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Founded 1966

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THE FORUM

TEACHING ISSUES

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REVIEWS

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Editor's Note

■ With the start of a new year, I would like to point out that TESOL has a new World Wide Web address (http://www.tesol.org/), and therefore the new address for *TESOL Quarterly* is http://www.tesol.org/pubs/magz/tq.html. Readers can find news concerning *TESOL Quarterly* as well as guidelines for contributors there.

In This Issue

■ The articles in this issue examine nonnative speakers of English from a variety of perspectives relevant to TESOL, including how they are constructed and positioned by researchers, mainstream classroom teachers, and journal editors. In addition, research on the influence of linguistic input on reading comprehension is included in this issue.

- Ryuko Kubota examines how classroom cultures of the United States and Asia are discursively constructed by researchers in applied linguistics and education. Based on her analysis of the relevant academic literature, she concludes that the literature of applied linguistics and some of that in education compares idealized (rather than descriptive) perspectives of U.S. classrooms with more typical images of classrooms in Asia. She identifies another discourse evident in the research literature of education that portrays negative images of U.S. classrooms similar to those that applied linguists construct of Asian classrooms.
- Ilona Leki reports research investigating how ESL students are positioned in the group work that is routinely a part of many university classes in the United States. Through an ethnographic study of the experience nonnative speakers of English have at a U.S. university, Leki details some of the challenges that these students face as they attempt to participate in course-sponsored group work. In addition to illuminating an important but little-studied aspect of the nonnative

English speaker's life, the results suggest the need for all university faculty to be aware of how group work may function for individual group members.

- Examining a question that is critical for development of ESL reading materials, Sun-Young Oh's research compares the effects of authentic, simplified, and elaborated text on reading comprehension of Korean high school EFL students. Although simplified input facilitated reading comprehension for high-proficiency students, elaborated input was superior for students at both high and low proficiency levels. Oh concludes that in view of the hypothesized value of elaborated input for second language acquisition in addition to these findings, material developers and teachers should reconsider the assumption that simplification is the best way of modifying target language written input for learners.

- Cheryl Stanosheck Youngs and George A. Youngs, Jr., report research attempting to explain the attitudes of mainstream teachers to ESL learners in the central part of the United States. Based on results of a survey of 143 junior high/middle school mainstream teachers, Youngs and Youngs identified multiple predictors that were interpreted as indicators of exposure to cultural diversity. Therefore, the authors argue for the inclusion of explicit experiences that heighten experience with diversity within teacher education programs.

- John Flowerdew examines journal editors' opinions concerning nonnative speakers of English as contributors, with the intention of illuminating a critical means of participation in the discipline for nonnative speakers. The results of an interview study with the editors of 12 leading journals in applied linguistics and English language teaching underscored the problem with the term *nonnative speaker,* but they also revealed some of the overall attitudes of editors and reviewers to contributions by nonnative speakers and pointed out problematic and beneficial aspects of those contributions.

Also in this issue:

- The Forum: Kenneth Hyltenstam and Niclas Abrahamsson comment on Stefka H. Marinova-Todd, D. Bradford Marshall, and Catherine E. Snow's "Three Misconceptions about Age and L2 Learning" (Vol. 34, No. 1). They question the authors' interpretation of the research they reviewed in addition to the implications they draw from this research for teaching practice. Marinova-Todd, Marshall, and Snow respond. Julie Whitlow raises questions about theoretical and methodological issues in the research reported by Shinichi Izumi and Martha Bigelow in their paper "Does Output Promote Noticing in Second Language Acquisition?" (Vol. 34, No. 2), and the authors respond.

- Teaching Issues: Two authors explore the central issues confronting TESOL in China today. Yi'an Wu describes overall trends and identifies

challenges, while Liming Yu describes progress in and challenges facing efforts to implement communicative language teaching.

- Book Reviews and Book Notices: Reviewers examine five books: *Teaching ESL Composition: Purpose, Process, and Practice; The Light in Their Eyes: Creating Multicultural Learning Communities; Fundamentals of English Language Teaching; Fifty Strategies for Teaching English Language Learners*; and *Intelligence Reframed: Multiple Intelligences for the 21st century.* In addition, the video series for teacher education in language assessment, *Mark My Words: Assessing Second and Foreign Language Skills*, is reviewed, and five books are summarized in the Book Notices section.

Carol A. Chapelle

Discursive Construction of the Images of U.S. Classrooms

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Recent work in applied linguistics has critiqued the discursive construction of essentialized cultures of ESL students as the Other. Also discursively constructed are the images of the Self compared with the Other. This article focuses on the images of U.S. classrooms in terms of the goals of education, the characteristics of teaching, and student characteristics, and aims to reveal their discursive nature by reviewing literature in applied linguistics, studies on instructional practices in U.S. schools and colleges, and a revisionist critique of the educational crisis in the United States. This literature review demonstrates that the applied linguistics and revisionist discourses that emphasize cultural differences convey positive, idealized images of U.S. classrooms whereas research on classroom instruction in mainstream contexts portrays negative images of U.S. classrooms quite similar to applied linguistics' images of Asian classrooms. This disparity indicates that a particular representation of the Self as the ideal norm is produced in contrast with the Other. Discursive practices of Othering, dichotomization of the Self and the Other, and legitimation of power relations between the Self and the Other echo a past-present continuity of the discourses of colonialism. The article discusses the effects of the essentialization of cultures on students and teachers, and suggests an alternative cultural critique.

The role of culture has been a topic of inquiry in research and pedagogy in the field of teaching ESL/EFL. Because of the perceived differences between the cultures of ESL/EFL students and the target mainstream culture, the field has attempted to demystify these cultural differences. The foci of such investigations include, for example, cultural values and beliefs manifested in teaching, learning, classroom interaction, and teaching materials; rhetorical features of written texts; and speech acts (Hinkel, 1999).

These attempts to demystify cultural differences are well-meaning efforts to understand, assess, and teach ESL/EFL students effectively by taking into account their cultural backgrounds. However, the field has

tended to essentialize the culture of ESL/EFL students, particularly those from East Asia, as categorically different from the perceived culture of students in English-speaking countries such as the United States. More concisely, the cultures of the *Other* and *Self* (Pennycook, 1998) have been essentialized and polarized. This tendency, particularly the Othering of English language learners, has recently been criticized from various perspectives in applied linguistics (e.g., Cahill, 1999; Holliday, 1999; Kubota, 1999; Littlewood, 1999; Pennycook, 1994, 1996, 1998; Spack, 1997a, 1997b; Susser, 1998, Zamel, 1995, 1997).

Some of these criticisms focus on the discursive construction of the culture and language of ESL/EFL students as the Other and issues of power exercised through cultural representations. In this perspective, culture is viewed not as a neutral and objective category, but as the product of discourse that joins knowledge and power together (Foucault, 1978). In other words, common understandings of a particular culture are not mirror reflections of objective truths but are constructed by discourses defined as "ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledges and the relations between them" (Weedon, 1987, p. 108). In the discursive construction of language and culture, certain relations of power are legitimated or challenged. For instance, Susser (1998) applied Orientalist discourse to his analysis of descriptions of Japanese learners and culture in ESL/EFL literature. Susser argued that Orientalism, which draws a rigid epistemological distinction between the East and the West and constitutes "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (Said, 1978, p. 3), is manifested in Othering, stereotyping, and essentializing Japanese culture and learners. Similarly, in earlier work (Kubota, 1999), I argued that the cultural dichotomy between the West and the East reflects a colonial discourse that produces and fixes cultural differences, that cultural nationalism has appropriated the essentialization of Japanese culture, and that this essentialization is contested by the counterknowledge produced by educational research. Discourses of colonialism in relation to teaching English constitute the main theme of Pennycook's (1998) work, which posits that colonialism is the ground for the production of European/Western images of the Self and Other as well as the power relations between superiority and inferiority.

In the above view, culture is a site of discursive struggle in which various political and ideological positions compete with each other to promote a certain cultural representation as the truth. Thus, certain characteristics of the Other prevalent in applied linguistics can be seen as discursive constructs that define who the Others are. The Othering of ESL/EFL students by essentializing their culture and language presupposes the existence of the unproblematic Self as a monolithic, normative

category. As the Othering of English language learners is problematic, construction of the images of the Self vis-à-vis the Other equally requires critical scrutiny (Pennycook, 1998).

This article focuses on images of U.S. classrooms as the Self contrasted with East Asian classrooms as the Other, and explores the discursively constructed nature of these images by reviewing literature in two areas of inquiry: L2 learners (i.e., applied linguistics) and instructional practices in mainstream school and college contexts (i.e., education and English/literacy studies). Although the Self in the field of TESOL encompasses what Holliday (1994) calls *BANA* (British, Australasian, and North American contexts) and images of classrooms in these contexts may have some similarities, this article focuses in depth on the U.S. context. The images of U.S. classrooms are explored mainly in terms of the perceived goals of education, the role of the teacher or characteristics of teaching practices, and the characteristics of students.

In presenting conflicting images, I recognize the danger of essentializing the fields of study under review. My intention here is to focus on the discursive nature of these competing images rather than to generalize about the overall knowledge created by these fields of inquiry. The purpose of this article is not to define the true characteristics of U.S. classrooms but rather to reveal how discourses produce and exploit these images in legitimating certain knowledge as the truth. Therefore, I use the term *images* throughout this article to refer to various competing claims about the reality of U.S. classrooms constructed through empirical and conceptual investigations. In critiquing the discursive construction of the cultural images of U.S. classrooms vis-à-vis the Asian counterparts, I do not suggest that the concept of culture and research on culture be discarded. Instead, I suggest that it is important to engage in a critique of cultural difference and reveal power that is exercised in forming and sustaining particular knowledge about culture of the Self and the Other.

I first review literature that contrasts the images of the Self and the Other in applied linguistics and summarize the general images of U.S. classrooms that emerge from this body of literature. I then present different images portrayed by other applied linguistics literature that problematizes the classroom instruction offered to ESL learners. This is followed by a review of the literature in the fields of education and teaching English/literacy that investigates instructional practices in mainstream contexts. This line of research, often fueled by a discourse of educational crisis in the United States, portrays negative images of U.S. classrooms. This discourse was challenged in the 1990s by so-called revisionists, who promoted idealized cultural images similar to those generated by the applied linguistics discourse of cultural differences. I suggest that the construction of the dichotomous images of the Self and

the Other reflects a past-present continuity of the discourses of colonialism. Finally, the article discusses implications for students, teachers, and researchers.

IMAGES OF U.S. CLASSROOMS IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS RESEARCH

A body of research within applied linguistics focuses on cultural challenges that Asian ESL students face. Much of this research contrasts certain images of classrooms in the United States (and other English-speaking countries) with images of classrooms in Asian countries. Because these studies mainly aim to explain observed behaviors of ESL students in cultural terms rather than to explore the characteristics of U.S. classrooms, the images of U.S. classrooms often serve as a referent category with which the perceived cultural behaviors and values of ESL students are contrasted. Also, the images portrayed in these studies do not necessarily derive from cross-cultural empirical studies but derive mainly from theoretical explanations of the ESL students' behaviors in U.S. classrooms. The literature reviewed below manifests predominance of the view that U.S. classrooms are different from Asian classrooms. This view stands in contrast to less dominant images of U.S. classrooms as not serving the needs of ESL students.

Cultural Differences Position: U.S. and Asian Classrooms Are Different

Goals of Education

Applied linguistics literature that highlights cultural differences perceives the main goal of education in the United States as the promotion of logical, analytical, and critical thinking skills, reflecting and promoting individualism as a cultural value (Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999). According to this view, individualism means that people express their own voices as democratic citizens and foster creativity and innovation with reason. Contrasted with these views is a perceived Asian value of collectivism that places importance on maintaining group harmony, preserving traditions, and respecting authority rather than expressing individual opinions.

This kind of view is often mentioned in the context of L2 writing, perhaps because academic literacy, particularly writing, is central to the cognitive activity in educational contexts. For instance, cultural differ-

ences are used to explain that Asian ESL students experience difficulties in writing groups because of a mismatch between U.S. individualism and Asian collectivism. That is, the goal of U.S. L1 writing groups is the improvement of individual writing, but Asian cultural values of collaboration and social harmony prevent exchanges of critical feedback in the peer response process (Carson, 1992; Carson & Nelson, 1994, 1996; Nelson & Carson, 1995, 1998).

The conception that logic, critical thinking, and individualism are valued in U.S. education is also manifested in recent arguments against the wholesale application of L1 writing instruction to ESL settings because of perceived cultural differences. For instance, reviewing L1 composition texts, Ramanathan and Kaplan (1996) claim that U.S. mainstream writing classrooms aim at presenting strong, individualized voice as a goal by developing linear, thesis-driven rhetoric and critical thinking skills. They maintain that these perspectives are not compatible with the cultural backgrounds of ESL students. Other researchers have also argued that concepts such as critical thinking and analytical writing are not universal but are cultural practices specific to Western traditions and that they therefore create difficulties for Asian ESL students in U.S. universities (Atkinson, 1997; Atkinson & Ramanathan, 1995; Fox, 1994; Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999). Along a similar line, Western education is characterized as aiming to search for truth using reason (Scollon, 1999) and to extend knowledge by analyzing, speculating, and hypothesizing (Ballard & Clanchy, 1991). These characteristics are contrasted with the Asian view, which is more concerned with the practical consequence of doing what is right.

The Role of the Teacher

The above conceptualization of U.S. education portrays an image of a teacher who uses a dialogic teaching approach that encourages the exchange of logical arguments rather than a didactic approach that transmits knowledge. This image of a teacher recalls Socrates, leading Scollon (1999) to contrast Socratic and Confucian discourses in postsecondary classrooms in the Western and Chinese contexts, respectively. She argues that in the Socratic view the role of teacher is to lead the learner to truth by means of questioning, whereas in the Confucian view it is to transmit the wisdom of the ancients to students by answering the teacher's own rhetorical questions.

Here, the Western image of the teacher is that of a facilitator who engages learners in the quest for truth through inquiry and discussion rather than a master who transmits correct answers to them. The teacher as facilitator is indeed a metaphor used in self-directed or self-access

language learning (cf. Voller, 1997) and in the communicative approach to language teaching. This image is contrasted with the Asian image of the teacher as the authority and the possessor of knowledge that is transmitted without any concern for students' needs or feelings. The dichotomy between a discovery-oriented versus a didactic approach is also mentioned by Holliday (1994) in describing how cultural codes that influence instructional practices differ in nonanglophone contexts such as developing countries and in anglophone countries.

Characteristics of Students

The literature cited above communicates certain images of ideal mainstream U.S. students. The intellectual qualities posed as ideal for U.S. students are independence, autonomy, and creativity, and students should ideally develop analytical, objective, and critical thinking skills. They are able to analyze, hypothesize, and evaluate in a rational manner. Their communication styles in classrooms are presumably assertive and direct, and, as contrastive rhetoric studies often claim, their written discourse style is linear, logical, analytical, and deductive (see Connor, 1996). They actively engage in classroom discussions by expressing their own opinions and questioning authority, whether it is a text, a teacher, or an established theory.

These qualities are presented as diametrically opposed to the characteristics of Asian students, who are described intellectually as interdependent, inclined to preserve rather than create knowledge, reluctant to challenge authority, and engaged in memorization rather than analytical thinking (e.g., Ballard & Clanchy, 1991; Carson, 1992; Fox, 1994). Asian students allegedly plagiarize because they do not share the Western notion of text authorship that stresses originality, creativity, and individualism. In terms of oral communication styles, Asian students are described as reticent, passive, indirect, and not inclined to challenge the teacher's authority (Jones, 1999). Their written communication style is often characterized as indirect, circular, and inductive (see Connor, 1996). In short, Asian students are presumably inclined to respect authority and maintain group harmony and interpersonal relationships rather than to seek truth through analytical and critical thinking.

Overall, this body of applied linguistics literature provides dichotomous images of U.S. and Asian classrooms. The images of U.S. classrooms are ideal but seem quite real. They foster the typical argument that Asian ESL students face a challenge in U.S. classrooms because of cultural differences between the East and the West.

Institutional Problem Position: U.S. Classrooms Do Not Serve ESL Students

Although the above images of U.S. classrooms predominate in applied linguistics, some studies focusing on English language learners in mainstream classrooms offer different images. Many of these studies focus on secondary school settings and reveal the complexity of socialization in the cultural/linguistic development of English language learners within and outside the school (e.g., Harklau, 1994, 1999a, 1999b; McKay & Wong, 1996; Valdés, 1998). They explore and problematize the power relations between teachers and students, ESL and mainstream classes, and ESL students and mainstream peers. As ethnographic studies, their data come from observations of only a limited number of teachers. Among them, some ESL/sheltered English teachers used process writing and the communicative approach, which corresponds to the images of U.S. teachers discussed above, but other teachers in ESL/sheltered English classrooms generally relied on teacher-centered or other traditional approaches, such as the teaching of grammar and vocabulary, mechanical writing exercises such as copying and fill-in-the blank, and choral repetition (McKay & Wong, 1996; Valdés, 1998). In mainstream classrooms, the predominant activity was teacher-led discussion, although "discussion may be a misnomer for this activity because teachers overwhelmingly dominate the talk" (Harklau, 1994, p. 248). Overall, mainstream teachers and peers in these studies paid very little attention to Asian and Hispanic ESL students. The data would lead to the conclusion that their linguistic and socialization needs were not being met.

Similarly at the college level, Zamel (1995) addresses the need for instructors to recognize the linguistic and cultural challenges that ESL students face. In college classrooms as portrayed by her ESL informants, lectures predominated, and little help was offered to facilitate understanding; class discussions were passive; and short-answer or multiple-choice exams were prevalent. A case study of a Polish immigrant student (Leki, 1999) also found insufficient opportunities for students to develop critical thinking. High school and undergraduate classes required very few extensive writing assignments. Instead, assessments often involved multiple-choice exams that required merely rote memorization.

This body of applied linguistics literature perceives the cause of difficulties experienced by ESL students as mainly institutional rather than cultural. Thus, the images of U.S. classrooms are negative and different from the idealized images portrayed by other studies. The negative images of U.S. classrooms depicted here overlap with the negative images manifested in the literature on teaching and learning in the mainstream context.

IMAGES OF U.S. CLASSROOMS IN RESEARCH FOCUSING ON MAINSTREAM CONTEXTS

Studies of instructional practices in elementary and secondary schools[1] as well as colleges convey negative images of U.S. classrooms. These images are constructs of a public discourse of educational crisis and reform in the United States. After briefly outlining the discourse of educational crisis manifested in the politically driven education reform of the 1980s and 1990s, this section presents these negative images of U.S. classrooms, drawing on literature on instructional practices in schools and colleges in general and on English/literacy instruction in these contexts. It also outlines the revisionist discourse, which challenges these negative images and, interestingly, promotes positive images similar to those found in the applied linguistics discourse of cultural differences.

Crisis of U.S. Education and Education Reform

Education in U.S. schools and colleges received a large amount of criticism in 1980s and 1990s, especially after the release of *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983). This was not, of course, the first time that U.S. schools and colleges had been viewed as at risk—the word *crisis* had been used to describe U.S. education over several decades (Jaeger, 1992). However, the driving force behind educational reform movements in the past two decades has been an urgent need to strengthen U.S. economic dominance in the global market (Goodlad, 1997). Politicians and opinion leaders felt that U.S. students were not equipped with the academic abilities and skills necessary to compete with well-educated European and Asian competitors. This sense of threat was exacerbated by the gaps in mathematics and science achievement between students in the United States and those in some Asian countries. The problems listed in *A Nation at Risk* include illiteracy, lower student achievement compared with other industrialized nations, and a lack of higher order intellectual skills. Elaborating on the last point, the report states, "Nearly 40 percent

[1] Although the ideal images of U.S. classrooms portrayed in applied linguistics derive predominantly from college-level language education, the body of literature introduced here focuses not only on the college level but also on primary and secondary education. Obviously, schools and colleges do not exactly match in terms of the kinds of educational experiences that they offer. However, the assumption in applied linguistics discourse of cultural differences is that culturally specific educational values are fostered throughout one's schooling in a certain culture (Atkinson & Ramanathan, 1995). Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that discussions on primary and secondary education are relevant to the present exploration.

cannot draw inferences from written material; only one-fifth can write a persuasive essay" (p. 9). Around the same time, reports on higher education reform were also published (e.g., Association of American Colleges, 1985; Bennett, 1984; Study Group on the Conditions of Excellence in American Higher Education, 1984; also see Simpson & Frost, 1993). Recommendations made in these reports include the development of creativity, critical thinking, self-discovery, and problem-solving skills.

The most recent educational reform has been prompted by America 2000, which was initiated by President George H. W. Bush and continued as Goals 2000 under the Clinton administration. Under this current plan for elementary and secondary education reform, national standards for the core academic subjects have been established, and many states have aligned their state curricula with the national standards. This standards-based education reform has also called for the strengthening of school and student accountability. As a result, a number of states have adopted high-stakes testing, the results of which lead to either rewards or sanctions for teachers and administrators and either the granting of or the denial of social promotion for students. In this state of affairs, instructional emphases on memorizing discrete facts and definitions, drilling, and "the basics" over critical thinking are likely to increase (Miner, 1999), although the overall impact of high-stakes testing has yet to be investigated.[2] The images portrayed here contradict the celebrated ideals of U.S. classrooms reviewed earlier.

Research on Classroom Instruction in U.S. Schools and Colleges

A number of studies on instructional practices in U.S. schools and colleges portray negative images of U.S. classrooms. In my investigation of various sources in the fields of education and English/literacy instruction, I found many relevant studies published in the 1980s but not as many in the 1990s. The reason might be that the focus of effective schools research in the 1990s shifted to investigating positive qualities of the schools that had already been identified as somehow effective (cf. Reed, Bergemann, & Olson, 1998). Yet studies published in the past few years manifest the persistence of the negative images described in this section.

[2] One study conducted in North Carolina (Jones et al., 1999) revealed that the impact of high-stakes testing on instructional strategies was mixed. Some teachers are now using inquiry projects, lecturing, textbooks, and worksheets more frequently whereas others are using them less. However, teachers are generally using more hands-on activities, group discussions, and student-centered instruction.

Goals of Education

Unlike the negative images mentioned above, the images of the ideal classrooms envisioned in the goals of education parallel, to a certain extent, those portrayed in the applied linguistics literature. Goodlad (1984) lists goals of schooling based on a historical investigation and an analysis of state documents. The goals that parallel some applied linguists' views include the development of rational, logical, critical, and independent thinking as well as original problem-solving skills. However, contrary to applied linguistics' strong emphasis on individualism, other goals address cooperation with others, as in developing "the ability to identify with and advance the goals and concerns of others" and learning to "form productive and satisfying relations with others based on respect, trust, cooperation, consideration, and caring" (p. 55). Indeed, the recent emphasis on cooperative learning in schools is based on the philosophy of working together toward a common, rather than a purely individual, goal (e.g., Johnson & Johnson, 1994).

Characteristics of Classroom Teaching

Research on primary and secondary education published in the 1980s revealed the prevalence of teacher dominance in the classroom. An example comes from the large-scale study called A Study of Schooling, which is summarized in publications such as those by Goodlad (1984) and Sirotnik (1983). Based on classroom observations, the study found that teachers generally engage in frontal teaching most of the time, telling or explaining, asking factual questions, monitoring students' seat work, and acting as a sole decision maker on materials, class organization, and instructional procedures. These characteristics were more commonly observed as the grades proceeded upward. Sirotnik analyzed 5-minute interaction data and reported a scarcity of genuine teacher-student interactions using open-ended questions. Also, the data revealed that teachers infrequently gave corrective feedback to help students understand information. Other studies, such as Sizer's (1984) on high school and Taylor, Teddlie, Freeman, and Pounders' (1998) on elementary schools, also depict such didactic ways of teaching and reliance on textbooks and worksheets.

These images have apparently been quite consistent throughout the past century in the United States. Cuban (1993) conducted historical research on instructional practices in U.S. classrooms from 1890 to 1990, examining whether teacher-centered instruction[3] persevered in public

[3] *Teacher-centeredness* was defined as dominance of teacher talk, whole-class rather than individualized instruction, decisions on the use of activities and materials made solely by teachers, desks arranged in rows, and so on.

schools and why or why not. Although elementary school teaching increasingly incorporated child-centered philosophies, including the whole language approach promoted in the 1980s and early 1990s, the data show that "the dominant teaching tendency was toward varied forms of teacher-centered instruction" (p. 245). Cuban attributes the tendency to teachers' perception that they must exercise their authority to maintain order in the classroom.

Naturally, not all U.S. classrooms conform to these pictures. According to Boyer's (1984) description of high school classrooms in an upper-class community, many teachers used innovative and intellectually challenging teaching approaches and emphasized creativity, individual participation, and student-centered, lively discussion. These observations parallel the ideal images of U.S. classrooms, but such experiences are generally limited to students with privileged backgrounds. In fact, research by Oakes (1985) on tracking at secondary schools revealed unequal access to this type of instructional mode for high- and low-track students.

Teacher-centered instruction is also common in college classrooms. Based on national surveys of faculty and undergraduate students as well as site visits, Boyer (1987) observed that professors frequently gave lectures whereas students received information. Lectures were the inevitable choice for large classes offered frequently by research universities. Boyer's report, however, includes examples of some classes filled with lively discussion between the instructor and students. Again, these classes reflect the ideal images of U.S. classrooms, but they did not constitute the majority. An ethnographic study on academic literacy conducted by Chiseri-Strater (1991) and a study done by lower-division undergraduate students and a professor (Anderson et al., 1990) also reported a tendency toward knowledge transmission and a lack of interaction between professors and students. Based on his research on teaching literature, Applebee (1996) commented that a *knowledge-out-of-context* approach with memorization and rote learning prevails in schools and colleges. Overall, the image of a teacher here is that of an authority and transmitter of knowledge. These images, along with the following images of students, parallel the applied linguistics literature that focuses on institutional problems surrounding ESL students in the mainstream context.

Characteristics of Students

The studies cited above offer an image of passive, docile, and compliant rather than active, creative, and autonomous students. Goodlad (1984) reported that the predominant activities observed in schools were written work such as filling out worksheets, listening to the teacher, and

preparing for assignments. The same study found that individual learning occurred only at a superficial level in that students worked independently on identical tasks. Students in this study "perceived themselves to be doing what the teacher told or expected them to do" (p. 110). At the high school level, students rarely engaged in serious intellectual discussion (Boyer, 1987), and the teacher's lecture was "a sort of monologue, with no one listening" (Sizer, 1984, p. 158). Boyer (1987) asked, "How can we produce critical and creative thinking throughout a student's life when we so systematically discourage individuality in the classroom?" (p. 147).

Passivity also characterizes students in many college classrooms. Boyer (1987) described many undergraduate students as being unengaged in lectures but quite conscious of grades and willing to conform to a formula for success. As one student stated, "Undergraduates are afraid of controversy. They hesitate to participate in vigorous give and take on any topic. The main thing is to prepare for the exam" (p. 141). When discussion did occur in a classroom, only a handful of students, usually male, dominated the floor. Other works, such as those by Anderson et al. (1990) and Chiseri-Strater (1991), convey similar images.

Other observations included the limited time students spent on reading and writing in schools (Boyer, 1984; Goodlad, 1984; Sizer, 1984), a lack of extended writing assignments in lower-division undergraduate classes (Anderson et al., 1990), and a lack of reading and writing skills among college students (Boyer, 1987). In schools, although a substantial amount of time was spent on writing, the activities focused on writing rather than composing—that is, answering questions, filling in workbooks, and so on. Although these results need to be questioned to some extent because these studies were conducted prior to the popularity of the whole language approach, Harklau (1994, 1999a) and Taylor et al. (1998) indicate that reading and writing continue to receive insufficient attention in schools.

In sum, contrary to the images produced by applied linguistics discourse, which focus on cultural differences, U.S. classrooms as portrayed by these studies are characterized by teacher dominance and student passivity. According to Goodlad (1984), students, as they moved upward, were "conforming, not assuming an increasingly independent decision-making role in their own education" (p. 109).

Revisionist Arguments: "*We* Are Fine, *They* Are Different and Have Problems"

Both the politically driven education reforms and the above-cited research on instructional practices portray negative images of U.S. public

education. However, some researchers have begun to express their opposition to the emphasis on "crisis" reported by the media and used as a political attack against public schools. These critics, or *revisionists,* as Baker (1997b) calls them, have questioned evidence that alleges the poorer academic achievement of U.S. students relative to those in other nations (e.g., Berliner, 1993; Berliner & Biddle, 1995; Bracey, 1993, 1996b, 1997b; Rotberg, 1990; Westbury, 1992). These revisionists claim that the crisis of U.S. education has been manufactured by right-wing forces that have exploited data such as international achievement comparisons to attack the nation's public schools and promote a neoconservative educational agenda. Accordingly, revisionist arguments primarily reinterpret the results of national and international test scores and other data related to schooling in the United States in order to support public education. Revisionists are vehemently opposed to the negative portrayal of schooling, which, they claim, is conveniently used to undermine public education in the United States.

Revisionists' arguments generated heated debates in some educational journals during the 1990s (e.g., Baker, 1997a; Berliner & Biddle, 1996; Bracey, 1997b; Stedman, 1996a, 1996b, 1997a, 1997b). Although culture is not a main focus of these debates, issues of cultural differences occasionally surface, and when they do, revisionists present the same cultural dichotomy as is evident in the applied linguistics discourse of cultural difference. Furthermore, in the context of international competition in student achievement, images of Asian education become almost a target of a negative campaign. Yet a contradiction within revisionist discourse is revealed in its recommendations for education reform—they, too, acknowledge problems in U.S. education.

Revisionists defend U.S. schooling mainly by asserting that it promotes problem solving and critical thinking, while they view Asian schooling as rigid, authoritarian, brutal, and oriented toward exams and memorization. For instance, Berliner and Biddle (1995) and Bracey (1996b) cite a study by Mayer, Tajika, and Stanley (1991), which compared the mathematical problem-solving skills of U.S. and Japanese fifth graders, and report that U.S. students excelled at problem solving. However, this study actually showed that Japanese students outperformed U.S. students in both computation and problem solving and that U.S. students excelled at problem solving only when the two groups were statistically equated for mathematics achievement levels. Also, Bracey (1996a), one of the most outspoken revisionists, cites a study by Cai (1995), which compared U.S. and Chinese students' mathematics performance, and reports that, whereas Chinese students performed significantly better than U.S. students on computation and simple problem-solving tasks, there was no significant difference on complex problem solving as measured by performance on open-ended problems. Bracey claims that these results

reflect the rote approach to math prevalent in Asian countries, including China, Japan, and Taiwan. Along the same line, Berliner (1993) and Berliner and Biddle (1995) state that Americans expect their children to be creative, spontaneous, socially responsive, and able to challenge unreasonable authority, and that foreign visitors to U.S. schools are impressed with these qualities.

However, beyond this point, positive aspects of U.S. educational practices are rarely mentioned, and instead negative aspects of Asian education are highlighted. For instance, Japanese high schools are singled out as being devoid of active student involvement, cooperative learning, expression of opinions, independent thinking, originality, and innovation (Bracey, 1996a). These characteristics are said to be influenced by a rigid national curriculum, an exam- and memorization-oriented instructional approach, extremely severe discipline, and the expectation to conform to authority (Bracey, 1993, 1996a, 1997a; Young, 1993). Bracey (1997b) states, "The goal of Asian education systems (and all authoritarian and totalitarian education systems) is obedience. In Japan it used to be obedience to the emperor; now it is simply obedience to the state and authority in general" (p. 21; see similar comments in Bracey, 1998). At the outset of *The Manufactured Crisis,* Berliner and Biddle (1995) present several news headlines about horrific incidents involving teenagers. Later, the authors reveal that these incidents occurred in Japan, not in the United States. Unlike the neutral tone used in applied linguistics research, these descriptions of Asian cultures sound negative and even derogatory.

Ironically, revisionists' recommendations for education reform do not evoke positive images of the U.S. classrooms that they try to defend. Although Berliner and Biddle (1995) include studies such as those by Goodlad (1984) and Boyer (1984) as publications that have manufactured myths, they identify the same problems reported by these studies and suggest paths to improvement. Arguing against the knowledge-transmission and rote-learning approach promoted by neoconservative reformists such as Hirsch (1987), Berliner and Biddle suggest that high school graduates should "possess the drive and creative ability to think and work independently" (p. 301) and be able to communicate effectively and solve problems. However, they state that these ideas are "far different from the stand-and-deliver classroom model that still dominates American high schools today" (p. 302) and that "many Americans, including some educators, still believe that teaching is simply the transmission of knowledge" (p. 306). Although the impetus behind this book is to dispel the myth of crisis, the dominant instructional practice perceived here is consistent with the results reported by various studies reviewed earlier.

DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF IMAGES

As reviewed thus far, various research studies have generated both contradictory and more or less consistent images of U.S. classrooms. One set of images projects teacher dominance and passivity of students whereas the other portrays a student-centered classroom in which students actively engage in critical thinking and problem solving. However, the latter image is generally held across the varied perspectives as the ideal rather than the typical U.S. classroom. Yet only this ideal image is exploited to accentuate cultural differences. Applied linguistics discourse of cultural differences indeed rarely mentions the other set of images, leaving the impression that positive images of U.S. classrooms are neutral, factual, and real. This position reflects the rhetoric of empirical and scientific reporting that has a pretense of objectivity (Canagarajah, 1995).

In contrast to these ideal images, the other set of images of U.S. classrooms, drawn from many actual practices, are quite similar to applied linguists' images of Asian classrooms, raising the question of whether educational practices in the United States are distinct from those in Asia. These conflicting images and different claims for truth challenge the knowledge of the characteristics of U.S. classrooms, making it impossible to determine their true characteristics.[4] Here, I suggest that the images of U.S. classrooms are discursively constructed, reflecting and legitimating a certain political and ideological position from which the researcher speaks.

Discursive Practices

The above literature review illustrates discursive practices that regulate the formation and interpretation of certain cultural images about teaching and learning. One practice evident in the applied linguistics and revisionist discourses that highlight cultural differences is the treatment of Asian culture as the distanced Other, which leads to its exploitation as a convenient category. In the debate on the U.S. educational crisis, the Other is an insignificant category until it poses a challenge to the Self. Even if the Other is brought to attention in this debate, a rich body of ethnographic studies on Japanese education, for instance, tends to be either ignored or given only a cursory reference

[4] This difficulty is similar to that in determining the characteristics of Japanese schooling (cf. Kubota, 1999; LeTendre, 1999; Susser, 1998).

(LeTendre, 1999).[5] Furthermore, the revisionist attempt to stress the excellence of U.S. education has generated a suggestion that test scores from Asian countries be excluded from the international comparison because cultural differences make the data incomparable (Bracey, 1997b). Conversely, in the applied linguistics discourse of cultural differences, Asian students' culture is the focus of investigation. Therefore, Asian students are not distanced on the surface. Nevertheless, a similar kind of Othering exists in the emphasis on the dichotomous differences between Asian culture and U.S. culture.

The second significant discursive practice is the polarization of the Self and the Other, which occurs only when the Self and the Other are compared. As mentioned earlier, most research on U.S. schools and colleges does not involve the referent category, the Other. The images of U.S. classrooms portrayed in these studies exhibit a striking similarity to applied linguistics' representations of Asian classrooms. By contrast, applied linguistics and revisionist discourses, which are concerned with cultural differences and therefore endorse a fixed opposition between the Self and the Other, highlight dichotomous differences between U.S. and Asian classrooms. There is, however, a difference between the applied linguistics and revisionist discourses. Whereas the applied linguistics discourse tends to carry a neutral, relativistic tone, the revisionist discourse explicitly contrasts positive images of U.S. culture with negative images of Asian culture. This difference, however, is not necessarily a divisive one, as indicated in the next section.

The third discursive practice is the production and maintenance of unequal relations of power between U.S. culture and Asian culture. The underlying assumption in the discourse of cultural dichotomy is that U.S. culture is the norm. This assumption clearly surfaces in revisionist writing, such as that of Berliner (1993), who argues that, compared with Japanese, Korean, Indian, and Israeli students, who are expected to devote themselves to excessive studying, Americans "have a vision of what constitutes a 'normal' childhood that is uniquely American" (p. 638).

