different direction. Perhaps I wanted to give my students the freedom I myself wanted, because I found it very hard. In terms of the curriculum, too, I was told which textbook to use, and even what to say and what not to say in my lectures. The dean came to one of my lectures without any prior notice. You know the three competences in Neustpy's model, don't you? Cultural, sociocultural, and linguistic. In retrospect my lectures were similar to that framework. I explained not only grammar but also sociocultural factors. The dean said it wasn't necessary to lecture on culture in a Japanese language class, and told me to stop it. It was that sort of place.

Naoko 1-33: It was a university, wasn't it?

Sakura 1-33: Yes, it was. A university. It was that sort of place. I didn't listen to him and kept doing what I had been doing. But his wife, who was a part-time teacher in the department, reported everything to him. I now think I was reacting to that. I wanted the luxury of being able to make decisions autonomously.

Naoko 1-34: Did your students accept your way of teaching without resistance?

Sakura 1-34: Well, the dean wanted to be nasty to me, so he arranged it so that I taught a different course each year. I ended up teaching the same group of students from their first to their third year.

Naoko 1-35: Ah, Ok. That was meant to annoy you?

Sakura 1-35: Right.

Naoko 1-36: But it was good, wasn't it?

Sakura 1-36: Yeah. I brainwashed the students all the way through. For people from <NAME OF COUNTRY> I might have been a strange teacher, but as far as the students I worked with for three years were concerned, I guess they picked up quite a lot of strange things. I started with small things and taught in a fairly learner-initiated way so that their autonomy could be exercised in class, even though only to a limited extent. Then I had them go out, or rather, I invited people in. The students were very good, and many passed the second level of the Japanese Language Proficiency Test[6] during the third year. So they were good enough to

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6 This test is administered once a year jointly by The Japan Foundation and Association of International Education, Japan. It has four levels with the first being the most advanced one. Many Japanese universities require a pass in the first level for admission of overseas students.

visit companies and video record their interaction there. And they were able to do it quite spontaneously. I don't think they would have been able to do it if I had only taught them in the third year.

After several years Sakura moved to a university in an English speaking country, where she team taught with the teachers who had been there before her in order to initiate them to the concept of learner autonomy.

直子1-42：ふーん。どういうふうにやったの？
さくら1-42：私と同じレベルの人にはどうこう言うのは難しかったんだけど、自分と下のレベルの人とはとっかえひっかえティーム・ティーチングをしたの。だから全部の人と組んだよ。
直子1-43：あ、そうか。そういうふうにできる立場にあったんだ。
さくら1-43：そ。私が行ったときはドクター持ってる人は初めてだったの。だから、すぐにディレクターにされちゃって、人事は任されたわけ。それで、面倒くさかったけど、とっかえひっかえ私の所につけたの。海外にいる日本人は、年齢とは別に、その土地に何年いるかでseniorityが決まるところがあるわけ。だから、新参者に対してはすごく厳しくて、ここにはここのやり方があるのよ的な態度をとる。特に、私は当時９人いた専任の中で、年齢が下から数えて３番目だったから、新参者がポーンと上にいちゃって、最初結構怖かった。

＜４ターン省略＞

直子1-46：当然、向こうは今までやってきたやり方を持ってるわけでしょう。
さくら1-46：持ってる、持ってる。
直子1-47：さくらはさくらのやり方があるでしょ？で、チーム・ティーチングを一緒にやりましょうっていう時にどうするの。
さくら1-47：うーん、うちの場合は結構特殊で、私が持ってる中級でも１００人いるのよ。多いときは１２０人ぐらいいたこともあった。バラバラに分けちゃって先生がそれぞれに教えるという方法もあると思うんだけど、経費の節約のために大講義があるのよ。そうすると全員一括でしょう。だから、すべてのクラスの進度が揃ってないといけないわけ。そうするとやっぱり誰かが教案を書かなきゃだめでしょ。それを私が書いたわけ。
直子1-48：で、これでやってくださいみたいな感じで？
さくら1-48：教案を書きますから、必要なものは全部作りますからって。
直子1-49：できませんという声は出ないわけ？
さくら1-49：最初、どういうことですかっていうのはあったけどね。あの頃は本当に時間をかけて、すごい詳しい教案を作ってたね。こんなことまで書くのかっていう感じで。
直子1-50：どんなことまで書いたの？
さくら1-50：えーと、１、１とか書いて、今日のレッスンのオブジェクティブを学生に言うとか。オブジェクティブはこれである。ＯＨＰを使う。ＯＨＰまで作ってあるわけ。そこから始まるの。今日の授業には何を持っていくとか全部。ほんとに教育実習みたいに。
直子1-51：それで動くんだ。
さくら1-51：動くよ。それまで結構、一斉授業的なスタイルでやってたみたいで、グループに分けて、グループはみんな違うタスクをするとかっていったら、最初はヒエーなんて言ってたんだけど、やってみればできるって。わからない先生は私のクラスを見に来たりした。ラッキーだったのは先生の質がよかったというか、奥底に秘めた資質がすごくよかったことね。向学心があったんだろうね。私より年が上で、＜地名＞在住歴も長くて、本当に怖い先生もいたのね。その先生から、最初はすごい反発があったけど、頭もいいし、学生を思う気持ちもとってもあるし、目覚めてくれたらひゅっとやってくれちゃう。任せてもぜんぜん大丈夫。

Naoko 1-42: How did you do it?

Sakura 1-42: It was difficult to say anything to people of the same rank as me, but I team taught with teachers who were junior to me, and with a different one each term. So I taught with everyone.

Naoko 1-43: Ah, you were in a position that allowed you to do that.

Sakura 1-43: Right. I was the first teacher with a Doctorate in the programme. So I was made director as soon as I got the job and personnel affairs were left in my hands. So, although it was troublesome, I assigned a different teacher to my course each term. Japanese people who live overseas tend to base seniority on how long the person lived in the country as well as on their age. So they are very harsh on new comers, and show a we-have-our-own-way sort of attitude. Especially as I was the third youngest among the nine full-time teachers, it was rather scary in the beginning as a new comer, to be promoted to be the director.

<4 turns omitted>

Naoko 1-46: They had of course their own way of teaching that they'd been using, didn't they?

Sakura 1-46: They did.

Naoko 1-47: And you had your own way. So how did you manage when you team taught with them?

Sakura 1-47: Well, our school is rather unique. We have as many as 100 students in the intermediate course which I teach. We even had 120 at one time. We could divide them into groups and let the teachers teach them independently, but for the sake of cutting costs we have lecture classes for all students. So everyone gets together. That means all tutorial classes have to progress at the same speed. So someone has to write teaching plans for all the classes. That's what I did.

Naoko 1-48: And you told them to teach according to those teaching plans?

Sakura 1-48: I told them I'd write the teaching plans and prepare all materials that were necessary.

Naoko 1-49: No one said they couldn't do it?

Sakura 1-49: In the beginning some asked what I was driving at. I spent a long time producing extremely detailed teaching plans to an extent that I wondered whether I really needed to write in such detail.

Naoko 1-50: What kind of detail?

Sakura 1-50: Well, one, I would write one. Telling the students about the lesson objective of the day. The objective is this. You should use the overhead projector. And I made the

transparency. It started like that. Everything -- what to bring to the class that day and so on. It was like teaching plans in a teaching practicum.

Naoko 1-51: They taught according to your plans.

Sakura 1-51: They did. They seemed to have been teaching in a teacher-fronted style, and they were shocked at the beginning with a plan like getting the students into groups and having each group work on a different task. But they found out it was possible when they tried. Those who didn't understand the plan came to see my class. I was lucky those teachers were very talented, or had great potential. They were motivated to learn, I guess. There was one teacher who was older than myself and had lived there for a long time. I was afraid of her. She was very much opposed to my ideas at the beginning, but she was intelligent and cared about the students a lot. When she realized what it was all about, she did it all with ease. I can leave a lot of things to her now.

A couple of teachers did not understand her way, though.

直子1-52：失敗したケースはないの？

さくら1-52：あるある。オートノミーだけじゃないんだけど、私が行った時は学生ばかりいて、プログラムの目標が全然なかったの。先生方はみんなランゲージ・ティーチャーだったの。だけどそれじゃ大学のリストラのうずのなかで生き延びて行けないから、まずプログラムの指針をつくるっていうこととリサーチ・カルチャーをつくるっていうことが二つの大きな使命だと思ってやったら、脱落した先生が二人いた。

直子1-53：リサーチができなかったの？

さくら1-53：リサーチができなかったり、私がやろうとしていることについてこられなかったり。

直子1-54：それってなんだろ。リサーチができるかできないかっていう問題もあると思うけど、教案でこういうふうにやれっていうと、ある程度、自分の動きを制約されるわけじゃない？その時に、そういうふうにやると学生が自分で考えていろいろ動くっていう体験して、これはいいじゃないかって思う人と、思わない人がいる。

さくら1-54：いるよね。

直子1-55：それはどこが違うんだろうね。さっき頭のよさと学生への思いって言ってたけど、その二つなのかな、やっぱり。

さくら1-55：リサーチができる人とできない人っていうのは、論理的に考えられる、自律的に物事がつかまえられる人かどうかっていうのと結構似てると思うのね。その資質のある人たちは大丈夫だったの。

直子1-56：なるほどねえ。そうか。つまり自分が自律的にやれる人は結構、そういう授業形式も受け入れやすい。

さくら1-56：そう。それと、自分ではそう思ってないかも知れないけれども、きっと自分に自信があるんじゃないかな。その頃はあんまりよくわかんなかったんだけど、今、思えば、やっぱり脱落していった二人は私が恐ろしかったみたい。こんなにやらなくちゃいけない、こんなにできない、あんなことやってる人がいる、あんな新しいことやってる人がいる、怖い怖いっていう、一人はそれで辞めて。もう一人は辞めたというか、辞めなければならないような事情になっちゃったといったほうがいいかもしれないけれども、できなかったのね。で、被害妄想みたいになっちゃって大変だった。

Naoko 1-52: Did you have any teachers with whom it didn't work out?

Sakura 1-52: Oh yes, I did. It wasn't just autonomy. When I went there, they had a lot of

students, but they didn't have any programme objectives. The teachers were just language teachers. I thought the programme wouldn't survive in the whirl of university restructuring. So I made it my mission to establish some guiding principles and develop a research culture. Two teachers weren't able to keep up with it.

Naoko 1-53: Were they incapable of research?

Sakura 1-53: They weren't capable of research, and they weren't able to keep up with what I was trying to do.

Naoko 1-54: I wonder why not. One issue is whether you are capable of research or not, of course. But when you are told to teach according to a certain teaching plan, your initiative is restricted to some extent, isn't it. Then you try the plan and see students think for themselves and act on their own. Some will think the plan is good and others won't.

Sakura 1-54: That's right.

Naoko 1-55: I wonder what makes the difference. You mentioned intelligence and caring about the students a few minutes ago. I wonder if they are the factors.

Sakura 1-56: Capacity for research has a lot to do with logical thinking and being able to see things autonomously. Teachers with those characteristics were OK.

Naoko 1-56: I see. Yeah. So those who can act autonomously themselves tend to be able to accept this form of teaching easily.

Sakura 1-56: Yeah. And they probably have confidence in themselves, although they may not be aware of it. I didn't realize it then, but I now think those two who dropped out were probably afraid of me. They were afraid of the amount of work they felt they had to do, and feared they wouldn't be able to do it. They were afraid of me because I was doing something they couldn't do -- something very new. One quit because of that. The other had to quit, rather than leave of her own free will. She just couldn't cope and got a bit paranoid. That was hard to handle.

Sakura is now very happy with her colleagues, but she has become sceptical about the value of formal education. Asked about students whom she still remembers as having had an influence on the change in her thinking and teaching, Sakura replied as follows:

さくら1-80：学生ねえ。自分が変わっていく過程で印象に残っている学生って難しい質問ですね。そうね、一人、＜人名＞君っていう子がいたんだけどね。うちの大学で０スタートで始めた子なんだけども、日本語専攻じゃなくて、確かコンピューターだか工学部の学生だったにも関わらず、３年間、日本語を続けて、すごい上手になったのね。礼儀正しくて、ほんとに性格のよい男の子だったんだけれども、一体これは何なのだと思ってたら、外でいろんなことをやってるの。日本から研修生が来たときは一緒に誘ってどっかに行ったりとか、その後Ｅメールでずっと交信してるわけよ。確か、エンジニアリングは５年のプログラムで、最後の方は授業がきつくて、日本語の授業に合わなくて取れなかったのにも関わらず、私と校内で会うとちゃんと日本語で話せるのよ。あれっ＜人名＞さん確か今学期は日本語のクラス取ってないですよねっていうと、取っていませんとか言うの。忘れてなくて偉いですねとかいうと、ちゃんと友達を作っていて、週に一回会って日本語を話すようにするとか、い

ろいろやってるの。いったいどうやって勉強してるのか、一度、あの子にインタビューしてみたい。あの子はそういった意味では印象的だわね。大学教育とか教室内教育に関する疑問、自分の存在に対する疑問が、前からだんだん膨らんできているんだけれども、それに一打撃を与えた。大学教育って何だろうなって。

直子1-81：昔は、やっぱりある程度、大学教育に夢を抱いていたとか、それなりに信頼は持ってたの？

さくら1-81：うん、そうそう。昔は、先生が教室に行ってちゃんと教えてあげると思ってたから。

直子1-82：それは、いつ頃から崩れてきたの？

＜6ターン省略＞

さくら1-85：やっぱり、うちの亭主。あの人は一度も日本語のクラスに行ったことはないの。だけど日本語、話せますよ。日本に住んだのも、この前、えーと、いつだっけ、2年前？半年、日本にいたでしょ？その時だけなの。ところが話せるんですよ。まあ、そんなに上手じゃないけどね。ペラペラ話すわけじゃないけども、今、私は彼をおばあちゃんのところに置いてきちゃってるけど、それでも大丈夫なわけね。彼は成人の自律的学習者なわけよ。あの人、大学教育とか教育機関における教育に対する不信感を非常に持ってる人間なの。

直子1-86：＜地名＞のプログラムの中で知り合った人？

さくら1-86：あそこにいたとき、あっちはエンジニアだったんだけども、そこで知り合ったの。で、結婚したんだけど、小さい頃から落ちこぼれだったわけ。落ちこぼれて学校を点々としたの。それで高校を出たあと、大学に入れなかったのか入らなかったのかよくわからないけれども、コミュニティーカレッジに行ってたのね。で、どうしてだかよくわからないけど、何かのきっかけで、微分積分をちゃんとやらなくちゃいけないと一念発起して、自分で一夏かかって勉強して大学に入っちゃったという人なの。いつも学校の先生からは学習を促進するのではなく、学習意欲を減退させるような扱いを受けてきたと思ってる人なの。それで、日本語も独学でちょろちょろ勉強して、漢字もけっこう読めるし書けるし、話すほうはやっぱり住んだ期間が短いから、流暢じゃないけれども、何とかおばあちゃんと生活できるわけよ。そういう不信感の元みたいなのと一緒に住んでるの。その影響もあるかと思うんだけれども、学習者を見てて、学習者の自律とかを観察しているし、それに、学生をプロジェクトで外に追い出すと、それでネットワークを作っていろんな人と話して、私が全然教えてないことを話し出す。そういうのを目撃してると、だんだん大学教育って、いったい何なんだろうなって思えてくる。もちろん大学教育に向いてる人間はいると思うけど、大学教育だけがオールマイティーじゃなくて、いろんなオプションがあっていいんじゃないかなあみたいに。それと（間）ほんとに様々な形態で学習させてあげたいのに、大学の場合は手枷足枷があるじゃない？最終的に成績をつけなくちゃいけないし、横並びじゃなくちゃいけないし。そういう大学の悪い面が気になりだした。いつごろからだろうな。やっぱり学生を外に出し始めてからかしら。

直子1-87：それは＜国名＞？

さくら1-87：＜国名＞からね。アメリカでは、地域の日本人コミュニティーが小さかったの。だからそういうことがあまりできなかったのね。でも＜国名＞と＜地名＞はすごく似てて、日本人コミュニティーが大きいから、学生を外に追い出すことができて、外国の場面なんだけれども、学生が頑張って、第二言語場面に近い環境を作ろうと思えば作れる状態にあるから。日本で教えてる先生方はもっと感じるのかもしれないけれども、外での学びって非常に大きいわよね。外国で学んでるはずなのに、私が教えてないことをあれこれ話し出す。そういうのから。

Sakura 1-80: Students. Students I remember as having been influential on the way I changed. That's a difficult question. Well, there was one called <NAME>. He started learning Japanese at our university from zero. He wasn't a Japanese major. He studied computer science or engineering, if I remember correctly. But he continued to study Japanese for three years and got really good. He was very well-mannered and good natured. I kept

wondering what made him so good. Then I discovered he'd been doing quite a lot outside the classroom. When trainee teachers came from Japan, he'd ask them out and he kept in touch by e-mail after they left. Engineering is a five-year programme, and his time table didn't allow him to take Japanese courses towards the end. But he'd talk to me in Japanese when he saw me on campus. I said, "You're not taking Japanese classes this term, are you?" He said, "No, I'm not." And I said, "But you don't forget Japanese. That's great." He'd actually made Japanese friends, saw them once a week, and tried to speak Japanese. He'd done many other things too. I'd like to interview him one of these days and ask him how he learns. He was impressive. I'd been experiencing growing scepticism about university education, classroom learning and my own existence, and his example dealt a powerful blow. It made me think what university education really is.

Naoko 1-81: Did you originally have some faith or trust in university education?

Sakura 1-81: Yeah, right. I used to think teachers go to class and teach for the students' benefit.

Naoko 1-82: When did you start to doubt it?

<6 turns omitted>

Sakura 1-85: My husband, ultimately. He's never been to a Japanese class. But he speaks Japanese. He only lived in Japan for six months. When was it? Two years ago? That was the only time he lived here. But he speaks. Well, he's not that good. He's not fluent, but he's at my mother's house now and he can manage. He's an autonomous adult learner. He's got a deep distrust of university education or institutional education.

Naoko 1-86: Did you meet him in the programme in <NAME OF STATE>?

Sakura 1-86: I met him there, but he was an engineer. Then we got married. As a child he was a failure at school and changed schools many times. After he finished high school, he went to community college either because he wasn't able to get into university or because he didn't want to go to university. Then, I don't know why, something made him decide to study differential and integral calculus. He spent one summer studying them, and got accepted by a university. He thinks the teachers he had at school always demotivated him rather than helped him learn. So he studied Japanese bit by bit on his own. He can read and write a fairly good number of Chinese characters. He's not fluent in speaking because he hasn't lived here that long, but he can manage staying with his mother-in-law. So I live with a fount of distrust. I've certainly been influenced by him. And I've seen learners and observed learner autonomy. When you chase your students out of the classroom for project work, they develop networks and talk to many people. They start saying things I never taught them. Witnessing such phenomena, I've gradually come to wonder what university education is all

about. Of course there must be people who are for university education, but university education isn't all-powerful. There are other possibilities. And (pause) I'd like to have my students learn in a wide range of different formats, but university binds us, doesn't it? We have to send in final grades. Everyone needs to be doing the same thing. I became concerned with those negative aspects of university. I wonder when it started. Perhaps since I started getting students out of the classroom.

Naoko 1-87: Was it when you were in <NAME OF COUNTRY>?

Sakura 1-87: Yes, since <NAME OF COUNTRY>. In the States the local Japanese community was small and such activities weren't possible. But <NAME OF COUNTRY> and <NAME OF CITY> are very similar in that they have a huge Japanese community. You can get students out of the classroom and students can create a quasi second language environment, if they try, in spite of the fact they are in a foreign language situation. Teachers teaching in Japan must feel it even more strongly. Learning outside the classroom plays a decisive role, doesn't it? The students start saying many things I didn't teach even though they are learning in a foreign language situation. That made me a sceptic.

Sakura also strongly feels the limitation which the institution puts on her pedagogical practice of learner autonomy.