[5] There have been a number of publications based on ethnographic research on Japanese schooling and teacher preparation (e.g., Hess & Azuma, 1991; Lee, Graham, & Stevenson, 1996; Lewis, 1988, 1992, 1995, 1996; Lewis & Tsuchida, 1997, 1998; Rohlen, 1983; Shimahara & Sakai, 1995; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992; Stigler, Fernandez, & Yoshida, 1996; Tsuchida & Lewis, 1996). LeTendre (1999) states that these studies provide a complex picture rather than the simplistic stereotype presented in the debate on comparisons of international achievement. To summarize, "Japanese classrooms at the elementary level *on a nationwide basis* de-emphasize rote learning and instead emphasize hands-on activities, problem-solving, higher-order questioning, and the creative manipulation of materials during math, science, and other lessons" (p. 40), although these characteristics diminish and replace more drill-oriented learning as the grade proceeds. It is interesting to note that this shift in instructional practice from the elementary to the secondary level is similar to the one in the U.S. context. Also, these studies may be viewed as romanticizing Japanese culture, as discussed later in this article.

Conversely, applied linguistics, grounded in liberal cultural relativism, would not accept the normal/abnormal divide on the surface, but the mission of teaching English inevitably presumes what is standard and what is not. The Othering and cultural dichotomization observed in applied linguistics discourse seem to be grounded in this assumption, which legitimates an unequal power relation that is reflected and constituted by discourses of colonialism.

IMAGES OF U.S. CLASSROOMS AND COLONIAL LEGACIES

The three discursive practices addressed above—Othering, essentializing and dichotomizing the culture of the Self and the Other, and viewing the culture of the Self as the norm—produce and reflect a particular knowledge of cultural differences and power relations between the subject and the object of cultural representations. It is possible to view this knowledge and power as united in discourses of colonialism.[6]

Colonial Dichotomies

Recent works on colonialism suggest that colonialism did not merely exist in the past—its legacy has continued to the present. The past-present continuity of discourses of colonialism has been discussed in such fields as anthropology, education, history, geography, and TESOL (e.g., Blaut, 1993; Pennycook, 1998; Thomas, 1994; Willinsky, 1998—see Pennycook, 1998, for details). These works suggest that the dichotomous images of U.S. classrooms compared with the Asian counterpart strikingly echo colonial dichotomies that have differentiated the center and the periphery. Blaut (1993), for instance, shows the following colonial oppositions between the characteristics of the core and those of the periphery that were quite typical in 19th-century thought: inventiveness versus imitativeness; rationality/intellect versus irrationality/emotion/instinct; abstract thought versus concrete thought; theoretical reasoning versus empirical/practical reasoning; mind versus body/matter; discipline versus spontaneity; adulthood versus childhood; sanity versus insanity; science versus sorcery; progress versus stagnation (p. 17). The

[6] *Colonialism* in this article refers to Western colonialism, particularly as related to the spread of English, for the focus here is English language teaching, but other types of colonialism exist. An example is the colonialism promoted by Japanese imperialism, which also has a past-present continuity in terms of social, cultural, economic, and political implications in Asia, including teaching Japanese as an L2 (e.g., Kawamura, 1994; Tai, 1999; Yasuda, 1997).

images of U.S. classrooms compared with Asian classrooms can actually be viewed as cultural constructs of colonialism or a "colonializing strategy of representation" (Pennycook, 1998, p. 166). But how do these cultural constructs or representations come into being?

As discussed above, the images of U.S. classrooms, or the Self, become different from the Asian counterpart, or the Other, only when the Self is compared with the Other. Colonialism indeed produced the sense of Self, the European culture, which had to be made radically different from the Other. The other side of the coin is Othering non-Western people and cultures, as in Orientalism, which assumes "an unchanging Orient, absolutely different . . . from the West" (Said, 1978, p. 96). The colonial construction of the images of the Self compared with the Other parallels the construction of images of Western women as opposed to third-world women observed in Western feminist scholarship. Mohanty (1988) argues that although Western feminist discourse formed a universal notion of women as victims of male dominance, the same reductionism takes a colonialist move when contrasting self-representation with the representation of women in the third world. That is, comparing the Self with the Other enables a discursive self-presentation as being secular, being liberated, and having control over one's own life. Mohanty states,

> Only from the vantage point of the west is it possible to define the "third world" as underdeveloped and economically dependent. Without the overdetermined discourse that creates the *third* world, there would be no (singular and privileged) first world. Without the "third-world women," the particular self-presentation of western women . . . would be problematical. (p. 82)

Mohanty's insight indeed provides a striking parallel with the contradictory images of U.S. classrooms. When they are not compared with Asian classrooms, their images are portrayed as problematic. However, when compared with Asian classrooms, they suddenly become closer to the ideal—the norm with positive values. Naturally, the norm has to be something superior against which inferior categories are discovered, described, and fixed. Demonstrated here is the unequal relation of power. It is in this self-representation of U.S. classrooms as the norm that power is exercised.

Liberal Humanist Mission

Power in colonial discourses is circulated in complex ways. Although the binary list by Blaut (1993) offered above contrasts positive and

negative images of the center and periphery, negativity is not the only quality given to the periphery in colonial discourse. As Thomas (1994) suggests, colonial representation takes many forms, some of which are "sympathetic, idealizing, relativistic and critical of the producers' home societies" (p. 26), as in the contemporary Western societies' tendency to cherish the exotic aestheticism of the Other. Thus, power in colonialism must be viewed as not merely imposed by the colonizer onto the colonized in a ferocious way but as exercised in complex and multiple ways. For instance, in discussing colonial English language policies in India, Pennycook (1998) shows that power was exercised both through Anglicism (promoting English) and Orientalism (exoticizing the distant Indian past and promoting vernacular languages) in a contradictory way. Nonetheless, these discourses shared a similar ideological underpinning. In the guise of liberalism whose mission was to bring enlightenment to the uncivilized, both Anglicist and Oriental positions intended to spread European knowledge and morality to the colonized, to provide an obedient workforce for colonial capitalism, and to maintain the status quo in social structures.

The point that colonial discourse was based on well-intentioned liberal humanism is important here. Applied linguistics research is obviously founded on well-meaning liberal humanism in its aim to facilitate ESL learners' acquisition of the English language. Also, the humanistic base of applied linguistics and teaching English is generally compatible with liberal forms of multiculturalism. Yet these forms of multiculturalism seem to reflect the past-present continuity of colonialism. Liberal forms of multiculturalism, according to Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997), include *liberal multiculturalism* and *pluralist multiculturalism,* although they often coexist. The former stresses equality and common humanity across race, class, and gender, creating color blindness, whereas the latter, the most common form of multiculturalism, celebrates differences, promoting cultural relativism. These forms of multiculturalism obviously do not allow overt expressions of superiority or debasement toward particular cultural groups. Yet they fail to confront and question various forms of inequality, prejudice, and discrimination associated with different cultures in society.[7] In this way, contemporary liberal humanism conceals issues of power and, in turn, perpetuates the existing relations of power. Applied linguists' objective writing likewise conceals the power relations between the researcher (Self) and the researched (Other) (Canagarajah, 1995).

[7] See Morgan (1998) for examples in the Canadian context. Also, Morgan's work demonstrates that ESL students are capable of engaging in critical dialogues and provides concrete ideas for incorporating social justice issues in ESL classrooms.

Racism

Although contemporary discourse avoids discussions of inequalities and maintains power relations, racism, another colonial legacy, persists. Many writers (e.g., Blaut, 1993; Pennycook, 1998; Thomas, 1994; Willinsky, 1998) have pointed out that colonialism has produced a racial hierarchy. Just as various objects and natural phenomena around the world were categorized and catalogued under colonial projects, humans were divided into different species and ordered from superior to inferior.

The continuity of this legacy is apparent in the persistent racism of contemporary society. However, contemporary discourse of liberal humanism suppresses overt expressions of racial prejudice, and instead perpetuates racism in more subtle ways. In fact, as van Dijk (1993) argues, racism in contemporary elite discourses seen in political, corporate, academic, educational, and media domains is built on the denial of overt racism, which elites view as the only form of racism. Van Dijk also points out that contemporary racism is more cultural than racial. Contemporary society following the Civil Rights Movement considers blunt racism and racial oppression to be suspect in public discourse. Nevertheless, racial domination and subordination in various social and economic spheres still remain. Van Dijk argues that academic discourse supports a new ideology that maintains the racial hierarchy by focusing on cultural differences in terms of language use, customs, norms, and values instead of explicitly discussing racial differences. Hidden in this discourse is the old hierarchy of racial superiority that determines which form of cultural product or practice is the norm or deviant.

Summary

I have argued that the conflicting images of U.S. classrooms signify the colonial construction of self-representation vis-à-vis the Other, which produces and perpetuates the colonial dichotomies. In these dichotomies, power determines which characteristics are the norm and are superior to others. In colonialism, colonial power was exercised in complex and multiple ways, which were united by its well-intentioned liberal humanistic mission of civilizing the world. This liberalism continues into the contemporary discourse of multiculturalism that celebrates racial and cultural similarities and differences while suppressing explicit expressions of racism and perpetuating its substance. The tendency of applied linguistics discourse to highlight cultural difference is founded on liberal humanism yet demonstrates colonial legacies, legitimating unequal relations of power between the Self and the Other.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The focus of this article has been on the discursive construction of the images of U.S. classrooms vis-à-vis those of Asian classrooms. Thus, my concern was not which image is true and which is false, but rather how these images are produced and exploited. In other words, I have tried to reveal that the images of U.S. classrooms cannot be reduced to a single neutral, objective truth but are constructed by discourses that exploit various convenient notions to serve their own interests. Indeed, in an applied linguistics discussion, the idealized images of U.S. classrooms that reflect U.S. middle-class norms and values are presented as a "necessary convenience" (Atkinson & Ramanathan, 1995, p. 557). What is important for ESL professionals, therefore, is to question this convenient notion of ideal U.S. culture and to critically examine its consequences for students, teachers, and professionals in other disciplines.

Consequences of Idealizing the U.S. Classroom

Intercultural Miscommunication

One consequence of these images is the detrimental communicative behaviors developed by ESL learners and resulting in intercultural miscommunication, despite the fact that a goal of teaching an L2 is to enhance intercultural communication. Beebe and Takahashi (1989), for example, found a tendency in Japanese respondents to be more direct in expressing face-threatening speech acts, such as disagreement and chastising, to a conversation partner in English than U.S. respondents who were native English speakers. The authors speculate that Japanese ESL respondents may have overgeneralized a perceived directness of the U.S. communication style and lack of politeness indicators in English.[8]

This speculation is quite plausible and poses a significant problem for ESL speakers' social success. Although U.S. communication styles are believed to reflect egalitarianism, the social reality is not always so. ESL speakers, because of racial, cultural, and linguistic prejudices in the mainstream society, can be vulnerable, especially in face-threatening communicative situations. They need to learn how to communicate tactically and diplomatically in order to negotiate meaning. Emphasizing the assertiveness of English speakers could actually do a disservice to ESL

[8] Politeness strategies exist in English as well. Belcher (1995), for instance, reports indirect expressions of negative criticism in evaluative writing, such as book reviews.

students. The flip side of this problem is stereotyping the communication styles of the ESL students' native language. The belief that Japanese written discourse is indirect and inductive, for instance, can influence some Japanese student writers to use an inductive style intentionally in their native language in a situation where deduction is preferred (Kubota, 1992).

Intercultural Interpretation

A perceived cultural truth of the Self and the Other also regulates the ways one interprets social practices of another culture. An example is found in a study by Fujita and Sano (1988), which explored cross-cultural interpretations of teaching practices between teachers in U.S. and Japanese day-care centers. In the study, the U.S. and Japanese teachers viewed videotaped scenes of each other's day-care centers and discussed their impressions. Their first impressions contradicted stereotypes. Whereas Japanese teachers found U.S. teachers strict and rigid about rules, U.S. teachers found the Japanese center noisy and chaotic. However, stereotypes came into play, particularly when U.S. teachers interpreted what they saw. They contrasted U.S. individualism versus the "more structured, paternalistic, and traditional" nature of Japanese society and speculated on the reason for Japanese teachers' noninterference with children by stating, "because the society itself is so structured, traditional values can control the children and keep the order in the day care center" (p. 90). This interpretation, however, contradicted Japanese teachers' own views that teachers should be sensitive to each situation and facilitate and maintain, rather than control, the flow of activities. Here, cross-cultural interpretation ends with a self-fulfilling prophecy based on a preconceived idea of who *we* are and who *they* are.

Another important observation made by Fujita and Sano (1988) is that concepts such as individualism or independence can take on different meanings in different cultural contexts. For instance, U.S. teachers believed that they could help children develop their independence by offering choices, although the researchers observed that the choices were predetermined by the teacher and that children were sanctioned for engaging in a free activity. Conversely, Japanese teachers did not offer choices to children, but they allowed children not to participate in group activities and to do almost anything they wanted to. Here, it is impossible or even meaningless to determine which system is more independence oriented. This point indicates multiple meanings of cultural constructs such as individualism, independence, and creativity.

Reinforcement of Cultural Essentialization

To return to the ESL context, teachers' own beliefs and their perceptions of the Self and the Other can further reinforce cultural essentialization and Othering of ESL students. For instance, Harklau (1999b, 2000) revealed a tendency among college writing teachers to assign immigrant ESL students compositions on "your country" regardless of the length of their U.S. residence. Topics included "my country—a great place to visit," and compare/contrast topics such as "the way children are raised in the United States and your country" (Harklau, 1999b, p. 115). These topics are certainly well intentioned; however, they not only impose a particular identity on the students but also reinforce polarization between cultures. Harklau (1999b) also pointed out the problem of a fixed and monolithic view of culture in an incident in which a teacher asked several Vietnamese students, who provided conflicting answers about Vietnamese culture, to talk to one another to reach a single answer. Here, instead of understanding the socially and discursively constructed nature of identity and culture, the teacher imposed his or her idea of what the Other ought to be like.

A particular conception of cultural differences also produces an argument that conceals the problems of the majority group. The reason ESL students are reticent in mainstream classrooms is, the argument goes, that their culture does not promote individual expression of voice (e.g., Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999, citing Harklau, 1994, on an ethnographic study of Chinese ESL students in a U.S. high school). However, being reticent in mainstream classrooms may have more to do with an unwelcoming atmosphere, the mainstream members' lack of willingness to take their share of communicative responsibility to interact with L2 speakers (cf. Lippi-Green, 1997), particular gender dynamics in the classroom, or even mainstream peers' negative attitudes toward ESL students (Harklau, 1999a; Lay, Carro, Tien, Niemann, & Leong, 1999; Leki, 1999). Culture certainly plays an important role in the social and academic development of ESL students, but it should not be regarded as the sole cause of a problem, for such a view is akin to a *blaming-the-victim (or victim's culture)* move (van Dijk, 1993) used in elite discourse that perpetuates racism.

A Course of Action for ESL Professionals

Cultural dichotomies as a legacy of colonial discourse exist in various aspects of contemporary life from popular culture and media to education. In the debate among educational researchers over international

comparisons of achievement, for instance, the images of U.S. classrooms were idealized whereas Asian classrooms were portrayed in negative and stereotypical ways. One reason for such blatant negativity may be that the debate participants have very limited daily contact with people from Asia. ESL professionals can certainly offer convincing arguments on culture as they have immediate contact with people from different cultures.

When faced with a debate outside of an ESL circle, say, in a public lecture on educational research,[9] what position can ESL teachers and researchers take? First, they can concur with the dichotomous cultural differences by saying, "Absolutely yes, research in teaching ESL has also confirmed such cultural differences." Second, they can take a middle way or negotiate between individual differences and cultural differences (Atkinson, 1999; Littlewood, 1999) by saying, "We shouldn't stereotype different cultures because there are individual differences and diversity within each cultural group. But at the same time, each cultural group has a set of certain shared views and social practices. So those cultural differences do exist to some extent, and we can call them *cultural tendencies*." Third, more compellingly, they can encourage colleagues to engage in a cultural critique. They can say, "Well, we need to critically look at our perceptions of cultural differences or the images of ourselves and people from other cultures. These perceptions do not actually reflect objective truth, but they have been discursively produced, particularly when another culture was found and we had to define ourselves as categorically different from them. Here, we have tended to perceive ourselves as the norm and exercise our power to keep us superior to, and thus different from, other cultures. We need to understand how the notion of cultural differences is produced and exploited to justify certain ways of thinking and certain relations of power."

ESL professionals and applied linguistics researchers are active participants in constructing and consuming various images of world cultures, including their own. Although they must avoid an ethnocentric view that champions Western culture and the English language and ignores or debases non-Western languages and cultures, they must also recognize that different cultures are made different discursively. It is imperative that teachers and researchers critically examine the underlying ideologies and social, cultural, and educational consequences of perpetuating the commonplace notion of cultural differences.

[9] ESL professionals might actually encounter this kind of debate directly or indirectly. Bracey (1997b), one of the most outspoken revisionists, stated that he gives public lectures 30–40 times around the United States each year. I myself attended a public lecture by David Berliner, one of the authors of *The Manufactured Crisis* (Berliner & Biddle, 1995), in which he enthusiastically engaged in Japan-bashing.

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"A Narrow Thinking System": Nonnative-English-Speaking Students in Group Projects Across the Curriculum

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In examining the contexts of learning for L2 English bilinguals, educators and researchers may have ignored an important feature of that context, the social/academic relationships the learners develop with native-English-speaking peers. Long considered a means of promoting learning and independence among students, group work is one domain where such social/academic interactions occur in university-level courses across the curriculum in English-dominant countries. The research reported here details the experiences of two nonnative-English-speaking (NNES) students in course-sponsored group projects. The findings suggest that the particular social/academic relationships that develop within work groups may undermine the ability of NNES students to make meaningful contributions to the group projects. Furthermore, even group projects that appear to work well may conceal particular burdens for NNES students of which faculty who assign group projects may remain unaware.

In order to understand the academic experiences of L2 English learners[1] in English-dominant educational institutions, researchers have investigated the contexts of learning by observing L2 classrooms, interviewing L2 students and their teachers, and studying the documents that L2 learners produce and consume. Arguably more significant than classrooms, teachers, and documents to these students and to their contexts of learning, however, are the academic relationships that L2 learners form with domestic students. ESL program coordinators in

[1] In recognition of the great variety of possible constellations of linguistic and cultural experience among L2 English learners in tertiary institutions, I refer to them as *L2 learners, English learners, nonnative-English-speaking (NNES) students,* or *bilingual students;* I refer to native-English-speaking students as either *NES* or *domestic students.*

English-dominant countries who recognize the importance of community in language and other kinds of learning have worked to implement programs at the institutional level intended to foster a sense of community, sometimes primarily among the English learners themselves and sometimes between the English learners and their native-English-speaking (NES) peers (for college-level programs, see, e.g., Babbitt, in press; Vann & Myers, in press; for discussion of high school programs, see Walqui, 2000). This effort has sometimes found its way into courses in the form of group projects.

The potential benefits to English learners of working on course projects with NES domestic students seem evident. The domestic students may be more familiar with local, institutional, and linguistic conventions and requirements and, like the *experienced peer* of Vygotsky's (1978) work, may be able to scaffold learning for their English learner colleagues. A large and mainly optimistic body of research exists on the benefits of group work among peers. The analytical and theoretical frame for understanding the research participants' work relationships with domestic students in this study derives partly from the literature on group work and partly from Lave and Wenger's (1991) work on legitimate peripheral participation.

LITERATURE ON GROUP WORK

Group work has been explored in a variety of school settings. Writing teachers have long used peer responding groups to promote students' progress in writing. According to L1 researchers, relying on peers rather than only on teachers for feedback lends a kind of autonomy to students that is said to promote, among other virtues, increased independence from teachers, a sense of ownership of and commitment to their work, and deep cognitive processing of the material they work with (Gere, 1987; Lawrence & Sommers, 1996; Nystrand, Gamoran, & Heck, 1993). Several science disciplines across the higher education curriculum, such as biology and chemistry, have traditionally made extensive use of group work in labs; more recently, teachers in other disciplinary areas—for example, education, art, math, computer science, psychology, and business—have also turned to group assignments (Crowley, 1997; Czerneda, 1996; Eklund & Eklund, 1997; Newcomb & Bagwell, 1997). K–12 researchers, too, have claimed a variety of benefits for small-group work (Bejarno, 1987; Bruner, 1986; Jaques, 1984; Johnson & Johnson, 1974; Romney, 1997; Sharan, 1980; Slavin, 1977, 1983a, 1983b), as have researchers in second and foreign language learning (Faltis, 1993; McGroarty, 1989; Pica & Doughty, 1985; Savignon, 1976). *The Modern Language Journal* devoted the winter 1997 issue (Vol. 81, No. 4) to

exploring ways that collaborative group work can be used in language and teacher education classrooms.[2]

Whereas early research reports on group work and collaborative learning claimed multiple benefits for students working in groups, more sobering reports eventually appeared on nonnative-English-speaking (NNES) students in college writing classes (Carson & Nelson, 1996; Connor & Asenavage, 1994; Leki, 1990; Nelson & Murphy, 1992; Wong Fillmore, 1985) and in K–12 classes (Cowie, Smith, Boulton, & Laver, 1994; Jacob, Rottenberg, Patrick, & Wheeler, 1996). For example, despite previous claims that working with peers would make students more tolerant of difference, Cowie et al.'s (1994) study with young children showed no particular reduction in cross-racial or cross-ethnic bullying among children engaged in group projects with children from other cultures. Furthermore, group work in Toohey and Day's (1999) account afforded bilingual children in Grades K–2 only ambiguous access to community language resources. In addition, in higher education students themselves have expressed frustration with group work (see, e.g., experiences of L1 students reported in Fiechtner & Davis, 1992, and L2 and foreign language students and teacher trainees in Horwitz, Bresslau, Dryden, McLendon, & Yu, 1997; Nyikos & Hashimoto, 1997; Wilhelm, 1997; for telling accounts of problems in collaboration among researchers, see Durst & Stanforth, 1996; McCarthy & Fishman, 1996).

Nevertheless, many researchers and teachers remain convinced of the value of group work and continue to explore the conditions that lead to either satisfying or negative group work experiences (Bennett & Dunne, 1992; Bruffee, 1993; Cowie et al., 1994; Dunne & Bennett, 1990; Felder & Brent, 1996; Meloth & Deering, 1994; Nystrand et al., 1993; Tinto, 1997). K–12 researchers have concluded that, to succeed, group work must be carefully structured; the students must be thoroughly prepared through social skill-building activities; assignments must be open-ended rather than have preset answers; and the task must be such that a group, rather than only an individual, is truly required to accomplish it (see, e.g., Cohen, 1994; Ford, 1991; Johnson, Johnson, & Holubec, 1991; Kluge, 1990; Sharan, 1990).

It is the issue of social/academic interactions, addressed in the K–12 literature by a focus on social skill building, that is of most interest in the research reported here. Social/academic interactions refer to the

[2] In the literature on group work, distinctions are made among *collaborative learning* (Holt, 1993), *cooperative learning* (Kagan, 1992), *interaction* (Oxford, 1997), and *learning communities* (Kogan, 1997). The interactions described in this investigation include primarily instances of what is generally referred to as collaborative learning, that is, construction of knowledge through group work.

relationships that develop among peers doing academic work together, not to friendships that may or may not develop. This area of social/academic interactions between English learners and their domestic peers, the social/academic context of learning, has not been sufficiently considered in the L2 literature. (See Toohey, 1998, for a similar argument and for an example of how NES first graders used material possessions and the withholding of friendship to position NNES first graders as outsiders.) Despite the fact that many English learners in English-dominant countries are surrounded by NES peers most of the day, we as L2 teachers and researchers typically know little about their social/academic relationships with these potential academic colleagues. Yet, by ignoring the social aspect of our students' academic lives as we study the contexts of learning in our classrooms, we may exaggerate our own importance and the importance of our courses in these students' educational experiences. We inadvertently create a picture of L2 learners as having only a dimension that interacts with us.

LEGITIMATE PERIPHERAL PARTICIPATION

In Lave and Wenger's (1991) definition, "legitimate peripheral participation is proposed as a descriptor of engagement in social practice that entails learning as an integral constituent" (p. 35). The learner in their study of situated learning is an apprentice, someone seeking to be accepted into a community of practice. The apprentice proceeds by participating with a master, or old-time member of that community, who engages in the practice and by eventually taking over increasingly complex portions of the practice. In this conceptualization, each partner recognizes and accepts the positioning of the other, the apprentice as outsider wanting in and the master as willing guide. An understanding of this configuration has been useful in such L2 studies as Belcher's (1994) on bilingual graduate students, Casanave's (1998) on bilingual Japanese academics, and Flowerdew's (2000) on editorial practices of an English language journal dealing with an article submission from a NNES author. Although none of the relationships within the groups described in this report is in fact that of apprentice/master, Lave and Wenger's framework nevertheless may help illuminate how attempts to position oneself and the other within a group may contribute to what can go awry in group projects that include both bilingual and domestic students.

Research Questions

The study reported here grew out of a larger ethnography, a series of naturalistic case studies broadly focused on the academic and literacy experiences of a group of international and permanent-resident bilingual university students. The portion of the data reported here involves the working relationships that two of the research participants formed with the other members of their course project groups.

In keeping with methods of naturalistic inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), the overarching research question for purposes of data analysis in the study reported here was

- What are the experiences of a group of NNES students in evaluated group work across the curriculum in higher education?

This research question, which guided the in-depth interviews (described in the Method section), was intended to be maximally flexible to allow the participants themselves to designate significant focal areas and define their own experiences. Three subordinate questions helped guide data analysis and interpretation:

1. To what degree did these students regard their formal, evaluated group work experiences as satisfying or unsatisfying?
2. To what degree did these assigned group projects function as the course professors intended?
3. What special circumstances surround NNES students' participation in assigned group projects across the curriculum?

METHOD

Context and Participants

The institutional context for the study was a large state university in the United States with a student body of about 24,000 students, including about 1,000 international students. Although there are also NNES permanent residents in attendance, some of whom graduated from U.S. high schools, determining the exact number is nearly impossible because it is difficult to identify them based on available records. Most of the middle- and working-class domestic student body is drawn from in-state residents. Although this information is also difficult to document, conversations with students and their teachers suggest that many of the domestic students have had limited experience with cultural and linguistic groups from outside the United States.

Six of the participants in the larger study, who responded to a call for

volunteers for the research project, had had substantial experience with course-sponsored group work. These six included four women and two men (five undergraduates and one graduate student) representing five different majors and five different countries (see Table 1). Two (Ben and Jan[3]) were permanent residents and graduates of U.S. high schools.

Two of the students were followed for one semester; the remaining four students were followed throughout their undergraduate careers at the university. For one student, whose progress toward graduation was slower than that of the other students, this report includes work only through his junior year. This is significant because his group work experience became more positive as he became better acquainted with students in his major. All the participants signed informed consent forms as part of the university's human subjects research review.

Data Collection

Data for this research, collected over the course of 5 years, consisted of complete transcriptions of in-depth weekly or biweekly interviews with the six NNES students; field notes of observations of their classes (from a minimum of one observation for some classes to weekly observations in others); transcriptions of interviews with their professors; documents given to them in classes, including syllabuses and course handouts; and their written work, including early drafts, for these classes. The varied

TABLE 1
Student Participants

Name	Gender	Graduate/ undergraduate	Home country	Major	Time in U.S. at beginning of study	Previous experience with group work?
Ling	F	UG	Taiwan	Business	1 week	Yes
Tula	F	G	Finland	Speech pathology	1 week	Yes
Yang	F	UG	People's Republic of China	Nursing	2 years	Yes
Yuko	F	UG	Japan	Social work	1 year	?
Ben	M	UG	People's Republic of China	Engineering	2 years	Yes
Jan	M	UG	Poland	Business	1.5 years	Yes

[3] All names are pseudonyms.

data sources were intended to ensure data triangulation, though this report focuses primarily on findings from interview and observational data.

A guide consisting of open-ended questions formed the basis of the interviews with the students and the single interview with each of their professors. (See the Appendix for a sample interview guide.) Depending on how our schedules matched those of the participants and their classes, either my research assistants or I conducted the interviews and observed classes.

In the tradition of ethnographic and phenomenological interviewing (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984), the interview questions were intended to elicit an account of the students' lived experience and a sense of "how [these] people define their world" (p. 9). Interview questions were generally designed to invite students to talk freely about aspects of their course work and their educational experiences that interested them. Because of the frequent contact my research assistants and I had with these students, they soon came to anticipate the questions we were interested in and to mentally collect descriptions of events in their educational lives that we hoped to focus on as well as those they themselves felt an urge to discuss.

For the most part, we did not have direct access to the inner workings of the groups in which these students participated because the groups met irregularly and outside of normally scheduled class times. (However, see the section below on Ling's geography class.) Information about the functioning of these groups came from the research participants' interviews, interviews with the faculty assigning the group work, observations of class sessions in which group projects were discussed, and documents given to and produced by the groups.

The faculty interviews, although also intended to be fairly open-ended and to invite commentary on what the faculty member deemed important in the course, were scripted for purposes of efficient use of the faculty members' time. The questions focusing on group projects asked why interviewees assigned group work, what educational benefits they hoped students would experience as a result of the group work, and what problems, if any, they encountered in using group work.

Analysis

Data analysis followed typical procedures for qualitative research (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984). Data were read reiteratively, with all instances of mention of group work collated out. Basic categories were generated through content analysis of the interview, observational, and documentary data that involved "comparing, contrasting, aggregating, and ordering" (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984, p. 171) the data with a view to

discovering logical groupings and links among categories that would shed light on the students' overall experiences in these group projects. Because I was after insights into how these collaborative experiences worked, even single instances attracted attention. Student interview transcripts were thus analyzed for both recurring and particularly salient themes. Salient themes were those that occasioned the most (positively or negatively) fraught or agitated comments from the students.

During the period of this study, the students engaged in group work of some kind in 54 classes, excluding English, writing, and ESL classes. Of these collaborative activities, 17 were projects assigned as a required, evaluated part of the course (rather than spontaneous, unevaluated cooperation among students); 12 of these occurred in the students' majors (see Table 2).

All course-sponsored group work in a single class was counted as one group work experience because most courses that had group work included only one project. In the few that had more (Ben's history class, Jan's geography labs, and Ling's geography class), the different occasions for group work nevertheless resulted in a similar experience across instances, as reported by the informants.

TABLE 2
Distribution of Courses With Group Assignments

Participant	Courses assigning group work
Ling	Geography
Tula	Speech Pathology
Yang	Nursing Research Community Health Wellness Assessment Leadership
Yuko	Social Work Social Work Practice Human Behavior
Jan	Geography Lab 1 Geography Lab 2 Accounting Management
Ben	History Chemical Engineering Mass Transfer Equipment Design

Note. Excluding English, writing, and ESL courses, the total number of courses taken by the participants was 81. Of these, the 17 listed here assigned group work.

FINDINGS

Group work is conceived and instituted in a wide variety of ways across the curriculum, generating a variety of themes that threaded through the students' comments and that can be divided into two basic categories: themes dealing with social aspects and those dealing with academic aspects of their experiences in group projects. These two categories are best viewed as two ends of a continuum because in several cases it was difficult to definitively separate the social from the academic.

Toward the social end of the continuum, four main themes recurred: (a) meeting logistics, (b) task allocation, (c) actual contributions to the project of individual group members, and (d) anticipated contributions to the project by the bilingual students. This report focuses primarily on the last of these, which seems the most important in terms of understanding the bilingual students' experiences with group work.

The Students' Experiences in Group Projects

Nearly all the students in this research had had either formal or informal experience with group work in high school or in college in their home countries. The students described these previous experiences as generally positive, allowing them to share the burdens of a heavy workload, to learn through in-depth discussion of a topic, or to compare their own understanding of course material with that of other group members. In these cases they seemed to consider themselves equal participants in the group work process, as partners with valuable contributions to make to the group.

Their experiences in the group projects in their course work in the United States, however, were not so positive even though they were a salient factor in the students' academic experiences. The participating students repeatedly referred in their interviews to formal and informal group work in their courses across the curriculum. Fifteen of the 17 evaluated group projects were described primarily negatively, not because the final product itself received low evaluations from the professor but for a variety of other reasons that may be especially pertinent for bilingual students—particularly, an a priori expectation on the part of domestic group members that the bilingual students would not or would not be able to make a significant contribution to the project. Four of the six bilingual students (Ling, Yang, Jan, and Ben) expressed dissatisfaction with course-sponsored group projects because of the way they felt their group mates positioned them as a result of these doubts about their potential contribution. In effect, domestic group members variously

resisted or ignored the bilingual students' potential contributions, appearing to construct them as less capable and therefore not valuable to the project—in some respects, constructing them as mere apprentices to the domestic students' own roles as masters. In some cases this positioning occurred even before groups were formed and resulted in bilingual students being tacitly bypassed in group formation. As Jan explained, "They didn't want to [include me in the group] in the beginning because I'm foreign . . . like until they see I'm good in something, they don't care about [me]. I've got to show myself first, that I'm good in something" (interview, August 23, 1995, p. 5).

Bilingual Students Positioned

Two of the students' group project experiences, Ling's in her geography class and Yang's in her nursing classes, show clearly how the four social themes cited above played out and how the bilingual students' potential contributions were undermined.

Ling's Geography Class

I describe in detail two group activities assigned in Ling's geography class[4] because of the special circumstances occasioned by the NNES students in the group and because of the subtle way in which Ling struggled to position herself as a group member with potential contributions to make while some of the other group members worked to construct her as marginal. The degree of detail is possible because, in his enthusiasm for group work, the professor allotted considerable class time for these activities. As a result, with the teachers' and the students' permission, I had the rare opportunity to observe the inner workings of this group and take extensive field notes on the interactions among group members.[5]

Professor G. was very interested in collaborative learning and clearly demonstrated to the students his endorsement of group work by setting aside time two or three classes before each project was due to allow the

[4] Newkirk (1996) talks about the moral dilemma of doing qualitative research when the result of the inquiry is "bad news" for a participant in the research. I am particularly chagrined to report the failure of these two group activities because of the course professor's enthusiasm about them, his kindness, and his lack of awareness to this day of how wrong the activities went for the group I focused on. Other groups in the class (all consisting of domestic students) did not seem to suffer from the same problems.

[5] My presence brings up the unavoidable issue of what effect I might have had on the group process. At the first group meeting, I asked the group members for permission to sit in and take notes on their meeting because I was interested in how the group projects would progress. They agreed without comment. In this meeting and subsequent ones, they appeared to ignore me,

groups to meet. Of all the faculty I interviewed, he had the most clearly articulated idea of the potential benefits of group work and was using several of the techniques recommended to ensure success: passing out only one copy of the project so that students would be forced to share rather than read the directions individually, allowing class time partly for students' convenience but also to demonstrate the importance of the project, and talking and thinking in terms of "learning communities" (Professor G.'s term) rather than competitive groups. In an interview, he said,

> My idea for groups is really to see that group dynamic, that interaction, because I think learning communities and working with others is the way to learn, I mean, they are going to have to explain why they rationalize a particular thing, they're going to have to explain it to other students. In turn they probably will come to some kind of consensus . . . . It's important that they allocate tasks and know how to do that within the group. (November 12, 1992, p. 3)

Groups were formed by seating proximity. This arrangement initially appeared to solve a problem Ling had worried about. She had expressed apprehension about this group assignment because she had heard negative comments from her Chinese friends about group work. They had told her that Americans did not like to work in groups with "foreigners," and if the students were simply asked to form groups on their own, the "foreigners" tended not to be invited to join. As Ling reported, "They always say it's difficult to join a group, so [I'm] always afraid to work group exercises" (September 9, 1992, p. 5).

Because groups were more or less assigned, Ling did not have to experience the embarrassment of not being chosen for a group. Her group of four included three NES women. Their seating arrangement, one behind the other in a very crowded and noisy room, was soon to prove unfortunate in that it appeared to impede communication.

When Professor G. passed out the assignments, he emphasized to the class that he was less concerned with the actual answers than with the group's rationale for their answers. He told them, "I'd like you to cooperate together and come up with your best guesses . . . basically brainstorm. It's a synergistic project and it works better in groups than done alone" (field notes, September 16, 1992, p. 21).

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which was relatively easy because they never formed a circle but, throughout their collaboration, remained seated one in front of the other. The domestic students in the group were not aware that I was working with Ling.

Because there was relatively little talk in this group, I was able to write down verbatim what everyone said. As one of the reviewers of this manuscript has pointed out, constructing a case out of specific utterances is a potential source of researcher bias. Data triangulation and multiple research participants are intended to mitigate this danger.

After this encouraging introduction to the project, Ling's group began work. A leader, the Boss,[6] emerged, and, before she or any of the others had even read the questions on the work sheet, she allocated the tasks: Each group member would take two or three of the questions to answer at home. Another group member, the Writer, announced that she would collect everyone's answers and write them all down on the one activity sheet to be turned in. The third member of the group, the Outlier, a seemingly shy NES student whose dress marked her as unconventional (e.g., one day she wore elbow-length black lace gloves to class), said nothing. The students packed up their books and left class, apparently pleased to have worked so efficiently. This was the extent of the group members' initial collaboration.

The assignment called for the use of demographic information to answer a series of questions. The first part of Question 9, Ling's assigned question, listed names of fictitious neighborhoods, such as Blue Blood Estates, Gray Panther Park, and Newcomers' Gardens, and the prices of houses in those neighborhoods. In the second part of the question were descriptions of the habits of several fictitious groups of people: the television shows they watched, the make of cars they drove, the types of foods they ate, and the magazines they subscribed to. The task was to use the information about the neighborhoods and the people's characteristics to place these groups of people into the neighborhoods they were likely to live in based on an analysis of their lifestyle preferences.

Ling read and understood the task but saw immediately that she could not do this assignment. Newly arrived in the United States from Taiwan for the first time, she had no resources available or previous experiences that would have allowed her to complete this task alone. She had absolutely no idea what socioeconomic group in the United States would join civic clubs, use hand tools or snuff, drive a Dodge Diplomat, eat canned meat spreads, or watch *Another World* on television. She did not know and did not know how to find out whether people who lived in a fictitious place called Gray Panther Park would be more likely to subscribe to *Cosmopolitan* magazine or *Ladies Home Journal,* drive a Toyota or a Ford, watch *Monday Night Football* or *Star Trek*, or have a college degree or a general equivalency diploma.

The assignment called for the kind of implicit knowledge of U.S. culture that was probably within the grasp of the NES students but far out of the reach of a student just arrived in the United States. The next time the group met in class, Ling had nothing to show. Ironically, the point of the group project had been to obviate precisely these types of

[6] In my field notes on this class, I assigned these students nicknames based on the roles they seemed to take on in the group.

problems. Students were expected to be able to rely on each other's instincts and experiences to answer the questions. Furthermore, the exercise was intended to make graphic for the students that the very ability to do the exercise depended on their well-developed and possibly unconscious stereotypes. Because Ling did not have these stereotyped images of North Americans, she could have provided an enlightening object lesson for her peers.

Interestingly, Ling was sensitive to this purpose for the exercise and felt that the question she had been assigned would have been difficult to answer even in relation to Taiwan, as she explained in an interview.

> I think it not easy to divide what class of people will watch what kind of magazine or TV program. Even in Taiwan I will feel difficulty for this question. I think it's not easy, not absolutely to decide what kind of the magazine for what level of the people, even the food. Even for car. Some people they are poor but they use expensive car. (September 16, 1992, p. 4)

Ling's comments point not only to her grasp of the point of the exercise but also to her ability to look at it critically. In other words, although she may not have been competent to answer these specific questions in relation to U.S. culture, her ability to complicate the question through her critical appraisal may have added to her group mates' understanding of the issues evoked by the exercise, had she been allowed to contribute in this way.

As it happened, however, her potential to contribute meaningfully was never realized because no group discussion of the exercise ever took place. Instead, the Outlier, the shy, unusually attired third member of the group, with whom Ling had become friendly, gave her the expected answers to Question 9. At a subsequent class meeting, the Writer collected all the required sections of the assignment in a stack to take home and collate. As both the interviews and class observations revealed, no one read anyone else's answers; no one looked at what the others had written; no one reviewed the final collated report that the Writer eventually turned in. The group received a grade of 13 out of a possible 15 points. All was well.

This group project experience had other consequences for the professor, Ling, and her group mates. The good evaluation the group received completely hid from the professor the failure of the group project to provoke the kind of intellectual synergy he had hoped for. For Ling, initial apprehension about group work with U.S. students turned to dread as she contemplated the upcoming second group project with her confidence about her potential contribution shaken. And for two of her group mates, Ling's initial inability to answer the question assigned to her opened the way for them to position her as less than competent.

Several weeks later, the same group mates worked together on the second group project. In this task, students were to draw *cartograms,* maps in which the size of a country reflects not its physical dimensions but some other measure. For example, a cartogram of energy consumption in the world would show the United States in its usual position on the map but enormously bloated whereas, say, China would be much smaller. For this exercise, students were to compare two newspapers according to how often they mentioned a particular country and then create a cartogram in which the size of the country on the map reflected the frequency of mention in each of the two newspapers. Professor G. warned the class,

> The exercises are not as neat and tidy as they seem. Decide what mention of a country means and be consistent. You need to explain the criteria that you are using to decide what constitutes mention of a country. (field notes, September 16, 1992, p. 4)

The professor hoped that, in doing this exercise, students would be able to detect the particular newspaper's bias. He told them they could use the same newspaper from two different eras or different newspapers from different places. In answer to a student's question, Professor G. clarified that they did not need to limit themselves to U.S. papers. This answer caught Ling's attention.

On the day this assignment was made and the professor's explanation given, both the Writer and the Boss were absent. That left Ling and the Outlier. In the following exchange, they seemed to be moving in a potentially interesting direction.

Ling:	We can choose two newspapers for a week or 10 days. How to make? Do you want to do cross-section?
Outlier:	Any particular paper? . . .
Ling:	The library has a lot of newspapers, on the second floor. We can choose. Maybe before Wednesday we can go to the library and decide which paper.
Outlier:	We can all go to the library maybe Tuesday or Wednesday.
Ling:	Yes, in library there are also foreign newspapers, Japan, German. . . . Chinese paper.
Outlier:	You could help us out with that.
Ling:	Newspaper from America and newspaper from other country.
Outlier:	OK. (field notes, October 30, 1992, p. 17)

In this exchange, these two students were collaborating and negotiating as the professor had hoped, with Ling taking an active part. In bringing up the newspapers at the library and then the foreign language newspapers, she implied a possible role for herself as an equal contributor, a

role she allowed the Outlier to suggest—that is, that she be the person responsible for analyzing the Chinese paper.

When the Boss and the Writer returned to class the next time, they got a copy of the assignment from the teacher, and the Writer proceeded to explain it to the Boss, ignoring the other two group members, who had heard the professor's explanations. The Writer announced the best way to go about this work and told the group that she would go through two newspapers and count the times certain countries were mentioned. The Boss agreed. No one brought up the point Professor G. had tried to make so salient: that they needed to discuss and explain to each other their criteria for what constituted mention of a country. The following account, derived from my field notes, has my notations in brackets:

Writer: After I get it done, someone can look it over.
[Up to that point the Boss and the Writer have not consulted the other two at all. Now the Boss turns to them for the first time and explains what she and the Writer have decided and asks which numbers of the exercise each of them wants to take. The Boss asserts that Number 4 is the longest/hardest one to do. There is some exchange between the Boss and Ling that prompts the Boss to say, unconvinced,]

Boss: Do *you* want to do it?

Ling: Maybe we can discuss about Number 4.
[The Boss then again explains that the Writer will go and look at the newspapers and that after the Writer has tabulated everything they can just answer the questions from that. . . . The Boss starts to divide up the questions. . . .]

Ling: If you want we can look at newspaper in other languages. I could do Chinese.
[awkward pause]

Boss: Would you *want* to go to the library and do all that work? If you want to, that's fine.

Writer: Are you going to have time to do all that? See, I have time to do it this week.

Boss: There's not that much time, but if you have free time . . . . [pauses] Are you going to?

Ling: No.
[With everything settled now, the Boss and the Writer get up, gather their things, dismissing Ling and the Outlier from their attention, and leave. As they go, Ling speaks to the Outlier.]

Ling: What do you think?
[The Outlier . . . just shrugs. She and Ling sit there, facing exactly the same direction as they were in before, not making a move, not even putting their papers away, just looking at the other two leaving. . . . Ling has a wry smile on her face and eventually turns back around and starts to pack up slowly. The Outlier makes a face

that indicates disgust and frustration.] (field notes, November 4, 1992, p. 9)

As other people began to drift out of the classroom, one group of five continued working, seemingly on the project. Indicating that last group, Professor G. remarked to me proudly, "Who needs teachers? They can do it themselves" (field notes, November 4, 1992, p. 9).

In an interview later, Ling recounted this incident and commented,

Ling:	Original, I want to collect some information from the newspaper maybe in Chinese, English. Maybe in Chinese language the newspaper, but they seem not very interested in this suggestion. . . . I think they [would show] much interest in the idea but they don't. I don't know why. Maybe they just like newspaper in English.
Interviewer:	And what did you think about that yourself?
Ling:	I think if we can do this, we can use two kind of newspaper, one of American and maybe not in only Chinese, maybe in other language, that means the newspaper from other country, maybe it should be better than we use two American newspapers.
Interviewer:	Why?
Ling:	Because for this exercise the newspaper bias [is the question] and I think the special bias will be very clear between, if we use two kind of newspaper from two countries. . . . That['s] what I think but they don't like, maybe they are not interested in this.
Interviewer:	That day, did you and L [the Outlier] talk about their decision, of their interest or lack of interest after class?
Ling:	L say nothing. I already express my suggestion. If they like a newspaper in Chinese, I can do that, but they are not interested. L did not show any opinion. L say she is still very interesting in this, but she say anyway if this two people wanted to do that, just they [would/should] do that. She is not sure; she's a nice girl but she not insisting in anything.
Interviewer:	Do you think she should have insisted?
Ling:	Yes, I think. It's a little bit pity if we don't use my suggestion.
Interviewer:	Did you think about it any more after that?
Ling:	Yes, I think about it but I think this is a group exercise. If most of the member in this group want to do this way, I will be in favor, I think. Of course, I think my suggestion is not bad, but if most of member want to [do it] another way, I will agree with. (November 10, 1992, p. 7)

When the exercise was returned to the students, they received 15 out of 15 possible points. The Writer ended up doing the cartograms herself, with Ling contributing the answer to one question. Ling never saw the rest of the exercise and later in an interview described her disappoint-

ment at the whole affair because the most interesting part of the assignment for her would have been to experience drawing these cartograms, and she had had no hand in that.

Several of the expected benefits of group work were perverted in these two examples. Tasks were allotted, but only in the most perfunctory way, with group members neither aware of nor interested in what the other members had done. A leader emerged but simply made decisions on her own. Each member of the group potentially had something different to bring to the group, but Ling was not allowed to bring in her particular expertise; nor was she able to benefit from the expertise of the NES group members in an exercise in which they could have quite precisely informed her. There was almost no opportunity to speak; negotiation took place between the most powerful members of the group and the one the least in a position to insist; apparent consensus masked indifference, possible hostility, and the dictation of terms. Implicit in the remarks rejecting Ling's suggestion ("Would you *want* to . . . do all that work? . . . Are you going to have time . . .?") appears to be a construction of her as not equal to the task and a suggestion that she step back and allow those who were competent to take care of business.

Yang's Nursing Program

A second, less detailed though perhaps more pointed example of positioning occurred in Yang's nursing classes. This example seems worth examining because it undermines the possibility that the issue in these negative group work experiences was friendship rather than the failure to develop an appropriate social/academic relationship. Although Ling was not friendly with the two leading members of her group, Yang was very friendly with her group mates yet was also constructed as something of a burden or a problem to be fixed.

Though trained as a medical doctor in China and typically highly successful in the nursing program's academic course work, Yang had an extremely hard time communicating orally. Her professors found her pronunciation difficult to understand and reported feeling uncertain about whether she understood them. This posed a real problem in the clinical experiences required in the nursing program, particularly with patients who were ill and therefore unprepared to make an extra effort to understand her Chinese-accented English.

Fortunately, in professional training programs like nursing, cohorts of students take many of the same classes together and come to know each other well. This was the case with Yang. Although her first semester in the nursing program was quite tense and anxiety producing for her, by her second semester she had developed friendly relations with many of her

classmates, borrowing their class notes, for example, because she could not trust herself to understand the lectures well enough to be examined on their content. She also did what she could to reciprocate, often performing or offering to perform small, mechanical tasks, like running over to the next building to photocopy articles for her classmates when the line for the machine in the nursing school was long or sometimes supplying classmates with extra material. She said in an interview,

> If I have some good material, I don't need somebody ask me. I just bring class. I ask, who wants copy? . . . I just do little thing, so student know we can help each other. Maybe student know if my English got good, I can help them. But even though my English poor, I have some material for another class, I just bring class. (February 16, 1996, p. 2)

Many nursing courses required group work, according to the faculty interviews, on the assumption that nurses rarely work alone, and the same group of 7–12 students might work together for clinical rotations for several semesters. The course work for the class in focus here included a group project to be carried out in the community. The four nursing students in Yang's group were sent to a power company to analyze the health care needs of company employees and then to produce a two-part educational program for the employees on 2 successive weeks that would address those needs. The project took about 6 weeks and required the group to produce (a) a needs analysis, (b) the two-part educational program, (c) a self-evaluation of the degree of success in educating the target group, (d) a paper describing the expected health conditions of the target group, and (e) a class presentation relating their experiences.

During the time period that the group of student nurses traveled to the company, they became well acquainted and developed a fondness for each other. For Yang, having lunch with these classmates once a week while they debriefed each other and prepared their self-evaluation was her only experience in 4 years of study in the United States of participating in an extended, informal gathering of NES students.

Interviewer:	How often in the [average] day do you have conversation, friendly conversation?
Yang:	Oh, just a little bit. Just meet somebody, just say hello, common greeting, common ask thing, not much. But since last week we got [the community] class, we got four student in one group. We go to communication every day . . . . We sit each other, we sit together, we talking about plan with the patient so we got a lot of opportunity to conversation. . . . So we can have lunch together every time, all the time we work on our project together. (March 15, 1996, p. 2)

She was very happy in this group; the group members worked well together, and the project and group presentation earned them an excellent grade.

What was obscured by this success, however, was the exact role that Yang played. Although she participated in all planning sessions and in the actual teaching sessions at the company, her role as she described it was quite limited.

> My job just—a lot of job is done by my classmate—easy. . . . The other conversation job was done by my classmates. Everything else. . . . The [community] group very good, so they take care of everything. They don't complain to something. But I do best I can. (interview, March 1, 1996, p. 3)

In the first teaching experience, her role was to introduce the other student nurses in her group, saying their names. Although this role was almost certainly intended to give her an easy task that would not jeopardize the group's teaching program, it was also the most likely to produce complete incomprehension on the part of audience members, who heard the names pronounced in ways they could not anticipate or recognize and had no contextual clues that might have allowed them to become used to Yang's accent. Her nursing professor, who was there to evaluate the group, was shocked at the incomprehensibility of Yang's brief contribution.

The client group, middle-aged company employees, had indicated that they would be interested in learning relaxation techniques from the student nurses. In an interview Yang mentioned that she wanted to suggest to her group members the possibility of teaching Tai Chi to these clients, something that would have shown her in a very positive light with an expertise to share: "Maybe I can offer some Chinese technique like Tai Chi Chuan, you know. I will give something, I will talking to my friends, give some demonstration . . ." (March 1, 1996, p. 5). In the second and final teaching session, however, Yang's role consisted of holding up posters her group had prepared. She said of this session,

> Just hate myself, I can't get good English. So a lot of times the work my classmates do, I can do just little thing. . . . I can't do good presentation, so for the same content, if I give presentation, give bad result; if my student-mates give presentation, very good action. . . . I just feel, if I had good English maybe I could do more job, do more work in our group. . . . I just feel, I owe to my friends, something to my group because a lot of job is done by my classmates, not me. (interview, March 15, 1996, p. 17)

This way of dealing with Yang's presence in a group was not an isolated incident. In the Nursing Leadership class, Yang's group was assigned to discuss hospital pricing structures. Yang's public role consisted of holding

up the syringes or bandages that her NES classmates discussed as examples of variable-cost items.

Interviewer:	Did *you* have to do any research?
Yang:	No.
Interviewer:	So some people got prices, and then some people talked, and then you were the demonstrators? [Another Chinese woman was in this group.]
Yang:	Yeah. Demonstrators.
Interviewer:	Like on the game show? Like Vanna White?
Yang:	Yeah. Game show. Yeah, yeah, yeah. . . . They just say, you only pick up item, then show everybody. So, after she [the other Chinese woman] pick up, I will pick up. (October 23, 1996, p. 14)

Yang had unmistakable problems with English pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary. Yet she had potential contributions to make. Despite the success of this project overall and her emotional satisfaction at developing affectionate bonds with her group mates, Yang's potential contribution was obliterated by the limited role she was asked to play in the public portions of these projects and the group's failure to take advantage of the special expertise she could have offered. No one but Yang was aware of her diminishment. Her reaction to this positioning is complex. On one hand, she was aware, with a certain sadness, that she was capable of much more; on the other hand, she was aware of her problems in making herself understood in English and repeatedly expressed gratitude to her colleagues for helping her. She summed up her attitude in one of the last interviews of one semester: "So I just hope no more group work" (April 19, 1996, p. 18).

DISCUSSION

Why Groups May Fail NNES Students

A number of researchers (Cohen, 1994; Ford, 1991; Holt, 1994; McGroarty, 1989) refer to the particular benefit of group work to NNES students in terms of language development and exposure to cultural features of a new environment, and the benefit to NES students in its promotion of increased tolerance to difference among the U.S. students in a group. However, not many of the expected benefits of group work were visible in the experiences of the six focal students. Ling's and Yang's experiences may have been the most poignant of those described by the participants in this study, but they were not isolated examples.

What might explain the bilingual students' negative experiences in

these groups? Research in K–12 classrooms indicates that, to be successful, group work must be carefully planned. In several of the unsatisfying projects observed during this study, in fact, students were barely given more than a direction to work in groups. But in both the geography and the nursing classes, the instructions were precise and well considered. Thus, careful planning may not be enough to preempt unsatisfactory experiences.

K–12 researchers, in their references to social skill building, appear to be referring primarily to the ability to work with others in a friendly, cooperative, polite way. Nyikos and Hashimoto (1997) emphasize the importance of supportive social relations to the success of group work; although such relations may be crucial, they apparently are not sufficient. In Yang's case, she considered her cohort in general and the students in her work group in particular as helpful, generous, and kind, constituting an important support system for her in her nursing studies. This genuine friendliness, however, did not preclude their seeming anticipation that she would not be able to contribute much to the group and that the group would generously carry her.

As noted earlier, Cowie et al. (1994) found that diversity among children learning cooperatively did not reduce cross-racial bullying. Despite Yang's warm relations with her group, a perhaps unconscious bias, that is, a sense that linguistic difficulty suggests intellectual incapacity, may have played some role. But another possibility is that, as one international student put it, "The [domestic] student who has no experience on international students owns . . . a narrow thinking system and too much self-oriented mind."[7] In referring to the "too much self-oriented mind," this student appears to suggest that the problem for these domestic students (or perhaps for anyone with little experience of diversity) is their failure or inability to conceptualize beyond their usual habits of mind.

One factor common to several of the evaluated course-sponsored group projects seemed to be how students allocated tasks. As they did so, students often redefined the task from one that would provide an opportunity to learn or practice to a job that merely had to get done, with the focus then being on how to get it done with the greatest efficiency and least expenditure of time and energy, usually by splitting up the tasks and never reintegrating the sections. This phenomenon is evident in Ling's geography group. In their work on expertise, Bereiter and Scardamalia (1993) refer to such attempts to strip down the complexity of a project in order to deal with it in an efficient, routinized

[7] Private conversation with an international student who was not a part of the study but had heard of my interest in NNES students' experiences with group work and volunteered his comments, having participated in numerous group projects as a student in the United States.

way as a *novice* response to a complex problem. They compare this novice response to *expert* response, in which the expert is willing to approach the problem in its complexity and experiment with it or devise new solutions. In a sense, the students in Ling's dysfunctional group, for example, looked for ways to get the job done without having to learn anything; that is, they were behaving like novices.

Yet in their interactions with the bilingual students in their groups, both Ling's and Yang's group mates, consciously or not, appeared to be positioning themselves as experts, masters, or at least more senior members of a community of practice and their bilingual group mates as novices, incompetents, or apprentices.[8] But the relationship among members of a group in a cooperative learning situation and the relationship between an apprentice and a master presume quite a different positioning of work participants. Ling and Yang assumed at the outset of their group work experiences that they would be working on an equal footing with their domestic counterparts and would have something to teach them as well as something to learn from them. That is, they did not position themselves as apprentices seeking to enter a community of practice but rather as equally competent learners in a learning community. Ling in particular attempted to resist her positioning as a noncontributor and assert her right to contribute. Yang may have inadvertently opened the door to her positioning as someone to be trusted mainly with mechanical jobs through her attempts to repay her classmates' kindness to her by doing them small favors. Yet when she photocopied for classmates the articles she thought they should have, she was struggling to cast herself not only as grateful classmate but also as distributor of knowledge and information.

Furthermore, in their struggle Ling and Yang were not supported by their teachers, who might have been in a better position than the domestic students to conceive of contributions the bilingual students could make and might have intervened in reconfiguring the positionings of the various group members. But their teachers remained unaware of the dynamics of these groups; in fact, part of the philosophy of cooperative learning as understood and instantiated by the faculty interviewed in this study was that group relationships must find their own way, that a leader, for example, cannot be appointed but rather will emerge. In data not presented here, however, there is some evidence to support the idea that when satisfying group work experiences occurred for these NNES students, it was in conjunction with a teacher's intervention to assert equality of roles within the groups (Leki, in press). We as

[8] Kanno (1999) argues somewhat similarly against an overly sanguine view of communities of practice within the legitimate peripheral participation framework in relation to language minority children.

ESL professionals then may have an important role to play in alerting educators in institutions of higher education to the special conditions created by NNES students in work groups so that they can make a purposeful effort to support these students' contributions. Perhaps the potential benefits of access to diversity for domestic students cannot be actualized without the specific creation of a more level playing field by someone in a position to do so.

Power and Language

Certainly group work evokes issues of power—the power to define others and to force them to behave in ways consonant with that construction. The voices of the least powerful, the NNES students, tended to be muted or ignored in the unsatisfactory group work experiences. Their own presumption of equality with the domestic students collided with the domestic students' construction of the NNES students as variously handicapped. (See also Lara, 1993, for similar examples of the fate of low-status group members in relation to higher status, male Anglo students.)

In addition, in Lave and Wenger's (1991) terms, everyone participates in a variety of overlapping communities of practice. For Ling, one such community was the geography class, where she considered herself a full participant. Another was the community of practice of U.S. college students, and here she did not consider herself a full participant, perfectly aware that she was not familiar with all of this community's practices and knowledge, as her inability to do the first geography exercise showed. She was interested in participating more fully in that community of practice. Yet by refusing to discuss the group exercises with her, Ling's group mates used their power to deny her access to some of the practices of the U.S. college student community and thus to fuller participation in that community and, by the same token, to full participation in the geography class. Ironically, although Ling was unwilling to accept her positioning as merely a peripheral member of the geography group, she might well have been willing to take on an apprentice role in relation to her domestic group mates' roles as senior or master members of a certain segment of the community of U.S. college students. Instead, she was denied that access and, as Lave and Wenger predict, in coercive, exclusionary situations such as Ling's group, "communities of practice may well develop interstitially and informally" (p. 64), circumventing the power holders to some degree, as was the case with Ling and the Outlier.

CONCLUSION

In focusing on such features of the learning environment as the roles of curriculum, teachers, teaching methods, or students' backgrounds, including their L1s and native cultures, L2 teachers and researchers have tended to neglect English learners' relationships with their peers and the impact that these relationships have on English learners' ability to take full advantage of their educational experiences. This study has shown how power differentials, exaggerated by linguistic limitations in English, variously prevented the learners from managing social/academic interactions to their own advantage. In the maneuvering and positioning that takes place within groups, NNES students must struggle to hold their own. In an article examining the notion of consensus in collaborative learning, Trimbur (1989) maintains that working to develop consensus "enables individuals to participate actively and meaningfully in group life. . . . it is through the social interaction of shared activity that individuals realize their own power to take control of their situation by collaborating with others" (p. 604). Unfortunately, the NNES students in this study were not able to "realize their own power to take control of their situation." Instead they appeared more often to be reminded of their lack of power and control.

The findings of this study also challenge stereotypes about, for example, Asians being better at working in groups because they are group oriented and not individualistic. Ling's willingness to go along with the group was equally likely to have resulted not from a cultural predisposition to sacrifice the self for the group but rather from a sharp sense of her own powerlessness and lack of support in the face of the two NES students in her group who took over and disallowed significant input from her.

The participants in this study reported many more instances of dissatisfaction with, even dread of, group work than instances of satisfaction. On balance, group work did not fare well with the NNES students, at least in part because of the social/academic relationships they experienced with their domestic peers. In various ways, gaining access to communities of practice required the students in this study to take subordinate roles when they felt entitled to full, not peripheral, participation. The particular obstacles that NNES students face in group projects in courses across the curriculum may limit what they get from the group experience and what they are allowed to contribute, even in groups whose members share friendly relations. Furthermore, often the disappointing features of the group work appeared to be invisible to the course instructor, sometimes hidden behind positive evaluations of the final group project itself. Yet, despite dogma about learning communi-

ties finding their own way, in groups that include differentially empowered students, the teacher's role may be crucial not only to success of the project but much more importantly to legitimizing the participation of bilingual students and to expanding the "narrow thinking system" of domestic students.

Although conflict may be inevitable in social relations, as Toohey (1998) remarks, "if educators are to understand how to transform the social structures in the milieus for which they have responsibility—classrooms—so as to prepare students effectively for . . . conflicts . . ., investigation of the social practices in those situations must be ongoing, critical, and broad" (p. 83). Researchers have a responsibility to look for answers to L2 research questions beyond the contexts in which L2 teachers and researchers are directly involved and to look toward broader considerations of social contexts and the social, political, and economic world L2 students inhabit. Although what bilingual students experience outside ESL classes may seem to be out of the purview of individual ESL teachers, I would argue that all responsibility for the rest of their college experiences does not end for us at our classroom doors, or at altering L2 students to fit better into their environments. The environment also needs to be altered. Programs that attempt to create communities of learners across linguistic and cultural barriers (Babbitt, in press; Johns, in press; Vann & Myers, in press) have claimed some success. If not individual ESL teachers, then administrators of ESL programs perhaps have ongoing responsibilities to take their knowledge and expertise beyond their ESL programs and out to the wider college. Tricamo and Snow (1995), in discussing programs like Project LEAP (Learning English-for-Academic-Purposes), which attempt to educate faculty across the curriculum about how better to support learning for NNES students, make the point that course adjustments made for the benefit of L2 students benefit all students. By the same token, creating better group experiences for bilingual students creates better experiences for all students and may move them all toward behaving better in a culturally diverse society.

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APPENDIX

Partial Weekly/Biweekly Interview Guide

The following questions served as a guide for interviews conducted during the semester. Other questions were asked at the beginning and end of each semester and after final exams. The interviewers kept this guide in front of them during the interviews to ensure that they touched on all topic areas, but they did not necessarily ask these particular questions at any given time, the questions were not always asked in order, and other topics arose during the interviews. Interviewers received additional directions on collecting copies of all course documents and assignments. In the interest of space, not included here are questions covering returned work, reading assignments, study habits, daily routine, and social life.

Sample Questions on Writing Assignments

- What are you working on now or what will you be working on in the next two weeks in each of your courses?
- Why do you think your teacher gave you this particular kind of an assignment to do? (What is the professor's purpose in assigning it? What does the professor want you to learn from it or get out of it?)
- What did you learn from doing this assignment? How useful was it for you to do this assignment?
- How did you figure out how to do the assignment? (Ask teacher, explicit guidelines, ask classmates, follow model of some kind?)
- What do you have to do to do well in this assignment? What is your teacher looking for in assigning a grade?
- How does this assignment compare to other assignments you've done? How useful was it to you in helping you learn about the subject or about how to do something in the subject area?

Sample Questions on Group Work

- How is your group project going?
- How have you divided up the work? Which part did you do/work on? When, where, how did you meet to work on the project?
- If you have study partners, how do you help each other? (Share notes, talk about class work, edit each other's papers, divide up the reading, etc.) Can you give a specific example or show me a specific assignment you did with the help of a peer? Describe how you did this assignment.
- Are you having any problems communicating with study partners or group project members? If so, describe.

Two Types of Input Modification and EFL Reading Comprehension: Simplification Versus Elaboration

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This study investigates the relative effects of two types of input modification—simplification and elaboration—on Korean high school students' EFL reading comprehension. Six English reading passages in one of three forms—(a) baseline, (b) simplified, or (c) elaborated—were presented to 180 students, who were divided into two proficiency levels (i.e., high proficiency and low proficiency). Comprehension was assessed by an 18-item multiple-choice test, which included items for assessing (a) general, (b) specific, and (c) inferential comprehension. In addition, students' perceptions of their comprehension were measured by their responses on a 6-point unipolar scale. The test data were analyzed by a 2-by-3 analysis of variance, with least significant difference tests used in post hoc analyses. The results support the suggestion that input should be modified in the direction of elaboration rather than by artificial simplification, because elaboration retains more nativelike qualities than and is at least equally successful as—if not more successful than—simplification in improving comprehension. Instruction with elaborated input should accelerate the progression to fluent reading of unmodified materials, which is the ultimate goal of foreign language reading instruction.

A central issue in the theory of language acquisition is how learners' experience of a target language contributes to their language learning. All types of linguistic data from a target language that learners are exposed to and from which they learn are called *input*. Language input is apparently a necessary condition for both first and second/foreign language learning, so considerable attention has been paid to the role of input in second/foreign language learning (e.g., Carroll, 1999; Chaudron, 1983; Ellis, 1981, 1995; Gaies, 1979; Hatch, 1983; Krashen, 1980; Larsen-Freeman, 1983, 1985; Leow, 1993; Long, 1981; Pica, 1991; Salaberry, 1996; Saleemi, 1989; Smith, 1993; Snow, 1993; Van

Patten, 1990; Wagner-Gough, 1975). Specifically, much second/foreign language research has focused on input comprehension, motivated by the hypothesis that the learner must comprehend the input if it is to assist the acquisition process (Krashen, 1985, 1991, 1993, 1997; Long, 1983, 1985; Loschky, 1994; Olaofe, 1995; Prabhu, 1997; Sole, 1994). Attempting to investigate this hypothesis in a way that holds promise for developing pedagogical materials, researchers have explored the effects of various forms of input modification on learners' comprehension to identify the characteristics that make input more comprehensible to second/foreign language learners.

INPUT MODIFICATION

Modifications to input can be divided into two types: simplification, in the form of less complex vocabulary and syntax, and elaboration, in which unfamiliar linguistic items are offset with redundancy and explicitness (Yano, Long, & Ross, 1994). More specifically, typical features of linguistic simplification include the use of shorter utterances (in words or in T-units), simpler syntax (in clauses or S-nodes per T-unit), simpler lexis (smaller type-token ratios and avoidance of low-frequency vocabulary), deletion of sentence elements or morphological inflections, and preference for canonical word order (Parker & Chaudron, 1987). On the other hand, elaboration of input involves increasing redundancy and actualizing underlying thematic relations straightforwardly. Thus, *elaboration* can be defined as follows:

> Features such as slower speech, clearer articulation and emphatic stress, paraphrases, synonyms and restatements, rhetorical signaling devices, self-repetition, and suppliance of optional syntactic signals (e.g., relative and complement clause markers) serve neither to "simplify" nor to "complexify" the surface form, . . . rather, they are clarifications of meaning only, opportunities for the listener/reader to better decode the communication. (Parker & Chaudron, 1987, p. 110)

Studies of input modification provide some evidence for the comparative value of elaborated versus simplified aural language as input (e.g., Cervantes, 1983; Chaudron, 1983; Chiang, 1990; Chiang & Dunkel, 1992; Y.-H. Choi, 1994; Fujimoto, Lubin, Sasaki, & Long, 1986; Yi, 1994). In reviewing previous studies in this area, Parker and Chaudron (1987) also noted that elaborative modifications and clear segmenting of the thematic structure of the communication enhanced comprehension, but linguistic simplification in the form of simplified syntax and vocabulary did not.

Modification in Written Input

Despite the apparent value of elaboration for enhancing comprehension of aural input, the conventional wisdom applied to many reading texts is that simplification is desirable for comprehension. Accordingly, studies of written input modification have focused primarily on the effect of simplifying vocabulary and syntax (e.g., Jeong, 1987; Lee, 1986; Strother & Ulijn, 1987). Some such studies of written input modification (Y.-J. Choi, 1996; Jeong, 1987; Kim, 1985; Lee, 1986) have indicated that modification of written input facilitated Korean high school students' reading comprehension. The modification employed in all of these studies, however, entailed primarily simplification of syntax and lexis, although it was sometimes mixed with elaborative modification. The results of these studies have been taken to indicate that simplification usually improves second/foreign language reading comprehension, and, therefore, extensive use of linguistically simplified texts in second/foreign language reading classes has been advocated (Jeong, 1987; Kim, 1985).

Problems With Simplification

Although simplification may increase the comprehensibility of written input for nonnative readers, several researchers have pointed out its disadvantages. First, the use of limited vocabulary and short, simple sentences in simplified texts is likely to result in "choppy, unnatural" (Blau, 1982, p. 525) discourse, which may differ significantly from authentic target language materials. Secondly, simplified input may not be beneficial for language learning because even though learners may comprehend a text from which all potentially unfamiliar linguistic items have been eliminated, this elimination prevents exposure to items that learners eventually should know (Yano et al., 1994). Thirdly, simplification of the language and content of reading materials could induce learners to develop reading strategies that are inappropriate for unsimplified target language materials (Honeyfield, 1977). Finally, a simplified passage may lack cohesion (Honeyfield, 1977) because the process of simplification often leaves the relationship between pieces of information unclear. This can be problematic, especially when a specific task, for example, inferencing, requires an understanding of those relationships.

These problems highlight the tension between the requirements of input for comprehension, on the one hand, and for acquisition, on the other, and therefore prompt more careful examination of the research

on written input. Johnson (1981) found rather small effects favoring a simplified text over an unmodified one, but the modifications appear to have confounded syntactic ones with elaborative ones. Blau (1982), however, found some advantages for comprehension in texts with more complex syntax over ones with simpler syntax, at least for students in the eighth grade. Moreover, she found that when faced with two versions of complex texts, college students tended to perceive texts with clearer surface signaling of underlying syntactic relationships as easier to understand.

Yano et al.'s (1994) study, from which the present study draws the major insights, attempted to determine the relative effects of simplification and elaboration on Japanese EFL learners' reading comprehension. The results showed that students who read linguistically simplified passages scored significantly higher on a comprehension test than did students who read the unmodified, original version of the same passages. Readers of elaborated passages also performed better than readers of the unmodified passages, but the difference in scores between the two groups was not statistically significant; nor was a significant difference found between the reading comprehension scores of the students who read the simplified passages and those who read the elaborated versions.

Learner Proficiency

In addition to questions about the value of different types of modifications, the potential interaction between modification type and learner proficiency remains an important issue. Might lower level learners need simplification while advanced learners need elaboration to extend their competence? Some evidence suggests that modifications are more useful to learners of lower L2 proficiency (Blau, 1982; Brown, 1987; Chaudron, 1983; Long, 1985; Tsang, 1987), but in other studies the most proficient learners profited most from input modification (Chiang, 1990; Chiang & Dunkel, 1992; Jeong, 1987). Brown (1987) and Tsang (1987) found that texts modified with redundancy (e.g., with paraphrases and synonyms) were as successful in promoting comprehension as syntactically simplified texts were. However, this effect was found only for the lowest levels of learners (in 9th and 10th grades).