さくら1-69：そうね。でも、実際問題、１００人を相手にしてると、学習者の自律を徹底させるのは難しい。教師主導型のフレームワークの中の小さい部分でしかそういうの実現できない。（間）それと、まあ、アジア系の学生が多いから、なかなか難しいね。勘違いして、変なことをやっちゃう人が結構いるから。

直子1-70：どういうふうに勘違いするの？教えてください！とか言ってくるんじゃなくて？

さくら1-70：最初それがあったんで、それを防ぐために、ストラクチャード・プロジェクトとラーニング・コントラクトと両方作ってるわけ。教えてください型はストラクチャード・プロジェクトに行くのよ。だからいいんだけど、最近はラーニング・コントラクトを書く子の中にアジア系の子が増えてきてるのね。おもしろいなと思うんだけど、私が推測するには、アジア系の子の中で＜国名＞生まれとか、＜国名＞在住歴の長い子が増えてきてるんじゃないかと思うの。それで高校での経験とかがあるから、フレクシブルに対応できる子が増えてきてるのかなっていう気がするんだけども、中にはいろいろ不思議なことをやっちゃう子もいるわけね。この前、なんだったっけな、なんか変なことをやってる人がいた。そうだ、そうだ、ラーニング・コントラクトを使ってできるだけ少ない労力で点をもらおうというグループがあるのよ。ラーニング・コントラクトの本来の主旨が全然見えてないのね。自分の学習のためにあるコントラクトなんだけれど、楽して点を取るためのプロジェクトになっちゃう子がいるのよ。

＜7ターン省略＞

さくら1-74：学習の目的が、ほんとうに日本語を勉強したいという子はいいんだけど、そういう子たちばかりではないからね。卒業したいというのが目的の子、ゴール・オリエンティドっていうやつね。そういう人たちにはラーニング・コントラクトは難しいねえ。

直子1-75：ほんと、そうよね。大学ってやっぱり学位が取れるから、端的に言ってしまえば、それを買いに来る子たちがいるわけでしょ。

さくら1-75：そ。だからそういう子にはストラクチャード・・・
直子1-76：でも、どう思う？学生の数が多くて大変というのはあると思うけど、一般論として、そういうつもりで来た子たちが自分の隠された学習のニーズに気づいて、自主的に学習し始めるように促すのも教師の役割だ、なんて思ったりすることない？
さくら1-76：あるけどできない。ほんとに１００人は辛いよ。もちろんチューターの先生はついてくれるんだけれども、ほとんどが一学期と二学期続けるから大体１年間、１年間っていっても２８週だけど、通して見るでしょ。必ず頑張って全員の名前をおぼえるっていうことだけは自分に課してるんだけども、名字までは覚えられない子もある。１００人という重さのせいで、自分の持ってるいろんな理想とか理念とかを曲げて、妥協しなくちゃならないことが結構あるの。少人数だったらやりたいと思うことはあるけども。それと今は雑用係をしているからね。

Sakura 1-69: Well, but it's difficult in practical terms to pursue complete learner autonomy with a class of 100. I can only implement it partially within a teacher-initiated framework. (pause) On top of that we have a lot of Asian students, which makes it rather hard. Some don't understand what it's all about and do some strange things.
Naoko 1-70: What do you mean, they don't understand? Do they demand formal teaching?
Sakura 1-70: Some students did at the beginning. So I now offer two options, structured projects and learning contracts, in order to avoid that. The ones who want to be taught formally go for structured projects. So it's OK. But more and more Asian students go for learning contracts recently. I find it interesting. I guess the number of Asian students who were born in <NAME OF COUNTRY> or have lived there for a long time is on the increase. They have experiences in high school and so on, and they have probably developed flexibility. But some do strange things. The other day, what was it? There was one who did something very strange. Ah, yes. There are those who try to get credits with the least effort using learning contracts. They don't see the point of learning contracts at all. The contract is for the students to do their own learning, but some turn it into a project to get easy credits.

<7 turns omitted>

Sakura 1-74: The ones who really want to learn Japanese are OK, but they are not the only type. There are those who only want to graduate. Goal-oriented you'd call them. It's difficult to use learning contracts with students like that.
Naoko 1-75: It really is. Universities award degrees. So, put bluntly, there are some students who come to buy a degree.
Sakura 1-75: Right. Structured projects are for such students...
Naoko 1-76: But what do you think? It must be difficult with such a lot of students, but as a general principle, don't you think it's also the teachers' job to sensitize such students to their needs and encourage spontaneous learning?
Sakura 1-76: I do. But it's not possible. 100 is really heavy. Of course I have tutors, but most students continue in the second term. So all through the year, well it's only 28 weeks, but I

have to see them all. I try to learn everyone's name. First names I can cope with, but some surnames don't stick. Because of the sheer weight of 100 students I often have to compromise and give up my ideals and principles, although there are things I'd like to do with a smaller group. What makes it worse is I'm in a position where I have to take care of bits and pieces of administrative work.

Autonomy for Sakura seems to involve both various behaviours and the situation which supports them.

直子2-129：じゃ、ちょっと、
さくら2-129：あ、ごめんね。
直子2-130：いいの、いいの。私がおしゃべり楽しんでた。最後の質問だけ片づけてしまう。これ、たぶんすごく答えにくいだろうと思うんだけど、オートノミーってさくらにとって何？
さくら2-130：それは学習者オートノミーじゃなくて、ただのオートノミーね？
直子2-131：両方。違うの？違うよね。
さくら2-131：うーん。（間）たぶん、２極性のものではなくて、一直線上の両端にオートノミーがあるっていうのとオートノミーがないっていうのがあって、段階があると思うんだけれども、自分が情報を集められる立場にあって、その情報を使って自分が何かを決めて、それを自分で実行して、失敗したらそれが自分に跳ね返ってくるような場面がオートノマスな場面だと思う。ただし、自分一人でやっているんじゃなくて、その情報を得る場面や実行する場面で、他の人の協力を受けるかも知れないけれども、自分に選択する権利がある。それを執行するかしないかは別として、権利がある。そんな場面がオートノマスな場面だと思うけど。例えば、さっき話してた大学教育の場面は、自分が決められない制約がかなりたくさんあるから、かなりオートノミーがない側に寄ってるけど、決められる部分がたくさんあるから、まったくオートノマスでないとは言えない。そんな感じかなあ。
直子2-132：そうすると、一つには行動であって、それから、その行動を可能にする状況である、っていうふうに考えてる？
さくら2-132：うん。状況がうまく設定されてない場合は個人がどんなにオートノマスな行動を希望していても、実現が不可能であると思うから、それは大きいと思う。
直子2-133：世の中の大勢としては、オートノマスであるということは、そういう能力を持っていることだって言うふうに考えられてるでしょう？でもそうじゃないんだ。
さくら2-133：そうだね。考えてみればね。ただその場にいても、選択したり、決断したりしない人もいるよね。情報も集めない人もいるし。だから、能力っていう部分が出てくるのかなあ。能力なのかなあ。技能かな。スキルかな。でもスキルを使うか使わないかは決断しなくちゃいけないでしょ。よくわかんない。難しいこと聞くなあ。
直子2-134：だって、同じ言葉でも、ほんとにみんなそれぞれいろんなイメージを持ってるから、これを聞かないと、全然違うことについて話してたりとかいうこともあるし。で、これが最後です。そのオートノミーが教育の中で必要なのはなぜですか。
さくら2-134：やっぱり、その人の自己実現だね。言っちゃって、後悔するかもしれないけど、その人がなるべく自分らしく、それも最上の自分であるために、自分でいろんな情報を集め、それを有効に活用して、いい選択をする、そういうことをしてもいいんだっていうことを知るっていうようなことと、それから実際にできるっていうことが、マズローの言う自己実現につながっているような気もするけどねえ。
直子2-135：そういうことは、いつ頃から考え始めた？
さくら2-135：いつ頃からだろうねえ。どうだろう。日本では考えてなかったね。うん。思い出せない。でも、日本に帰ると、なんていうの、先祖帰りじゃなくて、行動が戻っちゃうのよ。
直子2-136：退行現象みたいに？

さくら2-136：そそそ。すごく卑近な例なんだけど、昨日も、うちの亭主とスーパーマーケットに行ってね、お鍋にしようということになって、私が蛤を買おうとしたのね。どうしてかというと、ほんとは牡蛎が食べたかったんだけれども、牡蛎の方が倍位高いわけよ。家族みんなで食べるから、たくさん買わなきゃいけなかったので、しょうがないから、蛤にしようと思って、蛤買うねってうちの亭主に言ったら、そんなのやめて、牡蛎にすればって言われたわけ。じゃ、牡蛎にするって、私が言ったの。その後で、ずいぶん経ってから、うちの亭主が、いやー牡蛎ってずいぶん高いんだね、蛤にする？って言ったわけよ。それで、あのね、私はその思考プロセスは通ったんだけどって言ったのね。そしたら、じゃあなんで主張しないの？って言うの。あっそうか、主張すればよかったんだって思った。あ、戻ってる、日本人になってるって。日本に帰ってくると、なんか戻っちゃうのよ。
直子2-137：戻っちゃうっていうと悪いみたいだけど、それは合わせてるのよ。
さくら2-137：日本の社会に？
直子2-138：うん。日本の社会を悪いと思ってたら、まずいことかもしれないけど、それ、どこでもそうじゃない？やっぱり相手とか環境に合わせて行くから、私たち、言葉だけじゃなくて、文化の部分もスイッチしてるのよ。
さくら2-138：そうだよね。だから、やっぱりオートノミーは日本の土壌では育たないのかなあ。日本で生まれ育って、海外に行ったことのない先生で、オートノミーやってる人はいるの？

Naoko 2-129: Well, then...

Sakura 2-129: Ah, I'm sorry.

Naoko 2-130: No, no, it's OK. I was enjoying the chat. I'll just finish with the very last question. This may be a difficult one to answer, but what's autonomy for you?

Sakura 2-130: You mean simple autonomy, not learner autonomy?

Naoko 2-131: Both. Are they different? I suppose they are.

Sakura 2-131: Hmm. (pause) Maybe it's not black and white. There's a spectrum with autonomy on one end and no autonomy on the other. You have degrees of autonomy. You are in the position where you are able to collect information, decide what to do based on the information, implement your plan, and you're affected if you fail. That's an autonomous situation, I'd say. But you don't do it alone. In obtaining information or implementing your plan, you may get help from others. But you have the right to choose. Whether you exercise the right or not, you have it. Such a situation is, I think, an autonomous one. For example, as I was saying earlier, there's a lot in university education to restrict your decisions, and in that sense it's rather close to 'no autonomy'. But there are a lot of options you can choose from. So you are not completely without autonomy. I guess that's how I see it.

Naoko 2-132: So autonomy refers to actions, and also to the situations that make such actions possible. Is this what you think?

Sakura 2-133: Yeah. However much an individual wants to exercise autonomy, it's impossible unless the situation is set up appropriately. So I think that's crucial.

Naoko 2-134: Many in the field claim being autonomous means having that capacity, don't they? But it's not like that for you.

Sakura 2-134: Well, yeah, come to think of it. But some don't make choices, take decisions, or collect information even in situations where such actions are possible. That's probably why

capacity comes in. I wonder whether capacity is the right word. Skills? But you need to decide whether to use the skill, don't you? I don't know. You posed a difficult question.

Naoko 2-134: Everyone has their own image of what the term means. So we run the risk of talking about totally different things if I don't clarify what we mean by autonomy. This is the final question. Why is autonomy necessary in education?

Sakura 2-134: For self-actualization. I may regret saying this. But knowing it's OK to collect a range of information, utilize it effectively and make good choices, in order to be yourself as much as possible, and to be the best of you can be, and also being able to actually do these things, these two together lead to self-actualization in Maslow's sense, I think.

Naoko 2-135: When did you start thinking like that?

Sakura 2-135: I wonder. I didn't have that notion in Japan. No. I don't remember. But when I come back to Japan, I ... what do you say? Not revert. I go back to my old habits.

Naoko 1-136: Like regression?

Sakura 1-136: Right. This is rather a banal example, but I went to a supermarket with my husband yesterday. We decided to cook *nabe*[7] and I was about to buy some clams. The reason I decided on clams was I wanted to have some oysters but they were almost twice as expensive. And we needed a lot of them for everyone in the family. So I gave up the idea of having oysters, and said to my husband, "I'm going to get some clams." Then he said, "Why don't you get oysters rather than clams?" So I said, "I'll get oysters then." Then after some time my husband said, "Oysters are very expensive. Shall we get clams instead?" So I said, "Well, I've been through that thought process." Then he said, "Why didn't you say so?" and I realized I should have said. I realized I was being Japanese. When I'm in Japan, I somehow go back to old habits.

Naoko 2-137: Going back to old habits may sound negative, but really you're just adjusting.

Sakura 1-137: To Japanese society?

Naoko 1-138: Yeah. If you think negatively of Japanese society, adjusting to it may also be negative. But we do it everywhere, don't we? We change according to our situation, and who we're talking to. We switch cultures as well as languages.

Sakura 1-138: Yeah, you're right. Autonomy may not prosper in Japan for that reason. Do you know any pro-autonomy teachers who were born and grew up in Japan and have never been abroad?

Sakura now sees a mission in her work. Asked what she teaches for, she replies as follows:

さくら1-89：今は結構使命感みたいなのあるの。成りゆきでこうなっちゃったんだけれども、何か貢献できる立場にいるんじゃないか、なったからには貢献したいみたいな使命感。前みたいに、学習

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7 *Nabe* is a Japanese version of *pot au feu*.

者に日本語を教えてあげますとかっていうのとは別の意味で、これも傲慢なのかもしれないけれども。まず、うちの大学のプログラムをきちんとしたものにしたい。立派じゃなくてもきちんとしたものにしたい。だいぶ整って来たけどまだまだだと思ってるから、それをちゃんとしたい。それから<地名>は小学校でも日本語教育が始まって、今、5万人勉強してるの。5万人よ。誰が教えてると思う？普通の小学校の先生が前の晩に勉強して教えてるのよ。だから、これから、うちの大学がなんらかの形で教師養成に貢献して行けるんじゃないかという構想があるし。それから後進を育てて行くこと。実は辞める話もあったんだけど、そういう使命感みたいのに引き留められて残っちゃったわけ。馬鹿だね。

＜4ターン省略＞

直子1-92：そういう貢献をしたいっていう気持ちと、学習者オートノミーの価値を信じてるということの関係は？
さくら1-92：あると思う。結局、学習者はこれから生涯学習を続けていく人となっていくわけだし、そういった意味で、私たちのプログラムの貢献の一部は学習者に自律的な学習能力をつけてもらうことだと思っているから。プログラムのミッション・ステイトメントの中にもオートノマス・ラーナーになってもらうって入れてあるし、そう言った意味で私が持っている大きな社会貢献の一つだと思う。できてるかどうかわかんないんだけれど。話ばっかり大きくて、実際は大したことないのよ。

Sakura 1-89: I now have something of a sense of mission. I've ended up in this position, but I feel it's a position where I can make some contribution. I want to contribute as I am here. That sort of sense of mission. This may also be arrogant in a different sense from the arrogance I used to have thinking I was teaching Japanese for the benefit of the learners. But I want to make our programme properly organized. It may not be a great one, but I want it to be properly organized. It's getting better, but could be better still. So I'd like to work more on it. And in <NAME OF CITY> they've started teaching Japanese at primary schools and fifty thousand children are now learning. Fifty thousand! Who do you think teaches them? Ordinary school teachers. They study the night before and teach the next day. So there's this idea that our university may be able to make some contribution to teacher training. And I'd also like to educate younger teachers. To tell you the truth, I was invited by some other university, but this sense of mission has kept me here. I'm a fool, aren't I?

<4 turns omitted>

Naoko 1-92: Is your feeling that you want to contribute related to your belief in the value of learner autonomy in any way?
Sakura !-92: Yes, I think it is. After all, learners will become people who undertake life-long learning. In that sense part of the contribution our programme can make is helping them acquire a capacity for autonomous learning. The mission statement of the programme includes educating autonomous learners. In that sense it's a big contribution I can make to society. I don't know if I'm actually doing it or not. My talk sounds grand, but what I'm doing is modest.

Chapter 9 Kaede

9-1. How I met Kaede and how our interviews evolved

Kaede was involved in volunteer work for immigrant workers and their families at the time of the interviews. I had met her the previous year when I visited the JSL study group she worked for. This group is very democratic, and I never felt I was treated as a university professor with authority arising out of my social status. So I had relatively little worry about power imbalance in my relationship with Kaede except that I was less close to her than to the other participants in the present research when I decided I would like to include her story in my thesis as an example of someone who was born and educated in Japan and had developed a pro-autonomy attitude. The problem I faced was rather the fact that I did not know if Kaede knew the term "learner autonomy", although I knew that her thinking was very much in line with it. The phrase I used when I asked the other teachers to participate in the research, "I'm interested in how you've developed your attitude towards learner autonomy. Could you tell me about your experiences in the past that you feel might have influenced you?", did not seem appropriate. I was rather circumlocutory in making the proposition, but Kaede agreed anyway.

Both of the two interviews took place in the office of the volunteer group. In the first interview Kaede invited me to sit at a kitchen table. After we started the interview a couple of other volunteers and Kaede's daughter came in and they were present in the kitchen part of the time. I was worried that Kaede might not talk about everything she wanted to because of their presence, but she said she did not care. Telling one's life story seemed to be a daily practice among the volunteers. The two who were around seemed to know what Kaede was talking about and occasionally threw in their comments. Kaede seemed to be accustomed to describing her experiences too. The interview lasted for 76 minutes.

We had the second interview, which took 85 minutes, in a separate room in the office several months later. I was happy with this arrangement because a couple of student volunteers were in the kitchen. I happened to have written something to be photocopied for Kaede in the notebook I used for my field notes. When I handed the notebook to Kaede, she asked one of the student volunteers to make a copy. I told her that there was a list of questions for her too in the notebook, and she decided to make the copy herself. I thought she probably did not want the student volunteers to know everything about her. I was much more relaxed than in the first interview, partly because no one else was in the room and partly because I felt I knew Kaede better after checking and editing the transcripts, and thinking about questions to ask in the second interview.The biggest puzzle for me was that Kaede's statement in the first interview that she hated children

seemed to contradict everything else she said. As we explored the issue together, Kaede told me about her problematic relationship with her mother. It came so naturally and easily that it seemed as if she had decided to tell me the story beforehand. I was very moved by her trust and courage for self-disclosure. I feel very uncomfortable to start Kaede's story by quoting this part of our talk because it is so personal. We had to come all the way to this point in the history of our encounter to discuss the issue. I feel the pull between the chronological order of Kaede's life events and the one of our talk.

9-2. Kaede's story

Kaede was born in 1951.

かえで2-52：＜前略＞あのね、私は一人っ子だったんだけど、結局親も兄弟が少ないでしょ。だから、なんていうのかなあ＜間＞黙ってても愛情をもらえた人たちかな。だから、うちの親は人に愛情を与えるっていうことが下手くそだったんですよ。私はずっとその親に愛されてるのか愛されてないのか自信が持てなくて、あんまり自分の感情を出さないように生きてきたような気がする。
直子2-53：ああ、そう。
かえで2-53：うん。で、それがほんとにここで少しずつ直ってきたの。うん。
直子2-54：この前、癒されるっていってたわね。
かえで2-54：そうそうそう。
直子2-55：それがそうだったんだ。
かえで2-55：うん。非常に楽になったというか。で、反対に見てみれば、自分の親も愛情が全然なかったわけじゃないのよね。今はね、愛情はありながら表現の仕方がすごい下手だったんだなというのが理解できる。うん。だから、それまではちょっと窮屈な思いをした。うん。
直子2-56：だから、自分が感じたものを表現しないで。
かえで2-56：そう。だから、みんなと一緒に映画を見に行って、みんな泣いてても私は泣けない。うん。絶対に。
直子2-57：×××
かえで2-57：そうそう。
直子2-58：じゃ、子どものときとか、ひょっとして、なんか悲しいこととか腹の立つことがあってもあんまりおうちで泣かなかった？
かえで2-58：絶対にね。
直子2-59：泣かなかった。
かえで2-59：泣かなかった。で、繋がり自体も薄かったんですよね。私が生まれた時代はまだ大家族みたいな感じで、戦後に中国から引き上げてきた人とか、親戚の人が全部同居してたもんだから、私の両親はまだ若いから一生懸命働きなさいっていう感じですよね。親から見れば、私は祖父母にとられた形？たぶんそういう感じだったんだろうなと思う。
直子2-60：なんか、お祖父さんが溺愛してくれたって言ってた。
かえで2-60：そうです、そうです。だから私をほんとに育てたのは祖父母みたいな感じで。
直子2-61：そうすると、お祖父さんお祖母さんとかは割とストレートに愛情表現してくれた？
かえで2-61：そうです。うーん。祖父のほうはやっぱり明治生まれの人だからそういうのはないと思うんだけど、祖母のほうが愛情ストレートっていうか、子どもの言いなりですよね。
直子2-62：甘やかした。
かえで2-62：そうそうそう。
直子2-63：ふーん、そうか。＜間＞そうなんだな、親って。私も子どもの時にちょっと母との関係がうまく行ってなかったんですよね。でも、そういうふうにお祖父さんとかお祖母さんとか自分を愛し

てくれるって自信が持てる人がいても、お父さんとお母さんがそういうふうだと、やっぱり自分に自信が持てなくなっちゃう。
かえで2-63：自分の絆ってあるじゃないですか。私は兄弟がいないからわかんないけど、例えば兄弟が何人いても親との絆が一番強い子どもっていると思うんです。たぶん、私が求めたのは母親の愛情だったと思うんですよね。ないと思ったから余計ほしかったのかな、なにかよくわからないけど、でもやっぱりそう思うんですよ。＜後略＞

Kaede 2-52: <The first part of turn omitted> Well, I was an only child. My parents also came from very small families. So, how can I put it? <pause> They didn't have to compete for their parents' love. So my parents were not good at showing affection. For a long time I wasn't able to feel confident that my parents loved me, and I feel I have always tried to suppress my emotions.

Naoko 2-53: Oh, yes?

Kaede 2-53: Yeah. I've been recovering little by little here. Yeah.

Naoko 2-54: You said in the first interview that this group had a healing effect, didn't you?

Kaede 2-54: Right.

Naoko 2-55: So this is what you meant?

Kaede 2-55: Yeah. Things have got much easier. If you have a look at it from a different angle, it wasn't that my parents didn't love me at all. I now understand they loved me but they were very poor at expressing it. Yeah. So I felt a bit uneasy until I realized it. Yeah.