Research Questions

Although researchers (Brown, 1987; Parker & Chaudron, 1987; Tsang, 1987; Yano et al., 1994) have expected that elaborated input would promote nonnative learners' reading comprehension, the actual re-

search either involved students in an ESL environment (Brown, 1987; Tsang, 1987) or revealed no significant effect (Parker & Chaudron, 1987; Yano et al., 1994). Thus the present study attempted to determine the relative effectiveness of pure simplification and pure elaboration of written input on the reading comprehension of Korean EFL learners at different proficiency levels. Also examined were the effects of modification type and learner proficiency on three kinds of comprehension process (i.e., general, specific, or inferential comprehension) and on the learners' perceived comprehension.

The present study investigates whether or not elaborative modification, which has been shown to enhance nonnative speakers' listening comprehension, can augment reading comprehension as successfully as linguistic simplification can. If elaboration is as effective as simplification for comprehension, it will constitute an alternative approach to written input modification because it allows more nativelike target language input.

The present study investigates the following questions:

1. Will readers of a modified (i.e., either simplified or elaborated) version of a passage comprehend a passage better than readers of an unmodified baseline version, as shown by students' scores on a multiple-choice comprehension test?
2. Will readers of an elaborated passage comprehend the passage better than readers of the simplified version do?
3. Will the data show an interaction effect of modification type and students' English proficiency on their overall reading comprehension?
4. Will readers of modified (either simplified or elaborated) versions of passages perceive their comprehension to be higher than readers of unmodified (baseline) versions do, as measured by the responses on a unipolar scale?

METHOD

Participants

This study, conducted in April 1997, involved 430 Korean second-year high school students. Among them, 105 students who participated in pilot studies were excluded from the main study. All were enrolled in J Women's High School (a pseudonym) in Seoul and had studied EFL for at least 4 years (4–5 hours a week) during middle school and high school. They were considered to be at an intermediate level of EFL.

On the basis of their scores on the English section of the Nationwide

Sample Test (NST),[1] the students were divided into two proficiency-level groups: high proficiency (HP; scores of 55–80) and low proficiency (LP; scores of 20–45).[2] Of the six classes of students participating in the main study, two classes were also assigned to each of three experimental groups and were given six passages of one type to read: baseline (B), simplified (S), or elaborated (E). Thus, there were six groups in all: (a) HP-B, (b) HP-S, (c) HP-E, (d) LP-B, (e) LP-S, and (f) LP-E. Those who scored between 46 and 54 on the NST were also assigned to one of the three experimental groups because the experiment was conducted during regularly scheduled class sessions from which they could not be excluded. However, their performance was excluded from the statistical analyses in order to maintain clear distinctions between the HP and LP groups.

Data for statistical analyses were collected from 30 students randomly chosen from each of the six experimental groups. In all, the data set comprised the performance of 180 students on the comprehension test: 90 HP students and 90 LP students; 30 in each group had read one of the three text versions (B, S, or E).

To verify that the students at each proficiency level were homogeneous at that level, the mean scores of each group on the NST were analyzed (see Table 1). The results of a least significant difference (LSD) test,[3] with alpha set at .05, indicated no statistically significant difference among the NST scores of the three subgroups at each proficiency level but indicated significant differences between the means of the HP and the LP groups. Thus the test confirmed that the students within the HP and LP groups were at the same English proficiency level.

[1] This test, administered nationally by authoritative institutions, was developed to prepare high school students for the university entrance examination in Korea. Assumed to assess overall English proficiency, it is composed of 55 items, 12 for testing listening ability, 5 for speaking ability, and 38 for reading ability. The range of the NST is 0–80: 42 items are worth 1.5 points ($1.5 \times 42 = 63$), 9 items, 1.0 point ($1 \times 9 = 9$), and 4 items, 2.0 points ($2 \times 4 = 8$).

[2] As one of the referees has pointed out, whether the students' scores on the NST represent their language proficiency or only reading proficiency might be unclear, given that the test appears heavily weighted toward reading ability (i.e., 38 of 55 items, or 69%). However, I regard the two proficiency groups defined on the basis of the NST scores as language proficiency groups rather than reading proficiency groups, because the NST is designed such that items for testing reading ability also address other aspects, including grammar and vocabulary.

[3] The test compares the means among all possible pairs of the six groups to examine whether the differences in means are statistically significant; it provides a 95% simultaneous level of confidence in the conclusions regarding all such pairwise tests collectively.

TABLE 1
Participants' Mean Scores on the Nationwide Sample Test

Group	*n*	*M*	*SD*
High proficiency			
Baseline	30	9.0	3.0
Simplified	30	66.8	6.4
Elaborated	30	65.1	5.9
Low proficiency			
Baseline	30	36.5	6.1
LP Simplified	30	33.5	7.8
Elaborated	30	34.5	6.8
Total	180	50.2	16.8

Instruments

Baseline Reading Passages

The six passages adopted for the study were selected from *Fluency in English* and *Developing Skills* (Alexander, 1967a, 1967b). I chose passages that required no specific background knowledge (e.g., episodic stories) to minimize the possible influences of content schema on the reading task. In Pilot Study 1, all but 2 of 52 students surveyed on their familiarity with each of the passages answered that they had not seen or read any of them. Thus, I assumed that the overwhelming majority of students were not familiar with these passages.

Modified Reading Passages

To investigate the effect of input modification, I prepared three versions—baseline, simplified, and elaborated—of each of the 6 passages, for a total of 18 passages. Simplified passages contained shorter utterances and less complex syntax and lexis than what appeared in the baseline text. Specifically, I constructed the simplified texts by decreasing the length of sentences and the number of embedded clauses as well as the number of multisyllabic, low-frequency words (which proved difficult for students when tested in a pilot study). A baseline text and the corresponding simplified text follows.

Baseline text:

> We are less credulous than we used to be. In the nineteenth century, a novelist would bring his story to a conclusion by presenting his readers with a series of

coincidences—most of them wildly improbable. Readers happily accepted the fact that an obscure maid-servant was really the hero's mother . . . .

Simplified version:

We are less believing than we were. In the nineteenth century, a novelist would end his story by many accidental events. Most of the events were not likely to happen in reality. Readers happily believed that a humble servant was really the hero's mother . . . .

In the simplified version, low-frequency words (*credulous, coincidences,* and *obscure*) were replaced by higher frequency words (*believing, accidental events*, and *humble*). In addition, the multiword expressions *used to be, bring . . . to a conclusion,* and *accept the fact* were replaced by one-word items with similar meanings (*were, end,* and *believe*), thereby reducing the length of sentences as well. As it was difficult to find an appropriate higher frequency word that corresponded to *wildly improbable*, an explanatory verbal phrase, *are not likely to happen in reality*, was added, although it increased the sentence length.

To construct the elaborated texts, I added redundancy and clearer signaling of thematic structure in the form of examples, paraphrases and repetition of original information, and synonyms and definitions of low-frequency words contained in the baseline passages. The elaborated version of the sample text above follows.

Elaborated version:

We are less credulous than we used to be in the past. We don't easily believe coincidences, or accidental happenings. In the nineteenth century, a novelist would bring his story to a conclusion by presenting his readers with a series of such coincidences, though most of them were wildly improbable. That's why so many nineteenth century novels end by some accidental events which are never likely to happen in real life. But, readers in the nineteenth century happily accepted the fact that an obscure, humble maid-servant was really the hero's mother. . . .

In the past (in the first sentence) and *in the nineteenth century* (in the last sentence) were added to clarify *used to be* and *readers*, respectively, and the second and fourth sentences were inserted to paraphrase the respective preceding sentences. The conjunctions *though* and *but* were supplied to clarify the relationships between the preceding and the following information. Although the elaborated passage retains low-frequency lexical items such as *credulous, coincidences, obscure,* and *wildly improbable,* supplementary definitions, synonyms, and paraphrases (i.e., *don't easily believe, accidental happenings/some accidental events, humble,* and *never likely to happen in real life*) provide cues to their meanings.

As the above example shows, in the course of elaborative modification,

the addition of redundancy and thematic elaborations generated additional T-units as well as extra S-nodes. Thus, unlike the simplified passages, the baseline and elaborated passages contained a symmetrical distribution of low-frequency vocabulary, relative clauses, sentential complements, and compound and complex sentences. The elaborated passages were much more linguistically complex than the simplified ones (see Table 2). They had more words per passage, more words per T-unit, and more S-nodes per T-unit. The elaborated passages were longer than even the baseline texts but were of approximately the same complexity as measured by words per T-unit and S-nodes per T-unit. Of the three forms of the passages, therefore, the objective linguistic counts showed the simplified versions to be the simplest, and the elaborated and baseline versions were more comparable on these linguistic variables.

Reading Comprehension Test

The students' comprehension of the information in the passages was measured with an 18-item multiple-choice test consisting of 3 items for each of the six passages. All students took the same test irrespective of the form of the reading passage they read. Following Yano et al. (1994), to explore the differential effect of input modification types on different kinds of comprehension processes, the test included three types of comprehension items, assessing (a) general comprehension, (b) specific comprehension, and (c) inferential comprehension (see Appendix A for an example of each type of item).[4]

TABLE 2
Mean Linguistic Complexity of Passages

	Text version					
	Baseline		Simplified		Elaborated	
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Total words (length)	117.0	25.9	111.8	24.8	185.7	48.8
Total sentences	6.5	2.3	11.7	2.7	11.5	3.8
Total fragments	4.8	1.5	2.6	1.7	9.0	3.7
Total T-units	8.3	1.8	12.2	2.7	13.2	3.7
Total S-nodes	13.3	2.7	14.3	2.8	22.3	6.0
Words per sentence	19.5	6.1	9.7	1.5	16.8	2.9
Words per T-unit	14.0	2.4	9.3	1.6	14.3	2.7
S-nodes per T-unit	1.6	0.2	1.2	0.1	1.7	0.3

[4] Yano et al. (1994) call the three types of comprehension questions *synthesis, replication,* and *inference,* respectively.

General comprehension items required the reader to grasp the main idea of a passage by combining seemingly unrelated pieces of information. For example, students were asked to find the most appropriate title for, or subject of, a passage and sometimes to judge the author's attitude toward some passage content. In contrast, specific comprehension questions required the reader to pay close attention to explicitly stated factual information in a passage in order to be able to identify the truth or falsity of specific propositions regarding the passage. Inference items required the reader to draw implications from the text. This type of question often asked the reader what the paragraph following a given passage would probably discuss.

In addition to the 18 multiple-choice items, the students responded on a 6-point unipolar scale (marked for 0%, 20%, 40%, 60%, 80%, and 100%) to the written question "What percentage of the passage do you think you understood?" This question served as an assessment of their perceived comprehension.

Procedures

Pilot Studies

As a preliminary step, two pilot studies were conducted 3 weeks before the main study. The purpose of the first pilot study was to choose 6 of 10 passages that were appropriate in difficulty and content for use in the main study and to identify vocabulary and information that needed modification. After constructing the multiple-choice comprehension test on the 6 reading passages thus chosen, I pilot tested it again in order to identify and modify items that were too easy or too difficult. For example, items that almost all the students had answered correctly or incorrectly were revised to make them more discriminating.

Main Study

The main study was conducted with 325 students from six classes during regular, 50-minute English class sessions. In the pilot study, this period of time had been found reasonable for reading the passage and responding to the test. Three kinds of test booklet were prepared, each consisting of only one of the three versions (B, S, E) of the six-passage reading task and test, and each type of booklet was distributed to two classes consisting of approximately 110 students each.

Within each class, the same procedure was followed. Students were told to read and try to understand six short passages and to answer 18

multiple-choice questions. The texts were available to students to refer back to during the comprehension test. No questions concerning the content or definitions were allowed. Students were also asked to respond to the question "What percentage of the passage do you think you understood?" on the 6-point unipolar scale described in the Instruments section.

Data Analysis

The data obtained through the procedure described above were divided into groups according to both the students' proficiency (HP, LP) and the form of reading passages (B, S, E) that they were given. This produced six groups: (a) HP-B, (b) HP-S, (c) HP-E, (d) LP-B, (e) LP-S, and (f) LP-E. Data from 30 participants from each group were randomly selected for statistical analyses; thus the performance of 180 students on the reading comprehension test constituted the data set for the study. All the analyses were conducted using the software SAS (1985), with alpha set at .05.

The data were analyzed by means of a 2-by-3 analysis of variance (ANOVA). LSD tests were used in post hoc analyses to examine which of the mean differences among the six subject groups were statistically significant. To test for a possible relationship between modification type and comprehension test item type, the scores for each type of item (i.e., general, specific, and inferential comprehension test items) were entered separately into ANOVA and LSD tests.

Finally, the effect of modification type on the students' perceived comprehension was assessed by means of ANOVA. Raw scores—0, 20, 40, 60, 80, and 100—each of which indicates the degree of perceived comprehension with each passage, were summed up (for each participant across passages, then across participants in each group) into one representative perceived comprehension score. The students' mean perceived comprehension scores thus constituted the dependent variable for the ANOVA.

RESULTS

Effects of Modification Type and Learner Proficiency on Reading Comprehension

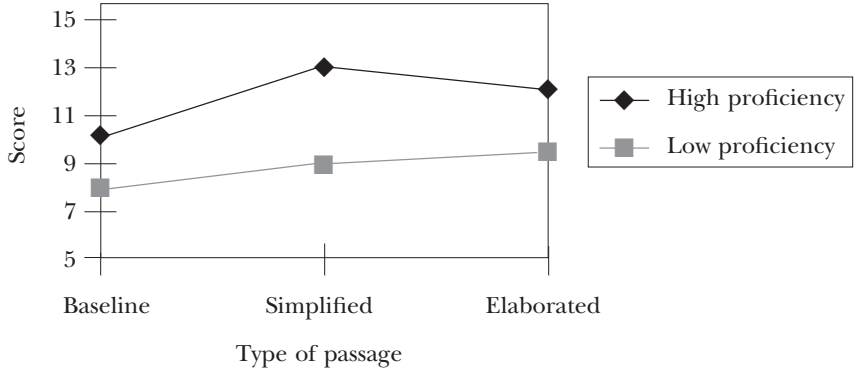
As shown by the mean scores on the 18-item comprehension test (see Figure 1; see Appendix B for complete data), students in the HP group

who read the simplified version of the passages scored highest (M = 12.8), followed by those who read the elaborated passages (M = 12.4); those who read the baselines scored the lowest (M = 10.1). In the LP group, students reading the elaborated texts performed better (M = 9.4) than those reading the simplified texts (M = 9.1), and those reading the baseline texts did the worst (M = 7.9).

According to the results of the two-way ANOVA on the total comprehension scores, there was a strong relationship between learners' English proficiency and their reading comprehension scores (F = 79.78, 1 *df*, $p < .05$). There was also a significant effect for modification type (F = 14.34, 2 *df*, $p < .05$). No significant interaction was found between learner proficiency and modification type (F = 1.91, 2 *df*, $p = .15$).

The results of the post hoc LSD tests on the differences among the six groups' means indicated that the HP students outperformed the LP students on all three types of passages to a significant degree. Regardless of their proficiency level, the students who had read the elaborated passages performed significantly better than those who had read the baseline passages (mean difference = 2.30 [HP], 1.43 [LP]). The test scores of the students who had read the simplified passages were also higher than those of the students who had read the baselines, but the difference in scores was statistically significant only in the HP group (mean difference = 2.73 [HP], 1.13 [LP]). The performance of students at both proficiency levels in the simplified and the elaborated passage conditions did not differ to a significant degree.

FIGURE 1
Means of Total Comprehension Scores



Interaction of Modification Type and Item Type

Another analysis involved separating the 18 comprehension test items into three groups of general, specific, and inferential comprehension items.

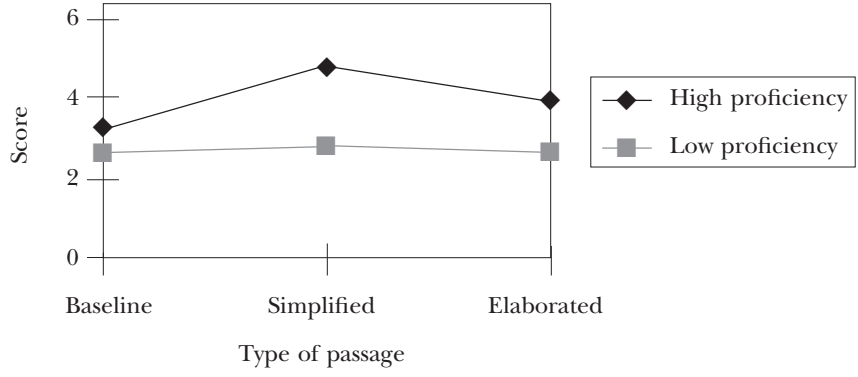
Effects of Modification Type and Learner Proficiency on General Comprehension

In the HP group, readers of the simplified texts did the best ($M = 4.6$), followed by the elaborated text readers ($M = 3.9$), with the baseline text readers doing the poorest ($M = 3.2$) (see Figure 2; see Appendix B for complete data). On the other hand, the means of the LP readers of simplified ($M = 3.0$), elaborated ($M = 2.8$), and baseline passages ($M = 2.8$) were not so different.

The results of the ANOVA for general comprehension items showed a statistically significant relationship between learner proficiency and scores on general comprehension items ($F = 29.01$, 1 *df*, $p < .05$). Modification type also had a significant effect on those scores ($F = 5.93$, 2 *df*, $p < .05$), as did the interaction of learner proficiency and modification type ($F = 3.73$, 2 *df*, $p < .05$).

A post hoc LSD test revealed that the HP readers of the simplified texts and of the elaborated texts scored significantly higher on general comprehension items than did the HP readers of the baseline texts (mean difference = 1.43 and 0.73, respectively). There was also a

FIGURE 2
Means of General Comprehension Scores



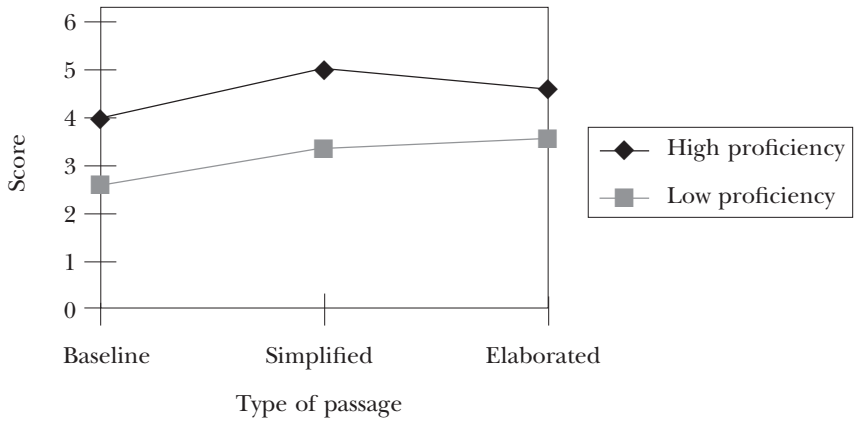
statistically significant difference in performance between the HP readers of the simplified texts and those of the elaborated texts (mean difference = 0.70). However, the mean differences among the LP readers of the three passage versions on the general comprehension items were not statistically significant.

Effects of Modification Type and Learner Proficiency on Specific Comprehension Items

Mean scores for the six groups' performance on specific comprehension items are displayed in Figure 3 (see Appendix B for complete data). The ANOVA found a statistically significant relationship between learner proficiency and scores on the specific comprehension items ($F = 60.73$, 1 *df*, $p < .05$) and between modification type and those scores ($F = 8.45$, 2 *df*, $p < .05$). No interaction was found between proficiency and modification type ($F = 0.58$, 2 *df*, $p = .56$).

A post hoc LSD test found that both the HP and the LP readers of elaborated passages achieved significantly higher scores than readers of baseline passages did (mean difference = 0.77 [HP], 0.67 [LP]). Readers of simplified passages also scored higher than readers of baseline texts, but not significantly so in the LP group (mean difference = 1.0 [HP], .57 [LP]). The difference between the mean scores on the specific comprehension items of readers of simplified and readers of elaborated passages was not statistically significant in either group.

FIGURE 3
Means of Specific Comprehension Scores



Effects of Modification Type and Learner Proficiency on Inference

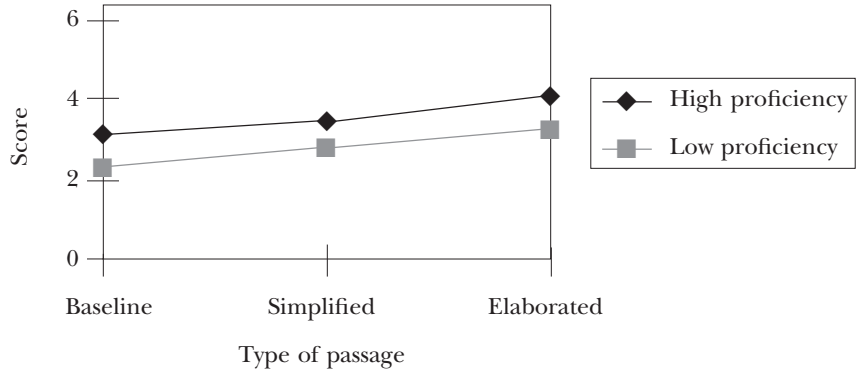
In both the HP and LP groups, readers of elaborated texts scored highest on inference items ($M = 3.8$ [HP], 3.1 [LP]), followed by readers of simplified texts ($M = 3.0$ [HP], 2.3 [LP]), with readers of unmodified baseline texts scoring the lowest ($M = 3.0$ [HP], 2.3 [LP]) (see Figure 4; see Appendix B for complete data). Results of the ANOVA again showed a statistically significant effect for learner proficiency on inference item scores ($F = 17.17$, 1 *df*, $p < .05$). The relationship between modification type and scores on the inference items was also significant ($F = 8.71$, 2 *df*, $p < .05$). However, there was no significant interaction between proficiency and modification type ($F = 0.10$, 2 *df*, $p = .90$).

A post hoc LSD test showed that both the HP and the LP readers of the elaborated passages outperformed readers of the baseline passages to a significant degree (mean difference = 0.80 [HP], 0.73 [LP]). However, the scores of baseline passage readers and simplified passage readers on the inference items were not significantly different (mean difference = 0.30 [HP], 0.40 [LP]), nor was the difference significant between readers of the elaborated texts and those of the simplified texts (mean difference = 0.50 [HP], 0.33 [LP]).

Effects of Modification Type and Learner Proficiency on Perceived Comprehension

The ANOVA found a significant effect for learner proficiency on the perceived comprehension scores ($F = 24.13$, 1 *df*, $p < .05$) and for

FIGURE 4
Means of Inferential Comprehension Scores



modification type on those scores ($F = 7.05$, 2 *df*, $p < .05$). Once again, no significant interaction was found between learner proficiency and modification type ($F = 2.23$, 2 *df*, $p = .11$).

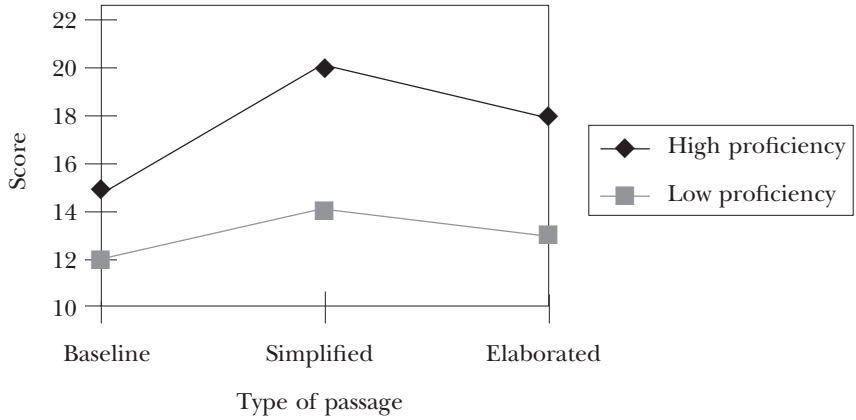
HP and LP students' mean scores on the three versions of passages show similar tendencies (see Figure 5; see Appendix B for complete data). Their perceived comprehension scores were highest on the simplified passages (M = 20 [HP], 14 [LP]), lowest on the baseline passages (M = 15 [HP], 12 [LP]), and in between on the elaborated passages (M = 18 [HP], 14 [LP]). A post hoc LSD test showed that all the differences in perceived comprehension scores among readers of the baseline, simplified, and elaborated passages were statistically significant in the HP group, whereas none of the differences were significant in the LP group.

DISCUSSION

Effect of Modification Type on Overall Reading Comprehension

Of the four research questions, two involved the effect of input modification type on overall reading comprehension. Question 1 was answered in the affirmative: Students who had read elaborated passages scored significantly higher on the comprehension test than did those at the same proficiency level who had read unmodified versions of the same

FIGURE 5
Means of Perceived Comprehension Scores



passages. HP students who had read linguistically simplified passages significantly outperformed those who had read the unmodified baseline versions. LP readers of the simplified passages also performed better than readers of the baseline passages, although difference in their scores was not statistically significant. Question 2, however, was answered in the negative: There was no significant difference between the scores of students who had read the simplified passages and the scores of students who had read the elaborated versions.

Effect of Simplification

The results of the study indicate that linguistic simplification facilitated nonnative learners' overall reading comprehension. Reduced complexity in lexis and syntax seems to have contributed to the better performance of the students who had read the simplified texts, as it did in studies by Kim (1985), Lee (1986), Brown (1987), Tsang (1987), and Yano et al. (1994).

However, the beneficial effect of simplification was not statistically significant for LP students. Jeong (1987), in his study of the effect of syntactic simplification on Korean high school students' reading comprehension, also found that syntactic simplification significantly influenced HP students but not LP students. He explained the results by suggesting that even simplified texts were too difficult for these LP students. His suggestion, however, cannot explain the results of the present study, because the LP students in this study did benefit from elaboration of the passages, which produced passages that were much longer and more complex than the simplified ones were. It makes no sense to say that, for the same group of LP students, simplified passages are too difficult and elaborated passages are not difficult.

Rather, in this study, the lack of a significant effect of simplification on the LP students' overall reading comprehension seems to have resulted in part from their poor performance on general comprehension questions. As discussed in detail below, simplification was found to be a great aid, especially when general comprehension was required. However, LP students performed poorly on general comprehension questions no matter what type of passage they had read, presumably owing to their lack of language ability necessary for success on the general comprehension tasks. Only HP students with such an ability were able to take advantage of the simplification mechanism in answering these questions, and this seems to be an important reason that the effect of simplification on overall reading comprehension was significant for the HP students but not for the LP students.

Effect of Elaboration

Overall comprehension of the passages significantly improved among students at both proficiency levels as a result of the elaborative modifications, which provides further statistical support for the suggestive but not conclusive results of Yano et al. (1994). Surprisingly, those in the lower range of English proficiency seemed to do best on elaborated passages. For the HP students, the facilitative effect of elaboration was comparable to that of simplification.

Recall that the elaborated passages were 66% longer than the simplified passages, 73% denser in words per sentence, 54% denser in words per T-unit, and 42% denser in S-nodes per T-unit. In a sense, then, the students who read the elaborated passages were at a disadvantage, for they not only had to read more during the allotted time but had to answer the comprehension questions faster than students reading either simplified or baseline passages. In light of the greater length and complexity of the elaborated texts relative to the simplified texts, the fact that the readers of the elaborated passages did as well as the readers of simplified passages is even more remarkable.

Given the fact that the linguistic complexities (as measured in S-nodes per T-unit and words per T-unit) of the elaborated and baseline passages were approximately the same, the linguistic complexity of the elaborated texts must not have been a barrier to the students' reading comprehension. This means that linguistic simplification may not be indispensable for effective comprehension.

As Brown (1987) noted, comprehension seems to depend not so much on linguistic structure as on the level of information that is made available to the reader and the frequency with which the reader comes across the information. By developing redundancy (through exemplification, repetition, paraphrase, definition, and synonym) and by signaling the thematic structure more clearly, elaborative modification can help the reader exploit more opportunities to process critical information within the text and thus to comprehend the text better, even though the resulting text remains at a high level of linguistic complexity.

Effect of Learner Proficiency on Reading Comprehension

Results of the statistical analysis revealed that, given the same type of passage, the HP students always scored significantly higher than the LP students on the reading comprehension test. In other words, the comprehension level of the HP students was higher than that of the LP students. A "language competence ceiling" (Clarke, 1979, p. 138, as cited

in Chiang & Dunkel, 1992, p. 361) may have prevented the LP students from performing as well as the HP students even when texts were simplified or elaborated. This leads to a rather unsurprising conclusion that learners' proficiency level plays an important role in the comprehension of L2 written texts. Research on the relationship between general language proficiency and L2 reading ability suggests that nonnative learners' performance in reading in a second/foreign language is closely related to their level of proficiency in that language; the higher the level (up to a certain point), the better the chances that a learner will comprehend a reading text.

Interaction of Modification Type and Learner Proficiency

The present study found no significant interaction effect of input modification type and learner proficiency on overall reading comprehension; thus Research Question 3 was answered in the negative. The question about an interaction between the students' proficiency and the type of modification made to the texts had been based on the idea that the LP students but not the HP students might find the simplified texts more comprehensible than the elaborated texts. Elaborated texts were considered too long and linguistically complex for the students at the lower proficiency level. The results of this study, however, indicate that LP students as well as HP students can profit from elaboration and are not bothered by the greater length and complexity of the elaborated texts.

Note, however, that the HP students benefited from input modification to a greater extent than the LP students did, meaning that modification of the passages had more of an impact on the reading comprehension of the higher proficiency group. The LP students' insufficient knowledge of the language in general may have been the principal obstacle to their taking as much advantage of either type of modification as the HP students did. Perhaps a certain threshold of linguistic competence is necessary to be able to profit from input modification.

Interaction of Modification Type and Item Type

The type of input modification and the learners' proficiency influenced, to varying degrees, the students' performance on general, specific, and inferential comprehension items.

General Comprehension

As pointed out earlier, HP and LP students differed markedly in their performance on general comprehension questions. The HP students who had read either type of modified passages scored significantly higher on general comprehension items than did those who had read baseline versions, and of the two types of modification, simplification led to better performance than elaboration did. Conceivably, the more compact the passage is, the easier it is to extract the main idea.

On the other hand, neither type of modification influenced the LP students' performance on general comprehension items, as shown by the lack of a significant difference in scores among the LP readers of simplified, elaborated, and baseline passages. A possible explanation is that their lack of the ability required for the general comprehension tasks prevented the LP students from profiting from any type of modification when general comprehension was required. General comprehension questions, which demand a relatively high level of ability to combine separate and sometimes apparently unrelated pieces of information in order to get the whole picture of a passage, may be far beyond the LP students' level of competence. This explanation is further supported by the observation that they were able to take advantage of the modifications on specific comprehension questions, which can be answered successfully with only partial understanding of the passages.

Specific Comprehension

The effect of modification type and learner proficiency on the students' scores on specific comprehension questions remained strong (see Appendix B). A comparison of Figure 1 with Figure 3 reveals that the results on specific comprehension questions are parallel to those on overall reading comprehension questions. Elaboration significantly improved the specific comprehension of the students at both proficiency levels. Simplification also assisted the students' specific comprehension, although its facilitative effect was statistically significant only for the HP students.

Simplification is thus not the only viable option for modifying written input in order to promote extraction of specific factual information, as long as simplification is understood in terms of structural complexity and vocabulary. In fact, elaborated input seems to offer equally or more useful sources from which readers can get specific information (Yano et al., 1994). Unmodified input (i.e., baseline text), however, fails to aid specific comprehension, presumably because it provides neither linguistic simplifications nor enhanced redundancies, both of which seem to greatly help the nonnative readers comprehend particular surface items.

Inference

The HP and LP subject groups performed similarly on inference items (see Figure 4 above). Students who had read elaborated passages significantly outperformed those who had read baseline passages, but students who had read simplified passages did not. This result is consistent with the finding of Yano et al. (1994) on the effects of text type on Japanese EFL learners' reading comprehension.

Possibly, some distinctive and useful qualities of the elaborated texts provided the information necessary for the readers to recognize the correct responses to items requiring inferencing. Yano et al. (1994) note that making appropriate inferences necessitates "a linkage from the written text to pragmatic knowledge" (p. 213). As the authors suggest, elaborative modification seems to facilitate the readers' inferential comprehension process by providing them with a "second look" (p. 213) at critical terms and information that are repeated and expanded through elaboration. By contrast, the short, primarily simple sentences typical of linguistically simplified passages actually are an obstacle to inferencing, because "the relationships and meaning revealed by the formation of complex sentences are apparently lost" (Blau, 1982, p. 525). The results of the present study demonstrate that readers benefit from information regarding those relationships and meaning, especially when they need to draw inferences from the text.

Effect of Modification Type on Perceived Comprehension

The Korean high school students in this study comprehended modified reading materials better than they comprehended unmodified materials. It is worth noting that the subjective judgments of the students themselves confirm this finding. Both the HP and LP students thought their comprehension to be higher when they read either simplified or elaborated passages than when they read unmodified versions of the same passages.

Some discrepancies, however, were observed between the level of achieved comprehension as shown by the test scores of students and the level of perceived comprehension as measured by their responses on a 6-point unipolar scale at the conclusion of the test. For example, the perceived comprehension level of the HP students who had read the simplified texts was significantly higher than that of the HP students who had read the elaborated texts, even though the scores of the students in these two groups did not differ significantly. The reduced complexity of vocabulary and syntax in the simplified versions, in conjunction with

much shorter sentence and text length, most likely significantly enhanced the students' perceived comprehension, though not their actual comprehension.

Although the LP students as well as the HP students thought their comprehension was higher when they read modified materials than when they read unmodified materials, results of the statistical analysis indicated no significant difference in the perception of comprehension among the LP readers of simplified, elaborated, and unmodified baseline passages. A conceivable explanation is that the students' consciousness of their own low proficiency induced them to perceive their comprehension to be much lower than it actually was.

In any case, the results of the perceived comprehension measure demonstrate that EFL students, especially those at a high proficiency level, are able not only to profit from either elaboration or simplification of input but also to recognize the "greater facility of comprehension" (Kelch, 1985, p. 88) offered by such modifications.

CONCLUSION

The major findings of the present study can be summarized as follows:

1. Simplified input facilitated Korean high school EFL students' reading comprehension, although students of low proficiency did not significantly benefit from it.
2. Elaborated input significantly enhanced the reading comprehension of students at both high and low proficiency levels.
3. Comprehension of simplified input and elaborated input did not differ significantly for students at either proficiency level.
4. There was no interaction effect between the modification type (baseline, simplified, or elaborated) and learner proficiency.
5. The type of modifications made to the input interacted with the kind of comprehension process required; specifically, both elaborated and simplified input improved the students' performance on general or specific comprehension test items, but only elaborated input significantly improved their performance on inference items.
6. Students perceived their comprehension to be higher when they received modified input than when they received unmodified input.

To the question raised by several ESL/EFL researchers—What factors make input more comprehensible to second/foreign language learners?—the findings of the present study suggest one possible answer: The provision of elaborative information in written input enhances the reading comprehension of even low-proficiency learners while exposing

them to nativelike features that are usually absent in simplified input. Although elaboration often produces texts that are longer and linguistically more complex than the simplified versions, elaborative amplification of pivotal terms and concepts can compensate for the greater linguistic complexity and length. Elaborative modification, by multiplying opportunities for dealing with text information through redundancy and clearly signaled thematic structure, seems to improve the comprehensibility of written input.

The present study also confirmed Yano et al.'s finding that effects of input modification on reading comprehension can vary with regard to the kind of comprehension process required. For a learner trying to extract main ideas or detailed information from a text, simplification of syntax and lexis may be enough help. However, only elaborative modification may provide enriched semantic contexts that nonnative readers can use in drawing inferences about the reading materials. Given that students need to be prepared for inferential comprehension as well as general and specific comprehension, elaboration of written input seems superior to simplification.

Current methodology in second/foreign language instruction places special emphasis on using natural materials, or examples of the target language as used by native speakers for authentic, communicative purposes. Becoming a competent second/foreign language reader means being able to read unmodified texts produced by writers who make no adjustment for readers who are as yet immature (Aebersold & Field, 1997; Dubin, 1986; Nuttall, 1996). There can be no doubt, therefore, that the ultimate goal of second/foreign language reading instruction is for students to read unmodified materials. Although one type of modification (i.e., elaboration) seems to be a better approach than the other (i.e., simplification), any kind of modification will most likely mask, to a greater or lesser degree, some characteristic features of unmodified input. If one recognizes the need for a second/foreign language program to utilize some type of modified input to counteract learner deficiencies, however, efforts should aim to increase comprehensibility while maintaining essential features typical of unmodified input. In such efforts, elaborative modification represents a feasible alternative to simplification.