Naoko 2-56: So you yourself didn't express what you felt?

Kaede 2-56: No. When I went to the cinema with friends and they cried, I wasn't able to cry. Ever.

Naoko 2-57: XXXXXX

Kaede 2-57: Right, right.

Naoko 2-58: Then perhaps as a child you never cried at home when you felt sad or angry?

Kaede 2-58: Never.

Naoko 2-59: You never cried?

Kaede 2-59: I never cried. And our contact itself wasn't very intense. I was born at a time when we all lived together as one big extended family. All the relatives, including ones who returned from China after the war, lived in our household. My parents were expected to work hard because they were young. So my parents probably felt they lost me to my grandparents. That was probably the situation.

Naoko 2-60: You said your grandfather doted on you.

Kaede 2-60: Yes, that's right. So really I was raised by my grandparents.

Naoko 2-61: Did your grandparents express their love for you fairly directly?

Kaede 2-61: Yes, they did. Well, my grandfather was born in the Meiji era[1] and wasn't that

[1] Meiji Era refers to the peiriod between 1868 to 1912.

expressive, but my grandmother was. She was at my beck and call.

Naoko 2-62: She indulged you?

Kaede 2-62: Right.

Naoko 2-63: Hmm. I see. <pause> So that's what parents are. I myself had problems with my mother when I was a child. You weren't able to be confident of yourself because your parents were like that, even though you knew your grandparents loved you?

Kaede 2-64: We all have our bonds, don't we? I don't have any brothers or sisters, so I don't know myself, but there are children who may have many siblings and still feel their strongest bond is with their parents. Perhaps what I wanted was my mother's love. I wanted it all the more because I thought she didn't love me. Maybe. I don't understand very well, but I still feel that way.

In spite of this problem with her mother Kaede has always been articulate about her likes and dislikes.

直子2-65：そうか。ふーん。＜間＞でもね、私から見てると、＜研究協力者の名前＞さんって、ま、気持ちの問題っていうのはいろいろあるかもしれないけど、自分のやりたいこととか正しいと思うこととか、すごくはっきり言うでしょ？

かえで2-65：＜笑い＞

直子2-66：ねえ？

かえで2-66：はねっかえりなだけ。

直子2-67：それは、いつからそうなの。

かえで2-67：生まれたときからじゃないですか。＜笑い＞うーん、＜間＞たぶん好き嫌いはハッキリして激しい方だった。

直子2-68：じゃあ、子どもの時に気持ちはわりと蓋して、あんまり泣いたりとかしなかったけど、嫌とか、そういうことははっきり言う子だったの？

かえで2-68：うん、そうだと思います。

直子2-69：＜笑い＞

かえで2-69：ただのはねっかえりで。

Naoko 2-65: I see. Hmm <pause> You may have those emotional problems, but my impression is you're very articulate about what you want to do and what you feel is right.

Kaede 2-65: <laughter>

Naoko 2-66: You are, aren't you?

Kaede 2-66: I'm only a shrew.

Naoko 2-67: Have you always been like that?

Kaede 2-67: Ever since I was born, I suppose. <laughter> Umm <pause> I had strong likes and dislikes.

Naoko 2-68: So as a child you kept your feelings buttoned up and hardly cried, but would make it clear if you didn't like something.

Kaede 2-68: Yeah, I think I was like that.

Naoko 2-69: <laughter>

Kaede 2-69: I was just a shrew.

Kaede was not unhappy at school, but she does not seem to think that her school experiences played any crucial role in shaping her thinking.

直子1-95：あんまり関係ないかもしれないけど、小学校から高校まではどうでした？学校は好きだった？

かえで1-95：そうですね。やっぱり中学校が好きでしたね。あのー（間）なんだろう、やっぱり、私は友だちにすごく恵まれてたと思うんです。今もずっとその時の友だちと行き来があって、同窓会っていったら何があっても行きたいって思う。だいぶ前ですけど、他の人にもインタビューされて、こういうことをするきっかけみたいな話をしてたのかな。その時に思い出したんですけど、中学生の時に友だちと一緒に映画を見に行ったんですよね。それが「招かれざる客」。

直子1-96：うんうん、シドニー・ポワチエの。

かえで1-96：うん。それがね、ずーと心に掛かってた。ちょうど中学生の時期って、偽善とか心の二面性とか、そういうことにすごく悩む時期ですよね。私も精神的にそういう思いがすごく強かったし、あれを見て、自分の気持ちと、なんていうのかな、差別をしてる人たちの気持ちが重なったっていうか。それが私の区別とか差別に対する意識の発端だったような気がしますね。友だちといろんな映画を見に行ったと思うんだけど、結局はそれしか記憶に残ってない。

直子1-97：自分の身近になんか差別が問題になっているような状況があったとかそういうんじゃなくて？

かえで1-97：ないんですよね。うちの町でも今こちらで言う部落民の方ですかね、そういう方もいたんですけど、大人が差別してる状況とかはあまりなかったんですよ。ただ後々になって、あの家はそうだったんだよっていう話を聞いただけで。だから、体験的にはないんですけど、なんかすごく自分の気持ちとダブルの。差別しないって言ってた人が、自分の娘が黒人の男性を連れてきたときの戸惑いとか、そういうのがなんか自分の偽善的な所とすごくだぶって。娘さんよりも、親の戸惑いのほうがすごく心に残ってたんですよね。だからたぶん私の流れとしては「招かれざる客」を見たことが精神的にすごく影響があったんですね。＜後略＞

Naoko 1-95: This may not be so relevant, but how did you find school, from primary to senior? Did you like school?

Kaede 1-95: I liked junior high school best. Erm <pause> What was it? I had very good friends. I'm still in touch with them and I'd put everything else aside to go to a school reunion. I was interviewed by someone else a while ago and I was talking about how I started doing this [volunteer work], I guess. I remembered a film we went to see when we were at junior high. That was "Guess Who's Coming to Dinner".

Naoko 1-96: Ah, with Sidney Poitier.

Kaede 1-96: Yeah. That film stayed in my mind for a long time. Junior high is the time you think seriously about hypocrisy, double standards and things like that, isn't it? I had strong feelings like that and they overlapped with the feelings of people in the film who discriminate. I think that was the beginning of my awareness of making distinctions between people and discrimination. I must have seen a lot of films with my friends, but that's the only one I remember.

Naoko 1-97: You didn't have any discrimination issues among people at school or in your neighbourhood?

Kaede 1-97: No. There were people from the so-called "untouchable" class in our town, but adults didn't discriminate against them so badly. I was only told later that a certain family was from that class. So I hadn't experienced discrimination myself, but the film touched my feelings. Those people who had been against discrimination got confused when their own daughter brought a black man to their home. Their reaction resonated with my own hypocritical feelings. It was the parents' confusion rather than the daughter's attitude that made a strong impression on me. So I was perhaps very much influenced by seeing "Guess Who's Coming to Dinner". <The rest of turn omitted>

Kaede talks about her teachers at school as follows:

直子2-83：お友だちにはすごく恵まれてたって言ってたけど、先生とかは？
かえで2-83：そうですね。＜間＞今の先生からみたらっておかしな言い方ですけど、どの先生もすごくいい先生だったですね。
直子2-84：学校は嫌じゃなかった？
かえで2-84：嫌じゃなかったです。
直子2-85：ものをはっきり言うタイプだと先生と揉めたりすることはなかったですか。
かえで2-85：あ、ものをはっきり言うっていっても、そういう言い方はしてないと思う。多少嫌でも反抗的な言い方をしたりとかはしなかった。
直子2-86：じゃ、先生の目から見たら、たぶん＜研究協力者の名前＞さんはいい子だなって見られてただろうなっていう感じ？
かえで2-86：そうだと思います。今、同窓会で会っても、他の人たちは私が贔屓されてたっていうから、たぶん問題のない子になってたんじゃないかなと思う。＜笑い＞
直子2-87：あ、そうか。贔屓されるってことはけっこう活発で？明るくて？勉強もまあできて？そんな感じ？
かえで2-87：そのくらいだったのかなという気はする。自分ではよくわからないんですけど、すごい友だちに恵まれてて、友だちに引き立ててもらってた部分もたぶんあると思うんですけど、グループ全員がけっこう先生に可愛がられるとか。うん。何をするにしても、その対象になってたという感じかな。
直子2-88：今の人たちと比べるといい先生って、どういうところが、いい先生？
かえで2-88：いい先生というか、いい時代だったのかなという気がするんですよね。この間も同窓会で先生たちに、現役じゃなくてよかったよねっていう話をしたんです。もう贔屓ありありだったよねとか。そうだよなあ、贔屓したよなあ、今ならなんて叩かれたかって、先生自身が言うんだけど、それを子どもも認めてた。昔の先生って、できる子に対して割と贔屓したでしょう。私たちも「ああ、あの子ならしょうがないや」みたいな気持ちだし、保護者の方たちも、子どもは学校に信頼して預けちゃって、あんまり細かいこと言わなかった時代ですよね。今みたいにちょっと先生がシンドイっていう状態じゃなかったから。ま、時代がよかったのかな。で、先生にもすごい恵まれてて。
直子2-89：特に影響を受けたとか印象に残ってる先生は？
かえで2-89：ないんですよ。＜後略＞

Naoko 2-83: You said you'd had very good friends. What about your teachers?

Kaede 2-83: Well <pause> This is an odd thing to say, but all the teachers were very good compared with teachers nowadays.

Naoko 2-84: You didn't dislike school.

Kaede 2-84: No, I didn't.

Naoko 2-85: You're very articulate about your likes and dislikes. Didn't it cause any trouble with your teachers?

Kaede 2-85: Oh, I was that type, but I don't think I talked in a way that would cause trouble. I might have disliked something, but I didn't talk back to the teachers.

Naoko 2-86: Then, in your teachers' eyes, you were probably a good pupil. Was that how it was?

Kaede 2-86: I think so. My friends still say I was a favourite of the teachers when we meet at reunions. So I was considered a kid without problems, I suppose. <laughter>

Naoko 2-87: Ah, I see. You were a favourite. So you were active, cheerful, and quite clever, weren't you?

Kaede 2-87: Yes, I suppose I was. I don't know myself. I had very good friends and perhaps they helped me look good. The teachers favoured everyone in our group. Yeah. So I was favoured whatever I did.

Naoko 2-88: You said they were good teachers compared with ones nowadays. In what sense were they good?

Kaede 2-88: It wasn't so much they were good teachers, it was a good time to be at school. We had a reunion the other day and I told the teachers that it was good they had retired now. They favoured me in such obvious ways. Parents nowadays would severely criticize it. The teachers said so themselves. But children used to accept it. Teachers in those days favoured the bright children, didn't they? And we accepted it. We felt that bright pupils were bound to be teachers' favourites. Parents entrusted schools with their children without making a fuss about small things. Teachers nowadays have a much harder time. So it was a good time. And I was lucky to have good teachers.

Naoko 2-89: Did you have any teacher who particularly influenced you or made an impression on you?

Kaede 2-89: No, I didn't. <the rest of turn omitted>

Towards the end of her high school days, Kaede accepted the job of a leader of the local boy scouts.

かえで1-58：そうですね。うちの町は小さい町だったんですよね。それでボーイスカウトのリーダーっていうか、世話役みたいなんですけど、高校を卒業したくらいの年齢の人の所に、ボーイスカウトの人が頼みに来るんですよ。小さい町の名誉職みたいなものですね。頼まれれば別に、ねえ？自分でできることならいいのかなみたいな。

直子1-59：あ、そうか、そうすると、やっぱり地域のコミュニティみたいのがあるところだったんですね。

かえで1-59：そうです、そうです。しっかりあるところですね。父親もそうだし、うちは母親も割と

そういう役をやってるから、自然なのかなあ。
直子1-60：そういうのを見て育ったから、自分も順番が来たらやるもんだって。
かえで1-60：そうですね。うん、私を溺愛してくれた祖父が、割とそういうタイプだったんですよ。自給自足みたいになんでもやってたんですけど。農作業もやるし、魚なんかも釣ってきて、料理までしてっていう祖父だったんだけど、それをね、自分の家のためだけじゃなくって、ほんとに町内の人に配ったりするのがすごい好きだったの。で、子ども心に、人がもらって喜んでくれる姿を見てる祖父の姿を見てたわけ。そういうのが当然というか、人が喜んでくれたらいいなっていうのが、なんか自然にあったのかな。

Kaede 1-58: Yeah. We lived in a small town. The local boy scout troop would ask seventeen or eighteen-year-olds to assist as leaders. The leader's job was to take care of the kids. It was kind of an honorary position in town. I had no reason to turn down the request. I thought I should do what I could.
Naoko 1-59: Ah, so there was a solid local community there.
Kaede 1-59: Yes, yes. It was solid. My father was doing quite a lot of community work. So was my mother. So I suppose it seemed natural to me.
Naoko 1-60: You grew up seeing your parents' involvement in the community work. So you took it for granted you would do the same when it was your turn.
Kaede 1-60: Right. My grandfather who doted on me was more or less that type. He was self-sufficient and did all kinds of things -- farming, fishing, and even cooking. He did them not only for the family but for neighbours too. He very much liked sharing what he produced with the neighbours. As a child I saw him with neighbours who were grateful to him. So it was natural. I think I naturally felt I wanted to make people happy.

Kaede remembers a boy she met in this job.

かえで2-127：うーん、ただね、ボーイスカウトの時は、最初はカブスカウトって低年齢の子どもたちのリーダーだったの。だから中にはお母さんの愛情にすごく飢えてて、その代償を私たちに求めてくる子もあって、ちょっとね、どうしたらいいのか悩んだことがあります。あんまりやりすぎちゃってお母さんの代わりになっちゃって、ま、なれはしないんだけど、なっちゃうと、その子と他の子どもたちとの兼ね合いがあるでしょ？その時にちょっと悩んだ。今でもどうすればよかったのかわからない。
直子2-128：最終的にどうなったの？
かえで2-128：最終的にやっぱりみんなに相談して、徐々に遠ざけてっていうか、他の子と同じように接しなきゃダメって、たぶんその時はそういう感じだったんですね。でも自分の中ではその子から逃げたような気がするんですよね。うん、そのことでひっかかってる。
直子2-129：逃げたというのは重かったから？
かえで2-129：重かったです。自分自身が子どもなのに。＜笑い＞で、子どもは嫌いなのに。＜笑い＞

Kaede 2-127: Well, I first became a leader of the cub scouts, which was a group of younger children. There was this boy who was hungry for motherly love and tried to take it from us. I didn't know what to do. That was a bit of problem. If I got too close to him and became a substitute for his mother -- well, I couldn't possibly have been, but if I did, it wouldn't have

been fair to the other children. So I was troubled a bit. I still don't know what I should have done.

Naoko 2-128: What happened in the end?

Kaede 2-128: In the end I consulted everyone, and they said I should treat him like any other child and gradually distance myself from him. Perhaps that was what happened. But I feel I deserted him. Yeah, it still bothers me.

Naoko 2-129: You deserted him because it was too heavy a load to carry?

Kaede 2-129: Yes. I myself was a child. <laughter> And I hated children. <laughter>

After graduating senior high school, Kaede took a job at a local agricultural co-operative.

かえで2-136：ええ。なんていうのかな、基本的に自分は愛されてないと思っているから、やっぱりいい子でいなきゃいけないという気持ちがありますよね。私は一人っ子だから絶対にちゃんとお婿さんをもらって結婚するんだと思ってたのね。一応は進学コースだったし、大学に行こうかなとも思ったんだけど、祖父が就職先を見つけちゃって、地元の農協だったんですけど、じゃあそちら行きましょうという感じで就職した。やっぱりいい子になりたかったのかな。たぶん。うん。
直子2-137：ほんとは大学に行きたかったの？
かえで2-137：行きたかったですね。うん。あまり恨みにも思ってないから、そこまで強く思ってなかったのかも知れないんですけど。＜笑い＞両親のほうは全然育ててないわけだから、無責任なんですね。好きなように、好きなようにって言うんですよね。好きなように生きなさいって。で、２０歳の時に第一回目のお見合いがあって、でも、とても好きになれなくて。＜笑い＞断ってって頼んだ時に、今度はその両親が聞いてくれなかったの。結婚して家の跡をつぎなさいとかって感じで。そこで初めて言ってることと違うじゃないっていう感じで開眼しちゃった。もう絶対結婚なんかしないと思った。それからずっともう１０年ぐらい、
直子2-138：断りつづけ、
かえで2-138：断わりつづけ、結婚なんか絶対嫌だと。

Kaede 2-136: Yes. What can I say? I basically thought I wasn't loved. So I felt I had to be a good child. I was the only child. So I took it for granted that I'd marry a man who'd be adopted into our family. I was in a class of students who planned to go to university and I thought about going myself, but my grandfather found me a job at a local agricultural co-operative. So I decided to take it. Maybe I wanted to be a good child. Probably. Yeah.

Naoko 2-137: Did you want to go to university?

Kaede 2-137: Yes, I did. But I don't feel that resentful about it, so my wish may not have been that strong. <laughter> My parents were irresponsible because they didn't give me a proper upbringing. They just kept telling me to live as I liked. Then, when I was twenty, the first meeting was arranged with a possible future bridegroom. I couldn't possibly love that man. <laughter> I asked them to turn it down, but my parents wouldn't listen. They told me to marry him for the future of our family. Then I realized they contradicted what they had previously said. I thought I'd never get married. So for about ten years...

Naoko 2-138: You kept saying no.

Kaede 2-138: I kept saying no. I kept saying I'd never ever get married.

Kaede continued her study of English as she worked.

かえで1-15：＜前略＞そもそも自分と違う国の人にすごく興味があって。上手にならないのに、英語なんか習ってたんですよ。
直子1-16：それは、前から？
かえで1-16：そそそ。それはもう２０代くらいの時ですかね。２０代の頃からすごく興味があって、時々習いに行ってた。
直子1-17：ああ、そうなんですか。結婚する前はなんか仕事をなさってたんでしょ？
かえで1-17：そうです。
直子1-18：そういう関係の仕事とか？
かえで1-18：全然、そういう感じじゃなくって。
直子1-19：そういう興味ってどの辺から来るんだろう。やっぱりなんとなく？
かえで1-19：なんか、日本を出たいという意識がすごく強くあって、一応オーストラリアのホームステイまで決まってたんですよ。私、一人娘で、がんじがらめで家を出られない状態だったから、親に内緒で。乗る船まで決まってたんだけど、結局病気になっちゃってダメになって。これは縁がなかったのかなって思いましたけど、興味はすごくあります。
直子1-20：それは、いつ頃？
かえで1-20：それはね、２０代の前半。

＜４ターン省略＞

直子1-23：じゃあ、高校の時とか英語は好きだったの？
かえで1-23：科目的には好きでした。結局、私自身は大学は行ってないんですけど、英語は続けたいなという気持ちはあったんですよね。でも、なぜか長続きしなくって。よく自分で考えてみたら、英語が好きなんじゃなくって、自分の知らない世界の人と話したいんですよ。だから、英語を習いに行っても、なんとなくアイコンタクトとか身ぶり手振りで話が通じちゃったら、もう英語はどうでもいい。
直子1-24：とにかくそういうコミュニケーションするのが楽しいっていうことですか。
かえで1-24：楽しいですね。日本で常識って言われてることが全然違うんだよっていうこととか、そういうのがわかるとすごく楽しい。

Kaede 1-15: <The first part of turn omitted> I'd always been interested in people from foreign countries. I took English lessons although I didn't make much progress.

Naoko 1-16: Was this before [you got involved in the volunteer work]?

Kaede 1-16: Right, right, right. In my twenties, I think. I was interested in English from my twenties on, and occasionally took lessons.

Naoko 1-17: Oh, did you? You were working before you got married, weren't you?

Kaede 1-17: Yes.

Naoko 1-18: Did your work involve English in any way?

Kaede 1-18: Not at all.

Naoko 1-19: I wonder where your interest came from? No apparent reason?

Kaede 1-19: Somehow or other I had this strong desire to get out of Japan. I arranged to go for a home stay in Australia. I was an only daughter and my family wouldn't have let me leave

the house, so I kept it secret from my parents. I even had the ticket for the ship, but I got sick and had to give it up. I thought that was probably my fate, but still I'm very much interested.
Naoko 1-20: When was that?
Kaede 1-20: That was in my early twenties.

<4 turns omitted>

Naoko 1-23: So did you like English at senior high school?
Kaede 1-23: I liked the subject. I didn't go to university, but I wanted to continue with studying English. But I wasn't persistent. I gave it some thought and realized I wasn't taking lessons because I liked English. I only wanted to talk with people from a world unknown to me. So I didn't care about the English once I'd established communication through eye contact or gestures.
Naoko 1-24: You enjoyed communicating. Is that what you mean?
Kaede 1-24: Yes. I enjoyed learning that what was common sense in Japan was not common sense at all in other places and things like that.

Kaede stayed with her family, but she enjoyed her single life attending evening courses. She kept telling her family members that she was too busy to get married. She got married at the age of thirty four, however.