In light of the findings of this study, EFL reading material developers as well as English teachers need to reevaluate the widely held assumption that linguistic simplification is the only viable way of modifying target language written input. The findings also suggest alternative, more reasonable criteria for the selection and preparation of reading materials for foreign language instruction. Instruction with elaborated written input should accelerate the progression to fluent reading of unmodified materials (Brown, 1987) by familiarizing nonnative readers with authentic

features of target language input and by helping them develop the necessary skills, for example, for dealing with unfamiliar linguistic items in unmodified input.

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APPENDIX A

Three Versions of a Reading Passage and Accompanying Comprehension Questions

Baseline Version

Yet the fact is we know very little about gorillas. No really satisfactory photograph has ever been taken of one in a wild state, no zoologist, however intrepid, has been able to keep the animal under close and constant observation in the dark jungles in which he lives. Carl Akeley, the American naturalist, led two expeditions in the nineteen-twenties, and now lies buried among the animals he loved so well. But even he was unable to discover how long the gorilla lives, or how or why it dies, nor was he able to define the exact social pattern of the family groups, or indicate the final extent of their intelligence. All this and many other things remain almost as much a mystery as they were when the French explorer Du Chaillu first described the animal to the civilized world a century ago.

Simplified Version

But, in fact, we know very little about gorillas. No one has ever taken a good photograph of a gorilla in a wild state. Gorillas live in the dark jungles. No scholar on animals has ever examined the gorilla closely and continuously in the jungles. Carl Akeley was an American naturalist. He took two trips in the nineteen-twenties. He loved animals very much. He now lies buried among the animals. But even he was not able to discover how long the gorilla lives, or how or why the gorilla dies. He could not tell us about their family patterns or how smart they are. All this and many other things remain a mystery. They were a mystery also when the French explorer Du Chaillu first introduced the gorilla to the modern world a century ago.

Elaborated Version

Unlike our common belief, however, the fact is that we know very little about gorillas. No one has ever taken a really satisfactory photograph of a gorilla in a wild state. So we don't have any good pictures of them. No zoologist, who is a scholar on animals, however intrepid and courageous he or she is, has ever been able to keep the gorilla under close and constant observation in the dark jungles in which they live. That is, gorillas in the jungles have not been fully examined by men. Carl Akeley, who was an American naturalist, led two expeditions in the nineteen-twenties in order to examine these animals in the African jungles. He died there and now lies buried among the animals whom he loved so well. But even Carl Akeley, who took trips to Africa, could not discover much about gorillas. He was not able to discover how long the gorilla lives, or how or why it dies. Nor was he able to define the exact social pattern of family groups, or indicate the full extent of their intelligence; we don't know yet about the gorillas' family or their I.Q. All this and many other things remain almost as much a mystery as they were when the French explorer Du Chaillu first described the gorilla to the civilized world a century ago. Since the animal was first known to the modern world, little has been discovered about them.

Reading Comprehension Questions (translated from Korean)

1. According to the passage, Carl Akeley [specific question]
   (1) was the first zoologist who examined gorillas in a wild state.
   (2) failed to reveal gorillas' intellectual faculties.
   (3) is still leading expeditions in order to investigate gorillas.
   (4) introduced gorillas to the world for the first time.

2. Which of the following can NOT be inferred from the passage? [inference question]
   (1) People usually believe that they know much about gorillas.
   (2) Much has been discovered about gorillas during the past one hundred years.
   (3) Gorillas in a wild state are very dangerous.
   (4) Gorilla was not made known to the world until the mid 1800's.

3. Which of the following would be the best title for the passage? [general question]
   (1) Expeditions in the Nineteen-Twenties
   (2) Carl Akeley, the Great Naturalist
   (3) Gorilla—Ancestor of Man
   (4) Mystery About Gorillas

APPENDIX B

Means and Standard Deviations for Comprehension Scores by Type of Item

		Comprehension items									
		All		General		Specific		Inference		Perceived	
Level and text version	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
High proficiency											
Baseline	30	10.1	2.0	3.2	1.1	4.0	1.2	3.0	0.9	15.0	5.4
Simplified	30	12.8	1.7	4.6	1.0	5.0	3.9	3.3	4.9	20.0	3.4
Elaborated	30	12.4	2.5	3.9	1.5	4.7	1.0	3.8	5.0	18.0	4.6
Low proficiency											
Baseline	30	7.9	2.4	2.8	1.4	2.8	1.3	2.3	1.1	12.0	3.8
Simplified	30	9.1	2.4	3.0	1.3	3.4	1.2	2.7	1.1	14.0	4.5
Elaborated	30	9.4	2.2	2.8	1.2	3.5	1.3	3.1	0.9	13.0	4.5
Total	180	10.3	2.8	3.4	1.4	3.9	1.4	3.0	1.1	17.8	4.6

Predictors of Mainstream Teachers' Attitudes Toward ESL Students[*]

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Relatively little research exists on the nature of mainstream teachers' attitudes toward ESL students, nor is much known about the predictors of these attitudes. We report on a survey of 143 junior high/middle school mainstream teachers in a community of approximately 80,000 in the Great Plains region of the United States. On average, respondents had 15.5 years of teaching experience and had worked, over the previous 6 years, with 11.2 ESL students from 3.2 distinct regions of the world. Most reported a neutral to slightly positive attitude toward the prospect of teaching more ESL students in the future. The results support a multipredictor model of teachers' ESL-related attitudes. The predictors include completion of foreign language or multicultural education courses, ESL training, experience abroad, work with diverse ESL students, and gender. We suggest that these predictors collectively tap into a teacher's exposure to cultural diversity and that this exposure underlies positive ESL-related attitudes among mainstream teachers. Thus, we argue that preservice and in-service teachers should have increased opportunities for exposure to cultural diversity.

The changing demographics of U.S. schools and the current backlash against bilingual education programs (Byrnes, Kiger, & Manning, 1996, 1997) suggest that increasing numbers of mainstream teachers will be working with ESL students. ESL students create some significant challenges for mainstream teachers (Youngs & Youngs, 1999), and many mainstream teachers are already stressed by the everyday demands of teaching in today's classrooms (Markham, Green, & Ross, 1996). Faced with added, and often new, challenges, mainstream teachers are likely to vary considerably in their eagerness to incorporate ESL students into regular, content area classrooms.

[*] This study reports on data collected by the first author while completing her dissertation at the University of North Dakota. However, the reported analysis was not part of her dissertation. The results were presented previously at the 1998 Great Plains Sociological Association meetings in Fargo, North Dakota.

Mainstream teachers' attitudes toward ESL students are likely to affect what ESL students learn. The classic illustration of this comes from research on the self-fulfilling prophecy (Jussim, 1986, 1989, 1992; Weinstein, 1998). Teachers' attitudes and expectations with regard to their students often lead to the expected behavior, even when teachers are unaware that they are communicating different expectations for different students. Unfortunately, research suggests that mainstream teachers often possess misinformation about the native cultures of ESL students (Clair, 1995) and expect less of students using nonstandard English (Byrnes, Kiger, & Manning, 1997; Williams & Naremore, 1974; Williams, Whitehead, & Miller, 1972). Thus, there is reason to be concerned that significant numbers of mainstream teachers may find it difficult to create a truly welcoming atmosphere for ESL students (Byrnes et al., 1997; Faltis & Hudelson, 1994; Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1990) and that this may negatively affect learning.

In this article, we examine mainstream teachers' attitudes toward ESL students and explore possible predictors of those attitudes. Our effort to describe and, more importantly, to identify predictors of teachers' attitudes is relatively rare. Within the extensive literature on ESL, comparatively little research has focused on ESL in mainstream classrooms (Byrnes & Kiger, 1994; Byrnes et al., 1996, 1997; Clair, 1995; Clarke, 1994; Constantino, 1994; Cummins, 1997; Harklau, 1994; Law & Eckes, 1990; Lucas et al., 1990; Markham et al., 1996; Penfield, 1987; Platt & Troudi, 1997; Stratham, 1995; Wong Fillmore, 1989; Young, 1996; Youngs & Youngs, 1999); even less research has specifically described mainstream teachers' attitudes toward ESL students (Byrnes & Kiger, 1994; Byrnes et al., 1996, 1997; Penfield, 1987; Youngs & Youngs, 1999); and we found only two articles (both based on the same survey) that examined possible predictors of mainstream teachers' attitudes (Byrnes et al., 1996, 1997). If administrators, ESL practitioners, and mainstream teachers wish to promote attitudes that encourage learning among ESL students in regular, content area classrooms, then they need a systematic, cumulative body of research that both identifies significant predictors and provides a sense of their relative importance. We wish to contribute to this effort by reexamining previously studied predictors and examining the importance of new predictors, both within the context of an organizational model that integrates past research and provides direction for future research.

RESEARCH ON ATTITUDES TOWARD ESL STUDENTS

Studies that have examined the attitudes of mainstream teachers toward ESL students have pursued two goals: description and explana-

tion. For example, Penfield (1987) and Youngs and Youngs (1999) each completed surveys of roughly 150 teachers using open-ended questions to describe the nature of teachers' attitudes in depth. Both studies reported that teachers could readily identify both advantages and disadvantages to teaching ESL students in regular, content area classes, although the second study reported that the list of disadvantages was much more detailed than was the list of advantages. A third survey (reported in Byrnes et al., 1996, 1997; Byrnes & Kiger, 1994) of roughly 200 mainstream teachers from three diverse states (Arizona, Utah, and Virginia) used a closed-ended scale and found teachers' attitudes toward working with ESL students to be neutral to slightly positive. These three surveys, covering roughly 500 teachers from several regions in the United States, suggest that the typical mainstream teacher can readily identify both advantages and disadvantages associated with teaching ESL students and is neither strongly opposed to nor enthusiastic about such a prospect.

The next logical step beyond description of these attitudes is explanation. In the only two efforts we know of in this regard, the same researchers analyzed different aspects of the same survey data (Byrnes et al., 1996, 1997), which were initially reported in a descriptive format (Byrnes & Kiger, 1994). The present study also provides additional analysis of a previously reported survey (Youngs & Youngs, 1999). However, our earlier analysis focused on describing in depth teachers' responses to open-ended questions; the present study necessarily uses closed-ended measures of teachers' attitudes and examines predictors related to these scale responses. Our analysis complements and expands on the two other explanatory efforts (Byrnes et al., 1996, 1997) in terms of the predictors studied, the measures used, and the population surveyed.

PREDICTORS OF ATTITUDES

We began by constructing a general model of predictors that are likely to explain, at least in part, mainstream teachers' attitudes toward ESL students. ESL practitioners no doubt have a considerable body of common knowledge about what leads to positive or negative attitudes among mainstream teachers, but little evidence of this knowledge is presented in the research literature, and what does exist needs an organizational framework. The model offers six categories of possible predictors suggested explicitly or implicitly by past ESL-related research: the mainstream teacher's (a) general educational experiences, (b) specific ESL training, (c) personal contact with diverse cultures, (d) prior contact with ESL students, (e) demographic characteristics, and

(f) personality. The following discussion examines the rationale for each category.

General Educational Experiences

Evidence suggests that teachers' general educational experiences affect their reactions to issues associated with cultural diversity. This broad category of possible predictors of teachers' attitudes can include the quantity, quality, and content of the general course work completed. For example, with respect to quantity of course work, Byrnes et al. (1997) found that mainstream teachers with graduate degrees held more positive attitudes toward language-diverse students than did teachers without such degrees. In addition, Byrnes et al. (1996) found that the higher a teacher's score on a measure of cognitive sophistication (presumably, a score likely to be correlated with both the quantity and the quality of a teacher's educational training), the more positive the teacher's attitude toward ESL students.

In addition, the content of a teacher's general educational experience appears likely to influence ESL-related attitudes. It is this dimension that we examined in our 1999 study. Past research suggests that at least two types of content in a teacher's general educational training might affect ESL-related attitudes: content that provides direct exposure to cultural differences and content that stimulates a more abstract understanding of the nature of culture itself. For example, a variety of authors (Avery & Walker, 1993; Diaz, 1992; Harris, 1996; Lynch, 1992; Sowers-Hoag & Sandau-Beckler, 1996; Wurzel, 1988) argue that teachers and other helping professionals must possess a concrete awareness of cultural differences and of specific cultural groups in order to work effectively with students and clients from different cultural backgrounds. This type of knowledge should be gained from courses in areas such as foreign languages (Barrows et al., 1981; Lynch, 1992), multicultural education, or anthropology.

Similarly, a more abstract level of multicultural knowledge should include an understanding of how knowledge itself is created, how it can be viewed as a social construction, and how it can be a product both of a unique culture and of a particular power structure (Banks, 1991; Dana, 1993). As Davidman (1990) suggests, knowing this about knowledge sets the stage for teachers to be critical of their perspective on society. Teachers who have majored in the social sciences and teach in these areas should be more likely than others to develop this abstract understanding of knowledge. This is suggested in the finding (Avery & Walker, 1993) that preservice teachers in social studies at the University of Minnesota gave more complex explanations of gender and ethnic

differences in educational outcomes than did preservice teachers in two other disciplinary groups (i.e., English and a second disciplinary group, L2 and culture). Thus, we hypothesized that mainstream teachers with specific multicultural course work (e.g., foreign language courses, a course in multicultural education, or an anthropology course) or a general background in the social sciences would be more likely than others to have a positive attitude toward teaching ESL students.

ESL Training

A second category of predictors in our model focuses on the extent of a mainstream teacher's training in ESL. Unfortunately, few mainstream teachers have been prepared to address the linguistic challenges and cultural differences present in diverse classrooms (Clair, 1995; Constantino, 1994; Harklau, 1994; Penfield, 1987; Platt & Troudi, 1997; Stratham, 1995; Wong Fillmore & Meyer, 1992; Young, 1996). For example, Gollnick (1992) found that many preservice teachers were unprepared to adequately teach culturally and linguistically diverse school populations. Crawford (1993) argued, "Many teachers do not have the strategies or comfort level for teaching culturally different or English second language (ESL) students" (p. 7). According to Constantino (1994) and Penfield (1987), even mainstream teachers themselves realize that they lack training in ESL and desire more background knowledge. Unfortunately, Clair (1995) found that most mainstream teachers do not find in-service training in ESL very helpful, and Constantino (1994) found that following appropriate ESL pedagogy was hard even for ESL teachers. Collectively, these researchers present a pessimistic view of mainstream teachers' training in ESL and of the value of such training.

Nevertheless, few would argue with the value of an ESL knowledge base, and many authors have advocated this for mainstream teachers (Byrnes et al., 1997; Clair, 1995; Constantino, 1994; Gollnick, 1992; Harklau, 1994; Harris, 1996; Hollins, 1993; Penfield, 1987; Platt & Troudi, 1997; Stratham, 1995; Young, 1996). A number of these authors have simply made this suggestion as a self-evident observation, but several have provided evidence for this viewpoint. For example, Hollins (1993) discussed several studies suggesting that teachers employing culturally competent pedagogies have a positive impact on their students. In addition, Banks (1991) suggested that the acquisition of such skills gives teachers confidence in working with diverse school populations. Johnson (1995) found that graduate students training to be ESL teachers became more aware of themselves as cultural beings through participation in a simulation experiment integral to their ESL course.

And, most importantly for the present study, Byrnes et al. (1997) found that mainstream teachers with formal ESL training were more positive about teaching language-diverse students than were mainstream teachers who did not have such training. So, although we did not expect to find many mainstream teachers in our study who had had ESL training, we predicted that those mainstream teachers who had had at least some type of ESL training would be more likely to respond positively to ESL students than teachers who lacked such training. Furthermore, to expand on Byrnes et al.'s (1997) research, we examined the impact of different types of training (e.g., college courses, in-service training, and conferences).

Contact With Diverse Cultures

The third category of our model suggests that direct personal contact with diverse cultures affects teachers' attitudes. Such contact is frequently advocated as a means to greater self-awareness and awareness of cultural differences (Harris, 1996; Manoleas, 1994; McEwen & Roper, 1994; Risku, 1996; Sowers-Hoag & Sandau-Beckler, 1996; Wilson, 1993). For example, Risku (1996) reports that direct contact is required as part of the Reality-Based Multicultural Model followed by student teachers at the University of Minnesota, Morris. Justification for this approach can be found in a national survey of college students that showed a positive correlation between travel abroad and positive affect associated with global understanding (Barrows et al., 1981). Finally, social contact theory, a well-researched theory in social psychology, states that contact, especially among status equals expecting prolonged interaction, will reduce prejudicial or negative attitudes toward groups culturally different from one's own (Taylor, Peplau, & Sears, 1997). These arguments and findings led us to predict that teachers who had had personal multicultural experiences (e.g., travel abroad) would be more likely than others to have positive attitudes toward teaching ESL students.

Prior Contact With ESL Students

The fourth category of our model focuses on the extent of a teacher's prior contact with ESL students. On one hand, an argument can be easily made that mainstream teachers might find the presence of increasing numbers of ESL students to be a source of concern or irritation (Avery & Walker, 1993; Byrnes & Cortez, 1992). Mainstream teachers already face significant stressors (Markham et al., 1996); many have had little training

in teaching ESL students (Byrnes et al., 1997; Clair, 1995; Constantino, 1994; Harklau, 1994; Penfield, 1987; Platt & Troudi, 1997; Stratham, 1995; Wong Fillmore & Meyer, 1992; Young, 1996); and when asked, they readily offer a rather detailed list of disadvantages associated with teaching ESL students in mainstream classrooms (Youngs & Youngs, 1999).

On the other hand, research suggests that mainstream teachers also see distinct advantages to the presence of ESL students, and considerable evidence from the field of social psychology indicates that increased familiarity or contact with others generally leads to increased attraction (Taylor et al., 1997). In addition, several studies examining the impact of exposure to cultural diversity suggest that increased contact with dissimilar others will lead to more positive attitudes. For example, Wilson (1993) reported that student teachers exposed to students from different cultures through various on-campus experiences (or through international travel) showed improvements in substantive knowledge of other cultures and in perceptual understanding (i.e., attitude change). Similarly, Sharma and Jung (1986) reported that the more U.S. students had experienced contact with international students, the more likely the U.S. students were to develop a positive international outlook. Most important for the present study, Byrnes et al. (1997) found that both indirect and direct measures of contact with ESL students were related positively to teachers' attitudes about ESL students. Thus, we hypothesized that the more contact mainstream teachers had had with ESL students, the more positive teachers would be about teaching ESL students.

To test this hypothesis in the present study, we attempted to replicate and expand on Byrnes et al.'s (1997) research. They measured contact purely in terms of frequency, but contact can involve at least two other dimensions: diversity and intensity. Some programs have many ESL students (frequency) primarily from one ethnic background; other programs have fewer total ESL students, but the students come from a wider variety of cultures (diversity); still other programs differ in the extent to which their ESL students are clustered in a few mainstream classrooms (intensity) or spread across many. The frequency dimension could have a positive impact on attitudes if it simply means increasing familiarity with ESL students from the same background, but the diversity and intensity dimensions might have a negative impact if they complicate the teaching of content in a mainstream classroom. The present study tested our frequency hypothesis and explored the impact of the diversity and intensity dimensions.

Demographic Characteristics

Mainstream teachers carry with them certain demographic characteristics that are likely to affect their attitudes. Characteristics such as ethnicity, gender, and age affect a wide range of social and political attitudes, and it is reasonable to expect at least some of these characteristics to affect attitudes toward ESL students as well. However, Byrnes et al. (1997) found no relationship between teachers' status as Anglo or non-Anglo and their attitudes. Part of the reason might be lack of ethnic variability in their sample, of which only 16% were non-Anglo. The population of teachers from which we derived our sample is probably even more homogeneous, so we did not reexamine ethnicity as a predictor, but it certainly deserves further attention in future research.

With respect to age, one is tempted to argue that increased age (or teaching experience, or both) means increased maturity, tolerance of diversity, and an evolving understanding of the teacher's role. However, this logic is not supported by prior research. Brousseau, Book, and Byers (1988) found no relationship between teachers' experience and various measures of their orientation toward teaching. More specifically, Williams et al. (1972) found no relationship between experience and attitudes associated with the language diversity of students. Thus, we examined the role of age in the present study, but we did not offer a hypothesis for this predictor.

In contrast, we were more willing to make a prediction about a third demographic characteristic, gender. Evidence from meta-analyses of research on gender differences (Taylor et al., 1997) suggests that females in U.S. society tend to be more sensitive decoders of others' conversations than are males. It is reasonable to expect that such sensitivity would be important to effective multicultural communication. Furthermore, in research reviewed by Ottavi, Pope-Davis, and Dings (1994), there is evidence that "women reported greater comfort with racial interactions and issues than did men" and that "men were more confused about racial identity issues than were women" (p. 149). Thus, we expected female teachers to be more positive about working with ESL students than male teachers were.

Personality

Finally, our model includes personality traits as a category of predictors of ESL-related attitudes. Byrnes et al. (1996) found that increased levels of psychological insecurity (measured with *trust in people* items from the National Opinion Research Center) were associated with more

negative attitudes toward language-diverse students. These researchers also found that a teacher's personal political orientation correlated with ESL-related attitudes—specifically, greater conservatism was associated with more negative language attitudes. (However, this finding may reflect the existence of a language politics factor in the language attitude scale used in their study.) Thus, there is evidence of an association between a teacher's personality traits and his or her attitude toward language-diverse students. However, it was beyond the scope of the present study to include a battery of personality traits, and what traits should be included is not at all clear.

In summary, our study explored five aspects (educational background, ESL training, personal contact with foreign cultures, contact with ESL students, and demographic characteristics) of our six-part model with a survey of mainstream teachers in a U.S. Great Plains community that already had a modest number of ESL students and could reasonably anticipate significant increases in that number. Our concern was to describe and explain the attitudes of these teachers toward working with ESL students.

METHOD

Procedures

The survey was distributed in a U.S. Great Plains community of approximately 80,000 with two junior high schools and one middle school that had student populations of roughly 1,000 each. After the first author described the study during the autumn 1996 teacher orientation sessions, the survey was distributed to the school mailboxes of all teachers ($N = 224$) in the districts' junior high and middle schools. The questionnaires were accompanied by stamped return envelopes with the authors' home address to help ensure confidentiality. Consistent with Dillman's (1978) approach to mail surveys, we made two follow-up contacts (a letter and then another survey) to stimulate response. These efforts resulted in a response rate of 78% ($N = 174$). Among the respondents were 143 mainstream teachers whose responses to an item on the questionnaire (described later) indicated that they taught in regular, content area classrooms. These were the teachers whose responses we analyzed.

The Five Predictors

General Educational Experiences

To assess teachers' general educational experiences, we asked, "Have you had any of the following multicultural experiences?" and followed this question with a list of seven experiences. Teachers were asked to circle either "yes" or "no" for each item. The first three experiences included the following types of multicultural course work: (a) "completed one or more years of a foreign language in high school or college," (b) "completed at least one course in multicultural education," and (c) "completed at least one course in anthropology." The four remaining items are discussed in the section Personal Contact With Diverse Cultures.

We also wished to determine whether teachers had a background in the social sciences, assuming that such teachers might be especially likely to appreciate how knowledge can be a product of culture. To do so, we included this item: "Please list the subject areas you *currently* teach. (If you have a primary area, please list that one first. Thanks.)" Four blanks were provided, but we coded only the areas listed in the first blank. Subject areas were collapsed into the following five groups: (a) social sciences (e.g., geography, history, social studies); (b) humanities (e.g., art, drama, English, foreign languages, music, and speech); (c) natural and physical sciences (e.g., algebra, earth science, geometry, and physical science); (d) applied disciplines (e.g., computer-aided design, drafting, driver's education, family and consumer sciences, graphic arts, health, journalism, keyboarding, life science, physical education, reading, technology, and teen living); and (e) student service personnel (e.g., deaf education, ESL resource, learning disabilities, severely learning disabled resource, special education, special services, and speech pathology). As noted earlier, the present study focused just on mainstream teachers, so we excluded from the analysis teachers in the student service personnel category.

ESL Training

We assessed teachers' actual training in ESL as an indicator of their relative skill level in ESL pedagogy. The questionnaire included the following request: "Please check any training you have had in how to teach ESL students." Teachers could check "no training," "college classes," "in-service workshops," "conference workshops," or "other (please specify)." We examined the separate and combined impact of these training experiences.

Personal Contact With Diverse Cultures

Teachers' personal multicultural experiences were measured with the following question: "Have you had any of the following multicultural experiences?" Seven items with *yes/no* options followed this question, three of which are discussed above in the section General Educational Experiences. The last four items were used to measure teachers' personal experiences with diverse cultures: (a) "traveled outside of the U.S.," (b) "lived outside of the U.S.," (c) "taught outside of the U.S.," and (d) "hosted a foreign exchange student."

ESL Student Contact

We asked an extensive list of questions to measure the frequency, diversity, and intensity of teachers' contact with ESL students. To assess frequency, we asked if they currently had any ESL students in any of their classes and, if so, how many. We also asked if the teachers had taught any ESL students in the past 5 years and, if so, how many. We combined these numbers to provide a measure of the frequency of ESL student contact over a 6-year period.

To assess the diversity of teachers' exposure to ESL students, we gave teachers a list of 10 world regions plus an "other" category and asked them to indicate those from which their ESL students had originated (focusing on 6 years of students—the current year plus the past 5). After recoding to incorporate "other" responses, our diversity measure consisted of the following 12 regions: (a) Central America (including Mexico); (b) South America; (c) Southeast Asia; (d) Asia (China, Japan, and Korea); (e) the Indian subcontinent (India and Nepal); (f) Africa, (g) Western Europe; (h) Eastern Europe; (i) countries formerly part of the Soviet Union; (j) the Middle East; (k) the Caribbean (including Haiti, Cuba, and Jamaica); and (l) North America (i.e., Native American students). The more regions a teacher marked, the greater the teacher's exposure to cultural diversity through his or her ESL students.

Finally, we included questions measuring the intensity of a teacher's exposure to diverse ESL students. These questions focused not on overall exposure but on exposure within the classroom. We asked teachers, "What is the largest number of ESL students that you have had in any *one* class?" and "With the above class in mind, how many *distinct* languages, other than English, were spoken by these ESL students?" The latter question included this instruction: "Please do not count more than one language per student." Teaching students from multiple cultures simultaneously is arguably a more intense exposure to cultural diversity and should heighten one's knowledge base about the nature and complexity of culture.

Demographic Characteristics

As noted earlier, research suggests that females tend to be somewhat more sensitive to interpersonal cues than males are. Therefore, we included a question near the end of the survey that asked teachers to indicate their gender. Also near the end of the survey, we asked teachers to indicate their age by marking one of the following categories: (a) 21–30, (b) 31–40, (c) 41–50, (d) 51–60, and (e) 61 years or older.

Attitude Toward ESL Students

Two questions measured teachers' attitude toward teaching ESL students. The first question asked teachers to respond to a concrete scenario: "If you were told that you could expect two or three ESL students in one of your classes next year, how would you describe your reaction?" Respondents could check one of the following five options: (a) "very pleased," (b) "moderately pleased," (c) "neutral," (d) "moderately displeased," and (e) "very displeased."

The second question arose three pages later in the questionnaire and asked for a more global evaluation: "How would you describe your overall reaction to working with ESL students in your classroom?" The five response options were (a) "greatly like," (b) "moderately like," (c) "neutral," (d) "moderately dislike," and (e) "greatly dislike."

These two questions closely parallel Byrnes and Kiger's (1994) Language Attitudes of Teachers Scale (LATS), which assigns teachers a single score based on 13 Likert-type items. Byrnes et al. (1996, 1997) used the LATS in their study of factors affecting mainstream teachers' attitudes toward ESL students (discussed above). Byrnes and Kiger (1994) reported a .62 correlation between the LATS and the following 7-point Likert-type question, which is very similar to the two attitude measures in our survey: "In general, how do you feel about having children in your classroom who speak little or no English?" (p. 231).

RESULTS

Sample Profile

The 143 mainstream teachers who responded to our survey came from diverse backgrounds. The sample was relatively balanced with regard to gender (53% female), age (21–30, 21%; 31–40, 27%; 41–50, 30%; 51–60, 20%; 61 or older, 2%), and grade level taught (sixth grade, 21%; seventh grade, 39%; eighth grade, 34%; ninth grade, 43%; the total exceeds 100% because some teachers taught multiple levels). The largest

group of respondents (35%) taught in the humanities, but many teachers from other subject areas were represented (applied disciplines, 28%; natural and physical sciences, 24%; social sciences, 13%).

A number of questions asked about respondents' actual teaching experience. Overall, the typical mainstream teacher had taught 15.5 years, currently had 2.3 ESL students, and had taught an average of 11.2 ESL students over the past 6 years (0–5 ESL students, 35%; 6–11, 35%; 12 or more, 30%).

Additional questions explored specific aspects of these teachers' experiences with ESL students. The majority of the 139 mainstream teachers who provided data on regional diversity had worked with ESL students from Southeast Asia, the Middle East (78 teachers and 76 teachers, respectively), or both; a third had worked with students from Central America (55 teachers), Eastern Europe (52 teachers), or countries formerly part of the Soviet Union (44 teachers); and fewer than a third had been exposed to ESL students from the remaining categories. Overall, the average mainstream teacher had taught ESL students from 3.2 different world regions ($N = 137$, $SD = 2.0$).

This overall diversity measure was complemented with questions assessing the teachers' intensity of contact with ESL students. On average, the largest number of ESL students they had ever had in one class was 2.3 ($N = 130$, $SD = 1.4$). This typically included 1.8 ($SD = 0.75$) distinct languages other than English.

Finally, teachers responded similarly to our two measures of attitudes toward ESL students. Of the 141 teachers who marked the 5-point scale assessing their reaction if "you could expect two or three ESL students in one of your classes next year," most (57%) said they were neutral (see Table 1). More of the remaining teachers (29%) selected the two positive options than the two negative options (15%). The average score was 3.2 ($SD = 0.9$) after the options were coded from 1 to 5, with 5 representing "very pleased."

TABLE 1

Teachers' Attitudes Toward ESL Students

Reaction to 2–3 ESL students in class ($N = 141$)	%	Overall reaction to ESL students ($N = 133$)	%
Very displeased	2	Greatly dislike	2
Moderately displeased	13	Moderately dislike	3
Neutral	57	Neutral	31
Moderately pleased	18	Moderately like	35
Very pleased	11	Greatly like	29
Total[a]	101	Total	100

[a]Total does not add to 100% due to rounding.

Our second measure assessed teachers' overall reaction to ESL students (see Table 1). Again, more of the 133 respondents reacted positively (64%) than negatively (5%), with a substantial block of neutral responses (31%). This distribution resulted in a slightly higher mean of 3.9 ($SD = 0.9$) when response options were converted to a 1–5 scale, with 5 representing "greatly like." Thus, teachers were somewhat more positive about ESL students overall than about teaching ESL students in their own classes.

We combined these two items to create an index. The 1–5 scales had a correlation of .60 ($p < .001$) and an acceptable level of reliability (Cronbach's alpha of .75). Each respondent's values on the two items were added and divided by 2 to keep the index on a 1–5 scale. The mean for the new index was 3.6 ($N = 131$, $SD = 0.8$).

The Five Predictors and Teachers' Attitudes

The following analyses rely on descriptive statistics and inferential statistics (e.g., *F* tests and *t* tests) to test our five hypotheses. Significance tests were not technically appropriate for our data because we contacted all mainstream teachers in the selected school district, not a random sample. Nevertheless, we felt we needed to check our judgments, asking, in essence, "If we had used a random sample, would the results be statistically significant?" We then examined the substantive significance of those results for which the answer was "yes."

We also used Bonferroni adjustments of our significance levels. A Bonferroni adjustment involves dividing a prespecified significance level (i.e., .05) by the number of times a given test is done (e.g., the number of times a given hypothesis is tested). For example, we used four indicators of personal multicultural experience (traveled abroad, lived abroad, taught abroad, and hosted a foreign student) to test our hypothesis that personal contact with diverse cultures would positively affect mainstream teachers' ESL attitudes. Our significance level for each of these four indicators was thus .0125 (i.e., .05 ÷ 4).

General Educational Experiences

The results provided some support for our expectation that the nature of teachers' general educational experiences affected their attitude toward ESL students (Table 2). Teachers' general educational experiences involved two types of knowledge. First, we predicted that concrete knowledge of other cultures would affect attitudes and operationalized this concept with three indicators including their completion of one or more foreign language courses, multicultural education courses, or

TABLE 2
Relationship Between Teachers' Experience and Training and Their Attitude Toward ESL Students

	Teachers with no experience			Teachers with experience					
	M	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*F*	*p*	η^2
Teachers' general educational experiences									
Foreign language	3.3	0.7	47	3.7	0.8	81	6.85	.01	0.05
Multicultural course work	3.2	0.9	41	3.7	0.7	89	11.30	.001	0.08
Anthropology course	3.6	0.7	75	3.6	0.9	47	< 1.00	ns	
Teachers' specific ESL training									
Any	3.4	0.8	72	3.8	0.7	59	9.70	.002	0.07
College	3.5	0.8	106	3.8	0.6	25	2.10	ns	
In-service	3.5	0.8	101	3.7	0.7	30	1.27	ns	
Conference workshops	3.6	0.8	112	3.7	0.7	19	< 1.00	ns	
Other	3.5	0.8	119	4.3	0.7	12	11.56	.001	0.08
Teachers' personal multicultural experiences									
Traveled outside the U.S.	3.3	0.7	34	3.7	0.8	91	5.34	ns	0.04
Lived outside the U.S.	3.5	0.7	103	4.0	1.0	19	7.73	.006	0.06
Taught outside the U.S.	3.5	0.8	114	4.4	0.6	8	10.78	.001	0.08
Hosted foreign exchange student	3.5	0.8	106	3.6	0.9	15	< 1.00	ns	

Note. Means are based on a 1–5 index; larger means reflect more positive attitudes toward ESL students.

anthropology courses. The Bonferroni adjustment for this aspect of our general educational experience hypothesis was .017 (i.e., .05 ÷ 3). Based on this cutoff, teachers who reported that they had completed 1 or more years of foreign language classes in high school or college were significantly more positive about teaching ESL students than were teachers who had not taken foreign language classes, $F(1, 126) = 6.85$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .05$.[1] The same pattern emerged for teachers who said that they had taken a course in multicultural education, $F(1, 128) = 11.30$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .08$. However, the mean differences were modest for both foreign

[1] In other words, the analysis of variance *F* test (with 1 and 126 degrees of freedom) was statistically significant at the .01 level, and the eta squared value of .08 indicates that foreign language background explained 8% of the variance in mainstream teachers' ESL attitudes.

language and multicultural education courses, and there was literally no difference in the means for those who reported that they had or had not taken an anthropology course.

Second, as part of our focus on the role of general educational experience, we suggested that teachers who teach in the social sciences would be especially likely to have positive attitudes toward ESL students because of their presumed disciplinary training in the role of power and culture in the production of knowledge. We used only one indicator of this concept, so no Bonferroni adjustment was required. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) by subject area on teachers' attitudes did reveal a significant effect, $F(3, 127) = 3.03$, $p < .04$, $\eta^2 = .07$. However, as the following means indicate, social science teachers had the second most positive, not the most positive, mean attitude: humanities, $M = 3.8$, $SD = 1.0$, $n = 43$; social sciences, $M = 3.6$, $SD = 0.6$, $n = 19$; natural and physical sciences, $M = 3.5$, $SD = 0.7$, $n = 32$; applied subjects, $M = 3.4$, $SD = 0.7$, $n = 37$. The Duncan multiple-range test for post hoc comparisons revealed no significant differences among teachers from the first three groups (humanities, social sciences, and the natural/physical sciences), but teachers in each of these groups were significantly more positive in their attitude than teachers from the applied disciplines. Unfortunately, the Levene test for homogeneity of variance also proved significant—Levene statistic = 2.88 (3, 127), $p < .04$—suggesting that the apparent overall significant difference in means, based on our ANOVA results, may reflect a significant difference in variances from group to group instead. Thus, although the mean attitude for teachers from the social sciences ranked second and significantly ahead of the lowest mean, the present results hardly provide convincing support for the expected role of the social sciences.

ESL Training

We hypothesized that teachers with ESL training would be especially positive about teaching ESL students. We tested this hypothesis for a variety of training experiences by contrasting those who had had such training with those who had not. Specifically, our tests included five indicators of training experiences (i.e., college, in-service, conference/workshop, other training, and any training) requiring a Bonferroni adjusted significance level of .01 (i.e., .05 ÷ 5). The ANOVA results (Table 2) failed to reveal significant differences in teachers' attitudes by college course training, $F(1, 129) = 2.10$, nonsignificant; by in-service training, $F(1, 129) = 1.27$, nonsignificant; or by conference/workshop training, $F(1, 129) < 1.00$, although the means were higher in each case for those with the specified training.

Two significant training results did emerge (Table 2). First, teachers who said they had received some other type of ESL training were significantly more positive than the remaining teachers about teaching ESL students, $F(1, 129) = 11.56$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .08$. We are inclined to minimize this finding, however, because only 12 teachers marked this ambiguous category. Second and more importantly, teachers who indicated that they had received some—that is, any—form of ESL training were significantly more positive about teaching ESL students than those who reported having had no ESL training at all, $F(1, 129) = 9.70$, $p < .002$, $\eta^2 = .07$.

Personal Experience With Foreign Cultures

The results clearly support the importance of personal experience with foreign cultures (Table 2). Four indicators of personal experience with foreign cultures were used (i.e., traveled abroad, lived abroad, taught abroad, and hosted a foreign student), requiring a Bonferroni-adjusted significance level of .0125 (i.e., .05 ÷ 4). With regard to teaching ESL students, mainstream teachers were significantly more positive if they had lived outside the United States, $F(1, 120) = 7.73$, $p < .006$, $\eta^2 = .06$, or taught outside the United States, $F(1, 120) = 10.78$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .08$. Travel abroad just missed the significance level cutoff, $F(1, 123) = 5.34$, $p < .03$, $\eta^2 = .04$. Hosting a foreign exchange student did not have a significant effect on teachers' attitudes, $F(1, 119) < 1.00$.

ESL Student Contact

We expected that the more frequently teachers had had contact with ESL students, the more positive teachers' attitudes toward ESL students would be. In addition, we wished to explore the role of contact diversity and intensity in teachers' ESL attitudes. Only one indicator was used to test the frequency hypothesis, so no adjustment was needed in the significance level, but a Bonferroni adjustment (i.e., .05 ÷ 3 = .017) was needed for the three remaining exploratory tests involving diversity and our two indicators of intensity. One-tailed *t* tests[2] revealed that the correlation coefficients between the frequency and the intensity measures of contact and teachers' ESL attitudes were not significant (frequency, or total number of ESL students taught during the past 6 years,

[2] We used one-tailed *t* tests to assess whether correlation coefficients were significantly different from zero. The format of these tests is analogous to testing whether a mean is significantly different from zero. One-tailed significance levels were used because our hypothesis predicted the expected direction of the correlation.

$r = .04$, $N = 131$; intensity, or largest number of ESL students ever taught in one class, $r = .05$, $N = 128$; and largest number of languages other than English in one class, $r = .02$, $N = 118$). However, diversity of contact was significantly related to teachers' attitudes—the more regions of the world that were represented among the ESL students taught by mainstream teachers, the more positive the teachers' attitudes were ($r = .21$, $N = 127$, $p < .01$). Thus, the diversity, not the amount, of exposure was related to attitudes.

Demographic Characteristics

We examined the impact of gender and age on teachers' attitudes although we hypothesized an effect only for gender. Gender was significantly related, $F(1, 129) = 7.65$, $p < .007$, $\eta^2 = .056$. As expected, females had more positive attitudes on average ($M = 3.7$, $SD = 0.8$, $n = 72$) than males did ($M = 3.4$, $SD = 0.8$, $n = 59$). In contrast, age did not make a significant difference, $F(4, 126) = 1.36$, $R^2 = .04$ (dummy regression). With one exception, the means for teachers' attitudes were essentially the same for all age categories (for the categories 21–30, 31–40, 41–50, 51–60, and 61 or older, $M = 3.6, 3.6, 3.8, 3.3, 3.7$; $SD = 0.7, 0.8, 0.9, 0.7, 0.6$, and $n = 27, 36, 40, 25, 3$, respectively).

Multiple Regression Analysis

Finally, we incorporated the five components of our model into a multiple regression equation. The intent was to gain a preliminary understanding of how the current components work together. However, the current model is certainly not definitive, and subsequent modifications could change reported parameters (see Keppel & Zedeck, 1989, on specification error).

The independent variables for the regression analysis were taken from those aspects of our model's five components that proved to be statistically significant in the one-way analyses, with appropriate modifications: (a) subject area (three dummy variables—social sciences, humanities, and natural sciences—with applied sciences as the default); (b) multicultural course work (a 0–2 index indicating whether teachers had taken any foreign language courses or any multicultural education courses; 2 = both types of courses); (c) ESL training (none versus any); (d) personal experience with foreign cultures (a 0–2 index based on whether they had lived abroad or taught abroad; 2 = both); (e) ESL student contact (the diversity measure); and (f) gender. Fortunately for our analysis, there was very little intercorrelation among these predictors (20 of the 28 intercorrelations were under $r = .21$, and the largest

intercorrelation was $r = .40$ for the humanities and natural/physical sciences dummy variables). Collectively, these predictors explain a significant and substantial 26% of the variance in teachers' attitudes, $R^2 = .26$, $F = 4.83$, $df = 8, 118$, $p < .0001$.

Unfortunately, the relative role of each component is less clear. The beta coefficients were modest and very similar, and none was significant at the .05 level, although three (multicultural course work, ESL training, and gender) were marginally significant at the .10 level (Table 3). Thus, although these five components were predictive of ESL attitudes in one-way ANOVAs and had a significant collective impact, their direct effects within the regression equation were either not significant or marginally significant. One explanation for these seemingly inconsistent findings may be found in an underlying commonality among our model's predictors. Our predictors (except gender) all measured exposure to cultural diversity through either course work, training, personal experience, or ESL student contact. In other words, multiple modes of exposure to cultural diversity assessed either separately or collectively affect teachers' ESL attitudes, but no one mode, relative to several others, adds substantial explanatory power in its own right.

TABLE 3
Multiple Regression Analysis of Mainstream Teachers' Attitudes Toward ESL Students on Model Predictors

Predictor categories and independent variables	β	R^2 change	*p*
General educational experiences			
Multicultural course work			
Language/education index	.168	.022	.08
Subject area			
Social sciences dummy	.107		
Humanities dummy	.220		
Natural science dummy	.097		
Total		.028	ns
ESL training			
Any training?	.152	.019	.10
Personal multicultural experiences			
Live/taught index	.136	.015	ns
ESL student contact			
Diversity of contact	.137	.016	ns
Demographics			
Gender	.152	.021	.08

Note. $R^2 = .260$, 8, 118 *df*, $p < .0001$.

DISCUSSION

The mainstream teachers in our study were generally neutral to slightly positive in their attitudes toward teaching ESL students. These results certainly may be unique to the district we studied, but they are not surprising in light of the many ways in which ESL students can both enrich a mainstream class and make such a class more challenging to teach (Youngs & Youngs, 1999). Our main goal, however, was explanation, not description.

To move toward this goal, we offered a six-predictor model of teachers' attitudes toward ESL students and directly studied five of these predictors (excluding personality). In separate analyses, the results suggest that mainstream teachers are more likely to have positive attitudes toward ESL students if they have had a foreign language course or a multicultural education course; work in the humanities, social sciences, or natural/physical sciences versus applied disciplines; have had at least some sort of ESL training; have lived outside the United States or taught outside the United States; have interacted with a culturally diverse population of ESL students; and are female. Thus, at least some aspect of each of the five predictor categories (i.e., general educational experience, ESL training, personal experience, ESL student contact, and demographic characteristics) significantly affected mainstream teachers' attitudes. These results suggest that our model is a viable starting point for better understanding teachers' attitudes toward ESL students in regular, content area classrooms.

However, our results must be interpreted with two important caveats. First, we have assumed a causal time order that we can not directly defend. It is possible that respondents' preexisting attitudes toward ESL students, positive or negative, led teachers to seek or avoid many of the experiences we assessed in our study. Within the context of a one-shot, cross-sectional survey that measured experiences and attitudes simultaneously, this time order can not be ruled out, but it seems improbable. The presence of a significant number of ESL students in the district was recent and unexpected. It is unlikely that many of the teachers in our sample (in which the typical teacher had taught for 15.5 years) obtained their course work experiences and personal multicultural experiences only after ESL students were present in the community.

Second, our results unexpectedly disconfirmed several predictions. To begin, teachers working in the social sciences did not have the most positive attitudes toward ESL students relative to teachers in other disciplines despite the likelihood that these teachers had had more formal course work in topics associated with cultural diversity. In addition, although ESL training overall had an impact on attitudes, we

were unable to pinpoint the most successful type of ESL training. This ambiguous finding may reflect the disparate findings in the literature on the value of such training (Byrnes et al., 1997; Clair, 1995; Constantino, 1994). Similarly, although diversity of contact with ESL students significantly affected teachers' attitudes, neither the frequency nor the intensity of contact did so. Once again, the absence of an effect, this time for frequency of ESL student contact, may reflect conflicting perceptions of the advantages and disadvantages of working with ESL students in mainstream classrooms (Youngs & Youngs, 1999). Finally, the collective impact of our model, although significant and fairly substantial (26%), still left 74% of the variance in teachers' attitudes unexplained. Had we been able to include a relevant measure of personality (our sixth predictor) in our survey, the explained variance might have increased, but probably not much. Personality would have to be disproportionally important in relation to the rest of the model to substantially reduce the unexplained variance (an unlikely expectation in light of the modest findings associated with most personality tests). Future research must pursue additional predictors to better understand teachers' attitudes—an important challenge in view of the significant effect mainstream teachers' attitudes are likely to have on ESL students' learning.

CONCLUSION

The present study offers the following words of wisdom for teacher education programs, school district administrators, and future researchers. If the goal is to promote positive attitudes toward ESL students on the part of mainstream teachers, exposure to cultural diversity appears likely to enhance appreciation for cultural diversity. The more preservice and in-service teachers are exposed to diversity through foreign language courses, courses in multicultural education, ESL training, and work with culturally diverse ESL students, the more positive teachers are likely to be about working with ESL students.

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Attitudes of Journal Editors to Nonnative Speaker Contributions

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More and more nonnative speakers (NNSs) are seeking to publish in international journals devoted to English language teaching and applied linguistics. Strong anecdotal evidence and occasional references in the literature attest to the disadvantages NNSs encounter vis-à-vis their native speaker (NS) peers. This article presents the results of an interview study with the editors of 12 leading international journals in applied linguistics and English language teaching. The purpose was to find out how these editors viewed the issue of NNSs publishing in their journals and to gain insight into how to enhance the chances of successful publication by NNSs. The results of the interviews included a questioning of the concept of the term *nonnative speaker,* the overall attitudes of editors and reviewers to NNS contributions, problematic aspects of NNS contributions, and positive attributes of NNS contributors. Problematic aspects included surface errors, parochialism, absence of authorial voice, and nativized varieties of English. Positive attributes include awareness of cross-linguistic and cross-cultural issues, objectivity of outsider perspectives, an international perspective, a testing mechanism for the dominant theories of the centre, access to research sites and data where NSs would be intrusive, and the alerting of centre scholars to research undertaken on the periphery.

As part of the overall trend toward globalization in many spheres, including education and academic research, more and more nonnative speakers (NNSs) are seeking to publish in international journals devoted to English language teaching, applied linguistics, and related areas. In a forum at the annual TESOL convention, journal editors answer questions from aspiring and experienced teachers and researchers about how to get published in their journals. Similar forums are organised at various other conferences internationally. Regularly attending a considerable number of these sessions over the years, I have noted that NNSs often express their particular difficulties in achieving publication and even allude to the possibility of intentional or unintentional

discrimination against NNSs on the part of these journals. Occasional references in the literature also suggest the disadvantages NNSs face vis-à-vis their native speaker (NS) peers. Van Dijk (1994), for example, has talked of "the triple disadvantage of having to read, do research and write in another language" (p. 276).

In order to investigate the question of NNSs publishing in international journals, I conducted a survey of NNS academics in Hong Kong to find out their perceptions, problems, and strategies regarding publication in English (Flowerdew, 1999b). One of the significant findings of this survey was that just over two thirds of subjects felt themselves to be at a disadvantage in publishing in English as compared with NSs, this in a territory with an English language heritage and in which English is the medium of instruction. Perhaps more disturbing, nearly a third of the respondents felt that prejudice by referees, editors, and publishers placed NNSs at a disadvantage when writing for publication.

In a globalizing world, to place NNSs at a disadvantage when it comes to publishing their work not only goes against natural justice but is also likely to be impoverishing in terms of the creation of knowledge. As Van Dijk (1994) has stated, "It hardly needs to be argued that lacking insight into theories, methods, data and results of scholars elsewhere on the globe is a form of scholarly and cultural chauvinism which at the very least diminishes the relevance and generality of our findings, and in any case contributes to the reproduction of prevailing forms of cultural and academic hegemony" (p. 276). Similarly, Canagarajah (1996) has argued that what he calls *periphery* perspectives (Galtung, 1971, 1980; Wallerstein, 1974, 1991) in the various disciplines, that is, the perspectives of academics who work outside the intellectual centres of the developed countries, may provide important alternative cultural perspectives, on the one hand (p. 463), and "vibrant," "marginal" contributions to the often "stable" and "conservative" "centre" (p. 465), on the other. Periphery perspectives may thus provide both valuable alternative theories of their own and a healthy questioning of theories and approaches already prevailing in the centre. Mauranen (1993) has argued along similar lines from the perspective of Finland.

A number of examples in the literature describe how NNSs have come to terms with the struggle to write for publication in English. At least two approaches appear in Braine's (1999) collection on the contribution of NNSs to TESOL. Connor (1999), originally from Finland, describes how she increasingly became acculturated to the U.S. way of academic writing and life, including marrying "a supportive native English-speaking husband" (p. 32), and how she was happy to develop her writing style based on U.S. models. She makes it quite clear that, after her extensive apprenticeship, she "feel[s] like a U.S. writer" (p. 32); she feels no guilt about no longer writing anything in Finnish except personal letters,

arguing that many NNS international scholars do most of their professional writing in English (p. 36). Li (1999), on the other hand, originally from China, prefers to "hover between two worlds" (p. 44). While valuing the criteria applied by U.S. writers—"originality, individuality, spontaneity, honesty, rationalism, and the aversion to sentimentality and didacticism" (p. 44)—she nevertheless appreciates the emphasis in Chinese writing that she had been schooled in: "convention, organization, poetic images, historical allusions, and moral correctness" (p. 44). She is less willing than Connor to abandon her original identity. Yakhontova (in press), a Ukrainian national, takes a stronger view, arguing that although Ukrainian scholars such as her want to participate in the international academic community and write in English, they nevertheless want to do so on their own terms, retaining their own unique Ukrainian voice and rhetorical style in their auxiliary language.

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

The research reported in this article is related in theoretical terms to work in the last decade or so on issues of power, access, and the social construction of knowledge, especially as it relates to speakers whose L1 is not English. In his seminal book, *Linguistic Imperialism,* Phillipson (1992) drew attention to how and why the English language achieved its world dominance. Specifically, Phillipson looked at "the ideology transmitted with, in, and through the English language, and the role of language specialists in the cultural export of English" (p. 1). Particularly emphasized by Phillipson was the privileged role played by the NS in the spread of English. Following shortly after Phillipson's work, Pennycook's *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language* (1994) examined further issues of power and dominance with regard to English, questioning the view of its spread as "natural, neutral, and beneficial" (p. 6) and emphasizing that English is "bound up in a wealth of local social, cultural, economic and political complexities" (p. 7). Pennycook also discussed "aspects of resistance and human agency in appropriating English to its local contexts" (p. 7). Ideas of how to resist the hegemony of English were further examined in Pennycook's later book, *English and the Discourses of Colonialism* (1998). Resistance to the hegemony of English is also the theme of Canagarajah's *Resisting Linguistic Imperialism* (1999). In her 1995 article, "Social Identity, Investment, and Language Learning," Peirce emphasized the importance of power relations in interactions between NSs and NNSs of English. It is these power relationships, Peirce claimed, that create or deny the conditions for the nonnative to speak and be heard. An analogy can be drawn here between Peirce's NNSs and the nonnative writers who seek to publish in international

journals, journals whose gatekeepers (editors and reviewers) are for the most part NSs of English.

The research reported in this article is part of a broader-based study into the question of NNSs writing for publication across the disciplines that I have conducted with Cantonese L1 Hong Kong scholars. This research has included the quantitative survey already referred to (Flowerdew, 1999b), in-depth interviews (Flowerdew, 1999a), text analysis (Flowerdew, 2000b), ethnographic case studies of the manuscript submission process (Flowerdew, 2000a), genre analysis of editorial correspondence (Flowerdew & Dudley-Evans, 1999), and a colloquium involving NNS writers and journal editors (Braine & Flowerdew, 1997). The focus of this article is a set of interviews with leading international journal editors. The purpose of this particular aspect of the investigation was to find out how the editors of leading journals in English language teaching, applied linguistics, and related areas viewed the issue of NNSs publishing in their journals and to gain insight into how the chances of successful publication by NNSs might be enhanced.

In an important paper, Canagarajah (1996) has drawn attention to some of the nondiscursive problems that afflict peripheral scholars. Although many of these scholars are NNSs, Canagarajah is primarily interested not in any linguistic problems they might have but in problems of a material and logistical nature. These problems include, on the one hand, lack of physical resources, such as libraries, word processors, and even money for postage, and, on the other, physical marginalization and exclusion from what Bazerman (1980, 1985) calls the *conversations of the discipline*—the current intellectual debates that drive research and to which access is fundamental for researchers to be able to locate their research contribution. Canagarajah does nevertheless mention in passing what he refers to as *discursive* problems, stating that "because these mostly bilingual/bicultural scholars are influenced by their indigenous communicative conventions, their writing will display peculiarities that are usually treated by Western scholars as ample evidence of their discursive/academic incompetence" (p. 436). The findings of the present study do not touch upon the more material problems referred to by Canagarajah. This may be because my perspective was that of Hong Kong, a territory with very adequate material resources, its universities having undergone extensive expansion and development in recent years. On the other hand, the findings focus closely on the discursive issues mentioned by Canagarajah and, to a lesser extent, on the problem of physical isolation.

As well as indicating problems associated with NNS academics, this study also reports on some of the positive attributes of this important group of scholars, that is, aspects of their situation that give them a certain privilege (Kramsch, 1995). To neglect the positive attributes that

derive from the privilege of being an NNS would be a disservice not only to those NNS individuals concerned but also to the development of the disciplines.

METHOD

Participants and Interviews

The method used in this research was the in-depth interview. Eleven editors (7 male, 4 female; referred to here as E1, E2, etc.) were interviewed (see Figure 1). All described their journals as international. However, the editors of *RELC Journal* (published in Singapore) and *Asian Journal of English Language Teaching* (published in Hong Kong) said that they were particularly interested in research that focused on issues of special concern to language professionals in Asia.

The 11 journals varied considerably in their focus within applied linguistics, language teaching, and related areas. Chosen on the basis of purposive sampling, they are only a subset of such journals, however, and the generalizability of the findings must be considered with caution. I looked for examples of the leading journals in mainstream applied linguistics and English language teaching and a few more peripheral journals; I also wanted representation from Asian journals. Apart from the two Asia-based journals, two are specialized (*Journal of Phonetics* and *Journal of Child Language*); three are primarily devoted to the teaching of English (*TESOL Quarterly*, *English Language Teaching Journal*, and *English for Specific Purposes*, although the latter has a strong emphasis also on the description of special varieties of English); and two are language

FIGURE 1
Journals From Which Editors Were Interviewed

Applied Linguistics
Asian Journal of English Language Teaching
English Language Teaching Journal
English for Specific Purposes Journal
Journal of Child Language
Journal of Phonetics
Journal of Second Language Writing
Language Learning
RELC Journal
TESOL Quarterly
World Englishes

learning/teaching journals that cover languages other than just English (*Applied Linguistics* and *Language Learning*). I included *World Englishes* because I felt that one of the editors of that journal would be in a particularly advantageous position to comment on some of the NNS issues I was interested in.

The interviews were conducted over a period of 3 years, from 1996 to 1999, either at international conferences, where I was able to meet the editors, or in some cases when editors came to Hong Kong. No editor I approached declined to be interviewed. Some of the editors I already knew personally, which may have affected the level of rapport achieved and therefore the quality of the data collected. However, in all cases the editors appeared open and willing—indeed, in many cases, very keen—to answer my questions.

The interview format could be described as *reflective* (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983). I attempted to minimize my influence as researcher on what the interviewee said, but at the same time the interviews followed a framework so that they covered certain key areas identified in my ongoing related research and my reading of the literature. This ongoing research included the survey and interviews with NNS writers, the linguistic analysis of their writing, the ethnographic case studies of the manuscript submission process, and the analysis of editorial correspondence referred to above. These other sources of data, although not included in this article, can be viewed as a form of triangulation that informed the questions posed in the interviews and the subsequent analysis.

The questions asked in the interviews were designed to elicit a large sample of utterances (Spradley, 1979). Participants were encouraged to answer at length. As the interviewer, I had a set of general areas for discussion, but participants were encouraged to introduce any information or interpretation that they felt appropriate. Initial questions were mostly open-ended and descriptive (Spradley, 1979), such as "Can you describe the typical contribution from an NNS from Hong Kong or Asia"? and "How do your reviewers handle contributions from NNSs?" Structural questions (Spradley, 1979), such as "Could you give me other examples of problems you have had with contributors from Hong Kong?" and "What other positive attributes do NNSs have when it comes to international publishing?" were adapted to each participant in order to follow up on descriptive questions, to test hypothesized categories, and to elicit examples to fit into hypothesized categories. Contrast questions[1] were used to compare participants across interviews. "Some editors I have interviewed have said that grammar is not a big problem

[1] My use of the term *contrast question* is different from that of Spradley (1979).

with NNS contributions. What is your feeling on this?" and "Some editors have said that they have a policy of actively trying to help NNS contributors. Does this policy apply in your journal and why/why not?" are examples of contrast questions.

Analysis

The interviews were all recorded and transcribed by a research assistant. The interview data were loaded onto the software ATLAS.ti (1997) and sorted and re-sorted into categories. The aim was to look for both commonalities and differences within the interviews. The assistant and I each independently coded and analyzed the data, providing an element of investigator triangulation to the analysis (Denzin, 1978, cited in Patton, 1987). The starting point was the categories that arose from the initial set of interview questions. However, as the interviews developed, new categories manifested themselves, hence the need for recoding. Out of a large set of categories, those judged to be the most interesting and relevant (according to negotiation between the researcher and the research assistant) became the framework for the results section of this article (see Figure 2).

As the data were analysed, some of the editors were e-mailed for follow-up information. This was particularly useful when I wanted to find

FIGURE 2
Framework for Analysis of Interview Data

1. Concept of the nonnative speaker (NNS)
2. Overall attitudes toward NNS contributors
   - 2.1. Editors
   - 2.2. Manuscript reviewers
3. Problematic aspects of NNS contributions
   - 3.1. Surface errors
   - 3.2. Parochialism
   - 3.3. Introductions and discussions as most problematic sections of the research article
   - 3.4. Absence of authorial voice
   - 3.5. Nativized varieties of English
4. Positive attributes of NNS contributions
   - 4.1. Show an awareness of aspects of language such as cross-cultural pragmatics
   - 4.2. Display the objectivity of an outside perspective
   - 4.3. Possess native speaker (NS) knowledge of other languages
   - 4.4. Are essential to the international nature of international journals
   - 4.5. Can test theories of the dominant centre
   - 4.6. Can investigate issues that might not occur to researchers in the centre or investigate these issues in different ways, using different data
   - 4.7. Have access to research sites where NSs would be intrusive
   - 4.8. Can alert the centre to research undertaken in other scholarly traditions

out what proportion of the editors held a particular view on a given issue. (Given the open-ended nature of the interviews, not all interviewees were asked all of the same questions.)

After a draft of this article had been written, it was sent to the editors who had been interviewed for comment, with the objective of obtaining *participant verification* (Ball, 1988). All of the editors acknowledged reading the draft, and a number had specific comments on how it might be improved. In addition, it became clear that for a number of editors the draft achieved a certain degree of what Lather (1991) refers to as *catalytic validity*, a term applied to research that develops understanding in those it studies and encourages them to reassess the way they view the world.

FINDINGS

The Concept of the Nonnative Speaker

All the editors interviewed implicitly recognised that NNSs formed a specific category of authors submitting papers. Most editors were aware of the sort of criticisms voiced by NNSs at various forums on publication referred to in the introduction to this article. However, a number spoke of the problematic nature of the construct. For example, one editor spoke of the practical difficulty of classifying people as NS or NNS:

> E4: To define who is a NS and who is not is tough on several dimensions. Here, within [name of country], I mean, a large portion of the university faculty are NNSs themselves, but they are citizens of [name of country]. Perhaps they may have lived in [name of country] for most of their lives. By NNS take someone like [name of person] from [name of university in foreign country]. She writes as well as anyone, and she is a NNS and has published a large number of articles in our journal—in our journal and elsewhere—so I don't know exactly where to count her.

Another editor, while accepting that the NS/NNS dichotomy was sometimes a useful one, felt that it was a gross oversimplification and would prefer to refer to "language expertise":

> E5: Instead of saying you are a NNS, we should say, "What is your area of expertise in the English language?" because there are some so-called NNSs who are far more knowledgeable. And I don't just mean grammatical knowledge. I mean awareness of cross-cultural pragmatics and all kinds of others things that NSs are just not aware of.

On the other hand, another editor rejected the dichotomy altogether:

> E11: Our journal is looking for quality work by anyone. It doesn't matter if it is written by a NS or NNS. I think such a classification implies that NNSs can't compete with NSs, and that has not been the case with us at all.

In general, while accepting that the distinction between NS and NNS was sometimes useful in practice, on theoretical grounds editors found it to be problematic. In this they were reflecting the view of a number of influential writers, such as Kachru and Nelson (1997), Liu (1999), Paikeday (1985), and Rampton (1990).

Overall Attitudes Toward NNS Contributors

Editors

Although most editors were reluctant to state that they adopted an official policy of affirmative action toward NNS as such, they all expressed sympathy for those having to write in an L2—"being as sympathetic as possible to the stuff that we get . . . ," in the words of E6, and "being more supportive," in the words of E3. E7 described this position in more detail as follows:

> E7: We don't have a special policy—and I think it is important for me to stress that—but an informal policy. This was never about their writing. It was that here we have people who are . . . in order to make headway in their academic careers, have to publish in English, that we should be sympathetic to them, and that we should give them a reasonable amount of help. But certainly, our correspondence with them should be encouraging.

One editor explained how experience as a foreign language teacher had led to a strong personal awareness of the difficulties of expressing oneself adequately at the highest academic level in the L2. Many editors described cases in which they in fact went out of their way to help NNS contributors. In many cases, this help consisted of taking more trouble over the manuscript and selecting reviewers carefully.

> E5: I think I am more sympathetic. I would try to get sympathetic reviewers. I would get as many revisions as possible. I mean I still would uphold that we have to have high standards for the journal, but I would give as much support as I could to the NNS to publish in the journal.

On a pragmatic level, this same editor felt that NNS representation in the journal was essential if it was to live up to its claim to be international:

> E5: I think, as a board, we feel strongly that we want to get more voices from outside the U.S., UK, and Canada. I mean, if we are truly an international journal, we have just got to broaden that.

Sometimes editors would expend greater effort on behalf of NNSs because they wanted a contribution from a particular region that was underrepresented in the literature:

> E1: In one instance we got a paper from [name of continent], and since we had never had a paper from [name of continent] before, we tried to go out of our way, in an informal way, not a policy way, to do what we could to move the article along.

In other cases some editors felt it was important to get an NNS perspective on a particular issue. The editor of an Asia-based journal told of promoting the journal along with colleagues at conferences and meetings and soliciting contributions, telling prospective NNS authors that research on some of the issues in the field that needed addressing had to come from them as NNSs.

One editor considered it a duty to put in the editorial work required on a contribution that contained meritorious research, whatever the language might be like:

> Interviewer: . . . do you put more effort into a NNS submission, or do you try to be equitable for all papers?
>
> E8: Well, I have to, if it gets . . . if it's clear that the research itself is worthwhile, then I put in an enormous effort to translate it back into proper English.

Editors E9 and E10 both explained that if they attended a good presentation by an NNS at a conference, they might encourage the presenter to submit the paper to their respective journals. E2 was the most emphatic in stating that the journal practiced positive discrimination. To the question, "Does the journal have a special policy for nonnatives, or are all contributions treated the same?", this editor responded as follows:

> E2: We have, time and time again, agreed with our advisory panels and publishers that we will try to help the nonnative author, if we feel that he has a good argument but has problems in nonnative expressions on one hand. Or if she or he is writing from an academic centre where the availability of such resources is limited. So, in that sense, yes, we do have a positive discrimination policy. . . . recently we have a [name of

continent] example where we put in a lot of time to bring in a particular paper from scratch, which we do simply because the contributor is an NNS and is coming from a part of the world where the particular author doesn't simply have access to any resources. But we feel that he has a powerful, intellectually good argument. So, yes, there is a code of an element of positive discrimination.

Overall, editors were united in claiming at least equal treatment for NNSs, the majority going out of their way to help them, while being fair to NNSs and NSs alike. Of course, one's reaction to these findings might be that editors are hardly likely to admit to any bias against NNSs even if it existed. However, my impression was that they were sincere in what they had to say on this issue. That is not to say that cases of discrimination never occur; none were identified by this admittedly vested interest group, however.

Manuscript Reviewers

In addition to the editors, external reviewers are important gatekeepers of the academic journals. One editor, indeed, claimed that decisions were totally dependent on the reviewers:

E2: It is not me and my . . . coeditor who makes the final decision to what is being published [but the reviewers].

One way to ensure that NNSs receive fair treatment, therefore, would be to have adequate representation from this group on the editorial board. All editors claimed to have NNSs, bilinguals, or both as members of their editorial boards. Some said that they tried to get NNS reviewers to look at NNS manuscripts whereas others assigned manuscripts according to the reviewers' expertise. One editor (of a non-Asian journal) said that it was editorial policy to have a member from each Asian country on the editorial board of the journal.

Just as they claimed that they as editors viewed NNS contributions positively, editors also claimed to be satisfied with the reviewers' attitude to NNS contributions. However, some editors cited examples of reviewers' making disparaging comments about NNSs' language competence:

E8: Sometimes they say, "The English is so bad, I can't even begin to plough through this."
E9: Some people [reviewers] react very harshly.

These editors were, on the whole, conscious of the sensibilities of the NNS recipients of such reviews:

E1: I understand the irritation and the suggestion to have someone read it, and I am sorry that sometimes that comment must seem very harsh to the writer, as it does to us as editors.

E2 said that such comments would be censored.

In general, however, editors were satisfied with the attitude of their reviewers toward nonnative contributions:

E7: On those rare occasions [when reviewers are critical of nonnative features of manuscripts], eventually the reviewer will say something like, we feel that this should have been read by a NS. And I can't have any other instance where we have anything stronger than that.

One editor encouraged NNS reviewers to review NNS manuscripts, feeling that the quality of the feedback might be better:

E9: Yes, in my case I encourage [NNS] reviewers. . . . I have noticed that reviewers get more advice giving special attention if they suspect it is from a NNS—that's been good—not often, not all the time, not consistently, but I did see it a few times.

Some editors, however, noted that NNS reviewers tended to be more critical of features of manuscripts they felt to betray nonnativelike features:

Interviewer: Do you find that [NNS reviewers] are particularly sensitive perhaps to issues concerning NNS?

E6: I'm sorry, I've just read three reviews. I don't think so, honestly. In a way, actually, one of the paradoxes of ELT in general it seems to me [is that] the NSs are much more tolerant of language problems out of NNSs than other NNSs are. You know, I think it seems to me generally true, in my experience, a NNS teacher will pick up mistakes and errors made by students far more actively than NS teachers will do. And I haven't noticed any difference on the panel in terms of willingness to accept or be tolerant of deviations on the part of NNS—no, I wouldn't differentiate it on that sense.

As an alternative to NNS reviewers, one editor would look for reviewers who had experience in EFL contexts and were sensitive to NNS concerns:

E5: If they are of a calibre that they warrant review, then I try to get reviewers who have had quite a bit of experience in the EFL context. So people who recognize that there may be different discourse strategies and maybe [have done] more work [in EFL contexts] than

other ones . . . [who] are more sympathetic and may want to have more of a voice from outside.

One editor felt that the international makeup of the editorial team encouraged a certain cosmopolitanism:

E2: The multiplicity of voices that go into the editorial process, and that is the editors themselves, the reviewers, the publishers and the advisory panel if it is cosmopolitan.

Finally, one editor adopted a policy of using NNS reviewers as part of what was considered to be a mentoring process:

E8: I figure they [NNSs] can't possibly know how to write the papers unless they sort of are on both sides of the review process. And so I will try to make them [review], especially if they're an author that I've dealt with, and I feel that you know intellectually they're fine, they just need some work on other areas.

This policy also had the advantage of creating goodwill on the part of the invited NNS reviewer:

E8: And they're always very grateful. So I got a guy from [name of country] who just sent me a thing saying, I'm delighted and so honoured you asked me to review and so on.

In general, therefore, editors were satisfied with their reviewers' attitudes when dealing with NNS manuscripts, in spite of the fact that insensitive comments occasionally appeared in some reviews.

Problematic Aspects of NNS Contributions

Because this study is part of a broader investigation into how Hong Kong Chinese academics go about publishing in general, editors were asked to specifically comment on their perceptions of submissions to their journals from Hong Kong or China (if they had had any). However, whereas some editors made comments specific to Hong Kong/Chinese writers, most editors tended to remark on features of NNS manuscripts in general. This section therefore cites comments about NNSs in general as much as about Hong Kong/Chinese NNSs. Indeed, as some editors pointed out, many of the problems identified apply to novice writers from any background, NS as well as NNS.

Surface Errors

Most editors acknowledged that NNS contributions in general tended to contain what they referred to as surface language errors, such as in article usage or subject-verb concord. In general, editors felt that these were not problematic, as they would be dealt with by a copy editor. However, one editor singled out the question of grammatical complexity as being a major impediment to the communicative intent in some NNS contributions:

> E8: Well, often the grammar gets so convoluted that you . . . you know, do they mean this or this or this by it?

As another editor pointed out, sometimes the border between form and function cannot be clearly delineated. This editor mentioned the use of modal verbs, in particular, as problematic from this point of view:

> E2: . . . modality and modal verbs. These are the recurring problems, like *could* instead of *can*, or *would* instead of *will*. And these are not problems of form that can simply be dismissed, because they do create different meanings. . . . subject concord simply creates problems of readability, which the readers have to go back to remind themselves that it is a singular subject even though it has a plural verb or something like that. . . .Whereas the modality—[the] modal verb does cause problems. . . . I suspect it goes wider and would include the whole range of hedgers and downtoners. I definitely would identify that as a problem area.

This statement is consonant with recent research by, for example, Hyland (1998) into the hedging practices of academic writers. Writers need to hedge, but in a way appropriate to their particular discourse community. This is a difficult skill for NSs as well as NNSs. Hence E11's comment that grammar is a problem "for everyone who submits, NS and NNS alike."

Parochialism

Apart from one individual, editors tended to be more concerned with what they felt to be more substantive problems in NNSs' writing:

> E6: [Reviewers] are very aware, sympathetic, to the problems of NNSs inasmuch as it relates to surface feature language problems. Where the reviewer cannot afford to be generous to NNSs any more than they can afford to be generous to NSs is the question of parochialism, nonrelevance for the readership, and that's what the reviewers pick up more than anything.

This problem of parochialism, or failure to show the relevance of the study to the international community, was felt to be probably the most serious impediment to NNS contributors. Contributions from peripheral contexts tended to be too localised, many editors stated. Most editors had something to say on this issue:

E9: Manuscripts themselves are more on obscure themes that might not appeal to a wider audience, somewhat parochial, that's the overall feeling that I have.