直子2-144：なんで気が変わったんですか？
かえで2-144：いやあ、それが、＜笑い＞すごい他愛もない話で恥ずかしいんですけど、そういうふうに少なくとも１０年間は自分のお給料の中から全部やってて、私は絶対自分一人で生きられるって思い込んでたんですよね。で、祖母が亡くなったわけですよ。寝起きが全部一緒だったんで、亡くなった途端に不眠症みたいになっちゃったんですよ。なんかやけに部屋が広く感じられて。うん。だから、とりあえず誰か横に寝てくれないかなと思って。
直子2-145：あ、そうか。おばあさんとずっとそれまで同じ部屋で寝てた。
かえで2-145：そうそうそう。そうなんです。＜笑い＞恥ずかしいでしょう。＜人名＞さんにも言われた。一人で寝なきゃだめよって。＜笑い＞
直子2-146：そうか。可愛がってくれたお祖母さんが亡くなって、寂しくなって？
かえで2-146：だと思いますね。すごい部屋が広くって横が気になって寝れないんですよね。＜笑い＞とんでもない話ですいません。
直子2-147：それで結婚しようと思った。
かえで2-147：うん、今の夫は遠い親戚なんですよ。本当は若い時から何回も何回も言われてて、その都度結婚する気がないって断ってて。で、ちょうどタイミングよく、その時にまた蒸し返してきたもんだから、ま、いいかなって。
直子2-148：それはご主人が結婚したかったわけ？それとも家族同士が？
かえで2-148：家族同士で。一応遠い親戚だから、両方の親がことあるごとに顔を合わせるわけですよ。どうもいつもそこで話が出てたみたいで。＜笑い＞単純。

Naoko 2-144: What made you change your mind?

Kaede 2-144: Well, <laughter> It's embarrassing because it's so silly. I believed I could live on my own because I had paid all my expenses from my salary for ten years. But then my grandmother died. We'd slept in the same room. So I got insomnia right after her death. The room felt too big. Yeah. So I wanted someone to sleep beside me.

Naoko 2-145: Ah, you'd shared a bedroom with your grandmother?

Kaede 2-145: Right, right. I did. <laughter> It's embarrassing, isn't it? <NAME> also told me I should learn to sleep on my own. <laughter>

Naoko 2-146: I see. Your loving grandmother passed away, and you felt lonely. So you got married.

Kaede 2-146: Yes, I think that was the reason. The room felt so big, and I was always aware of the space next to me and wasn't able to go to sleep. <laughter> I know it sounds ridiculous.

Naoko 2-147: So you decided to get married.

Kaede 2-147: Yeah. My husband is a distant relative. His family had repeatedly proposed marriage ever since I was young, but I always told them I had no intention of getting married. Then just at that time they proposed again. So I thought I might as well marry him.

Naoko 2-148: Was it your husband who wanted the marriage? Or was it the families?

Kaede 2-148: The families. They were distant relatives. So the parents on both sides met on many occasions. They seemed to have always discussed it. <laughter> Simple!

After her marriage Kaede moved to the city where her husband worked and had a daughter.

直子1-35：結婚して、お子さんができたわけでしょ。そうしたら、やっぱりお母さんとして、どういう子育てをするかとか考えるじゃないですか。

かえで1-35：うん、私自身は子どもに対しては、なんていうかな、あんまり、こうなってほしいみたいな期待とかないんですよ。私も一人っ子で、うちの子どもも一人っ子なんですよ。だから、例えば私たち二人になにかあった場合、ほんとに天涯孤独の状態になるから、とにかく、こけたら一人で立ち上がれる子どもに育てよう。もうそれだけ。

直子1-36：じゃあ、危ないとか気をつけなさい、あれやっちゃダメ、これやっちゃダメとかいうことはあんまり言わない？

かえで1-36：小さいときから、まったく言いませんでしたね。ま、もちろん落ちたら命に関わるようなところに行けば、危ない危ないとはいいますけど、ブランコにしてもシーソーゲームにしても、とにかく生きていればいいわって思ってましたね。たとえ怪我しても、骨の一本や二本たいしたことないというか。あんまり一緒に遊んではやらなかったんだけど、何となく一人で大きくなった。というか、周りの人との関わりで大きくなった子どもかなと思う。

Naoko 1-35: You got married and had a child. Then, as a mother, you'd naturally think about how to raise the child, wouldn't you?

Kaede 1-35: Yeah, I myself don't have any specific expectations of my daughter like I want her to be like this or that. I was an only child, and so is my daughter. So she'll be without a single relative if anything happens to us. So I just wanted her to be able to get up by herself if she falls. That was the only thing I thought about.

Naoko 1-36: Then you didn't say "It's dangerous" or "Be careful" or "Don't do this or that" very much?

Kaede 1-36: I never said anything like that ever since she was small. Well, I'd tell her it was dangerous if she went to a place where she might lose her life if she fell, but I didn't worry about swings and seesaws. I thought it was OK as long as she was alive. She might get injured, but breaking a bone or two didn't matter. I didn't play with her very much. She grew up on her own. Or rather she grew up through her relationships with people around her, I think.

The city Kaede lives in has a fairly large community of Brazilian immigrant workers and their families. Kaede started her volunteer work for the international class of a local junior high school a few years before the interviews.

直子1-12：国際教室のボランティアは、どういう経緯で始められたの？
かえで1-12：それはね、なんていうのかな、さかのぼったら、何となく自分の生活を変えてみたかったということでしょう。基本的に、私、子どもが学校から帰ってくる時間は家にいてやりたいという気持ちがあって、やっぱりそういう気持ちだと時間的になかなか働けないですよね。で、適当にアルバイトみたいなことはしてたんですけど、決まった仕事はしてなくて、ほんとに普通の主婦だったんですよ。でも、子どもが大きくなると、クラブ活動なんかで、だんだん遅く帰ってくるようになりますよね。なんとなくなんかしなきゃみたいな気になった。
直子1-13：それで、たまたま？
かえで1-13：そう、たまたま。初めて＜学校名＞が研究指定校みたいになったんですかね。その年に、国際教室の、地域ボランティアの募集があったんです。それに応募して。
直子1-14：なんか生活を変えてみようと思ったら、一番最初に目に入ったのがそれだったみたいな感じ？
かえで1-14：そうですね。広報かな、なんかと一緒に配られてきた中で。
直子1-15：じゃ、それまでは別にブラジル人の子どもたちとの接触は全然なかったんですか。
かえで1-15：全然なかったですね。ただ興味はありましたよね。＜後略＞

Naoko 1-12: How did you start volunteering at the international class.

Kaede 1-12: Well, what shall I say? To trace my motivation back to the beginning, I suppose I wanted to change my life. Basically I wanted to be at home when my daughter returns from school. This makes it difficult to get a job time-wise. So I'd had part time jobs, but no stable job. I was really an ordinary housewife. But as children grow older they come home later with extracurricular activities and things like that, don't they? So I felt I had to do something.

Naoko 1-13: So was it by coincidence?

Kaede 1-13: Yes, it was by coincidence. <NAME OF JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL> happened to be designated for a study of Japanese L2 children for the first time, if I remember correctly. They called for community volunteers for the international class that year. I applied.

Naoko 1-14: Was it like you wanted to change your life and that was the first thing you came across?

Kaede 1-14: Yes. I think it was the city's publicity newsletter that was put in our mailbox together with something else.

Naoko 1-15: So you didn't have any contact with Brazilian children before?

Kaede 1-15: None at all. I was interested though. <The rest of turn omitted>

Kaede describes the process of her learning about the problems language minority children face at Japanese schools as follows:

かえで1-39：そうですね。国際学級が始まって、もう３－４年経ってるんですよね。でも、つい最近まで、学校の方針がなかったんですよ。先生にちょっと話を聞いたところ、こちらからは、ああしてください、こうしてくださいってボランティアの方には言えない、ボランティアの人が自分で考えてやってください、みたいな感じで、学校からの要求とかなんにもないんですよ。で、最初の段階では、生活言語を教えましょうみたいな感じでやってて、なんとなくその次の段階では、とにかく学校に来れる状態にしてあげましょうみたいに、保健室状態になってきたり。でも、私はなんとなく子どもはやっぱり勉強しなきゃダメっていう思いがすごくあって、つい最近なんですけど、ボランティアの会合をもって、とにかく学校では学習言語を教えましょうよっていう話し合いをしたんですよね。その時にやっとボランティアの統一見解みたいなのが出た。それまではほんとに、個々に、いろいろテキストに沿ってやってるんだけど、ここに出てくる言葉って違うんじゃないのっていう思いがすごくあった。
直子1-40：＜研究協力者の名前＞さんは、ボランティアを始めたときからそう思ってた？
かえで1-40：いや違いますね。やっぱり最初は何がなんだかわからずにやってた。初めて行ったときは、ミーティングも何もなしにいきなり教室に連れて行かれて、やってくださいって言われて。確か、小学校の１・２年の教科書みたいなのがあって、それを読んで、意味がわからないって言ったところを教えてやってくださいっていう話だったんですよ。それで１・２回やってみたんだけど、相手の精神的なレベルはもっと上だから、小学校の教科書を読んでも全然面白くないくって、欠伸の連発。やっぱりこれってなんか違うんじゃないだろうかっていう思いはありましたね。それで、ここ最近やっと、やっぱりきちんと勉強してないと思考能力がつかないんじゃないかなあって考えはじめた。
直子1-41：学習言語がないと、思考能力がつかないっていうことに気がついたきっかけというか、やっぱり具体的に、あの子がこういうふうになったからとかあるのかしら。
かえで1-41：それはね、やっぱり日本語教室に入ってから、だんだん自分の考え方が明確になってきたと思いますね。
直子1-42：どうして？
かえで1-42：どうしてなんだろう。（間）えーと、日本語教室にも子どもが来だしてからかなあ。
直子1-43：みんなでそういうこと話し合うようになったから？
かえで1-43：そうですね。＜人名＞さんに＜学校名＞の状況を相談したりして、知恵を付けられてきたんでしょう。
直子1-44：ああ、それで、ああそうだ、もっともだって思った。
かえで1-44：そうですよね。結局は日本語も不十分、ポルトガル語も不十分では、一つのことをしても、結果がどうなるかとか、こんなことをしたら相手はどう思うかとか、そういうことを考える力がつかないんじゃないかなあという思いがすごくしたんですよね。つい最近、日本語教室にも来てた中学生なんですけど、すごく学力の高い子がいたんですよね。で、その子を見てて、学力はすごく高いけど、日本語的にわからないわけじゃないですか。書いてあることがわからないだけなんですよね。じゃあ、この子たちとどういうふうに勉強すればいいのかっていう思いがすごく強かったのかな。私たちは教科は教えられないんだけど、ほんとに理科とか数学とか英語とかに出てくる日本語の難しい言葉の意味をちょっと教えると、答はほとんど合ってるんですよ。もちろんそんな子たちばかりじゃないんですけど、そんな小さなことがネックになって、ペケになっちゃうんですよね。そういうのもつまらないなあと思って。最近は学校でもテストするんだったら、言葉のフォローをしてくださいっ

て言うんですよ。その子たちは教科の内容がわかってないんじゃなくて、言葉がわからないだけなんだからって。でも、結局、やっぱりその子は、私は日本語で頑張れないって、ブラジル帰ったんですよね。そのことが今でもなんかすごく心に引っかかって。だから子どもたちとどのように接したらいいのか、ほんとに日本語で押しつけみたいにして勉強させるのがいいのか、どうして母語で勉強できないのかっていう疑問が今すごくあるんですけど、答はでないですよね。

Kaede 1-39: Well, it's been three or four years since the international class started. But up until recently the school itself didn't have any particular policy. I talked to one teacher, but he said they couldn't tell volunteers what to do. They'd rather let the volunteers think for themselves. So they didn't demand anything of us. So in the beginning we decided to teach everyday language. Then in the next stage we somehow or other thought we should help children to attend school regularly and the international class became like a sickroom[2]. But I'd always felt strongly children should study. So we had a meeting recently and discussed teaching language for studying. That was the first consensus among the volunteers. Each volunteer had used a textbook of their own choice until then, but I strongly felt the language in those textbooks was not what was needed.

Naoko 1-40: Have you always felt like that since you started volunteering?

Kaede 1-40: No, I haven't. I didn't know what I was doing. When I first went there I was taken to a classroom and asked to teach without any prior meetings or anything. They asked me to read textbooks for the first and second grades of primary school and explain any parts that the children said they didn't understand, if I remember correctly. So I did it once or twice, but the children were too mature to read primary textbooks. They were bored and repeatedly yawned. So I felt that wasn't what was needed. Just recently I started to think that children don't develop their thinking ability if they don't study properly.

Naoko 1-41: How did you become aware that children don't develop their thinking ability without the language for studying? Did you have any specific experience with any particular child or anything like that?

Kaede 1-41: Well, my thinking got clearer after I joined the JSL study group[3].

Naoko 1-42: Why was that?

Kaede 1-42: I wonder. <pause> Maybe it was after children started coming to the study group.

Naoko 1-43: Because you started discussing the issue with other volunteers?

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2 For various reasons quite a number of school children in Japan find it difficult to go to school. Some of them seek refuge from classrooms in a sickroom. Many schools and teachers recognize that the function of the sickroom is to stop children from dropping out of school altogether and use it for that purpose.

3 JSL study group refers to the volunteer group Kaede belongs to. She describes it in detail later in the story.

Kaede 1-43: Yeah. I consulted <NAME> about the situation at school, and he gave me suggestions.

Naoko 1-44: Then you were convinced.

Kaede 1-44: Yes, I was. I felt strongly children wouldn't acquire the ability to think of the consequences of their actions or how they would affect other people if neither Japanese nor Portuguese was fully developed. There was this junior high student who came to the study group. She had very good academic ability. She had that, but she didn't understand Japanese. So her problem was only understanding written texts. I think I wondered how I should work with these students. We can't teach subject matter. But they get right answers to almost all questions if we teach them difficult Japanese words in science, maths, or English. Well, of course not everyone is like that. But they get bad marks only because such a small thing hinders them. I thought that was a waste. Recently I began to ask teachers to provide language support in tests. I tell them it's not that children don't understand the content of the subject. They just don't understand the language. But this particular student went back to Brazil because she felt she couldn't study in Japanese. I still think about her. I've got these unresolved questions: How should I work with these children? Is it really good to force them to study in Japanese? Why are they not allowed to study in their mother tongue? I suppose there's no answer.

Kaede does not think that she is qualified for the work or that her past teachers can be her role model. There is one thing, however, that she learned from one teacher.

直子2-99：例えば国際学級でどうやって子どもと一緒に勉強しようかなって考える時に、昔の先生のこととか思い出して、あの先生がこうやったからあたしもこうやろうとかって思うことは全然ない？
かえで2-99：ない、ない。＜笑い＞ないです。真似のしようもない。＜笑い＞あたし、自分で自信もないもん。＜笑い＞
直子2-100：覚えてはいるけど同じようにはできないと思うからやらない？
かえで2-100：なんかねえ、ほんとの教育者みたいな気がして、とてもそんなことできない。＜笑い＞
直子2-101：あ、昔の先生は？
かえで2-101：昔の先生はね。真似るとかそんな段階じゃないと思う。＜笑い＞うん。
直子2-102：でも、その頃、いろんな先生がいたわけでしょ？その人たちの誰も×××
かえで2-102：ただね、中学校の先生がすごい親しみを込めて呼んでくれる先生だったんですね。子どもの頃からずっと＜研究協力者のニックネーム＞って呼ばれてて、小さい町だから、私の苗字を知らなくても＜研究協力者のニックネーム＞って言えば私のことだとみんな知ってた。中学校の先生はいまだにそう呼んでくれるの。それがなんかすごく嬉しかった。今の子どもたちはどうだかわかんないけど、親しみを込めて呼ばれるってすごく嬉しいことなんじゃないかなっていう気がする。だから、なるべく親しみ込めて。

Naoko 2-99: When you think about how you'd like to study with the children in the international class, for example, do you never think of your teachers in the past and decide to do something the same way they did?

Kaede 2-99: No, no. <laughter> No. I couldn't possibly imitate them. <laughter> I'm not confident myself. <laughter>

Naoko 2-100: You remember them, but you feel you can't do the same. So you don't. Is this what you mean?

Kaede 2-100: Well, they seemed to be real educators. I couldn't possibly do the same. <laughter>

Naoko 2-101: Ah, teachers in the old days, you mean?

Kaede 2-101: Teachers in the old days. I'm not at a level that I can imitate them. <laughter> Yeah.

Naoko 2-102: But you had many different teachers, didn't you? None of them XXXX

Kaede 2-102: Well, one teacher at junior high called us by our first names and nicknames. I was called <NICKNAME> in my childhood. In the small town I grew up in everyone knew me by that name, even people who didn't know my surname. This teacher from junior high still calls me by that name. I was very happy with her warm personal style. I don't know about children nowadays, but I guess being called in a warm personal way may make them very happy. So I try to be as warm and personal as possible.

In the year prior to the interviews Kaede accepted the post of president of the local residents' association's children's section.

かえで1-48：＜前略＞私、基本的に子どもが大嫌いだったんですよ。自分の子どもができてしょうがなく面倒を見てるっていう感じだったんだけど、子ども会でものすごい衝撃を受けちゃって、これは三日やったら辞められないなと思った。

直子1-49：へえ、どんなことだったんですか。

かえで1-49：なんていうのかなあ。私も精神的に生育してなかったもんだから、子どもが何気ない言葉を言ってるんですけど、その裏にすごい気持ちが隠れてたっていうのを体験して、ほんとに涙が出るくらい感動しちゃって。それから子どもに対する見方がコロッと変わった。

直子1-50：具体的にどんなことがあったんですか。

かえで1-50：ちょっとその前から、たまたま灰谷健二郎の本を読み始めてて、『兎の目』とか読んでたのは読んでたんですけど。子ども会でお泊まり会っていうのをやったんですよ。その時に夜中に「おばさん、おばさん、このお茶、飲んで」って言うの。「おばさん、こんな夜中にお茶いらない」って、何回も断ったのに、黙ってついでくれたんですよ。まあ、くれたからしょうがないなと思って飲んだら、すごい冷たかったもんだから、あ、すごい冷たいねって言ったら、うん、これ僕のためにお母さんがいれてくれたんだよって。それだけの会話なんだけど、その子の家庭状況もちょっと知ってたもんだから、あとで意味がわかったんです。その子のお母さんは全く子どもに手を掛けないお母さんなんですよ。で、どのくらいかなあ、しばらく時間が経ってから、そうか、あの子のお母さんあんまりそんなことしないお母さんだったんだよなっていうのを思いついて、そうか、僕のためにお母さんがわざわざ冷たいお茶を入れて持ってきてくれたんだっていう感動を伝えたかったんだなあというのがわかって。ああなんであの時に反応してやれなかったんだろうと思って、なんか涙が出ちゃったの。それに気づいてから、自分の子どもを見る目も変わってきた。うん。裏の気持ちって大人もありますよね。でも、私はそういう人間関係をあんまりもってこなかったから。

Kaede 1-48: <The first part of turn omitted> I basically hated children. I took care of my child

because I had to. But I was very much affected by the children's section's activity. I thought I would get addicted to the work.

Naoko 1-49: What happened?

Kaede 1-49: How can I describe it? I was psychologically immature. So when I realized that a child's seemingly unimportant words concealed a strong emotion, I was moved so much that I shed tears. My view of children has changed drastically since then.

Naoko 1-50: Could you tell me what happened in more concrete terms?

Kaede 1-50: I'd been reading Kenjiro Haitani's "Rabbit's Eyes".[4] Then we had a sleep-over. In the middle of the night a boy came to me and offered me some iced tea. I told him I didn't have tea at that time and turned down his offer many times. But he poured the tea for me without saying anything. So I had no choice but to drink it. It was very cold and I made that comment to him. Then he said his mother had made it for him. That was the end of our conversation. I knew his family, and later realized the meaning of his behaviour. His mother never took much care of her children. It took me a while after the conversation to remember what his mother was like and understand he wanted to share his good feelings about his mother making tea and bringing it to him. I cried, wondering why I hadn't been able to respond to him more positively. Since then I've started to see children differently. Yeah. Adults have hidden feelings too, don't they? But I hadn't had the sort of relationships to understand that.

Kaede describes her original reason for accepting the position in spite of her dislike of children as follows:

直子1-54：でも、子どもは嫌いって思ってるのに、子ども会なんかなんでやったんですか。
かえで1-54：そうなんですよねえ。それは、相手が子どもとかそういうことはあんまり意識になくって、ＰＴＡのこととか、地域のこととか、いろいろあるでしょ。そういうことはやっぱりみんな平等だっていう考え方が基本的にあって、結局、役だの何だのやってくださいとか、頼んだり頼まれたりするものではないって思うんですよね。だから誰かに順番的に次どうですかって言われたら、私はできるできないはぬきにして、あんまり断らない。
直子1-55：ＰＴＡなんて逃げようと思えば逃げられるじゃないですか。でも、そういうことはやらない方がいいというか、ま、みんなでやった方がいいんだって考えてる。
かえで1-55：そうなんですよ。だって頼みに来る人も普通の保護者ですよね。だから、自分がこういうボランティアをしてて、誰かに何かをやってくれというお願いと違いますよね。お願いしますやってくださいって頼まれることでもないし、できる時間があるんだったら、やるのが当たり前かなって思う。

Naoko 1-54: What made you accept the position in the children's section when you felt you

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[4] Kenjiro Haitani is a Japanese children's story writer. "Rabbit's Eyes" is a story of the first grade class which "describes the process of teachers and pupils meeting on equal terms." (Quoted from the cover) Published in 1974, the book also gently touches on issues such as discrimination, Japanese military colonialism, social justice and participation.

disliked children?