In many cases the problem was not that the topic of the paper was not relevant to the international readership per se but that writers failed to indicate how their research addressed current issues in the international community of scholarship:

E1: The research question is so locally focused that it does not spread out into more general interest areas. . . . My guess is that it is harder for NNSs who have spent less time abroad, spent less time professionally abroad, for them to see how it might be applicable to other places. I have seen that, too, with articles from Hong Kong, that they were clearly related to the domain here [in Hong Kong], and, interestingly, I'm not sure how other people reading the journal might feel or relate.

E2: [referring to three papers from Hong Kong that the editor was dealing with at the time] In all those three contributions is the inability to generalise to the end of the paper beyond the Hong Kong context. . . . They all failed to go beyond the local context in terms of their results . . . .

When papers are grounded in the local context but also reach out to the wider readership, they may become publishable:

Interviewer: [discussing a particular submission that suffered from the problem of nongeneralizability] Was it a case where the article was not generalizable, or was it the case that the author had not been able to in fact point out the generalizability?

E1: I think probably both . . . both cases. I remember the one that we thought, in spite of the fact that it was tied into the secondary school system here [in Hong Kong], we thought that there was a general applicability, and that ended up being published.

This problem of nongeneralizability does not, of course, result from a writer's being an NNS or not per se but from the fact that the writer, who may be an NNS, is working in a periphery context, away from the mainstream centres. In English language teaching and language study in general, one has to ask, however, whether it is appropriate that the

mainstream should be in monolingual English-speaking countries rather than in countries with a much greater need for English as a second or foreign language.

Most Problematic Sections of the Research Article

When asked if any parts of the article were particularly problematic for NNSs, the editors singled out two sections for special attention: the introduction/literature review and, to a lesser extent, the discussion/conclusion. As E3 put it, these sections were "often not structured appropriately."

Following Swales (1990), much has been discovered about the structure and function of the introduction to research articles. It is generally agreed that the main purpose of an article introduction is to present a number of moves that, by referring to previous studies, serve to create a research space for the study that is to follow. This is sometimes referred to as *carving out a niche*. The following quotation reflects one editor's concern about this failure to establish the niche:

> E8: The conventional introduction is a kind of a listing of a literature review where you situate your work within the literature and you explain why you're doing it. But you obviously refer to the many other studies that have already been done on related topics. What I seem to get from the NNSs is either an insufficient literature review, so they don't show that they really know the literature. And maybe it's because they have difficulty getting access to the literature that we're familiar with here. I don't know if that's part of it or whether it's a more cultural approach. The other thing that I get from NNSs, sometimes, is the reverse—where they begin 600 years ago or something. . . . Well, we're only interested in the last 5 years or so. But I think that's a different thing—where they want to show that they're erudite, right? That they know the long history and, again, a NS would never do, but that's a cultural thing. That's not a nonnative [thing], that's a cultural thing.

E4 again took a similar position, although more succinctly:

> E4: [referring to the introduction] Some people put too much, some people don't put enough, some people don't take a particular position, some people just recite a number of previous publications and don't have a purpose or a point to it.

However, this editor stressed that this problem was not particular to NNSs:

E4: But I don't think that is related to NSs and NNSs. It is more the experience and the skill and the purpose of the authors. The skilled, experienced authors seem to know how to do it, and they have done it. The inexperienced author, who may be an NNS or an NS, often is learning how to do that. In that context I see that very frequently with my graduate students.

Problems with the discussion, which fewer editors commented on, were also related to the research niche. In the case of the discussion, the problem was in demonstrating how the study had been able to occupy the niche and being able to claim that it had done so:

E1: If there are problems in the discussion section, those problems seem to be related to claims.

E5: It's one of the most important parts of the paper [the discussion]. If you have done careful quantitative research, you are saying, look what I have found or haven't found.

Interviewer: I guess this ties in with a point you made earlier about how people have difficulty showing how their study has any wider implications.

E5: Yes, and that they really have filled a niche that was there, and they have made a significant contribution.

Finally, E11 referred not to problems with introductions and discussion/conclusions but to "differences which we appreciate." Similarly, E3 "certainly welcome[d] the diversity."

In sum, introductions and discussions were identified as sometimes diverging from the accepted norms of dealing with the question of the research niche. Whereas some editors saw this as a problem, a minority felt this to be a welcome diversity.

Absence of Authorial Voice

Lack of authorial voice, what E1 referred to as "that lack of a voice or an authority saying that I am part of this discourse community," was identified as a major problem by many editors. The issue of voice and its relation to culture has been controversial in the recent literature (see Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999, for a review). Many have argued that different cultures approach the question of voice in different ways. Ramanathan and Atkinson, for example, claim that Americans have a particular voice that is individualistic and emphasizes the expression of the "unique inner self" (p. 51). Asian cultures, for Ramanathan and Atkinson, on the other hand, are "diametrically opposed" (p. 53) to this U.S. conception as put forward by, for example, Elbow (cited in Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999, p. 53).

For some of the editors interviewed in this study, a lack of authorial voice may be a characteristic of the novice writer in general, whether NS or NNS. In this they were in agreement with Elbow (1994), who finds voice to be a problem of graduate students wishing to publish in general, stating that "one of the traditional problems when we revise dissertations for publication is getting rid of the deferential, questioning, permission asking, tone—getting more authority into the voice" (p. 15). Other editors, in line with Ramanathan and Atkinson (1999), noted absence of authorial voice as a possible specific cultural trait of East Asian writers, relating to the deferential discourse system operating in that region (see also Flowerdew & Miller, 1995; Scollon & Scollon, 1995). This point was noted by one of the Asian editors:

Interviewer: Some [editors] said that [Hong Kong] writers have difficulty presenting an authorial voice—you can't really work out what the position of the author is in the paper.

E10: I would say that that's not particularly Hong Kong writers. There are a lot of young researchers in the region who are the same. I wouldn't mark it as particularly only for Hong Kong writers. No, in fact, because we work in the region . . . we can recognize a young researcher who is afraid to say what exactly he feels. They sort of hide under the mask of research, and only towards the end—like maybe when they make sort of suggestions—do you hear a little voice saying what they think. Even then [there are] a lot of modalities. I think that is peculiar to a lot of Southeast Asian writers. . . . Sometimes it's also with very, very professional writers and very effective writers. Because this, I think, is also a cultural thing. For example, in Thailand, when I used to conduct courses with them on writing, they're very proficient speakers and writers, but they say this would offend someone in Thailand. So I think one has to be sensitive to the fact that Southeast Asians on the whole—I mean to varying degrees, of course—are conscious that they don't say anything as loudly. I mean they will sort of defer to authority. . . . This is something I am sensitive to . . . .

This same editor also attributed the problem of generalizability discussed earlier to cultural traits:

E10: I'm not sure, but I do think that there's something to do with that cultural [thing]. . . not making a big "hooha" about what they have found and not being able to say, "Look, this is something that has wider application, not just here." They become defensive sometimes and just say, "maybe," and they even give you reasons for why it should be, instead of saying, "This is it." I am sensitive to that.

One editor remarked that the problem with contributions from Hong Kong was not so much the absence of an authorial voice per se but the inability to incorporate that voice at the appropriate moment:

E2: The difficulty is, I think, the failure to distinguish the moment when the authorial voice should emerge, and those moments when it is sufficient just to report . . . it is a question of intervention.

Some editors were reluctant to attribute a lack of voice to a particular cultural style:

Interviewer: Chinese discourse style is more deferential, so do you think that there may be a cultural reason [for the absence of an authorial voice]?

E1: That's hard to say because I would hesitate to use that to say it's cultural. It could be because I see that same deferential voice in the NSs in the U.S. who are trying to take their dissertation and now get it published as an article, and they haven't yet made that transition from being a doctoral candidate to a published author. So I think the same kind of thing goes on. Maybe it's to a greater extent. I'm not sure.

Interviewer: What about weighing up the pros and cons of an article, of boosting and hedging, do you find . . . ?

E5: I think that goes with those who have a voice that see themselves as part of the publishing world. Their voice tends to reflect that they will say "I argue," but others will say "it would seem to me" or "it would be more beneficial." The ones that are more hedging are the ones that are more hesitant about the appropriateness of their work and their voice in a larger academic community.

However, when asked for additional comments at the end of the interview, this editor identified a perceived absence of a particular rhetorical stance on the part of Hong Kong writers:

E5: You talked about a culture having a certain discourse voice. I have just spent a lot of time in [name of country]. I have just gotten submissions from [name of country]. There is a different stance. I think for one thing there is a stance in [name of country] of argument that many, many people who submit will say, "I argue" or "I take the position." I think that reflects a certain cultural assumption about what you do when you write, you argue a point. I don't have enough sense about what that Hong Kong structure might be, but there might be one, a typical stance of a Hong Kong author.

As this editor acknowledged in responding to a follow-up question, however, the particular stance of the Hong Kong writer the editor was

looking for and could not find might just be that of not taking up a position. The Hong Kong or other East Asian writer might prefer self-effacement to the strongly argued position the editor suggests writers from another part of the world take. Other research supports the explanation that some East Asian writers are self-effacing (Flowerdew & Miller, 1995; Fox, 1994; Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999; Scollon & Scollon, 1995).

Nativized Varieties of English

The growing interest in and increasing assertiveness on the part of proponents of native varieties of English in recent years (Braine, 1999; Fox, 1994; Kachru, 1992) led me to ask editors if they had been confronted with this issue in assessing contributions from NNSs and, if so, how they had dealt with it. Editors exhibited a range of awareness and sensitivity to this question.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, one of the Asian editors was most sensitive to the issue. Noting that academic writing was "pretty much Eurocentric," this editor's attitude to nativized rhetorical styles was to adopt a compromise between maintaining international intelligibility, on the one hand, and the integrity of the nativized variety, where possible, on the other.

> E10: Sometimes we do have writers that display discourse patterns that may carry a lot of resemblance to the first language, for example, Chinese rhetorical style, or Japanese writers.

To the question of how to determine whether a certain pattern might be a local variety or merely an example of poor writing, the editor answered,

> E10: Okay, when it's consistent with the whole text and if it doesn't jar too much, we allow for that. But where it is grammatically not so much wrong but inappropriate, we do make changes. For example, if it is rhetorical—for example, thematization of writing—if it is fronted very heavily—if something is foregrounded which in English writing, we probably wouldn't foreground that way—we'd leave it, if it's direct translation from maybe Chinese styles. But if it intrudes into the rest of what the writer is trying to say, then we make changes. I know it is hard for me to tell you . . . but we try to look at the flow of the writing. Where there is a naturalness even within the difference, we allow it to go, because you can't chop a bit and then leave out others.

One of the NS editors took a similar stance to nativized rhetorical patterning:

Interviewer: Some people involved in cross-cultural discourse have identified different rhetorical patterns according to the cultural background of the writer, and one or two people have even suggested that international journals perhaps should be willing to accept different rhetorical patterns in the articles that they publish.

E1: Yes, I am definitely in favor of accepting different patterns . . . I have not come across anything where I have said that the way that this is set up is so difficult for me that despite interesting information or data that we can't use it. . . . I don't think we would do that, I don't think we have ever done that.

Another of the NS editors was also sympathetic to nativized features of English:

E5: I've tried to recognize that there are different World Englishes, so what might be a tense in U.S. English doesn't mean that it will be the tense used in some other kind of English.

Interviewer: So you recognize the use of nonstandard English.

E5: I wouldn't call it nonstandard. I would call it World English.

Interviewer: So what would happen if a reviewer said that the tense was wrong here, but you felt that it was a feature of the writer's English?

E5: I would leave certain lexical items that might be in more common use than U.S. English if I felt it was representative of the characteristics of that World English rather than idiosyncratic.

Interviewer: In Hong Kong, for example, certain noncount nouns are used by Hong Kong writers as count nouns—"This reports on a research," for example—would you leave it?

E5: Yes, if I could establish that it was [representative of Hong Kong English].

Interviewer: One or two people that I have talked to have taken that a stage further and said that some cultures have a different rhetorical patterning of thought, so we should allow for these different cultural backgrounds and accept different arguments.

E5: I think we should. I think that in any profession that we should realize that any publication is a two-way thing and also contribute to the communication process. So whereas it may be more difficult reading, that seems to me to be just part and parcel of our profession. We are saying that we are an international community and that we are taking international kinds of discourses. . . . there was one specific article written by a NNS which I am sure taxed the reader more in terms of the density of its discourse structure, but I published it, and I was assuming that the readers, because of the worth that the ideas had, the depth of them, were willing to work a little harder to get those ideas.

While accepting that different cultures may have different ways of presenting research—having discussed the issue with a leading researcher in English for academic purposes who has written on this issue—E8 emphasised a sense of responsibility to the readership, which had certain expectations of the journal:

> E8: I have . . . I have mixed feelings about that (accepting different rhetorical styles and conventions). I feel a strong responsibility also to the readers of the journal. I'm sympathetic to a point with that view. I think I respect that view, as long as it does not affect the standards of the journal.

In practice, this editor handled the issue by negotiating with authors and reaching compromises on what authors felt important and what the editor felt was acceptable for the readership. This editor also reported on the attitude of the reviewers, who were on the whole less sympathetic toward this issue:

> E8: Some reviewers are incredibly intolerant, and that's where my job comes in. Some reviewers just say "Right" and take the strong view of "It should be done the normal way, and if it isn't, get rid of it." But other reviewers are actually more tolerant than I am. Reviewers often say, "Well, I don't think it should be this way, but to each his own," [but] I'd say more reviewers are on the intolerant side than on the tolerant.

Reflecting the majority view of E8's reviewers, another NS editor, while accepting that there were different rhetorical styles (and citing the Northern European style as being much more dense than the Anglo-American), felt that it was up to contributors to adapt their style to what was appropriate for the journal:

> E6: One of the most important things for any would-be contributor to a journal to do is actually to read the journal because all journals have a style, a flavour, if you will. It is very important that if people want to publish in this journal that they read copies of it and familiarize themselves with the sorts of things that we publish. The famous phrase on the stock market, "The trend is your friend." You want to write in the way that the journal encourages.

Not all editors had given consideration to the issue of nativization of discourse. E2 thought the idea was "rather astonishing." This comment notwithstanding, overall there was general sympathy toward variation in discourse style and nativized varieties, the key criterion of acceptability being whether or not the readership would be likely to understand it.

Positive Attributes of NNS Contributions

When asked what they considered to be the positive attributes of NNS contributors, if any, the editors commented on a range of qualities. Most editors identified a positive contribution that NSs could not make. A case in point is E5's comment, quoted above, that NNSs are aware of many aspects of language that NSs are not aware of, such as aspects of cross-cultural pragmatics.

For those journals that were not limited to publishing papers on the English language, the NNS contribution was seen as vital in providing research into languages other than English. NSs of these other languages were seen as likely to be better qualified to study these languages than NNSs:

> E4: [Name of journal] publishes more articles about learning languages other than English than it does about English . . . it varies from year to year, but about 60–70% are about other languages. So that perspective means that often those people are NNSs themselves even if they reside in the U.S. or Europe.
>
> E7: If we don't get contributions from NNSs, then probably the range of languages that we were discussing in the journal would be more restricted. I think that is an absolutely difficult point. If we won't be accepting papers from Italian NSs, then we won't be publishing so much about Italian. And languages like Italian, they are of some theoretical importance. And the same is true of the writing of Chinese and Koreans at the moment.

Even when the object of study is the English language, however, the NNS can bring a different, more objective perspective, as one editor noted:

> E2: Nonnative grammarians tend to be very good. And historically, we just have to look at the grammarians of the English language, and most of them are NNSs. They can bring an objectivity to a task that many NSs won't be able to do.

At a more fundamental level, so-called international journals, if they are to merit such a designation, must publish papers from around the world, and this means papers written by NNSs:

> E4: In the high-status, peer-reviewed international journals, the idea of the international perspective is really important, and for that reason I think it's really important for people outside of the dominant Western culture to be contributing to that.

This same editor cited a particular example of that sort of contribution:

> E4: I can think of one paper from [name of place] that I pushed for . . . . It was about language switching and language use in the schools in [name of place] and the uses of English. And I thought that paper had quite a bit to say about that topic which only a person from that society could have dealt with.

A further unique contribution from NNSs to the international literature identified by a number of editors was in testing out theories that were current in the dominant centre countries of North America and Western Europe. Application of such theories in different contexts in the periphery is a good way of testing them and bringing in alternative perspectives:

> E5: What the periphery can do is say: "Well, it works there, let's see if it works here." They provide a healthy questioning and challenging of things that in the so-called centre are assumed to be the right way to do things. . . . I think that is a really healthy thing that they can provide.

Beyond applying ideas derived from the centre, however, periphery scholars can investigate issues that might not occur to centre researchers or investigate these issues in different ways, using different data:

> E4: Helping us to better understand the world other than the fixed locations in North America that we might be familiar with. The guiding criterion for publishing in [name of journal] is making a unique contribution to knowledge. People who are outside of the area where most of the publications are in some sense in a unique position . . . an advantaged position. They can write about some things we don't know—the majority of readers don't know—both in respect to local situations [and] different ways of conceptualizing and analysing different data.

Developing this idea further, E2 explained that in many cases NNSs can gain access to research situations in their own NS contexts, where outside NNSs (i.e., NSs of English) would be intrusive:

> E2: In my opinion, the positive aspect of nonnative contributions is that they very often provide data and perspectives that are different from the NSs'. They are able to provide data from the context in which the typical sort of "expat" or NNS who was doing the research would be an intruder. This is, I think, argued in a recent paper by Adrian Holliday, called "Developing Social Perspective," where he raises these questions about the outside NS coming in to record some actions. The NNS contributor, especially in the case of English language teaching,

comes to provide data gathered in situations where they themselves work. [These] situations are geographically separated from the usual centres that provide such data sets, such as America and Great Britain.

Finally, NNSs coming from backgrounds that have their own scholarly traditions but that are nevertheless considered to be part of the periphery can sometimes draw attention to these untapped sources:

E2: Another thing that I wanted to say is . . . and this does happen occasionally, is that it is a good thing that nonnative contributors can refer to work which can reflect to those so-called intellectual centres people who are not aware of this. I think of a case recently where we have a paper from [name of country] that cited a fair amount of work that has been done in [name of place], and I certainly hadn't heard of before. But obviously, it was relevant and might be worth looking at.

Summary

In general, while accepting that the distinction between NS and NNS was sometimes useful in practice, on theoretical grounds editors found it to be problematic. Overall, editors were united in claiming at least equal treatment for NNSs, many going out of their way to give them extra assistance, while trying to be fair to NNSs and NSs alike. Editors were generally satisfied with their reviewers' attitudes when dealing with NNS manuscripts, in spite of the fact that it was not unusual to find insensitive comments in some reviews. Editors did not find surface errors, such as subject-verb concord, to be a problem, but for some editors convoluted syntax or unclear modality that led to difficulties in comprehension was more of a problem. More problematic still was the question of parochialism, of failing to link a study into the wider international research agenda. Introductions and discussions were identified as sometimes diverging from the accepted norms of dealing with the topic of the paper in view of the research niche. While some editors saw this as a problem, a minority felt this to be a welcome diversity. Most editors felt that the question of authorial voice was important. They often found it difficult to identify the voice of the author in NNS contributions, although like many problems identified in the study, this problem also applied to NSs, especially those who were beginning their publishing career. Overall, there was general sympathy toward variation in discourse style and nativized varieties, the key criterion of acceptability being whether or not the readership would be likely to be able understand it.

As a counterbalance to these problem areas, editors identified a range of potential positive aspects of NNS contributions. These included awareness of aspects of language such as cross-cultural pragmatics; NS

knowledge of other languages; the objectivity of an outside perspective; NNSs' importance in maintaining the international nature of international journals; their ability to test out dominant theories of the centre; their ability to investigate issues that might not occur to researchers in the centre or investigate these issues in different ways, using different data; the access that NNS contributors have to research sites where NSs would be intrusive; and their ability to alert the centre to research undertaken in other scholarly traditions.

CONCLUSION

As an exploratory, qualitative study, this article has perhaps raised more questions than it has answered. In raising a range of issues, the results have made manifest some of the thinking that underlies the editorial process as it pertains to NNSs in applied linguistics, language teaching and learning, and related areas.

Implications for Editors

The majority of the editors interviewed share views on the editorial process, but the results also revealed differences of opinion. In this respect, the results of this study may be of some use to editors in alerting them to the similarities and differences in their thinking and resulting editorial practice. Indeed, a number of editors stated that the interview process itself had been valuable in raising the various issues, some of which they had not considered. To take just one example, those editors who had not considered the question of World Englishes may now be in a better position to appreciate this perspective on international publication.

Implications for NNS and NS Writers

The results may be of interest to both NNSs and NSs who submit their work to journals because anything that helps demystify the editorial process is likely to be helpful for novice contributors to international journals. The contributors to the journals that have been the focus of this study are all language specialists. They are likely to be in a better position than their NNS peers in other disciplines, who, other things being equal, may find the language barrier even greater.

The NNS issues raised may apply to a large extent to the writing of NNSs in other environments (e.g., graduate research writing). In these environments, ESL/EFL teachers have to make the same decisions about

what constitutes acceptable NNS writing as the editors do. The editors themselves pointed out that many of the issues raised apply to NSs as well as NNSs, especially novice NS scholars and NS scholars working outside the centre, on the periphery. Throughout the interviews, the problem of what constitutes an NNS was apparent.

Despite ambiguity concerning exactly how NSs and NNSs can be distinguished, the results highlighted the unique contributions of nonnative scholars in addition to their problems. In highlighting the positive attributes of the NNS researcher in applied linguistics, the article may suggest that monolingual NSs should in fact be at a disadvantage and that it is the NNSs and the bilingual scholars who, as Kramsch (1995) so eloquently put it, should perhaps be the privileged ones.

Power Relationships in the Editorial Process

The results offer some insights into the workings of power relationships, differential access, and the social construction of knowledge in applied linguistics. The editors (and their referees) have the power to grant or deny access to would-be contributors, whether NS or NNS, who seek to participate in the academic conversation. It is the responsibility of the editors to ensure that all contributors, whether native or nonnative, have equal access. Peirce (cited in Angélil-Carter, 1997, p. 267) refers to Bourdieu's analogy of the skeptron, the ritual symbol in Homer that is passed to the orator who is about to speak. For NNSs to gain equal access as NSs, criteria for holding the skeptron need to be fair. According to Bourdieu (cited in Angélil-Carter, 1997), speakers (or writers) achieve legitimacy only if the following criteria are fulfilled:

1. An utterance must be spoken (or written) by the person legitimately authorized to do so.
2. It must be spoken (or written) in a legitimate situation.
3. It must spoken (or written) to legitimate receivers
4. It must be spoken (or written) according to legitimate syntactic and phonetic forms.[2] (p. 267)

All of these criteria are negotiable, however, and in the context of writing for publication in scholarly journals, it is the editors, for the most part, who have the power to decide what is acceptable in these domains and what is not. This article is a first step toward understanding existing boundaries and raising questions about where such boundaries should lie.

[2] To these one might add discourse structure, or generic, forms.

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THE FORUM

TESOL Quarterly invites commentary on current trends or practices in the TESOL profession. It also welcomes responses or rebuttals to any articles or remarks published here in The Forum or elsewhere in the *Quarterly*.

Comments on Stefka H. Marinova-Todd, D. Bradford Marshall, and Catherine E. Snow's "Three Misconceptions About Age and L2 Learning"

Age and L2 Learning: The Hazards of Matching Practical "Implications" With Theoretical "Facts"

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■ Second language acquisition (SLA) has developed into an ever more significant subfield of linguistics over the past 20 years. Its present development in terms of research methodology, theory, and findings has motivated dozens of introductions to the field and expert handbooks of impressive size and quality (Doughty & Long, in press; Ritchie & Bhatia, 1996). Among the many individual topics that have been researched with increasing refinement is the issue of maturational constraints, or the critical period hypothesis (CPH).[1] The importance of this issue for the

[1] The CPH has been conceptualised in various ways. In its most general formulation, the issue is whether the human brain is particularly adapted for language acquisition during an early period of life but less so later in life, with consequences for the ability to reach nativelike proficiency from mere natural (conversational) exposure to a particular language. At this general level the phenomenon may best be characterized by the term *maturational constraints*, which remains neutral about the exact nature of the workings of such constraints. The traditional term *critical period* is a conceptualisation of maturational constraints that is associated with an all-or-nothing-effect and abrupt onsets and offsets of the period, among other things. As these characteristics obviously do not hold for SLA (as SLA is also possible outside the proposed

theoretical understanding of SLA—and L1 acquisition—is generally acknowledged in overviews of SLA research and in introductions to linguistics, and, of course, in reviews of the issue itself (see, e.g., Birdsong, 1999; Eubank & Gregg, 1999; Gleitman & Newport, 1995; Harley & Wang, 1997; Hyltenstam & Abrahamsson, 2000, in press; Long, 1990, 1993; Schachter, 1996; Singleton, 1989, 1995).

Given this considerable interest in differences between younger and older L2 learners and in the theoretical explanations for such differences, Marinova-Todd, Marshall, and Snow's article on age and L2 learning (Vol. 34, No. 1, Spring 2000) certainly awakens curiosity. However, it is both surprising and disappointing that the content of this review article is not on a par with current developments in the area; the line of argumentation is the same as that presented by Snow and Hoefnagel-Höhle (1978/1982) more than two decades ago and repeated by Snow (1987) a decade later; the reasoning is actually largely unaffected by the past two decades' research and theoretical discussion. In brief, the authors provide an oversimplified and one-dimensional picture of the relationship between age and L2 learning by neglecting important achievements in the field as well as by dismissing research and interpretations that contradict their own view.

The authors base their denial of the existence of a critical period on three arguments:

1. Contrary to common belief, children learn new languages "slowly and effortfully—in fact, with less speed and more effort than adolescents or adults" (p. 27). It is a myth, they claim, "that children learn [new languages] more quickly than adults and that adults are incapable of achieving nativelike L2 proficiency" (p. 28). They contend that this *misinterpretation* is based on observations of children's average higher levels of ultimate attainment.
2. The "enormous emphasis," a *misemphasis,* they claim, "on unsuccessful adult L2 learners" and the overlooking of "the older learners who achieve nativelike L2 proficiency" (p. 18) have "distracted researchers from focusing on the truly informative cases: successful adults who invest sufficient time and attention in SLA and who benefit from high motivation and from supportive, informative L2 environments" (p. 28).
3. Ultimate differences in proficiency between child and adult learners have been *misattributed* by neuroscientists to facts about the brain. Such differences are explicable, the authors assure readers, because

period and as neither onset nor offset of the putative heightened ability is abrupt), some people have felt the term *sensitive period* to be more appropriate, indicating a less definitive either-or effect and a gradual rather than abrupt offset.

> "age does influence language learning." This, however, is "primarily because it is associated with social, psychological, educational, and other factors that can affect L2 proficiency, not because of any critical period that limits the possibility of language learning by adults" (p. 28).

Further, the authors draw particular attention to their observation that the "misconceptions" alluded to in Points 1 and 2 are widespread among "researchers and laypersons alike" (p. 27). The authors explicitly distrust observations made by laypersons—a point we return to below—and they explain the existence of fallacies in academia by the simple observation that researchers often commit "the same blunders as members of the general public" (p. 9).

Having explained how the idea of biologically based differences in language learning potential between children and adults is based on sheer misunderstandings of the facts, the authors go on to suggest practical implications for language teaching based on what they consider to be the facts. They argue for a later rather than an early introduction of a new language in foreign language and immersion classrooms. For L2 teaching generally, the implication of their position, that is, the nonexistence of a critical period, is that "teachers are justified in holding high expectations for their students" (p. 30); there is no basis for the idea that "adults are . . . doomed to failure" (p. 9), a failure that in the authors' view follows from the existence of a critical period.

From our own reading of the literature (Hyltenstam & Abrahamsson, in press), we would claim that the existence of maturational constraints on SLA remains an open question. However, the evidence for some sort of maturational constraints is comparatively much more substantial than the evidence against them. Therefore, it is premature to claim, as Marinova-Todd et al. do, that the facts are known, and speculative, to say the least, to suggest specific implications of a hotly debated position. As one of the main objectives of the article is to bridge theory and practice—in full agreement with *TESOL Quarterly* policy—we are concerned that the theoretical knowledge from which the practical implications are drawn should be as accurate as possible. Nevertheless, we largely agree with the proposals put forward by the authors as practical implications—not because of the status of a possible critical period or maturational constraints but because they follow from applied empirical research that directly addresses the practical issue of when to introduce a new language in the school curriculum. For reasons explained below, in our view whatever the final answer, the question of maturational constraints has negligible, or at least undramatic, consequences for teaching. Furthermore, we strongly object to the reductive perspective expressed in the article, which assumes that one specific theoretical

detail (the existence or nonexistence of maturational constraints) has immediate and specific implications for teaching practice. In fact, decisions about when to start teaching foreign and second languages must be based on different theoretical, ideological, and practical considerations.

Below we comment specifically on each of the three "misconceptions" that, according to the authors, have led researchers erroneously to believe in a critical period for SLA. We also discuss the authors' practical suggestions for teaching, relating this discussion to the more general question of the distinction between theoretical and applied research.

ADULT AND CHILD L2 LEARNING ACHIEVEMENTS

The authors claim that older learners outperform younger learners in terms of the initial rate of second and foreign language acquisition. This is certainly true—at least if the claim is restricted to certain aspects of the new language—and has been taken as an established fact since the 1970s (Krashen, Long, & Scarcella, 1979). But it is also an established fact that this difference between younger and older learners has no bearing on the CPH (Long, 1990, 1993). More recent overviews either see these older initial rate advantages as unclearly related to the CPH (e.g., Harley & Wang, 1997, p. 29) or do not mention them at all in discussing the hypothesis (Birdsong, 1999; Eubank & Gregg, 1999; Schachter, 1996).

The CPH does not, in fact, address the question of learning rate but addresses the ability to attain nativelike proficiency in a language when the onset of acquisition is later than a certain age. In his original formulation of the CPH, Lenneberg (1967) had in mind the difference between prepuberty and older learners in ability to attain nativelike proficiency "automatically from mere exposure to a given language" (p. 176). Lenneberg, in fact, firmly underscored that "a person *can* learn to communicate [in a new language] at the age of forty" (p. 176), something that he did not see as problematic for his hypothesis.

Thus, the authors highlight adults' initial rate advantages over children and claim that it is a misinterpretation to claim that children learn new languages "quickly and easily" (p. 12): "Research shows . . . the exact opposite," namely, "that older learners are generally faster and more efficient in initial stages of L2 learning" (p. 12). They substantiate these claims with reference to research from the 1970s by Snow and Hoefnagel-Höhle (1977, 1978/1982) and also cite a recent supportive study, presented as a conference paper in Barcelona (Rivera, 1998), which we have not had access to. Because the authors' position relies so heavily on Snow and Hoefnagel-Höhle's (1977, 1978/1982) work and because they exclude large portions of the research that is relevant to maturational constraints, we address the empirical foundation of this research in some detail.

Even if one were to disregard the fact that initial rate differences are not relevant data for testing the CPH, the authors' strong formulation, "the exact opposite" (p. 12), should be evaluated against the fact that research on the question of learning rate has come up with quite varied results. Several studies, including those by Snow and Hoefnagel-Höhle (1977, 1978/1982), indicate possible advantages for older learners (see also, e.g., Asher & Price, 1967; Olson & Samuels, 1973). Other investigations, however, show advantages for younger learners (Cochrane, 1980; Cochrane & Sachs, 1979; Tahta, Wood, & Loewenthal, 1981a, 1981b; Yamada, Takutsuka, Kotake, & Kurusu, 1980) or demonstrate no initial rate differences between children and adults (Slavoff & Johnson, 1995). A reasonable conclusion from available research seems to be that, initially, adults are better at some features of SLA, for example, aspects of the lexicon, morphology, and syntax, whereas children are better in other areas, including pronunciation and developmentally early morphosyntax (Long, 1990, p. 264) as well as additional features referred to in what Cummins (1981) has labeled *basic interpersonal communicative skills* (BICS). The picture remains unclear, however. A study by Yamada et al. (1980), for example, demonstrated younger-better results in vocabulary learning, and Slavoff and Johnson (1995) found no age differences concerning initial morphosyntactic intuition.

In addition to these points, the research the authors cite as support for an older-better position (i.e., Snow & Hoefnagel-Höhle, 1977, 1978/1982) has a series of methodological problems. Earlier reviews have pointed out some of these, such as the lack of significant differences between adjacent age groups and other problems with statistical significance (Long, 1990, p. 264) and the older subjects' superior test-taking skills (Harley & Wang, 1997, p. 28). Further, Slavoff and Johnson (1995) have pointed out that the typological similarity and form identity between English and Dutch pose a problem for generalizing Snow and Hoefnagel-Höhle's results on the morphological tasks: "Dutch and English are not only similar in that both have plural and agentive markings, but also in the form of those markings" (p. 3). Slavoff and Johnson propose that older learners are better able than small children to rely on similarities between languages. Consequently, the older-better effects in this part of the study may be the result of older learners' more sophisticated pattern recognition skills and their ability to transfer these patterns from one language to another, and not the result of their greater learning abilities.

To these observations we would add the following. First, the language tasks employed in this longitudinal study at 4–5 months' intervals (Times 1–3) were clearly too difficult for the youngest group (ages 3–5). For example, these young children were unable to complete a morphology task, and they had obvious test-related problems with a translation task

and a 100% error rate on a grammaticality judgment test (on which chance would have given a score of 50%). At the same time, tests were too easy for the teenager group. On several tests these learners had already achieved results that were close to native levels at Time 1, that is, "within 6 months of their arrival in Holland and within 6 weeks of their starting school . . . in a Dutch language environment" (Snow & Hoefnagel-Höhle, 1982, p. 96), which meant that the tests could not tap their development at Times 2 and 3. Further support for the view that age differences in test-taking skills were clearly involved comes from the comparisons with native speakers that were carried out in the investigation. Native speakers aged 6–7 had consistently lower scores than native speakers aged 12–15. All these observations are clear indications that the youngest children had not yet developed important test-taking skills. Yet the authors disregard these factors and simply interpret their results to mean that the "slowest [SLA] occurred in subjects aged 3 to 5 years" (p. 108).

In conclusion, the research the authors use to support their stance is, first, not clearly relevant to the discussion of the CPH; secondly, the findings referred to are not remotely as clear-cut as the authors would like their readers to think.

So although initial rate studies are central in the authors' discussion, strangely enough the article contains almost no reference to data that actually test the hypothesis, namely, data on nativelike ultimate proficiency (but see below on an inconsistency in this respect). Without discussing seriously the lack of empirical data that support their view, the authors claim that it is a myth that adults cannot reach nativelike proficiency. The consistent pattern observed in a number of studies is that age of onset (AO) is strongly predictive of ultimate L2 attainment, whereas other factors, such as length of contact with the L2 environment, type and amount of input, degree of motivation, and aptitude, cannot account for the variation in outcomes between younger and older learners (Asher & García, 1969; DeKeyser, 2000; Johnson & Newport, 1989; Oyama, 1976, 1978; Patkowski, 1980).

Nevertheless, although several studies have presented results that show postpuberty learners' typical nonnativelike proficiency in an L2 (Bialystok & Hakuta, 1999; Bialystok & Miller, 1999; DeKeyser, 2000; Flege, 1999; Johnson & Newport, 1989; Oyama, 1979; Patkowski, 1980, 1990), we agree with the authors that nonselected postpuberty learners are not ideal subjects when addressing the issue of adults' learning potential, as variation in ultimate attainment is very great: "There is no value in studying obviously non-native-like individuals intensively in order to declare them non-native-like" (Long, 1993, p. 204). Because it is rare to find seemingly nativelike speakers among older learners, such

studies typically end up with no subjects who demonstrate what adult learners can actually achieve.