Kaede 1-54: Yeah. I wasn't very much aware that I was going to work with children. I basically believe that everyone should be equally involved in PTA, community work and things like that. I don't consider positions like chairs and presidents as something you need to ask people to accept. So when I'm told it's my turn, I rarely say no, without thinking whether or not I'm capable of the job.

Naoko 1-55: There are many ways to escape from these positions in PTA, aren't there? But you think you shouldn't or it's better if everyone is involved, do you?

Kaede 1-55: Yes, that's right. The person who asks you is just an ordinary parent as you are. So it's different from making a special request to someone to do something in my volunteer work. They shouldn't have to ask because it's natural to do it if you have the time to.

Kaede tried to encourage children to take the initiative while she was the president. She explains where her approach might have come from as follows:

直子2-5：前に、たぶんテープレコーダーのスイッチ切ってから言ったんだと思うんだけど、子ども会で子どもにイニシアティブを取らせるというか、自主的にやらせたいと思ったけど、なかなかそれを形にするのが大変だったっておっしゃってた。私が一番興味があるのはそういう考え方がどっから来たかということなんだけど。

かえで2-5：どこからきたかという＜間＞そんな立派なもんじゃなくって、子ども会は子どものものだから子どもが決めて当たり前っていうだけの＜間＞ことなんですけど。

直子2-6：でも、あの時に、難しいの理由の一つは他の子どもの親が待てないっていうようなことをおしゃってた。

かえで2-6：そうなんですよね。なんなんでしょう。あの＜隣の部屋に静かにしてくれと言いに行く＞私はふつうのお母さんよりも子どもを産んだのがだいたい１０年ぐらい遅いんですよね。それで思うんですけど、今の若いお母さんって言ったら変な言い方になっちゃうんだけど、自分の子どもをリードしすぎなんじゃないでしょうか。自分のプランにパッと当てはめて子どもをリードしていっちゃう。それが子ども会に出てきても同じで、子どもがう～んって言ってる間待てない。待てないっていうよりも、こうしてああしてって、プランをパッと言っちゃう。私はあんまり子どもにそれをやらない、やらないっていうか、あんまり言いたくないって思ってるから、その辺で他のお母さんたちのやり方とやっぱりちょっと違う。

直子2-7：子どもにそういうふうに言いたくないと思ってるっていうのは昔から？

かえで2-7：いや、そういういうことではなくって、いつ変わったっていうこともないんですけど、子どもができて、どうやって育てようって考えたときにね、私も一人っ子だし、うちの子も一人っ子なんですよ。うちの両親も兄弟が少ないんですよね。父のほうが一人っ子で、母のほうがお兄さんがいるだけ。家系的に少ないから、もし私たちになんかあった時には、うちの子は絶対独りぼっちになると思っているんです、今でも。だから、自分でこけて自分で考えて立ちあがってほしいって思うから、あんまりこっちのプランを言いたくない。うん。

直子2-8：そういう子育てをしてきたから、子ども会でも。

かえで2-8：割と違うかなって。うん。

Naoko 2-5: I think you said this after I switched off the tape recorder in the first interview. You wanted to let children take the initiative and act spontaneously, but it was difficult to implement the idea. What interests me most is where that idea originally came from.

Kaede 2-5: Where the idea came from?<pause> It isn't anything grand. The children's section is for children. So it's natural for children to make the decisions. <pause> It was only that.

Naoko 2-6: But you said then something like one of the reasons why it was difficult was that the parents of the other children weren't able to wait.

Kaede 2-6: Yeah, they weren't. I wonder what it was. Well... <Kaede goes off to tell people in the kitchen to be quiet.> I'm roughly ten years older than most of the mothers of children my daughter's age. This may sound strange, but I feel young mothers dominate their children to excess. They fit the children into a plan they've made and direct them. The same thing happens in the children's section. They can't wait while children are thinking to come to a decision. They give them their own plans. I don't do that to my daughter. Well, I don't want to do that at least. So I'm a bit different from the other mothers.

Naoko 2-7: Have you always thought like that?

Kaede 2-7: No, not necessarily. I can't pinpoint when I changed, but when my daughter was born and I thought about how to raise her, I wanted her to be able to get up by herself if she fell. I'm an only child and so is my daughter. My father is an only child, and my mother has just one brother. So there aren't many relatives. If anything should happen to us, my daughter will be left to manage by herself. I still think that way. So I don't want to tell her what to do. Yeah.

Naoko 2-8: So that's your principle for raising your daughter. And that's why your approach working in the children's section...

Kaede 2-8: Is rather different. Yeah.

At this point of the second interview I decided to share my puzzle with Kaede.

直子2-10：この前、話をきいてっていうか、トランスクリプトの編集をやってるときに気がついたんだけど、子どもが嫌いだったって言ってたでしょ。

かえで2-10：嫌い。確かに嫌いですよ。

直子2-11：だけど今言ってらしたこととか、前のインタビューの時に子どもが学校から帰ってくるときは家にいてやりたいみたいなこと言ってましたよね。この二つが私の中で結びつかないの。

かえで2-11：嫌いと？

直子2-12：うん。

かえで2-12：どうかなあー。自分の中では別に子どもを所有しているという考えはないんですけど、やっぱり自分の子どもだからかなあ。<間>変化があってそうなったのかどうか自分でもよくわからないんだけど、自分の子どもがいなかった時は車を運転していて、前の横断歩道を子どもが行くのもあんまり好きじゃなかった。ほんとに。早く渡ってっていう感じで。でも今でも、どこでも子どもを連れまわす人ってあんまり好きじゃない。うん。

直子2-13：あ、やっぱり子どもを連れて行っていい場所と悪い場所とがある。

かえで2-13：それはある。自分の子どもでも人の子どもでもやっぱりちょっと邪魔っと思う。うん。

直子2-14：お嬢さんが泣いたときに低い声で泣けって言ったとか言ってましたよね。

かえで2-14：<笑い>うん。基本的に大きい音とか高い音が好きじゃない。うん。子どものキーッて泣く声とか、ああいうのはだめ。

直子2-15：そうか、だから子どもにきてほしくないところがあるわけね。
かえで2-15：そうですね。それとか、大人同士で話しているときに子どもがいるとどうしても、ねえって割り込んできたりするでしょ。そういうのが好きじゃない。
直子2-16：それはすごくよくわかるんだけど。＜間＞そうか、そしたら、嫌いっていうんじゃないのかな。
かえで2-16：そうですかね。どう表現したらいいかわからない。
直子2-17：ほんとに子どもが嫌いだったら、学校から帰ってくるときは家にいてやりたいとかって思うのかな。
かえで2-17：そうですよね。嫌いだったらたぶん私の場合産んでないと思う。＜間＞そこら辺は自分でもよくわからない。うん。＜間＞どうなんだろう、可愛がる気持ちが強すぎて、その反面なのかもしれない。＜笑い＞とにかくね、動物とか子どもは自分で訴えられないでしょ。そういうものに対する愛情みたいなものが私は強いと自分で思う。だからかえって、動物とか子どもが悲しい目にあってる映像とかは見たくないんですよね。とても正視できない。それと嫌いというのが結びつかないんだけど、でも嫌いは嫌い。＜笑い＞何だったんだろう。＜間＞なんかさぐってください。
直子2-18：じゃ、子育てそのものは別に嫌じゃなかったんですね？
かえで2-18：うん、そうですね。何をしても、別に子どもがいるから好きなことができないという発想にはならなかった。うん、子どもに手のかからない時間をうまく使いたいという気持ちがあって、子どもがいるからこの時間にこれができないとかいう発想にはあんまりならなかった。どうなんだろう。
直子2-19：じゃあ、その件は＜研究協力者の名前＞さんもよくわからないということで。＜後略＞

Naoko 2-10: I noticed this in our first interview or rather when I was editing the transcript. You said you disliked children, didn't you?

Kaede 2-10: I dislike them. That's true.

Naoko 2-11: What you've just said and what you said in the first interview like wanting to be home when your daughter returned from school, they don't seem to tie up.

Kaede 2-11: With my dislike of children?

Naoko 2-12: Yeah.

Kaede 2-12: I wonder. I don't think I own my child, but she is my daughter after all. I wonder if that's why. <pause> I don't know whether I've really changed or not, but when I had no child of my own, I didn't even like to see children walking across a zebra crossing in front of my car. Really. I wanted them to cross as quickly as possible. I still don't like people who take their children wherever they go.

Naoko 2-13: There are places where you can take your children and places where you can't.

Kaede 2-13: That's right. I feel children, mine or others', can be disturbing. Yeah.

Naoko 2-14: You said you'd told your daughter to cry in a soft voice.

Kaede 2-14: <laughter> Yeah. I basically don't like loud, high-pitched sounds. Yeah. Children's shrill cries. I hate them.

Naoko 2-15: Ah, that's why you don't want to find children in certain places.

Kaede 2-15: Yes. And children tend to interrupt adults' conversation, don't they? I don't like that.

Naoko 2-16: I understand those feelings very well. <pause> So, perhaps you don't really

dislike children.

Kaede 2-16: I don't know. I don't know how to put it in words.

Naoko 2-17: I wonder if you'd feel you want to be home when your daughter returns if you really disliked children.

Kaede 2-17: That's right. I wouldn't have had a child if I disliked them. <pause> I don't understand myself. Yeah. <pause> Maybe I love them too dearly and my dislike is the other side of the same coin. <laughter> Anyway, animals and children can't complain for themselves, can they? I think I have a stronger love for them because of that. So I don't want to see any films where animals or children have bitter experiences. I couldn't possibly bear to look at them. I don't make any connection between that and my dislike, but I do dislike children. <laughter> I wonder why. <pause> You'll have to investigate it.

Naoko 2-18: So you didn't dislike raising your daughter?

Kaede 2-18: No, I don't think so. I never thought I couldn't do what I liked because of her. I wanted to spend the time that wasn't taken up by her well. I didn't think I couldn't do certain things at certain times because I had a child. I don't know.

Naoko 2-19: Then the conclusion is you don't know yourself. <The rest of turn omitted>

Later in the interview, however, when she was describing how she empathized with the loneliness which children dropping out of school might feel, Kaede suddenly had an insight.

かえで2-112：私、今ふっと思ったんですけど、子どもが嫌いっていうのは、そのときの自分が嫌いなのかもしれない。

直子2-113：どういう意味で？

かえで2-113：うーん、やっぱりそのときってすごい自分に自信がなかったっていうか、人から愛されてないのかな、愛されてないんだよなって思ってた。そういう自分が嫌。できれば否定したい。うん。自分の中から削除したいっていうのがあって、たぶんだからその年代の子どもがだめなのかもしれない。ある程度小学生ぐらいまでとか。

直子2-114：自分が小学生ぐらいの時に、人から愛されてないんじゃないかと思ってたから、同じ年ごろの子どもは見たくないっていうこと？

かえで2-114：そうかもしれない。私の中では中学生は子どもの中に入ってないから。うーん。＜長い間＞＜笑い＞なんか私もちょっと今、見つけたかなっていう気がする。

Kaede 2-112: I suddenly thought of this just now. I may dislike children because I disliked myself at that age.

Naoko 2-113: In what sense?

Kaede 2-113: Well, I wasn't confident at all then. I doubted that I was loved. I felt I wasn't loved. I disliked myself in such a state. I would deny that it happened if I could. Yeah. I want to delete that part of myself. That's probably why I don't like children of that age. Primary school children and younger.

Naoko 2-114: You felt you were not loved when you were at primary school. So you don't want to see children of that age. Is that what you mean?

Kaede 2-114: Maybe. I don't consider junior high kids as children. Umm <long pause> <laughter> I feel I've just discovered something.

Around the same time she accepted the job of president of the children's section Kaede joined a volunteer group which worked for the Brazilian community in the city.

かえで1-5：＜前略＞日本語教室に来たきっかけは、国際教室にいる生徒たちが、親の生活設計に振り回されて、自分はポルトガル語で勉強したらいいのか、日本語で勉強したらいいのかわからないみたいだったんですよ。親が、日本にどれだけいるかとか、いつ帰るかっていう計画を、子どもに言わなくて、とにかく、いつかは帰るって言ってるみたいなんですよ。それで、子どもたちがすごく不安定な気持ちで、結局は学校をやめちゃって、＜地名＞のブラジル人の学校に行ったりとか、そこへ行っても日本に長くなっちゃって、そこもやめちゃったりとかっていうことがすごく多かったんですよね。で、日本語教室へ来れば、親に会えるんじゃないかと思ったんですよ。親をつかまえて、とにかく何日に帰るというのが決まるまで絶対に帰るって言わないでくれって言おうと思ったんです。最初はそこから始めようと思って、動機が不純なんですけど、参加して。結局、中学生を持ってるお母さんとかお父さんは全然いなかった。
直子1-6：そうですか。
かえで1-6：はいはい。、
直子1-7：だけど、来るまでは、どういう趣旨の日本語教室か知らなかったわけでしょ？
かえで1-7：そうですね
直子1-8：最初の頃って、どうだったんですか。
かえで1-8：最初の頃はね、すごく穏やかでしたよ。＜人名＞さんもそうだし、集まってくるボランティアの人たちもそんな感じなんですよね。自分とよく似た人の所に惹かれて集まってくるみたいなことかしら。それで自分が精神的に非常に癒されたみたいな気がしましたね。スタッフ会議みたいのしてても、なんかほんわかと暖かい感じなんですよね。私は、そういう人間関係というか、人との接し方があんまりなかったなと思いました。非常にいい雰囲気でしたよ。

Kaede 1-5: <The first part of turn omitted> I joined the JSL study group because the students in the international class seemed to be affected by their parents' often changing plans and not knowing if they should study in Japanese or Portuguese. Many parents don't tell their children how long they are going to stay in Japan or when they are going to return to Brazil. They only tell them they are going back some time. So children feel very unstable and quit school. Some go to the Brazilian school in <PLACE NAME>. But they end up staying in Japan for a long time and quit that school too. I saw many such cases. So I thought I'd go to this study group to meet the children's parents. I was determined to tell them not to tell their children that they were going back until they had a fixed date. I was going to start from there. So I joined with an ulterior motive, but I found no fathers or mothers with junior high children there.

Naoko 1-6: No?

Kaede. 1-6: No.

Naoko 1-7: You didn't know what kind of philosophy this group had before you joined?

Kaede 1-7: No.

Naoko 1-8: How did you find it in the beginning?
Kaede 1-8: In the beginning it was very calm. <NAME> was like that. So were the other volunteers. Perhaps they were attracted to meeting people like themselves. I felt I was psychologically healed there. Even the staff meetings had a warm relaxed atmosphere. I felt I'd never experienced such relationships or such a way of dealing with people. It was a very good atmosphere.

Kaede answers my question whether her stance in working for the JSL study group is the same as one for the children's section as follows:

直子2-19：＜前略＞それで、子ども会で子ども会は子どものものだから子どもにイニシアティブを取らせるのが当たり前と考えた。今、日本語教室とか関わってらして、それと同じように考えることはあります？日本語教室は日本語を勉強しにくる人たちのものだからみたいなことは考えることはありますか？
かえで2-19：あ、日本語教室ではあんまり思わないんですけど、センターを運営していく面で時々そういうことは思います。
直子2-20：たとえば？どういう？
かえで2-20：もうちょっと外国の人がイニシアティブとってほしいなと。自分たちのセンターみたいな気持ちで、もっと積極的に出てきてほしいということかな。うん。
直子2-21：そういう働きかけをしたりとかするんですか。
かえで2-21：うーんとね、働きかけというのはあんまりしてないかな。ほんとに居心地よく思ってもらえれば自然にそこへ行こうという気になって、人が集まる。そう思ってくれれば第一歩かなとは思うんですけど。でも、徐々にね、そういう感じがでてきているんですよね。パーティーにしても何にしても、けっこうブラジルの人たちがリードして、料理を持ってきてくれたり。私たちが頼んだ以上のことをしてくれる場合が最近になって多くなってきた。
直子2-22：そうすると、＜研究協力者の名前＞さんの戦略としては、とにかく居心地のいい場所を作って、みんなが集まってくれば、みんながその場所をもっと居心地よくするために自分でいろんなことを考えてやってくれるだろうと。
かえで2-22：それは国籍に関係なくね。他のボランティアの人たちもそこがすごく居心地がよければ、そこへ来てやっぱりそれなりに自分の気持ちで動いてくれるかなという。
直子2-23：と、日本語教室のほうはどういう精神でやってる？
かえで2-23：私ね、グループを持ってないから、ほとんどただ見てるだけ。教室にする前の段階のお手伝いっていうか、チラシを配ったりとか、申込書を整理したりとか、そういうことしかやらないからあんまり思わないんですけど、やっぱり一方通行じゃなくって、両方に流れるものがあると思う。
直子2-24：あ、日本語をこっちからあっちに教えるだけじゃなくって？
かえで2-24：うん。
直子2-25：ブラジルの人からもなんか。
かえで2-25：だから私自身は人に教えるという言葉はあんまり使わない。＜中学名＞でも、一緒に勉強しているっていう気持ちが強い。自分の能力的にもそうなんだけど＜間＞教えるとかね、そういう一方通行のやり方はあんまりしたくない。
直子2-26：向こうから戻ってくるものとか、一緒に勉強していることって何なの？
かえで2-26：私にとっては言葉じゃなくて、心みたいなもの。それに惹かれて毎週来てる。たぶん言葉だけだったらこんなになってないと思う。こんなに足しげく通ってきてないかなって。
直子2-27：前のインタビューの中で、ラテン・アメリカの人たちは愛情をはっきり表現してくれるから、すごく好きっていうような意味のことをおっしゃってたでしょ。心っていうのはそういう気持ち？

かえで2-27：そうですよね。なんか＜間＞なんかすごく「もらってる」って感じるんですよ。
直子2-28：具体的に、この人とこういうことがあって、それで、こういうものをもらった気がしたとか、そういうの何かぱっと思い出せます？
かえで2-28：うーん、教室の中ではあんまりないんですけどね。やっぱり、なんていうのかな＜間＞みんな見た目はすごくシャイなんですよね。恥ずかしがり屋なんだけど、私にとってはすごくわかりやすい。うん。すごい優しく見てくれてるとか、そういうのがすごいストレートに伝わってくるんですよね。
直子2-29：優しく見てくれてるというのは、なんかやってくれるってこと？それとも話をちゃんと聞いてくれるってこと？
かえで2-29：そうそう、話とか。例えば挨拶するだけでも、ほんとに気持ちよくしてくれる。うん。心がこもっているような気がする。
直子2-30：あ、ちゃんと自分の目を見てくれるとか？
かえで2-30：そうそう。

Naoko 2-19: In your work for the JSL study group, do you have any moments when you think the same way you did at the children's section? You thought it was natural to let the children take the initiative because the children's section was for children. Do you think the study group is for the JSL learners?

Kaede 2-19: I don't think that way for the study group, but I occasionally do for the running of the centre[5].

Naoko 2-20: For example? What kind of occasion?

Kaede 2-20: I sometimes feel I want foreigners take a bit more initiative. I want them to feel the centre is theirs and to be actively involved. Yeah.

Naoko 2-21: Do you invite them to do so?

Kaede 2-21: Well, I don't think I invite them to do so. If they find the place comfortable, they'll naturally feel like coming and many people will come. I think that's the first step. Gradually things are becoming like that. For parties and other events Brazilians recently started taking the lead and bringing in food or doing more than we ask them to.

Naoko 2-22: So your strategy is you make a comfortable place where people want to come. Then they would spontaneously do all sorts of things to make the place even more comfortable.

Kaede 2-22: That's irrespective of nationality. Volunteers will spontaneously work too if they find the place comfortable.

Naoko 2-23: So what is your philosophy for the study group?

Kaede 2-23: I don't have a group[6]. So I only watch them. I help with the work at the stage

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5 The centre refers to the community centre which this volunteer group established.

6 At study meetings Japanese speaking volunteers and learners get into groups according to learners' language proficiency. These groups are relatively stable. Kaede's comment here refers to the fact that she is not assigned to any of those groups.

before they come to the study meeting like distributing flyers and sorting application forms. I only do that kind of work, so I don't think so much about it. But I think it's not a one-way business. It's two-way communication.

Naoko 2-24: Ah, it's not only you teaching them Japanese?

Kaede 2-24: No.

Naoko 2-25: You get something from the Brazilians too?

Kaede 2-25: I myself don't use the word, "teach", so often. At <NAME OF JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL> too, I feel strongly I'm learning with them. I haven't got the ability to do otherwise <pause> but teaching sounds one way. I don't like that way of doing it so much.

Naoko 2-26: So what is it that you get from them or you learn with them?

Kaede 2-26: It's not language for me. It's something you might call heart. I come here every week because it draws me. Perhaps I wouldn't have got involved so deeply if it was just language. I wouldn't come so frequently.

Naoko 2-27: In the first interview you said something to the effect that you liked Latin Americans because they express their feelings directly. By heart do you mean that kind of feeling?

Kaede 2-27: Yes. Somehow <pause> somehow I feel I'm receiving a lot.

Naoko 2-28: Can you recall any concrete incident where you had an encounter with such and such a person and you got such and such a thing?

Kaede 2-28: It doesn't happen in the classroom so much. Well, what can I say? <pause> They all look very shy. But understanding them is very easy for me. Yeah. They have very kind feelings for me. I feel it very directly.

Naoko 2-29: They have kind feelings for you. Does that mean they do things for you? Or listen to you?

Kaede 2-29: Right, right. Listening. When we greet, for example, they do it in a very nice way. Yeah. I feel they put their heart into it.

Naoko 2-30: Like they look into your eyes?

Kaede 2-30: Right, right.

Asked about her view on decision making in learning, Kaede answers as follows:

直子2-32：でね、＜中学校名＞の国際学級でしたっけ？
かえで2-32：はい。
直子2-33：とか、前ちょっと、日本語教室でも不倫っていう言葉を教えたとかいってましたよね。
かえで2-33：はい。
直子2-34：そういう時って、一緒に勉強してるって気持ちでやってたとしても、一緒に勉強してる中で、なんか決めなきゃいけないことっていっぱいあるじゃないですか。次はこれをやろうとか、こういうふうにやろうとかって、そういうのはどうやって決めるの？
かえで2-34：私は相手に聞く。次は何したいのって。だから、＜中学校名＞では私はあんまり役立ってないと思う。大人の人とはコミュニケーションがとれていいかもしれないけど。

直子2-35：え、どうして？
かえで2-35：やっぱりね、基本的に私は中学校は勉強しなきゃいけないと思っているんですよね。だから学校へはボランティアが入るべきじゃないと思ってるんですよ。ボランティアっていうか、教える技のないボランティアがね。そういうことをできる人が入らなきゃいけないと思ってるから、たぶん私は全然役に立ってないだろうと思うんです。そういうことができないから相手にふっちゃって、次は何をしたいの？とか、どうしたらいい？とか聞いちゃう。＜笑い＞
直子2-36：で、向こうがじゃこれって言ったら、じゃあそうしようとか言って。
かえで2-36：次はコンピューターにしたいとか。じゃそれしようって。
直子2-37：そうすると、技を持っている人はその次に何をしたらいいかとか、どうやって勉強したらいいのか知っている人っていうこと？
かえで2-37：うん。＜間＞うん、教える技があるっていうか、テクニックを持っている人。能力のある人。
直子2-38：そうすると、教える技のある人は聞かないだろうということ？
かえで2-38：うん、ある程度自分の中でできてるんじゃないですか。＜間＞で、その上で相手の気持ちを汲みとれたり、聞けるっていうのがやっぱり一番強いと思うんです。少なくとも学校には先生が入るべきだと私は思っているんです、日本語でもね。
直子2-39：じゃ、大人の人には役に立つっていうのは、、、
かえで2-39：いやいや、役に立つとは言わないけど＜笑い＞大人同士はコミュニケーションがとるのがまず第一かなと。
直子2-40：あ、そうか。算数とか理科とかを勉強するんじゃないからってこと。
かえで2-40：はい。＜間＞やっぱり、もしかしたら言葉になってないかもしれない。
直子2-41：ま、でも、コミュニケーションでしょ。
かえで2-41：そうなのね。でも、私の場合はやっぱりそれしかできないしね。日本語の教え方を学んだわけでもないし。
直子2-42：なんていうのかな＜間＞例えばね、仮にの話だけど、＜研究協力者の名前＞さんが、いわゆる日本語教育の、さっきの言葉を借りれば技みたいなもの？を持っていたら、今よりもっと違う役に立ち方ができると思う？
かえで2-42：違う役に立ち方っていうか、日本語の習得の場面だけで考えれば、少なくとも相手の人にとってはやっぱりもっともっとプラスになるかなって思う。
直子2-43：要するに、日本語教室に来ている人たちって、日本語を覚えたいっていう気持ちもあるだろうけど、その他にもいろいろほしいものがあってくるわけでしょ。で、＜間＞前、お話きいたときは、＜研究協力者の名前＞さんは、言葉も大切だけれども、やっぱり日本人と仲よくなって、なんかあった時に、じゃ日本人に聞いてみようって思えるようになる、そういう態度を作ることが一番大切だと思っているかなあと思った。
かえで2-43：あ、それはそう。だから、日本語を覚えてもらうだけじゃない。こっちも日本語を、あのう、教えてあげるだけじゃない。この人は今何を考えているのかとか、楽しんでるのかとか、最終的にはこっちにもそういう気持ちがないと、言葉プラスアルファみたいなものがないと、やっぱり勉強している人も続かないと思う。うん。だから、こちらもアンテナを高くしてないと。言葉だけ教えるのはかんたんですよね。かんたんっておかしいけど、ああとかって。ねえ？
直子2-44：ま、パフォーマンスとして教えるのはね。でも、教えると学ぶは別だからね。
かえで2-44：うん。なんですかね。この人は今楽しんでるのかとか、何を教えてほしいと思っているのかとか、そういうことはやっぱりこっちのアンテナが高くないとなかなかわからないから、そういうのは高くして。で、それプラス教える技を持ってれば、楽しく教えてあげられる。うん。自分で必死に勉強しているっていう思いじゃなくって、いつのまにか遊びの中からでも言葉を覚えていける。交流型っていうのかしら。そう、最終的には技を持って交流型みたいになっていけたらいいんじゃないか、そういうのが強いのかなという気がする。
直子2-45：そういうのになりたいと思います？
かえで2-45：なりたいと思う。思ってもできない。＜笑＞第一勉強してないし。
直子2-46：必ずしも一般的にいってる日本語教育とは違うかもしれないけど、＜研究協力者の名前＞

さんにとって、日本語教室で自分がこういう役割を果たせたらいいなと思うような理想的なイメージがあるわけでしょ。そういうのに近づくためになんか勉強してみようかなとかいう気は？
かえで2-46：いや、どういうことをしたらそうなるのかとか全然わからないんですね。ただ1対1なら二人で築き上げていっくものかなっていうだけで。
直子2-47：二人で築き上げるために＜研究協力者の名前＞さんのほうが知ってたらいいこと、できたらいいことが何を勉強したらわかるのか、できるようになるのかがわからないっていうこと？
かえで2-47：わからないんだけど、今単純に思っているのがやっぱり日本語を教えるテクニックですよね。うん、それプラス自分の感性みたいなもの。それはもう磨けないから困っちゃった。＜笑い＞

Naoko 2-32: And <NAME OF JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL>'s international class was it?

Kaede 2-32: Yes.

Naoko 2-33: And the JSL study group. You said you'd taught the word 'adultery' there didn't you?

Kaede 2:33: Yes.

Naoko 2-34: When you are in such a situation, you feel you are learning with them. But there are many decisions you need to make, aren't there? What to do next or how to do something. How do you decide these things?

Kaede 2-34: I ask them. I ask them what they'd like to do next. So I don't think I'm much use at <NAME OF JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL>, although I may be OK with adults because we can communicate.

Naoko 2-34: Why?

Kaede 2-34: I believe you have to study at junior high. So I don't think volunteers should go into school. The ones without teaching skills, I mean. People who can teach should be doing it. So I don't think I'm of any use at all. I can't make decisions. So I leave it with the children and ask what they'd like to do next or how we should do something. <laughter>

Naoko 2-36: And when they say they'd like to do such and such, do you do it?

Kaede 2-36: They say they'd like to work on the computer. So I say okay, let's do that.

Naoko 2-37: So do you mean people with teaching skills would know what they should do next or how children should study?

Kaede 2-37: Yeah. <pause> Yeah. People with teaching skills or techniques. Those with the ability.

Naoko 2-38: So do you think people with teaching skills wouldn't consult the children?

Kaede 2-38: Yeah, they know what to do to some extent, I suppose. <pause> The best teachers are the ones who have the knowledge and still understand the children's feelings and are willing to consult them. Teachers should be doing the work at least in schools even for JSL classes.

Naoko 2-39: So in what way do you think you are of use to adults?

Kaede 2-39: No, no, I'm not saying I'm of use. <laughter> I just think communication is the primary goal with adults.

Naoko 2-40: Ah, because they aren't learning maths or science?

Kaede 2-40: Yes. <pause> So it may not be language learning that I'm helping with.

Naoko 2-41: But language is part of communication, isn't it?

Kaede 2-41: Yeah. But that's the only thing I can do. I never learned how to teach Japanese.

Naoko 2-42: What shall I say? <pause> This is a hypothetical question. If you had teaching skills, to borrow your words, in what's generally called JSL, do you think you'd be of use in other ways from what you are now?

Kaede 2-42: Other ways? Well as far as language acquisition is concerned I think at least I'd be of much more use to the people I come in contact with.

Naoko 2-43: In short, people coming to the study group expect many things other than learning Japanese, don't they? So <pause> In the first interview I had the impression you gave priority to developing in them an attitude that would enable them to make friends with Japanese people and to talk to them when they are in trouble.

Kaede 2-43: You're right. So it's not just learning Japanese. We don't only teach Japanese. If we don't care about what this person is thinking now or whether he is enjoying himself, if we only offer language, the learners probably wouldn't continue. Yeah. So we need to have a sensitive antenna. It's easy to teach a language, isn't it? It sounds odd, but you only have to go "Aa." Don't you?

Naoko 2-44: Well, teaching as performance may be easy. But teaching and learning are totally different matters.

Kaede 2-44: Yeah. I wonder. Is this person enjoying himself now? What does this person want me to teach? You never get to know these things unless you have a sensitive antenna. So you need to try to pick up the signals. If you have teaching skills on top, you can teach in an enjoyable way. Yeah. Learners wouldn't need to feel they are trying desperately hard. They can learn without making any conscious effort even when they are having fun. I wonder if that's what they call the exchange approach[7]. Yeah, ultimately teaching in the exchange approach with teaching skills would be best. The sort of teacher would be very good, I guess.

Naoko 2-45: Would you like to be one?

Kaede 2-45: Yes, I'd like to. But I can't. <laughter> I haven't studied first of all.

Naoko 2-46: You have an image of the perfect role you'd like to play in the JSL study group, although it may not necessarily be what is generally considered as teaching JSL. Do you have any intention of studying something in order to get closer to this image?

Kaede 2-46: Well, I have no idea how I can get closer to it. The only thing I can think of is that a teacher and a learner, in the case of a one-to-one lesson, build the lesson together.

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[7] The exchange approach is advocated by some leaders and researchers of JSL volunteer work. Their assumption is that a second language is acquired through interaction with proficient speakers of the language in cross-cultural exchange activities.

Naoko 2-47: Do you mean you don't know what you need to study in order to learn what you need to know and to be able to do, to build a lesson together?

Kaede 2-47: I don't know. But I have this simplistic idea. You've got to have teaching skills in Japanese. Yeah. And your sensitivity. I'm in trouble because I can't sharpen my sensitivity any more. <laughter>

At the end of the second interview, I told Kaede why I had wanted to interview her and how my intention was satisfied. Kaede agreed that she fell into the category of born and educated in Japan and having developed a pro-autonomy attitude, and continued her talk as follows:

かえで2-168：＜前略＞私、基本的に潔いっていう言葉が好きなんですよね。例えば人に脅されて悪いことをしても、やった段階の判断は私のものなんですよね。だからあんまり言い訳したくない。だからすごい損している時もある。自分で損だよなって思いながら、言い訳の一言が言えない。
直子2-169：人のせいにできない。
かえで2-169：できない。うん。絶対できない。
直子2-170：そういうのって関係あるのかな。やっぱり自分で責任をとるっていう意味で関係あるんでしょうね。
かえで2-170：うーん。あんまり人にはふりたくない。×××がいい。そうすれば失敗してもこけても自分で納得できる。
直子2-171：やっぱり自分がそう思っているから、子どもに接する時とかでも、ちょっと距離を保てるっていうか、相手が自分で決めて、自分で動けるようなスペースを残しといてあげられるのかな。
かえで2-171：うん、そうですね。私は相手が気がつかないサポートってなかなかできないんですよね。それこそテクニックかなと思う。それができればいいんですけど、あたしたちは下手だから、手を出しちゃったら、見え見えの手の出し方しかできない。うん。それは子ども会の時もほんとにつくづくそう思った。自分で決めなさいっていうところまではできたけど、じゃあどうしたらそれが形になっていくかっていうサポートは全然できない。
直子2-172：あれは難しい。
かえで2-172：難しいですよね。そこができたらいいなあと。

Kaede 2-168: <The first part of turn omitted> I basically like the idea of being willing to take responsibility. If you are threatened into doing something wrong, for example, the decision to do it is still yours. So I don't want to make excuses. Sometimes it makes my life more difficult. I'm aware of that, and still I can't make excuses.

Naoko 2-169: You can't put the blame on someone else.

Kaede 2-169: No. Absolutely not.

Naoko 2-170: I wonder if that's related to your attitude. I guess it is in the sense that you take responsibility for yourself.

Kaede 2-170: Yeah. I don't want to pass the buck. I like XXXXX because I can accept my failure if anything goes wrong.

Naoko 2-171: Perhaps thinking that way enables you to keep some distance from the children or leave them the space to make decisions and move around for themselves.

Kaede 2-171: Yeah, maybe. I find it very difficult to give support without being noticed. I think

that's a technique. It'd be good if I could. But I'm not good at it. When I help, my way is so obvious. Yeah. I felt it keenly when I was working for the children's section. I was able to tell them to make decisions for themselves, but I was completely incapable of giving support as they tried to follow through on these decisions.

Naoko 2-172: That's difficult.

Kaede 2-172: It is, isn't it? Would be good if I could do that.

Chapter 10 Implications of the stories for a teacher educator

In the previous six chapters I have presented pro-autonomy teachers' stories of personal and professional development. One limitation of those stories is that I did not collect any data on how these teachers actually teach, for the reason discussed in Chapter 3 (pp.65-66). It is thus not possible to make any claims about the relationship between teachers' attitudes towards learner autonomy and their actual teaching practice. A positive attitude may not guarantee the kind of teaching which actually supports learner autonomy. It is, however, difficult to imagine that such teaching is possible without a positive attitude towards learner autonomy on the part of teachers. So if teacher educators know how a positive attitude may develop, they have at least half the necessary knowledge at their disposal. Although the diversity in the trajectories of the six teachers' development makes it impossible to make any generalization as to how pro-autonomy teachers can be educated, it is possible to suggest some possibly useful principles for teacher education deduced from those stories. In this chapter I shall try to articulate my line of thinking to arrive at those principles. My argument will also clarify what teacher education cannot or should not do. Of course, my thinking is situated in my work context, JSL teacher education at a Japanese university, and my past experiences. Readers may find some of the principles to be irrelevant or simply a matter of fact. Those principles are there because I thought that they were worth exploring in my situation. I never intended to make any universal claims. Others may find something lacking. I tried to base my argument on what the stories tell instead of on logic. My argument is not meant to be exhaustive. In concluding the chapter I shall offer my tentative answers to the three questions posed at the end of Chapter 2:

* Why do some teachers and schools manage to find "the spaces and opportunities for manoeuver" (Lamb 2000) under external constraints while others do not?
* Starting from where each teacher is, how can encouragement of reflective practice instill in all teachers the kind of commitment required to support learner autonomy?
* Can reflection be a substitute for counselling and interpersonal learning groups as a means of promoting teachers' personal development?

10-1. The nature of commitment

In Chapter 2 I argued that teaching practice to support learner autonomy requires commitment on the part of teachers (pp.54-55). Commitment presupposes something to commit to and something else to commit to it. Having written the six life stories of pro-autonomy teachers, I would hypothesize that the required commitment is the commitment of the teacher's self to her learners.

All interviewed teachers mention particular learners as having had an influence on their teaching. Those learners are roughly grouped into two categories. One category is those who would take the initiative successfully in learning what they want to learn. Mia's PhD candidate, Chidori's husband, Sakura's husband, and Sawai's Brazilian construction workers are such examples. The other category is those who are struggling. Mia's post doctoral students, Chidori's cramming school kids, Keiko's student with a psychological problem are in this group. The kid who offered Kaede cold tea was not learning a language, but may be included in this group because he was struggling to make sense of his relationship with his mother. The encounter with and empathic understanding of those learners seems to have been one of the major factors which have pushed the teachers towards shifting their teaching in favour of learner autonomy.

Indeed, the teachers' descriptions[1] of the difference between pro-autonomy teachers and other teachers focus on concern for learners. Keiko thinks pro-autonomy teachers have to accept that the language teacher's job is not just training mechanical skills. She says that it involves a change in one's view of education. She is now in the process of changing in her view of the teacher-learner relationship and is trying to learn how to keep the optimal (psychological) distance from her students. Chidori thinks that supporting learners mentally is an important aspect of pro-autonomy teachers' work. Sakura, based on her experience of introducing her colleagues to the idea of learner autonomy, observes that care for learners is one of the crucial factors which facilitate teachers' understanding of the idea. Sawai says that JSL teachers are disliked by community volunteers because they only try to teach language and do not try to understand urgent non-linguistic needs learners may have and the social context they live in. Kaede thinks that teaching language itself is rather easy and that the difficult part is to understand learners' feelings.

The interviewed teachers make a commitment to learners. And what they commit to learners seems to be their whole person. The clearest case in this respect is probably Sakura. She worked in a situation where teacher autonomy as freedom was extremely limited. In this situation, however, Sakura started putting her knowledge about learner autonomy into practice. She says that she might have wanted to give her students the freedom she herself wanted. Another teacher who clearly states that her practice is bound up with her self is Chidori. She says that she teaches for her own self-actualization. It seems to be important for her to teach in a way she believes to be good. She will probably have her way against all odds. She actually persists in spite of the conflict with her colleagues which her pro-autonomy practice induced. The other teachers do not seem to have experienced conflicts as severe as the ones Sakura and Chidori did, but their reasons for being in

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[1] Mia did not comment on this issue because she had mainly worked independently of other teachers since she started thinking about learner autonomy.

the profession seem to be deeply rooted in their person. Mia wants to repay the kindness which she was afforded in the United States. Sawai cannot ignore people in trouble; he also identifies himself with Brazilians and enjoys working with them. Keiko is never satisfied with her current ability and always wants to learn more. Kaede remarked, outside the interview context, that she was doing volunteer work because she would not like to be told what to do if she were to live in a foreign country; she said that her work was her struggle for her own rights. Listening to these teachers made me feel that they teach in the way they do, not so much because they believe it is a good way as because they have to teach that way to be themselves.

These factors may be associated with the characteristics of teachers which Rogers (1980) claims are necessary to support the personal development of learners: unconditional positive regard, empathic understanding and realness. Concern for learners is likely to lead to the first two. Rogers (1980, p.271, italics in the original) describes realness in a facilitator-learner relationship as meaning "the facilitator *being*, not denying himself or herself". Teaching in a certain way to be oneself would give teachers the quality of realness. As I argued in Chapter 2 (p.56), these characteristics may constitute, at least in part, teachers' capacity to support the development of learner autonomy.

If the commitment of self to learners is a decisive factor in making a teacher a learner autonomy practitioner, how does that commitment develop? I shall try to answer this question in the following sections.

10-2. The seed of commitment

For the interviewed teachers choosing JSL (or refusing to choose in the case of Sawai) as their career was part of their struggle to achieve personal autonomy. Those teachers' commitment of themselves to their learners may be related to the development of their personal autonomy.

Mia and Sawai seem to have developed a fairly high degree of personal autonomy at an early stage of their lives. Mia clearly states that her parents' support influenced her development of personal autonomy. Sawai also mentions his mother as supporter of his wishes. Parental support helped them to make choices of their own such as changing schools or prioritizing their activities.

Kaede, Sakura and Chidori did not seem to have enjoyed the kind of parental support that Mia and Sawai did. Kaede felt that she was not loved by her parents in her childhood although her grandparents adored her. Sakura and Chidori had an ambivalent relationship with their parents. Sakura's father had a double standard although he supported her academic interests. Her mother often put her down when she was a child. Chidori says that she was not unhappy, but that she felt

her wishes were sometimes not heard.

These three teachers' change may be described as a turn from reactive autonomy to proactive autonomy. Reactive autonomy is a term used by Littlewood (1999, p.75) to describe "the kind of autonomy which does not create its own directions but, once a direction has been initiated, enables learners to organize their resources autonomously in order to reach their goal". Proactive autonomy, on the other hand, denotes the form of autonomy with which learners set their own agenda and take charge of their own learning. The three teachers behaved themselves very well in their childhood. Kaede believed that she had to be a good child because she was not loved. Sakura seems to have been a "good student" throughout her schooling in Japan. She was also a "good daughter", working hard at school, going to a university of her parents' choice and taking a job which her father found for her. Chidori followed her parents' decisions and was academically successful at school till her father died. These three teachers may be said to have had reactive autonomy in their youth. When they started questioning the way they were treated in the family and at work, however, they started struggling for their proactive personal autonomy. Kaede decided to refuse to marry. Chidori broke off her engagement. Sakura quit her job and went to the States for her graduate work.

The turn from reactive to proactive personal autonomy, however, was not a once-and-for-all matter. It is a long process and, listening to those teachers' stories including Mia's, Sawai's and Keiko's I see the process is still continuing for them. Those teachers' choice to teach JSL was part of this process.

Chidori needed to be financially independent after her father's death, but she only came to realize that marriage did not eradicate the need when her German husband suggested that they should be financially independent of each other. While she lived in Germany Chidori realized the possibility of teaching Japanese in Japan through her language learning experience in Germany. Sakura initially wanted to marry a diplomat, but around the time she became aware of women's position in society she came to want to make a contribution to society herself. She says she thought that being Japanese she should be able to teach Japanese "for" foreigners. Kaede wanted to stay with her daughter when she was young. She only worked part-time during the hours when her daughter was at school. As the daughter grew older, however, she came to spend longer hours at school, and Kaede felt she needed to change her life. She had been interested in foreign children who started living in her neighborhood in great numbers around that time and decided to start doing volunteer work for them.

Keiko did not refer to her childhood very much in the interviews, but she seems to have been a

hard working student in her high school years. She describes herself in those days as biddable. Her history of professional development is, however, far from reactive. As she comments herself, she seems to have been driven by intrinsic motivation to learn more. She must have experienced a turn from reactive autonomy to proactive autonomy at some point.

Keiko probably wanted something a bit more exciting than teaching when she was an undergraduate student. But she wanted a job which would allow more choices in her life. She thought that a job which requires qualification would be desirable. Being a student of literature, a teaching qualification seemed to be the only option for her. Keiko describes, however, the period between graduation and marriage for women as a moratorium. She may have chosen to teach JSL, which is a job less stable and less well-paid than that of teaching at a high school, because it was more exciting work to do during the moratorium. At some point or other, however, Keiko must have made a decision to stay single, although she did not talk about that aspect of her life in the interviews. The work that had been meant to be temporary became her life-time career.

Mia went to the States of her own will and her experience there made her start exploring her identity. She was grateful to people who supported her there and came to want to repay the kindness fairly early in her adulthood. Teaching JSL only made connection with her wish to repay the kindness after ten or so years of teaching, though. She initially joined a JSL teacher training programme when she found the company job she had was not what she wanted. She does not seem to have appreciated the programme. She identified herself more with the EFL teacher training she had at university. When she got a teaching job at a Japanese language school, in spite of the fact that she says she liked the job and her colleagues, her doubt as to whether what she did could be of any help to her students kept growing. She even thought of studying to be a speech therapist when she returned to graduate school after teaching for almost ten years. It was only when she became aware that teaching JSL could be a means to help people to learn to function in Japanese society as the person they are that she finally chose teaching JSL as her life-time career.

Sawai's story looks very different from those female teachers' stories. It seems that he had always had his way in making choices about his life and that his debt to a scholarship foundation was the first major obstacle which he had to give in to. He was angry to find that he had to be a teacher in order to escape from the debt. His anger probably reflected his negative feelings towards the secondary teachers he had. His strong refusal to be a JSL teacher may be part of his expression of this anger. But his inability to ignore people in trouble and his empathic identification with Brazilians drove him to teach JSL. Sawai probably still has to find a way to come to terms with those contradictory urges in himself.

Being a JSL teacher is part and parcel of those teachers' proactive personal autonomy. I suspect that this explains their commitment to the profession. It does not explain, however, their concern for learners. In fact those five female teachers' stories seem to reflect the social situation middle class Japanese women often find themselves in.[2] Those female teachers' stories resonate with the ones of other female JSL teachers I know. So if the perception of teaching as a means to achieve one's personal autonomy is the only factor that makes pro-autonomy teachers, we should find more of them than we actually do.

There must be some other factors. One such factor might be an interest in and empathic understanding of what may be called the foreign, which originated at a relatively early stage of those teachers' lives.[3] Mia and Sakura took to learning English early on. Mia went to the States in her senior high school years and Sakura joined an English course organized by a city council. Keiko had relatives living in Hawaii and had a chance to communicate with them in English. Chidori's father learned French and Russian at home and she knew language learning could be fun. This factor covers more than an interest in a language, though. Sawai watched television programmes which reported overseas affairs and the knowledge he gained from them became a decisive factor in determining his choice of major at university. Kaede also remembers seeing a foreign film and being influenced by its content. Trying to escape from the bond of her family, she planned to go to Australia, although the plan did not materialize due to her illness. By the time they started teaching JSL they had had encounters with non-Japanese people, which all of them talk of positively.

I suspect that this early interest in the foreign might have been a seed for their later pro-autonomy attitude as second language teachers. Their interest in the foreign led them to situations where they met non-Japanese people not as JSL learners but as human beings. The experience may have enabled those teachers to see [foreign] learners as people with their own thoughts and

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[2] For women, teaching is one of the few relatively easy entry points to a professional career. Particularly teaching JSL attracts many women. Foreign languages have traditionally been the subjects which female students are thought to be good at and foreign language studies have been one of the disciplines with a large number of female students. JSL is a newly developing field and is not part of national curricula. This means that financially secure full-time jobs are few in number. Men, who are generally expected to be providers, often find it difficult to enter and stay in the profession if they want to. So women have more opportunities than they would have in other subject areas although men are obviously favoured in full-time positions. According to the report issued by The Cultural Agency in 1998, while only 23.4% of the total population of JSL teachers were men, 42.4% of those in a full-time position were men in 1996.

[3] In the times when those teachers grew up it was quite possible for Japanese children even from a middle class home to grow up without going abroad and meeting any foreign people personally. So lack of actual contact experience does not necessarily mean lack of interest.

feelings, which may have resulted in their concern for learners.

Another possible factor is social awareness. As I have chosen life story research for the reasons explained in Chapter 3 (pp.63-64), sociopolitical aspects of those teachers' lives and career were not systematically followed through. But these teachers' talks show that they had social awareness in their youth and beyond before getting involved in teaching JSL, though its degree may vary. Mia's memory of schools in the 1960's, Chidori's questioning of practice in cramming schools, Sawai's concern for children in developing countries and his determination to advocate the right to learn, Sakura's consciousness of women's position in the society and Kaede's childhood awareness of discrimination are such evidences. The practice of learner autonomy has been said to be political (Benson 1997, Little 1997, Aoki 1999). It would naturally involve teachers' social awareness. It would certainly help if teachers have had the awareness before joining the profession.

Yet another possible factor is language learning experience. Everyone except Kaede has functional competence in at least one language other than Japanese. However only one teacher, Chidori, has experienced any kind of language education which may have embraced the idea of learner autonomy. The others learned second languages more or less in an autonomous manner as the situation dictated, sometimes in spite of the pedagogy adopted by the schools they attended. Mia was aware from early on that there were things schools could not offer for her acquisition of English. Sawai was also aware of the limitation of the university language programme in Brazil and steered his learning process for himself. Keiko seems to have used both classroom and real life context to her benefit in learning Mandarin and Cantonese. She also learned to speak and write English without formal instruction. Sakura's experience of learning English has been fairly autonomous too. She actively sought opportunities for learning - the local community centre, university elective courses and the English Speaking Society - and fully exploited those possibilities. She was successful to the extent that she hardly had any problems with English when she started studying at an American university for the first time.

Autonomy in second language learning and competence in the language may contribute to the development of teacher autonomy in that they involve the development of knowledge and attitude described in Chapter 1 as constituting learner autonomy as capacity, thus enabling teachers to give assistance to learners who are trying to become autonomous. In fact Keiko says that she would tell her students of the importance of setting an achievable goal within the available time, based on her experience of learning Chinese.

10-3. How the seed may grow

It took Mia, Keiko, Chidori, Sawai and Sakura between several and ten years of their teaching career before they came to realize the need for learner autonomy and change their practice. Kaede seems to be still exploring how best she could be of use to learners. It is particularly worth noting that Mia, Sawai and Sakura, who went through varying degrees of self-directed modes of education at the post-secondary level, remember their initial inability to connect their learning experience to their teaching. In this section I shall try to explain why becoming a pro-autonomy teacher took so much time and suggest what might have helped the change.

All interviewed teachers went through primary and secondary education in Japan except Mia, who spent a year in the United States in her senior high school years. None of them thinks that the schools they attended were unusual, so it would be safe to assume that their schools were more or less traditional ones. The teachers' perceptions of the schools, however, differ. Mia, Sawai and Chidori are very critical of their schools and teachers, whereas Keiko, Sakura and Kaede do not seem to have had any serious problems and mention some good teachers. What makes this difference is not clear. Keiko's, Sakura's and Kaede's teachers may have been better than Mia's, Sawai's and Chidori's. Mia, Sawai and Chidori may have developed their critical capacity earlier than the others. Or they may have felt less concerned about criticizing their teachers in the interviews. The reason may, of course, be different for each teacher and complex -- a mixture of these three and probably more factors. In any case, whether they perceive their primary and secondary education positively or negatively, the way those teachers - particularly Mia, Keiko, Chidori and Sakura - initially taught does not seem to have been very dissimilar to the way they were taught in schools.

This may be considered to be yet another piece of supporting evidence for Lortie's (1975) claim for the power of apprenticeship of observation. But lack of intervention in the form of initial teacher education or on-the-job training (OJT), or reinforcement of apprenticeship of observation by initial teacher education and OJT, may have been as crucial as these early experiences.

Sawai and Kaede have never had any formal JSL teacher education. The initial JSL teacher education which Mia, Keiko and Sakura went through taught them to teach in a teacher-directed manner. Chidori taught at a cramming school for nearly ten years before she started teaching JSL. The OJT she experienced encouraged an extreme form of teacher-direction. OJT which Mia, Keiko and Sakura received did not embrace the idea of learner autonomy either.

Reviewing studies in teachers' career cycles, Carter & Doyle (1996) conclude that it takes four to

seven years on average for teachers to build confidence in teaching and establish their identity as a teacher. During these years teachers tend to be concerned first with their own survival in the reality of the classroom and then with their teaching rather than their students' learning (Fuller 1969, Nias 1989, Borich 1999). It is not surprising that teachers try to look authoritative and take as much initiative as possible if that was how they were taught to teach. Reflecting on how she taught in her novice years, Mia says that she may have been bluffing so that learners would not see she was still a neophyte.

Ironically but quite consistently with the findings of Huberman's (1993) study in teachers' career cycles, it is only when the teachers became better at what they had been taught to do that they started seeing its limitations. Around the time they changed their thinking and practice they had one thing in common: teacher autonomy as freedom. Mia took a university position which did not involve coordinating with other teachers. Keiko worked in Hong Kong where she designed her own courses. Chidori had freedom in teaching the teaching practicum at a Japanese language school, although she was expected to conform to the principles of the school in teaching Japanese language classes. Sakura was unwittingly allowed freedom by the department head who wanted to give her a hard time. Sawai teaches in his own project. The teacher in charge of Kaede's international class seems to have a laissez-faire attitude.

Observing and talking to learners seem to have been the major sources of insight. Teacher autonomy as freedom appears to have facilitated the process by letting the teachers apply the insights into their practice they gained from learners. There are also some other factors that seem to have facilitated the process. One such factor may be the role which colleagues and teacher educators played. Mia had a cognitive psychologist colleague who convinced her of the value of a knowledge of cognitive psychology for teaching. Keiko's colleagues in Hong Kong accepted her in their community and introduced her to the idea of learner autonomy. Chidori worked in a teacher training institution which promoted learner autonomy and was able to observe teachers backstage as it were. Kaede talks of her colleagues in the volunteer group as having a healing effect which she had never experienced previously. This was most likely a supporting element in the change of her view of children. Talking with her colleagues also helped Kaede to sort out what is required to help foreign children at Japanese schools. Sawai and Sakura do not refer to any colleagues who supported them around the time of change, but colleagues who are not physically present may be able to play the role too. The Freirean practitioners who welcomed Sawai to their community in Brazil and seem to have contributed to the shaping of his "Brazilian identity" or Sakura's advisor at the graduate school may have played a supporting role in their minds.

My analysis indicates that the teachers had three conditions which Deci (1995) claims form the basis

for self-motivation: autonomy, a sense of competence, and interpersonal connectedness, although its details and degree may vary from teacher to teacher. Deci (ibid) contends that "*self*-motivation, rather than external motivation, is at the heart of creativity, responsibility, healthy behavior, and lasting change" (ibid, p.9, italics in the original). So these three conditions may be counted as crucial for pro-autonomy teacher development.

There seems to be, however, another factor associated with the development of teachers' positive attitude towards and understanding of learner autonomy. Some academic disciplines and other genres of literature provided useful insights. The teachers refer to cognitive psychology and second language acquisition studies (Mia), adult education (Sawai and Sakura), counselling (Chidori) and applied linguistics (Keiko) as having influenced their thinking. Kaede's comment is worth our attention too. She says that reading children's stories was the first stage of change in her view of children.

Among the six teachers only Chidori had experienced an explicitly learner autonomy oriented JSL in-service teacher education. Her experience, however, was a mixed blessing. In the next section I shall explore possibilities for teacher education and its limitations.

10-4. How the process may be accelerated: pre-service education

The teacher education programme which Chidori attended had both in-service and pre-service teachers. Some in-service teachers did not like it. Relations between the programme participants got problematic and some thought of dropping out of the profession. Chidori suffered when she discovered that every teaching skill she had painstakingly developed needed to be denied if she was to be a learner autonomy practitioner. She also observes that pre-service teachers had less resistance to the idea of learner autonomy because they took it to be the way to teach JSL but that they had to face their senior colleagues' criticisms once they started working for schools.

This episode has a lot to offer teacher educators. Teaching to teach in any particular way, even if the method aims at the development of learner autonomy, would undermine teachers' developing autonomy. The way teachers learn also has to be negotiated, if the programme is to avoid becoming "a regime of pedagogy" (Gore 1993) and respect teachers' autonomy. Teacher education programmes need to be flexible in their curriculum and leave a lot of room, psychologically as well as timewise, for teachers to think, explore, resist and rebel. They also have to take into account the work context which teachers they educate are likely to find themselves in when they start teaching. Principles which may not be easily accepted in many schools should not be recommended without necessary warnings. Pro-autonomy teacher educators, however, also

have the responsibility to socialize the teachers in their charge into the community of learner autonomy practitioners who share knowledge, values, customs and aspirations. They always have to work in this tension.

To do this daunting work a teacher education programme which aims to educate teachers capable of supporting learner autonomy should, first of all, advertise itself as such. Applicants should be encouraged to compare the programme with other types of teacher education programmes and decide whether the programme is really what they want to go through. The admission needs to be negotiated on the basis that applicants are willing to commit themselves to the idea of learner autonomy. Of course the process can never completely screen out those applicants who wish to join the programme for other reasons such as the prestige of the programme, the convenient location of the school, and misleading appearance that the programme is less demanding than other types of programme. Whatever the real reason to choose a programme may be, as long as admission has been negotiated, programme participants can be given, and will in most cases take, responsibility for the result of their choice. This strategy will become extremely difficult to implement, however, when most teacher education programmes jump on the band wagon and start claiming that they aim for learner autonomy, or when such a form of teacher education becomes mandatory.

The idea of negotiated admission is technically impossible to implement for many undergraduate programmes in Japan. High school students are strongly advised by their teachers to choose a university according to its ranking and their estimated score in the entrance examination. Applicants rarely research what will be on offer once they are accepted into a particular programme. Written examinations, which are often the only means of screening, are not an ideal tool to check if a particular candidate knows about the programme and is ready to commit herself to the study. The choice for students needs to be built into the curriculum and/or teacher educators' teaching practice.

Initial teacher education and volunteer training programmes run by language schools and other non-university institutions which are mostly targeted at mature people probably have a better chance to talk with applicants. In such cases negotiated admission may become possible. It may also be possible to set some admission criteria. Interest in the foreign[4] and social awareness may be candidates. But Sawai told me of a social worker who had worked with the handicapped and

[4] Among the often heard reasons for wanting to be a JSL teacher is "I want to introduce Japanese language and/or culture to foreign people because I love my language and culture." Whether applicants with such motivation, naïve at best and ethnocentric at worst, need to be screened out may be debatable.

became a superb supporter of immigrant workers. The criteria may have to be extended to something like concern for social minorities.

Making successful autonomous language learning experience a criterion may not be appropriate, however. It would exclude people like Kaede. Kaede has had experience of learning English outside compulsory school curricula and enjoyed it, although her language learning experience was, according to her, not very successful because she is happy when rapport is established and never worries about language. In fact, as seen in the cases of Keiko, Chidori and Sawai, successful language learning may be rather a late experience. A large number of people still graduate without any working competence of a foreign language and they probably engage in language learning seriously only when the need arises.

The degree of commitment to the profession does not seem to be a viable screening criterion, either. The six teachers' initial reasons for going into the teaching profession are diverse and do not fit neatly with the image of dedicated professionals many would have of them. Mia wanted to repay kindness she had been afforded in the United States, but teaching was only a back-up plan for her initially. Sawai had never wanted to be a teacher but took a university position in order to escape from the debt he had to a scholarship foundation. Keiko perhaps only wanted something more exciting than teaching at a senior high school. Chidori needed financial independence. Kaede wanted to change her life. It is only Sakura who talks of teaching as a contribution to society. The degree of personal autonomy may be an effective predictor of applicants' future commitment, but I doubt if it has face validity in the eyes of applicants and if it is ethically feasible to discuss such matters in an admission interview.

So rather than recruiting prospective teachers with second language competence, commitment to the profession and a high degree of personal autonomy, teacher educators need to think about ways to nurture such qualities in the teachers in their charge.

One way to do this may be to build a community of practice (Lave & Wenger 1991, Rogoff 1995, Wenger 1998) in and out of the programme. In a community of practice with optimal conditions for learning, newcomers "advance their skill and understanding through participation with others in culturally organized activities" (Rogoff 1995, p.143). Rogoff (ibid) calls this device for learning apprenticeship, whereas Lave and Wenger (1991) use the term legitimate peripheral participation for a similar concept. Wenger (1998, p.225), in discussing learning in a community of practice, states that "[l]earning happens, design or no design. And yet there are few more urgent tasks than to design social infrastructures that foster learning." He argues that "the issues of education should be addressed first and foremost in terms of identities and modes of belonging ... and only

secondarily in terms of skills and information" (ibid, p.263). Wenger (ibid) recognizes four dimensions of design; (i) participation and reification, (ii) the designed and the emergent, (iii) the local and the global, and (iv) identification and negotiability. Those four sets of concepts are not to be understood as mutually exclusive or in any kind of hierarchical relationship. The key is to keep balance in each set. Wenger (ibid) proposes four principles for doing this:

*"Design for practice is always distributed between participation and reification - and its realization depends on how these two sides fit together." (ibid, p.232)
*"There is an inherent uncertainty between design and its realization in practice, since practice is not the result of design but rather a response to it." (ibid, p.233)
*"No community can fully design the learning of another." And at the same time "[n]o community can fully design its own learning." (ibid, p.234)
*"Design creates fields of identification and negotiability that orient the practices and identities of those involved to various forms of participation and non-participation." (ibid, p.235)

Wenger (ibid) also identifies three modes of belonging; engagement, imagination, and alignment. The infrastructure of a learning architecture, he contends, must offer facilities for each of these three modes of belonging. And these facilities also have to address each of the four dimensions. For example, facilities for the dimension of the local and the global are, among other things, multimembership for engagement, maps for imagination, and standards for alignment.

The merit of viewing teacher learning in Wenger's framework is that he conceives learning as identity transformation. He describes the mechanism of learning in a community of practice as follows:

> "any community of practice provides a set of models for negotiating trajectories. These 'paradigmatic' trajectories are not simply reified milestones, such as those provided by a career ladder or even by communal rituals. Rather, they embody the history of the community through the very participation and identities of practitioners. They include actual people as well as composite stories. Exposure to this field of paradigmatic trajectories is likely to be the most influential factor shaping the learning of newcomers. In the end, it is members -- by their very participation -- who create the set of possibilities to which newcomers are exposed as they negotiate their own trajectories. No matter what is said, taught, prescribed, recommended, or tested, newcomers are no fools: once they have actual access to the practice, they soon find out what counts.
>
> From this perspective, a community of practice is a field of possible trajectories and thus the proposal of an identity. It is a history and the promise of that history. It is a field of

possible pasts and of possible futures, which are all there for participants, not only to witness, hear about, and contemplate, but to engage with. They can interact with old-timers, who offer living examples of possible trajectories. A community of practice is a history collapsed into a present that invites engagement. Newcomers can engage with their own future, as embodied by old-timers. As a community of practice, these old-timers deliver the past and offer the future, in the form of narratives and participation both. Each has a story to tell. In addition, the practice itself gives life to these stories, and the possibility of mutual engagement offers a way to enter these stories through one's own experience." (ibid, p.156)

The essential characteristics of pro-autonomy teachers, commitment to learners, motivation to learn second languages and developing personal autonomy, are not something that can be taught formally. Participation in a community of teachers with such characteristics, however, may nurture the same quality in student teachers.

Although no interviewed teacher experienced a JSL teaching practicum and I am not able to refer to their experience, the approach to teaching practicum needs rethinking if we are to apply Wenger's theory. Rather than scheduling a teaching practicum near the completion of a programme, student teachers should be put in contact with practicing teachers and learners from an early stage of teacher education. Teacher education programmes also have to share educational philosophy and principles with the institutions where a teaching practicum takes place. Teacher educators, mentor teachers in teaching practicum, other teachers of local schools and senior students must form a community of practice. Students entering the programme are recognized as legitimate members of the community and allowed to participate in the community's practice. Old-timers are likely to meet newcomers with unconditional positive regard, empathic understanding and realness. Newcomers are supposed to share the old-timers' knowledge, values, commitment and aspirations, but at the same time are allowed to negotiate meanings of this knowledge, values, commitment and aspirations and create their own meanings. Teacher educators have to acknowledge, however, that mastery of teaching is a long process which takes several years. The types of teaching which try to support the development of learner autonomy are particularly difficult endeavours as discussed in Chapter 2. It would not be fair to expect pre-service teachers to be able to carry out the work entirely for themselves. The student teachers should be provided with scaffolding mechanisms which facilitate their participation in the practice of the community. They should be allowed, for example, to share a lesson with an experienced teacher and teach only an easier part of it. An appropriate amount of scaffolding should be given for planning too. Suggestions for improvement should come before, rather than after, the actual teaching so that they should not undermine student teachers' sense of competence. Feedback to student

teachers' teaching should focus on their own concerns, but teacher educators and mentor teachers also have to guide student teachers' attention to learners so that they should not become too concerned about themselves and their teaching skills.

Action research as defined in the mainstream second language teacher education literature is of course one way of encouraging student teachers to observe and understand learners. But there are other ways for teachers to develop empathic understanding of learners. In fact the accounts of learners who have influenced the interviewed teachers' thinking hardly involve formal data collection. Simply talking to learners, as Mia and Sakura did, or reflecting on one's interaction with them, as Keiko and Kaede did, may lead to understanding. Encouraging these informal ways may sometimes be more suitable than action research, particularly when the curriculum is already packed or when students only study part-time and cannot devote as much time to their study as full-time students would. In such cases action research may have to be carried out at the cost of the time for teachers to reflect on their practice, as I pointed out in Chapter 2 (pp.50-51).

The kind of teaching practicum described above will give student teachers a sense of autonomy, competence and interpersonal connectedness, which will hopefully lead to the development of real commitment. But this requires a substantial number of practicing teachers who are dedicated to the idea of learner autonomy. If policy makers plan to introduce learner autonomy in their educational system, they might consider concentrating pro-autonomy teachers in a limited number of schools at the initial stage of policy implementation and try to establish school-university partnership among those schools and a university which offers a pro-autonomy pre-service teacher education programme. Unless such schemes are available, teacher educators' goal for pre-service teacher education will have to be rather modest.

According to the six teachers' accounts, a curriculum may have to focus more on learners and learning than on the linguistic aspects of a target language. Chidori, Sawai and Kaede did not go through any form of initial JSL teacher training and feel they lack formal knowledge of the language. Sakura, who was trained in the audio-lingual method but majored in adult education at graduate school, also says she lacks formal linguistic knowledge. However Mia, who experienced probably the most thorough initial teacher training among the six teachers and did her graduate work in a linguistics department, thinks that she has had enough of linguistics. Chidori also observes that advanced knowledge of linguistics does not produce effective teachers. These comments may suggest that a pre-service JSL teacher education programme should offer courses in basic Japanese linguistics, but that it does not have to require advanced study in the discipline.

Candidates to replace advanced linguistics may be those disciplines which the six teachers refer to

as having influenced on their thinking: cognitive psychology, second language acquisition studies, adult education, counselling and applied linguistics. It may help to include non-academic books such as those dealing with second language users' experiences and learning in and out of the classroom in the reading list and discuss them in class. These disciplines and genres may stimulate student teachers' awareness of social as well as psychological aspects of learners and learning.[5]

Some teacher education programmes include foreign language learning experience in their curriculum. This often means that programme participants learn the same language at the same time in a few teaching methodology demonstration lessons. Making a language learning component compulsory can be justified in the light of educating teachers with a capacity to support learner autonomy too, but it has to be done differently. One justification for including a language learning component in a teacher education programme is that teachers are likely to be better off if they have a working knowledge of learners' first language, particularly when they work with complete beginners in a second language situation. Teaching practice for learner autonomy involves quite a lot of negotiation with learners, but beginning learners often feel that they are silenced when a teacher does not understand their language (Kuno & Aoki forthcoming). Developing the competence to clarify differences between teachers' and learners' expectations and discuss possible courses of learning cannot be done in demonstration lessons. A language learning component needs to run through a programme.

The other justification is that autonomous language learning experience will help student teachers to develop the knowledge and attitude described in Chapter 1 as constituting learner autonomy as capacity, thus enabling them to provide scaffolding for developing the autonomy of their learners. For student teachers to experience autonomous language learning, they need to have choices and support for their learning. Although learner autonomy requires each learner's deeply felt desire to learn a particular language, teacher educators may be justified in recommending certain languages to learn by explaining about the first justification above to student teachers. Considering the demography of foreign residents in Japan, student teachers who are planning to teach in the country should probably be encouraged to learn Korean, Chinese, Portuguese, Spanish, Thai,

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[5] In 1999 The Cultural Agency commissioned a group of JSL researchers to compile recommendations for JSL teacher education reform. According to their final report (Nihongo Kyoin no Yosei ni kansuru Chousa Kenkyu Kyoryokusha Kaigi (Commission of Researchers on JSL Teacher Training) 2000), they recommend the introduction of new curriculum guidelines which are broader in scope with less emphasis on linguistics and flexible enough to give individual teacher education institutions freedom in designing their own curriculum. Although the report mentions neither learner autonomy nor teacher autonomy and does not offer a view of what the process of teacher education should be like, the suggested change of content is on the whole for the better.

Filipino, Vietnamese or other Asian languages. A teacher education programme will have to have some material resources and counsellors to support learning if it is to require autonomous language learning for completion of the programme.

Pre-service teacher educators have to be careful not to make their curriculum too packed. As Zeichner (1994) states, the best teacher educators can do is to get student teachers prepared to start teaching. Pre-service teacher education should not be too ambitious. A packed curriculum would, as Schön (1987) experienced, pressurize student teachers and discourage them from reflection. It would also leave little space for student teachers to exercise their learner autonomy. As has been claimed by many theorists (e.g., Holec 1985, Little1995), an experience of being autonomous at some point in education is likely to be a necessary factor for teachers to develop pro-autonomy attitude. Indeed Mia's and Sawai's universities were rather unique. Mia's university's curriculum allowed students autonomy to some extent. Sawai's had a principle of participatory self-governance. Both Mia and Sawai perceive that their university experience influenced their attitude towards learner autonomy. Stories which Keiko, Sakura and Chidori tell about their university years also focus on their autonomous activities outside the formal curriculum. The contribution of extra-curricular activities in Japanese universities to the development of learner autonomy has been pointed out (Aoki 2001b). An initial teacher education programme has to be organized so that it would allow student teachers autonomous activities inside and outside the classroom. A curriculum is a form of reification. It is "visible and fixed for newcomers to vie for in their quest for full membership" (Wenger 1998, p.264), but it also has to leave enough room for them to participate in the practice. To borrow Wenger's (ibid, p.272) words, "it is more important for students to have experiences that allow them to take charge of their own learning than to cover a lot of material."

Whether a teacher education programme should or could influence the development of student teachers' proactive personal autonomy is arguable. Such development is a long process which probably lasts as long as one lives. It is normally the job of family members and personal friends who can make a long-term deep commitment to support that development. Counsellors and facilitators of interpersonal learning groups may sometimes make their contribution, as in the case of Chidori, but they are specialists who meet their clients within the physical boundary of a counselling room or a workshop situation. Clients also expect them to deal with their personal problems and growth. Counsellors and clients operate a contract based on this understanding. Teacher educators are not specialists in psychology. Nor can they limit their contact with student teachers in the way counsellors do. Student teachers are not normally in a teacher education programme to solve their personal problems either. Each student teacher is in a different phase of personal development, and everyone, in one phase or another, goes through a psychological state where self-disclosure is felt to be painful or inappropriate. It is after all up to each student when to disclose their self to

whom. Teacher educators should not, I would argue, have an illusion that they have the ability and responsibility to offer help to every student.[6] The best they can do might be to create a warm caring atmosphere and wait until each student teacher feels ready to explore their private self. In other words, teacher educators have to practice what they preach and meet their students with unconditional positive regard, empathic understanding and realness. This is probably what Sakura's advisor at the graduate school did. Only by her way of working with people has this teacher released Sakura from the influence of the way her mother treated her and changed her way of thinking, teaching, working with colleagues and even relating with her daughter.

10-5. How the process may be accelerated: in-service education

Most of what was argued for pre-service teacher education in the previous section applies to in-service teacher education too. Trying to introduce practising teachers to the idea of learner autonomy unselectively may not bear much fruit. Teachers have to be interested in the idea and willing to take the risks involved in changing their practice. Participation in an in-service teacher education scheme specifically designed for learner autonomy needs to be voluntary. Experienced teachers may not necessarily need a community of practice physically present in their immediate context, but they will need to feel that they belong to a community of learner autonomy practitioners in one way or other. They will have to be in touch with long-time practitioners of learner autonomy who meet them with unconditional positive regard, empathic understanding and realness and offer models of possible future trajectories. Old-timers will also provide the newly initiated with scaffolding for their developing capacity to support learner autonomy, although the forms of scaffolding may differ from those needed by pre-service teachers. It would certainly help if a newly initiated teacher's work place has favourable conditions for learner autonomy practice. In other words, in-service teacher education will also have to base itself on the idea of self-motivation stimulated and supported by autonomy, a sense of competence and connectedness.

As was seen in the six teachers' stories, understanding of learner autonomy varies from teacher to teacher and it is always in flux even in an individual teacher. Mia says it's planning and implementing learning at one's own pace. For Keiko it's managing one's learning for oneself, but her view of teacher involvement is in the process of changing. Her remark that learner autonomy is most needed by those at the margins of the society also indicates that she now understands learner autonomy in relation to social issues. Sawai emphasizes the aspect of right and the institutional and legislative responsibilities. Sakura also thinks that learner autonomy is the right to make informed

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6 I have had students who are under close parental control and have serious psychological problems. What I am claiming here is that such students should be left in the hand of specialists. I never deny teacher educators' responsibility to offer small help to small problems.

choices. For Chidori promoting learner autonomy seems to be respecting and supporting growth from within. Kaede does not use the word learner autonomy, but her basic stance in raising her daughter and working with children is to let them make decisions so that they will learn to manage for themselves. Teacher educators cannot present any version of learner autonomy as authoritative and expect teachers to understand it as they mean it. Teachers need to give the term their own meaning. Learning can never be fully designed beforehand and there is always an emergent aspect to it. The best, and probably the only possible, way to steer each teacher's meaning of learner autonomy within a reasonable range is to let the newly initiated participate in the community of long-time learner autonomy practitioners.

A major difference between pre-service and in-service educations is that in-service teachers have their own teaching experience. In-service teacher education should exploit teachers' experience and acknowledge their practical knowledge most likely in narrative form (Carter 1993, Clandinin & Connelly 2000, Johnson & Golombek 2002). If action research is to be encouraged, teacher educators may have to bring to teachers' attention the possibility that it could be in a narrative mode as well as in a paradigmatic one. They may also have to explore alternative ways to cultivate teachers' narrative knowledge. In Chapter 9 I mentioned my observation that telling one's life story seemed to be a daily practice for Kaede and her colleagues (p.232). Talking with those colleagues is an important factor in Kaede's development as a teacher. One way to make this type of talk happen in an institutional setting is to organize a conversation group for teachers (Clark 2001, Aoki in press). A conversation group specifically focused on leaner autonomy may be worth trying out.

Becoming a pro-autonomy teacher is a long process. Teacher education may accelerate it, but it might still take years and the practice of learner autonomy would have to be supported all through a teacher's career. In-service teacher education needs to be arranged in a way which is affordable and sustainable for practicing teachers (Aoki 2002a). Most of the interviewed teachers are in a rather privileged position in that respect. Working with teachers in difficult situations may reveal issues which I was not able to detect in the present thesis.

10-6. Conclusion

To gather up the threads in the arguments in this chapter then, I shall now try to answer the questions posed at the end of Chapter 2.

* Why do some teachers and schools manage to find "the spaces and opportunities for manoeuver" (Lamb 2000) under external constraints while others do not?

It is most likely that for those teachers who manage to find ways to nurture learner autonomy in difficult situations, being a pro-autonomy teacher is closely linked with their proactive personal autonomy. They probably do not teach in the way they do out of the feeling of "shoulds" and "oughts". They choose to teach in that way to be themselves.

* Starting from where each teacher is, how can encouragement of reflective practice instill in all teachers the kind of commitment required to support learner autonomy?

The order is probably the other way round. Teacher educators cannot make uncommitted teachers reflect. Commitment is a pre-requisite for reflective practice. And commitment of teachers' whole person to learners will lead to a kind of reflection which will help develop teachers' capacity to support learner autonomy. This reflection is likely to focus on learners.

The required commitment may be nurtured by accepting uninitiated teachers into a community of learner autonomy practitioners and letting them participate in the practice. It should be up to each teacher, however, to decide to stay in or leave the community. Some may choose to leave and others may stay but choose to stay on the periphery of the community. In such cases there is not much teacher educators can do. Therefore it is impossible to instill commitment in all teachers.

* Can reflection be a substitute for counselling and interpersonal learning groups as a means of promoting teachers' personal development?

As I pointed out in Chapter 2, reflection on a teacher's current practice is not likely to lead to her personal development. Reflection has to extend its scope to the teacher's history and to her personal life to achieve the desired aim. Such reflection, however, is not always possible and desirable for everyone. Teachers have to be ready for it on the one hand and it requires the kind of stimulus and social support which significant others or counselling and interpersonal learning groups provide on the other. Invitation for reflection alone cannot be a substitute.

Conclusion

In this thesis I have tried to describe how teachers may develop their understanding of and a positive attitude towards learner autonomy by writing and interpreting the life stories of six pro-autonomy teachers of Japanese as a second language.

Part 1 of the thesis consists of two chapters. In Chapter 1 I compared definitions of learner autonomy found in the relevant literature and examined how theorists differ in their interpretation of the term. The discrepancies I noted cluster around the following seven points;

1. Is learner autonomy capacity or behaviour?
2. How does learner autonomy differ from self-direction, learning to learn and independence?
3. Is learner autonomy a learners' right or responsibility?
4. What does learner autonomy expect learners to take control of?
5. What does learner autonomy as a capacity or behaviour entail?
6. What does attitude refer to if it is part of learner autonomy?
7. What does metacognition refer to if it is part of learner autonomy?

The discrepancies are thought to be due to 1) the social context in which each author works, 2) the fact that our understanding of learner autonomy is always tentative and in flux, and 3) loose definitions of some technical terms in psychology. I did not make any value judgement of existing definitions because each had to be evaluated against the context in which it was put to use and examining each context was beyond the scope of the present thesis. I gave, instead, the definition of learner autonomy I have developed in my work context and elaborated on it. For me, learner autonomy is a modular capacity that exists in relation to others and in one's social context, to make choices concerning one's own learning in the service of one's wishes and aspirations. The capacity is broken down into the following ten components and affect associated with each component:

*Knowing about learner autonomy
*Knowing why one is learning a particular second language
*Knowing the nature of language and language use
*Knowing the nature of language learning
*Knowing about options concerning the content (language) of learning
*Knowing about options concerning the process of learning
*Knowing what the necessary material and human resources are, where they are available, and how they can be used

*Knowing what kind of language learner one is and how one learns

*Knowing how to implement learning plans

*Knowing how the outcome of learning can be evaluated

My definition emphasizes the interdependent nature of learner autonomy and social and affective as well as cognitive aspects of the concept.

In Chapter 2 I reviewed literature on the teacher's role in the development of learner autonomy. A common claim among these writings is that learning to support the development of second language learner autonomy involves much more than acquiring a new set of knowledge/skills. It entails acquiring a particular kind of personal quality. This suggests that we need a form of teacher education that is different from traditional ones, which teach theories and expect teachers to apply them in their practice. The review of second language teacher educators' accounts of their practice which followed indicated that many treated reflective practice, action research and teacher autonomy almost as synonymous. The successes which those practitioners claim were found to be either rather limited or not fully specified.

The rest of the chapter examined the concepts of reflective practice, action research and teacher autonomy separately and discussed their relevance to teachers' capacity to support learner autonomy. The idea of reflective practice as conceived by Schön (1983) is based on a critical view of the positivist research paradigm and academic hierarchies which undervalue practitioners' work and knowledge. Thus it has the potential to support teacher autonomy as freedom from the hegemony of academic theorists. However, reflection can take a variety of forms, and some forms may not be conductive to the development of teachers' capacity to support learner autonomy.

Action research also has many versions. Those that are advocated by second language teacher educators tend to have some shortcomings as regards learner and teacher autonomy. First, they do not specify whether and how they allow learners to participate in the research. Second, by focusing on classroom problems they run the risk of diverting teachers' attention from structural problems and disempowering them by making them believe that they are supposed to be able to solve all problems. Third, the research procedure recommended is often positivistic. Fourth, the emphasis on dissemination of knowledge could block reflection-in-action.

Teacher autonomy has three aspects: freedom, responsibility and capacity. While the idea of reflective practice may free teachers from academic theories, there are other types of constraints on teachers' work. Teacher autonomy as freedom cannot be achieved by reflection alone. However, some teachers and schools manage to successfully implement the idea of learner autonomy

despite external constraints, while others do not. I argued that we need to know what causes this difference before concluding that reflective practice leads to the development of the capacity to support learner autonomy. Teacher autonomy as responsibility involves teachers' commitment to a certain kind of educational ideal. We hardly know how this commitment develops. Neither reflective practice nor action research guarantees the successful development of the commitment. The question I posed here was how the encouragement of reflective practice can instill the kind of commitment required of teachers if they are to support learner autonomy. Teacher autonomy as capacity demands specific kinds of personal qualities in teachers. I found these qualities to be similar to those of humanistic teachers described in Rogerian psychology. My question then was whether reflection could be a substitute for counselling or interpersonal learning groups, which Rogers & Freiberg (1994) recommended to nurture such qualities.

Finally, drawing on literature on teacher education and development in general educational studies, I stressed the need to study teachers' lives before and after a teacher education programme in order to achieve a better understanding of how teachers develop their understanding of and a positive attitude towards learner autonomy.

Part 2 of the thesis comprises eight chapters. Chapter 3 described the research procedure and explained the rationale behind my choices. I chose Polkinghorne's (1988; 1995) narrative analysis as my research methodology, but with some modifications. Giving priority to research ethics, data was limited to in-depth interviews with teachers. To overcome the limitation, I analyzed the interviews using the idea of "concepts" in the grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Although grounded theory is a paradigmatic methodology and differs from narrative analysis in its aim, the techniques used in its initial stages of data analysis made comparison among teachers possible.

Each of Chapters 4 to 9 presents a life story of a pro-autonomy teacher. In Chapter 10 I drew together the threads of those six stories and claimed 1) that the kind of commitment pro-autonomy teachers have is commitment of self to learners; 2) that the seed of this commitment is likely to be the development of their personal autonomy, their early interest in and empathic understanding of what may be called the foreign, social awareness, and autonomous foreign language learning experience; and 3) that the factors which might accelerate the process of becoming a pro-autonomy teacher include observing and talking to learners, teacher autonomy as freedom, supportive colleagues and teacher educators, and knowledge of some academic disciplines and other genres of relevant literature. Based on these claims I suggested 1) that participation in a teacher education programme specifically focused on learner autonomy should be voluntary; 2) that interest in the foreign and social awareness may be screening criteria, where possible, while

second language competence, degree of personal autonomy and commitment to the profession may not make good criteria; and 3) that one way to develop the required commitment in teachers may be to build a community of learner autonomy practitioners in which pre-service teachers and newly initiated in-service teachers can participate. I also offered some recommendations on curriculum and teaching practicum and emphasized the need to cultivate teachers' narrative knowledge.

In concluding the chapter I offered my tentative answers to three questions raised in Chapter 2. Teachers who manage to find ways to nurture learner autonomy in difficult situations probably choose to teach in that way to be themselves. Teacher educators cannot make uncommitted teachers reflect. Commitment is a pre-requisite for reflective practice. Commitment of the teacher's whole person to learners is likely to lead to reflection on learners which will help develop the teacher's capacity to support learner autonomy. The required commitment may be nurtured by accepting uninitiated teachers into a community of learner autonomy practitioners, but it is up to each teacher to decide to stay in or leave the community. Therefore it is impossible to instill this kind of commitment in all teachers. Reflection has to extend its scope to the teacher's history and to her personal life if it is to contribute to her personal development. Such a reflection, however, is not always possible and desirable for everyone. It also requires the kind of stimulus and social support which significant others or counselling and interpersonal learning groups provide. Invitation to reflect alone cannot be a substitute for counselling and interpersonal learning groups.

What is evident from this summary is that rewriting a curriculum is not enough to change educational practice in favour of learner autonomy. Teacher educators have to change. The epistemology behind teacher education programmes has to change. The infrastructure of teacher education has to change. The screening criteria for admission to teacher education programmes have to change. Workplace culture has to change. Teachers need more freedom. And teachers have to change as people. A reform is not about changing a system. It is about changing people and the way they relate to each other. It has to be conceived with a long-term vision and must take into account the organic interplay of change on a variety of levels.

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