To correct this methodological fallacy, recent empirical investigations of maturational constraints have focused on the careful selection of postpuberty AO subjects who have attained seemingly nativelike proficiency in an L2. Two types of study have followed this procedure: extensive case studies and studies of individual aspects of L2 proficiency in groups of learners. An example of the first type is an important case study of two individual adult learners who had been identified by people in their target language environment as apparent nativelike speakers of their L2, Egyptian Arabic (Ioup, Boustagui, El Tigi, & Moselle, 1994). A detailed linguistic analysis comparing many aspects of their performance with native controls indicated that, in most respects, they were indistinguishable from native speakers; yet small differences were observed in some elements of pronunciation as well as in grammatical intuition.

Illustrating the second type, several recent studies among selected groups of advanced learners have identified postpuberty L2 learners who performed at the level of native controls on specific linguistic tasks: Birdsong (1992) found that 15 of his 20 late foreign language learners of French performed within the same range as native speakers on a difficult grammaticality judgment task involving seven grammatical structures; Bongaerts (1999) reports on a number of studies carried out by him and his colleagues that indicate nativelike pronunciation in postpuberty Dutch foreign language learners of English and French; in Bongaerts, Mennen, and van der Slik (2000), 2 of 30 highly educated postpuberty learners of Dutch as an L2 passed as native speakers in ratings of their pronunciation by native speakers of Dutch (AOs 21 and 14, respectively); White and Genesee (1996) found no significant difference between 16 near-native L2 speakers of English with AO after age 12 (cf. p. 241) and native controls on grammaticality judgment tasks and a construction task involving the universal grammar features of subjacency and the empty category principle. (In addition, Birdsong, 1999, reports on unpublished studies showing the same type of result.) However, all these authors either explicitly state or otherwise indicate that their subjects differed from native speakers in other respects when closely examined for nativelikeness.

The conclusion that can be drawn from all this is that even late learners can reach almost nativelike proficiency in a variety of aspects of the L2 (Ioup et al., 1994) or actually nativelike behaviour on individual tasks, structures, or domains. This latter point, however, is absolutely undramatic; obviously, even initial-stage L2 learners may perform like native speakers on some tasks. Nevertheless, published studies have still not identified a single adult learner who is indistinguishable from a

native speaker in all relevant aspects of the L2. The very proficient L2 speakers discussed above, then, can be characterized as *near-native* rather than *nativelike,* meaning that several of them may sound like native speakers and be identified as such in practically all ordinary communicative contexts; probably, their L2 speaker background can be identified only when their L2 performance is scrutinized in detailed linguistic analyses.

It is therefore true, as the authors say, that many adult L2 learners attain very high levels of L2 proficiency, but considering the empirical evidence noted above, we were amazed to read that there are "factors that typically lead to native-like proficiency in L2s for any learner" (p. 10) and that it is a myth that adults are unable to attain such a level. If this were a myth, we would expect at the very least to see a handful of studies providing evidence to the contrary.

THE MISEMPHASIS ON UNSUCCESSFUL ADULT L2 LEARNERS

We were also surprised to read that there is an "enormous emphasis on unsuccessful adult L2 learners" and that "researchers and nonspecialists alike have mistakenly assumed that this somehow implies that all adults are incapable of mastering an L2" (p. 18). On the contrary, SLA research has been interested in the whole range of proficiency levels that adults achieve under various contextual conditions, and, as suggested above, more recent L2 research on the issues of the CPH and maturational constraints has addressed the very successful adult or postpuberty L2 learner almost exclusively (Birdsong, 1992, 1999; Bongaerts et al., 2000; Bongaerts, Planken, & Schils, 1995; Bongaerts, Van Summeren, Planken, & Schils, 1997; Coppieters, 1987; Ioup et al., 1994; Moyer, 1999; Ringbom, 1993; Schachter, 1989, 1990; Sorace, 1993; White & Genesee, 1996). We have encountered neither researchers nor laypeople who assume that limited achievements in some adult learners mean that all adult learners are unsuccessful.[2]

Clearly, people can learn L2s at any age. The ultimate attainment in SLA, however, is rather uniform in young learners and varies enormously in adult learners. Until somewhere around puberty, the level of ultimate attainment is relatively predictable (Bialystok & Hakuta, 1994; Johnson & Newport, 1989); afterward, the correlation between AO and ultimate attainment is nonexistent (Johnson & Newport, 1989; Schachter, 1996)

[2] It is not totally clear what the authors mean by the term *master a language*. We take their formulation on p. 9 to mean that *master* does not necessarily imply a nativelike level of proficiency: "If older students are biologically incapable of mastering another language to a very high level . . . ."

or at best quite weak (Bialystok, 1997, p. 122; Bialystok & Hakuta, 1994). Most children—albeit not all—eventually pass as native speakers even though some have salient difficulties during the acquisition process (see, e.g., Humes-Bartlo, 1989; Ioup, 1989; Yorio, 1989). As for adults, we know that a small proportion of learners with AO even beyond 20 achieve at least near-native proficiency levels, which, as mentioned above, are next to impossible to distinguish from native levels in natural conversational contexts.[3]

There may be different interpretations of these observed differences between older and younger learners. A maturational-constraints interpretation assumes that acquiring a new language through mere exposure becomes successively more difficult for biological reasons. In such a view, sociopsychological factors, such as motivation, aptitude, the character of the input, and type and intensity of formal support or teaching, gain in importance with increasing age. DeKeyser (2000), for example, shows that the factor of aptitude has a significant effect on late L2 learners' ability to reach high levels of proficiency whereas it has no explanatory force for learners with AOs below 16. Bongaerts et al. (1995) mention intensive pronunciation instruction and high motivation as factors that may "compensate for the biological disadvantages of a late start" (p. 45; for a similar view on motivation, see Moyer, 1999).

THE MISATTRIBUTIONS IN NEUROSCIENCE

The authors distrust neuroscientists because, as it seems, "the public" so readily accepts conclusions from neurophysiological studies given their "seemingly concrete nature" and "the glamour of brain science" (p. 14). The authors' straightforward claim that neuroscientists have misattributed differences between early and late L2 learners to cerebral correlates seems easier to explain on the basis of a prejudice against brain science than on the basis of what the article says about neurophysiological research. How do the authors know that the cerebral functions and structures proposed by neuroscientists, although "intriguing" (p. 16), are not involved in the different outcomes of SLA at different ages? Although from our point of view such results must be of widespread interest, they are discarded here as simply irrelevant. Even though "the *exact* [italics added] connection between learning and the state of the neural network" (p. 18) is obviously not known at present, concrete results such as those presented and discussed by, for example, Weber-Fox and Neville (1999) on utilization of altered neural systems and processing

[3] There have been suggestions in the literature, for example by Selinker (1972, p. 220), that a small proportion of adult learners are able to reach nativelike or near-native proficiency levels. We do not repeat the figures here in order to avoid perpetuating mere speculation unnecessarily.

in later learners cannot be disregarded. This research is indeed still at a stage of hypothesis formulation, and whether current proposals from neuroscientists will be substantiated further is unknown at this point—and many of them will most likely be revised in the near future. Nevertheless, we dispute the claim that it is a misattribution to attribute differences to neurological correlates when all current studies point to the existence of cerebral differences as well as differences in ultimate proficiency. To discard all individual research results and observations in this field until one knows exactly how the different neural subsystems contribute to language learning would be unwise, not least in a time when new techniques for brain research have already resulted in enormous steps forward in the understanding of regular and irregular human behaviours in several other fields.

Without pursuing the details of the line of argumentation in the section on neuropsychological data and the authors' refusal to acknowledge all the available research, we note that here they accept that it is the ability to attain nativelike proficiency that is under discussion: "Although . . . results are intriguing, they are in fact irrelevant to the possibility that adults can achieve nativelike proficiency in an L2" (p. 16). However, we fail to understand the logic of the argumentation. First, particular studies are criticized for their subject selection; the authors complain that early and late learners are not carefully selected on the basis of equal proficiency levels. (This is a valid criticism because the differential brain organization may be due to differences in language proficiency rather than in AO; for arguments for more controlled subject selection in studies on maturational constraints generally, see Long, 1993; White & Genesee, 1996.) Then, however, the authors claim that several other studies have shown that "any difference in proficiency in an L1 or L2 cannot be attributed to the different localization of two languages in a bilingual brain" (p. 17) and that "it seems obvious that low-proficiency speakers of an L2 will process it differently, and likely with different brain localization parameters, than high-proficiency speakers will" (p. 18). Do proficiency differences play a role, or do they not? The discussion of brain localization and processing differences could benefit from taking into account the earlier reviews of the bilingual laterality literature (see especially Obler, 1993; Obler, Zatorre, Galloway, & Vaid, 1982; Vaid, 1983; cf. Paradis, 1990).

Another fallacy in the discussion in this section occurs in the review of Pulvermüller and Schumann's (1994) interpretation of the role of myelination. "As myelination slows," the authors say, the brain is left with reduced plasticity, but "as [Pulvermüller and Schumann] are unable to determine exactly how plasticity might influence learning, they conclude by suggesting that motivation plays a determining role in the success of SLA" (p. 18). On the contrary, Pulvermüller and Schumann do not

abandon the neuroanatomical correlates of language acquisition in favour of motivation but rather discuss how these factors interact in a two-factor hypothesis of SLA: "Two conditions must be met to acquire full knowledge of a particular language. The first condition is that the learner is motivated to learn a language. The second condition is that the learner is equipped with the ability to acquire grammatical knowledge" (p. 687f.). The ability to acquire grammar, in Pulvermüller and Schumann's view, is related to the maturation of the brain, which, in turn, involves the processes of myelination and plasticity loss.

THE SUGGESTIONS FOR LANGUAGE TEACHING AND THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN APPLIED AND THEORETICAL RESEARCH

The distinction between applied and theoretical research is to some extent blurred in linguistics due to the widespread but infelicitous terminological distinction between applied and theoretical linguistics. *Applied linguistics* is often used to cover such areas of research as language teaching, language learning, psycholinguistics, and sociolinguistics (cf., e.g., the commissions of the International Association of Applied Linguistics) whereas *theoretical linguistics* is considered to comprise, in particular, the so-called theory of syntax, semantics, phonology, pragmatics, and so on. The use of these terms is generally acknowledged as difficult to change but is also misleading from a philosophy-of-science perspective. In science generally, whether research is theoretical or applied depends upon the source and the purpose of the research questions. Thus, for example, as a basis for worldwide statistics of the proportions of theoretical and applied research in different countries, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development use the following definitions, which are in accordance with general practice:

> *Basic or fundamental research* [i.e., theoretical research; pure research] covers all the experimental and theoretical work undertaken to acquire basic knowledge on observable phenomena and events, without the scientist having any *a priori* prospective applications for their work. (UNESCO, 1996, p. 11)

> *Applied research* . . . corresponds to innovative work whose purpose is to acquire new knowledge for practical application. (UNESCO, 1996, p. 11)

From such a perspective, as we have argued, the issue of maturational constraints and the CPH is a central component in any theory of language acquisition. It is thus an important theoretical question, per se

independent of any practical application; the issue is a topic for theoretical research on language acquisition. The question of timing for the introduction of a foreign/second language in a school curriculum, on the other hand, emerges in everyday pedagogical practice, and it is therefore a question for applied research. We would therefore like to claim that the answer to the theoretical question of a critical period has no axiomatic consequences for the applied question of when to start teaching a new language to children.

For several decades now, the issue of application of theoretical research has been discussed in various contexts. Serious researchers agree that great caution should be exercised in discussing practical implications of their results, as such implications are often not at all obvious. In SLA research, several authors (e.g., Hatch, 1979) have felt the need to emphasise just this point. Sharwood Smith (1994) has also stated clearly that theoretical research on acquisition is not motivated exclusively, primarily, or even at all by the needs of the teaching profession:

> Ideally, L2 researchers should, first and foremost, pursue their investigations without paying attention to the concerns of teachers. In practice . . . IL [interlanguage] research has often been done with reference to possible pedagogical applications. This has been because such studies were born as part of "applied linguistics" and had the applied, i.e. practical, aim of facilitating guided language learning. It is not clear whether L2 research or practical language teaching benefits from such a direct connection between pure and applied concerns. This is especially true at this rather early stage in the history of the field because researchers may become too eager (or feel too much pressure) to apply research prematurely to teaching and testing methodology. (p. 5)

It must therefore be considered a misuse of theoretical research when individual results are given an immediate practical interpretation. At the same time, such an approach depreciates applied research. The many complex practical questions addressed in applied research often call for complex answers based on sets of knowledge, at times even sets drawn from different disciplines. The issue of timing in language teaching is no exception. It is simply not possible to handle this complex issue solely on the basis of one isolated area of theoretical knowledge. A large number of contextual factors must be considered before arriving at a decision about when to introduce a new language into a curriculum. Furthermore, because practical solutions must be context sensitive, the ultimate decisions may be very different for different curricula. Among other things, one would need to aggregate general knowledge from language teaching methodology, learning psychology, and, naturally, from SLA theory (including such things as developmental sequences, learning

strategies, motivation, individual variation, and age). In addition, one would need to know the type of language acquisition to be supported, the actual objectives envisioned, the resources available (e.g., native/nonnative teachers, L2-speaking peers, developed teaching practices for the specific type of learner at hand), the language policy in the society where the schooling occurs, and the language ideologies that hold sway in that society (cf. Davies, 1999, p. 72, for a similar list of factors).

This being the case, we find it interesting that applied research has addressed the question of when to introduce a new language at school. Much of this research points to the advantages of postponing formal teaching in specific contexts. This is the background to our general agreement with the practical suggestions put forward by the authors. Surprisingly, although they start by saying that it is the nonexistence of a critical period that implies the advantages of a late introduction, they go on to argue on the basis of some of this applied research. For example, with reference to Singleton (1997), they note that early L2 instruction that is not followed up in specific ways does not produce long-lasting effects. Investigations from the foreign language context typically show no differences between 12- to 15-year-olds who have been taught from the first grade onward and those who have been taught from later grades. One such investigation is Holmstrand (1980, p. 123), who found that Swedish children in Grade 6 with exposure to English instruction from Grade 3 onward were indistinguishable from those who started in Grade 1. Further, the authors claim that early foreign language instruction that lacks native teacher models cannot take advantage of younger children's special pronunciation ability. In brief, early instruction generally seems to require a teaching methodology that is specifically adapted to the particular needs of young children.

Thus, although in practice the authors appropriately use applied research results to substantiate their argument for a late introduction of new languages in school curricula, they claim that their suggestions are based on the nonexistence of a critical period. One can legitimately ask why they need to refer to the critical period at all in this context. One reason may be that they have been trapped by longstanding beliefs from the 1960s that posited a close link between the existence of a critical period and early second/foreign language teaching. Wilder Penfield, the neurosurgeon and neurologist, who together with Lamar Roberts initially proposed the existence of maturational constraints on language acquisition, did not hesitate to develop his own proposals for the language teaching profession even though he lacked professional knowledge in the area (see, among others, chapter 11 of Penfield & Roberts, 1959). Penfield's basic suggestion, to introduce foreign languages as early as possible, was based solely on his conviction that young children had a special capacity for language learning, that is, on the existence of

a biologically based critical period. Dechert (1995), investigating the importance of Penfield's ideas for language teaching, notes that although Penfield's writings "make only a few superficial statements concerning linguistic phenomena of (first and second) language acquisition [it] nevertheless has had, strangely enough, a long and deeply influential impact on language pedagogy" (p. 93). This reasoning, which connects the theoretical phenomenon (the existence of a critical period) and its assumed practical implication (an early introduction of languages), has obviously yoked them together as an inseparable whole in the minds of many people. Thus if one of the phenomena is criticized, so is the other. This, however, does not justify the authors' present inability to dissociate the two. In a context that aims at bridging the gap between theory and practice and that largely addresses a readership in the area of teaching practice, we fear that their approach actually perpetuates a simplified view of the relationship between research and practice that is often found among nonresearchers (and sometimes among researchers as well): that theoretical researchers can provide answers to the practical questions of everyday life without investigating these questions specifically.

Finally, why do we believe that the question of maturational constraints has unspecific and undramatic consequences for the language teaching profession? As we have noted, the entire issue refers to the potential to achieve nativelike proficiency from natural exposure to the target language, and we simply do not believe that the achievement of nativelike proficiency is a relevant goal for second/foreign language teaching. Language teaching that prioritises this goal runs the risk of creating a sense of failure, even despair, among students. For all those motivated students who work intensely to acquire a new language, it can only be discouraging to hear that the reason they do not reach the goal that has been set up is that they "fail to engage in the task with sufficient motivation, commitment of time or energy" (p. 27). It is well established that the ultimate attainment of individual L2 learners varies enormously in its approximation to nativelike proficiency, although some individuals may reach very high levels of proficiency and in some cases ultimately even pass as native speakers. In addition, L2 varieties of a language may well be functionally as effective as native varieties. Independent of the reasons behind this variation, it would be unrealistic, and in many cases not even desirable, for second/foreign language teaching—especially in the foreign language context—to work with the goal of nativelike proficiency for all students.

Second/foreign language teaching would benefit more from coming to terms with the idea that everybody can achieve nativelike proficiency in the target language (which is a better candidate for the status of myth than its opposite) and act on the fact that SLA is different from L1

acquisition. In such a framework, L2 learners would be measured not by the yardstick of L1 speakers but rather against their own norms (cf. Cook, 1999).

The authors believe that if maturational constraints exist, the ultimate outcomes of language acquisition are fated, and therefore teachers might as well give up. But why be so myopic? Anyone engaging the pool of common knowledge about SLA works with the assumption that a number of factors combine to determine what individual learners can ultimately achieve, factors that can be influenced in language teaching and balance each other. Therefore, "teachers are justified in holding high expectations for their students" (p. 30), irrespective of the status of maturational constraints and a critical period. The teachers' task is to help their students of any age reach levels of proficiency that are as high as their situation and personal circumstances allow—something that carries the same degree of challenge with or without maturational constraints.

CONCLUSION

We have pointed out that the authors' arguments against the CPH are not tenable and that their presentation of alleged facts about the relationship between age and SLA is misconceived and misleading. We have also argued, in relation to this, that their discussion of educational implications of their position is a non sequitur. Their choice of facts and references is highly selective, and their representation of research is often faulty. In addition to the misrepresentations and obvious misunderstandings discussed above, the article contains several other errors: For example, Bialystok and Hakuta (1994), in their reanalysis of Johnson and Newport's (1989) data, did not show "deterioration in subjects' proficiency only after age 20" (p. 14). Bialystok and Hakuta found, in essence, a highly significant correlation ($r = -.87$) between AO and ultimate proficiency up to age 20, that is, a deterioration in Marinova-Todd et al.'s terms but also a significant but weaker correlation for the group with AO greater than 20 ($r = -.49$). That is, the "deterioration" did not start at age 20 but slowed down. Another example of misrepresentation is when the authors discuss the results of Ioup et al. (1994) and claim that "[the two learners'] success in L2 learning was attributed to their high degree of motivation to learn the language, their exposure to a naturalistic environment, and their conscious attention to grammatical form" (p. 27). As a matter of fact, Ioup et al. focus on only one of their cases, Julie, and try to account for her success. They do not particularly draw on motivation and natural exposure in their account but rather draw on the fact that "Julie, from the very beginning, consciously manipulated the grammatical structure of the language" (Ioup et al., 1994, p. 92) and

paid attention to form. Marinova-Todd et al. mention this in tertiary position, but they fail to mention what Ioup et al. seem to view as most important: "But even with attention to form, most L2 learners do not achieve nativelike proficiency. We believe an additional factor is responsible for Julie's success: talent in learning languages" (p. 92).

We conclude by giving a few examples of a different aspect of the article, namely, its highly opinionated rhetorical style, which we find unfortunate especially in a contribution that aims at bridging the gap between research and practice. The authors repeatedly accuse "researchers and nonspecialists alike" (p. 18) of misconceptions about age and L2 learning. In doing so they present themselves as scientists who base their own analyses on hard-core empirical research while other researchers, those who have an opposing view on the issue of maturational constraints, are as unscientific as laypersons. This is merit and guilt by association, respectively, which functions as an attempt to strengthen their position when the serious argumentation is not adequate. But there is also another problem with this position: Why not take the layperson's observations seriously in this case? After all, these are direct observations here, not a commonsense myth about younger learners' advantages over older learners. We agree with Singleton (1989), who responds to a position that is mirrored in the article:

> The position that success in L2 learning is inversely related to age coincides, of course, with popular belief on the question. It is easy enough to dismiss this belief as unscientific, and to proclaim airily that "folk psychology is not a good basis for doing research in second language learning" (Snow 1983: 149). However, at a period when a whole range of sciences, from physics to pharmacology, are finding substance in what was previously stigmatised as "old wives' tales," blanket dismissal of the popular view may appear somewhat cavalier. (p. 81)

Unfortunately, this is not the only example of how the authors use rhetorical tricks in lieu of argumentation. The discrediting of brain science because of its "glamour" (p. 14), the use of vocabulary such as the "blunders" (p. 9) of other researchers, and the entire framework of misconceptions, misinterpretations, misattribution, and misemphasis all belong to this category: instruments used to belittle their opponents. The issue of maturational constraints and the question of timing for the introduction of a new language in school curricula are both too important to be scrambled through in such an unnecessarily polemic framework.

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Missing the Point: A Response to Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson

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■ Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson express a number of criticisms of our article. We deal here with their major critiques rather than with every detail they raise. We begin, though, by noting the several areas of agreement with our position that they express. They agree that younger learners are, generally, slower than older learners in the early stages of L2 learning; that rate differences are not central to arguments for the critical period hypothesis (CPH), although they ignore the fact that they are often cited in support of the critical period (CP); and that the fascinating work of neuroscientists has not yet been brought into direct connection with work assessing language proficiency. Most importantly, they agree with our conclusion that quality of L2 exposure is more important than age of initial exposure in determining outcomes and thus that a focus on age as a key factor in introducing foreign languages is a red herring.

We deal, then, with the critiques not in the order of their presentation but in the order of their importance.

INTERPRETING BASIC RESEARCH FOR PRACTICAL PURPOSES

Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson's major, and perhaps most puzzling, objection to our article is that we use basic research findings to address issues of practice. They argue that the CP is an issue of theoretical relevance to L1 and L2 acquisition and that our article exemplifies the "misuse of theoretical research when individual results are given an immediate practical interpretation." We reject this conceptualization totally and would argue instead that practitioners, policy makers, and indeed the public, whose tax dollars have financed much basic research, have every right to expect advice from researchers with relevant expertise. We argue as well that researchers should take care to ensure that their findings are interpreted correctly and used well by practitioners and policy makers. Indeed, we submitted our work to *TESOL Quarterly* precisely because it has taken on the task of making research accessible to the many thousands of L2 and foreign language practitioners working to promote L2 proficiency, many of whom find their own expertise questioned by uninformed though often well-intentioned nonexperts.

Perhaps we were insufficiently clear in making the basic argument for our packaging of what we characterized as a review of generally familiar research findings. In the United States, as well as in many other parts of the world (including at least Japan, Russia, Costa Rica, China, and Taiwan), policies for foreign language teaching and bilingual education are being made using arguments concerning the CP, often based on misinterpretations of the research findings. To give one example, a national U.S. publication on the teaching of French as a foreign language in November 2000 published an item referring to a recent study on brain growth patterns in children ages 3–15 (Thompson et al., 2000). Cited by a firm supporter of early foreign language instruction, this article revealed a "dramatic shutting-off" of growth after puberty, which, according to Thompson, "makes a lot of sense in the context of second-language acquisition, as brain researchers and educators have known for years that a 'critical period,' in which children are most efficient at learning new languages, ends around puberty" ("New Brain Research and FLES," 2000, p. 8). For another example, many school districts in the United States are contemplating introducing foreign language instruction in the primary grades, at considerable cost. Discussions with proponents of these programs reveal that they have extremely unrealistic notions about how much first graders will learn during two to three 30-minute lessons a week (a reflex of the younger-is-faster misconception) and about the likelihood of their becoming nativelike through foreign language teaching (a reflex of the fact that a CPH-induced emphasis on age of first exposure overwhelms thinking about the type and quality of exposure). Another even more poignant example of policy relevance comes from the recent policy changes eliminating bilingual education for immigrant children in California, Arizona, and no doubt soon in other states as well. These policy changes are explicitly argued for on the grounds that immigrant children need exposure to English as early as possible and that young children, being very fast language learners, will know enough in 1 year of structured immersion to function effectively in academic contexts.

Our goal (and one that many respondents have told us we achieved) was to provide a formulation of counterarguments to such claims that could be useful in policy and practice discussions. Our article was designed explicitly to address misconceptions held by educational practitioners, by members of school boards and state legislators who make policies concerning foreign language teaching and bilingual education, and by members of the public who vote for them. We see educational practitioners as operating on the front lines to ensure good educational policy, and we hoped with our article to give them arguments to use in discussions of questions about lowering the age of initial foreign language instruction and about providing native language support to

immigrant students. Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson seem to think that linking research knowledge to practice is inappropriate. On the other hand, such links are ubiquitous. We believe that the problem lies in the linking of inappropriate research knowledge to practice.

MISINTERPRETATION

Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson note in responding to our section on misinterpretation of results concerning age differences in speed of acquisition that the results are less clear-cut than we had suggested and that, in any case, the issue of differences in speed of acquisition is irrelevant to the CPH. We appreciate their bringing to our attention a number of articles that we had not previously seen, a couple of which do indeed suggest that younger learners might be faster on certain aspects of acquisition. Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson suggest that our "strong formulation 'the exact opposite' (p. 12) should be evaluated against" the varied results of speed of acquisition studies. We used the term *the exact opposite* in reference only to the claim that young children can learn an L2 within months. In fact, in our reference to other studies we stated that older learners were generally faster, a conclusion that Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson characterize as "certainly true" and "taken as an established fact since the 1970s."

Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson note correctly that current versions of the CP do not make claims about speed of acquisition, though historically ease of acquisition (which of course is related to speed) was one of the classic characterizations of L1 acquisition (Chomsky, 1965) and thus, presumably of second language acquisition (SLA) during the CP as well. The point is, though, that even though researchers may have dropped claims about speed of acquisition, perhaps because consensus has been achieved on this topic, young children's putatively fast and easy learning of languages is still cited widely in practice and policy debates.

MISEMPHASIS

We argued that most research on the CP has focused on examining the difference in performance between groups of younger and older learners. When the average performance is considered, older learners tend to score significantly lower than younger learners. As we pointed out, and Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson concur, younger learners tend to perform more similarly to each other whereas older learners show greater variation in the rate and ultimate attainment in their L2. As a result the general impression, and indeed the most common outcome, is that after a certain age learners are likely to fail. We argued that if there were a biological CP, then all learners should achieve poor proficiency in

the L2 once the CP is ended. Thus, the fact that some adults achieve nativelike proficiency in their L2 is much more important and relevant to the CPH than data about average attainment, as it provides evidence that factors other than a biologically determined CP play a role in the variability of the ultimate attainment of older learners. Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson argue that older L2 learners tend to achieve nativelike proficiency only in some areas of the L2 and thus can be only described as near-native speakers with "undramatic" achievements in the L2. Further, Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson claim that these near-native speakers should be differentiated from the native speakers because "their L2 speaker background can be identified only when their L2 performance is scrutinized in detailed linguistic analyses." However, if one subjects the majority of native speakers to such detailed linguistic scrutiny, their performance would appear near-native, too. Therefore, the near-native speakers defined by Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson are really not so different from native speakers and do constitute counterevidence to the claim that adults are unable to achieve nativelike proficiency.

We argued that age influences language learning, but primarily because it is associated with social, psychological, and educational factors that can affect L2 proficiency. Thus we proposed shifting the focus from studying groups of learners to individually examining the most successful older learners in order to derive conclusions that might inform us about the most effective strategies for teaching L2s to learners of all ages.

MISATTRIBUTION

Misattribution, we argued, is the error most often committed by neuroscientists who assume "that [observed] differences in the location of two languages within the brain or in speed of processing account for differences in proficiency levels and explain the poorer performance of older learners" (p. 14). We criticized these researchers for providing information about the brains of individual subjects and drawing conclusions about language proficiency without measuring it in those same subjects. Indeed, the study by Thompson et al. (2000) cited above, like the studies cited in our original article, did not test language proficiency. This is, of course, not a dismissal of Thompson et al.'s important work, perhaps one of the most detailed mappings of age differences in brain development available. Nor does it imply that future neuroscience studies may not reveal some sort of brain-based maturational constraint on new learning. It is, however, further proof that, as Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson write, "this research is indeed still at a stage of hypothesis formulation." Even if, as they claim, "all current studies point to the existence of cerebral differences as well as differences in ultimate proficiency," we are still waiting for convincing research that relates these two.

We proposed that the critical study still to be attempted would be the one comparing the brain localization patterns of older and younger learners with equivalent proficiency in the L2. If such differences are to be observed, only then could we more confidently argue that localization patterns are a result of difference in age of SLA, considering all other variables are held constant.

Based on our reservations concerning the interpretability of data from brain studies, Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson blame us for exhibiting prejudice against neuroscience and treating the results from neuroimaging studies as irrelevant. The authors simply ignore or misunderstand our main point, that glittery results from brain imaging lead to publication of articles in which the behavioral science does not meet high standards. As behavioral scientists, we are sensitive about this point. Although we pointed out what we thought were the main limitations of the brain-imaging studies published so far, we did not dismiss the entire field; rather, we encouraged readers to treat conclusions concerning the CP based on the results published so far with caution.

Finally, Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson's specific criticism of our interpretation of Pulvermüller and Schumann's (1994) results quotes our statement out of context (one of Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson's rhetorical strategies). In the original article we did not claim that Pulvermüller and Schumann "abandon" the neuroanatomical correlates of language; rather, we emphasized their argument that their proposal, namely, the reduction in plasticity, or what they call the *maturational factor,* "is not developed sufficiently to explain exceptionally good second language acquisition in late learners" (Pulvermüller & Schumann, 1994, p. 720). In other words, Pulvermüller and Schumann seem to think that factors beyond the maturational state of the brain (e.g., motivation) might have an impact on L2 outcomes.

CONCLUSION

In summary, in writing our article we had the following aims:

- to clarify some of the main issues linking discussion of the CP with decisions about L2 teaching and learning
- to raise questions about the interpretation of some studies purporting to support the notion of a biologically determined CP
- to bring to readers' attention studies showing that age differences reflected differences in situation of learning rather than in capacity to learn an L2

While noting that older learners, on average, are less likely to achieve nativelike proficiency in an L2, we argued that quality of instruction,

motivation, and language environment are more important factors in determining L2 learning outcomes than age of onset of L2 instruction.

Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson also criticized our article for presenting an oversimplified and one-dimensional picture of research on the CP and SLA, for ignoring contradictory research and important achievements in the field, and for using out-of-date argumentation. We stated explicitly that "the purpose of this article is to analyze some common misconceptions about L2 learning by examining the relevant literature; it does not present a comprehensive review of critical period research" (p. 10). Even though we presented studies both in support of and in conflict with the CPH, our aim was to focus on misconceptions often cited in support of the CP and to emphasize research findings that have generally been neglected in the field. In doing so we argued that older learners can achieve high levels of proficiency in their L2 and that introducing foreign languages to very young learners cannot be justified on grounds of biological readiness alone. We also pointed out that, instead of focusing on the limited success of older learners, it is more productive to examine the factors that lead to very high levels of proficiency in the L2 for learners of any age (see DeKeyser, 2000, for an excellent example of this strategy). We did not deny the existence of the CP, but we deplored its unassailable place in folk psychology. Just last year, a local preschool in the Boston-Cambridge, Massachusetts, area approached one of us to teach 1 or 2 hours a month of a foreign language at the preschool in response to parents who felt it was the perfect age for children to learn another language. Obviously the opinions of nonspecialists, especially parents, are extremely important in the making of educational decisions, but their knowledge base is not always adequate. This is precisely why we chose to focus our article on the work of scientists and specialists concerning the CP: in order to help clarify the present state of one important area of research that has traditionally had considerable influence on certain aspects of pedagogical practice and educational policy in the United States and elsewhere.

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Comments on Shinichi Izumi and Martha Bigelow's "Does Output Promote Noticing in Second Language Acquisition?"

Some Methodological and Theoretical Considerations

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■ Shinichi Izumi and Martha Bigelow's article, "Does Output Promote Noticing in Second Language Acquisition?" (Vol. 34, No. 2, Summer 2000), effectively and convincingly raises important issues surrounding the role of learners' attention to both input and output and how such attention may enable "better and faster learning of form" (p. 240). This issue is at the crux of second language acquisition (SLA) pedagogy, and such research has ramifications for how classroom interaction with learners should be approached. However, as Izumi and Bigelow also point out, documenting learners' noticing/detection of output (as well as input, I must add) "presents difficulties for researchers because it involves examination of learner-internal processes" (p. 241). It is because of these difficulties that I take the opportunity to critique Izumi and Bigelow's research methodology and offer some suggestions for those examining the effects of input and output on SLA that may lead to more tangible results in future studies. I also comment briefly on the related theoretical issue of explicit versus implicit knowledge and how gains in learner mastery based on input and output may be interpreted.

TESOL professionals acknowledge the complexity and thorniness of SLA. Myriad performance, affective, and pedagogical factors compound and augment learners' successes and failures. Yet the effects of both input and output on learners still remain unsubstantiated, and the type of input and output that best leads to the acquisition of target language structures is an empirical question with wide-ranging effects on pedagogy. Many questions remain to be resolved, despite hypotheses concerning the positive effects of more focus on form or noticing (Izumi & Bigelow, pp. 240–243, provide an excellent summary of the terms used in recent research). Furthermore, methodological flaws in Izumi and Bigelow's study inhibit their ability to shed light on the true effects of output on their learners.

METHODOLOGICAL CONCERNS

Methodological pitfalls in Izumi and Bigelow's study as well as in many other studies that have examined the effects of input (Whitlow, 1997) can be summarized as follows.

1. Learners were not provided with input through regular/limited exposure to target language structures that parallels naturalistic acquisition. Izumi and Bigelow gave their experimental and control groups "exposure to the input that contained many instances of the target form used in context" (p. 249), which does seem to parallel naturalistic acquisition (although the adequacy of 4.5 total hours of exposure to the target structure must also be questioned). However, the vehicle chosen to elicit the output of the target structure (the past hypothetical conditional) was very contrived. If the learners' class used a process approach to composition, it is highly unlikely that 80% of the sentences in a model essay would contain the past hypothetical conditional. In fact, regardless of the topic, this assignment seems contrived at best and a poor example of what goes on an effective writing class emphasizing process over product.
2. The target language structures being examined were not isolated from the effects of prior instruction or L1 transfer. As the study involved a "heterogeneous group" (p. 248) of adult learners, there is no way to know whether they had had prior exposure to or instruction on the past hypothetical conditional despite the authors' attempts to "ensure that each group contained an adequate representation of students with different initial knowledge of the target structure" (p. 248). This claim does not make clear whether or not these learners had prior knowledge of the target structure. Also unknown is whether their native languages have a parallel structure that would have increased the effects of transfer on their knowledge and production of the target structure in English. As Izumi and Bigelow rightly point out that "learner-internal processes" (p. 241) were at work here, the documentation of whether learners had existing metalinguistic knowledge of this structure seems imperative.
3. The effects of input and output were not assessed with spontaneous as well as grammar-related production tasks. As I pointed out in No. 1 above, the essay-writing task given to the experimental group seems contrived. Additionally, the text reconstruction task is grammar related and, like the essay-writing task, includes a high percentage of sentences containing the target structure that learners are asked to reconstruct as output (p. 251). Astute adult learners would likely recognize this type of task as manipulative rather than as what they are normally expected to do in a process writing class. As such, this type of output seems forced and unnatural.

4. The analysis of the effects of input on acquisition did not include longitudinal data. The duration of Izumi and Bigelow's study was 4.5 hours spread over 1 month. Can this possibly be enough time to document whether learners have made long-term gains? I doubt it and would advocate for longitudinal assessment in all experimental design so that readers can see the effects of input and output over time and be convinced that short-term gains reflect not just temporary learning but true acquisition of the target structures (in Krashen's sense).
5. Effects of metalinguistic knowledge were not considered. If the learners in the experimental group were distracted from the routine of their usual writing class by new instructors with different tasks that clearly focused on one structure (in this case the past hypothetical conditional, which was used in one task 80% of the time), they were likely to be hyperaware of this structure and, therefore, prone to notice it more and use such metalinguistic awareness to their advantage in the short term. The effects of such awareness on learners' performance on experimental tasks seems an inefficient predictor of the long-term benefits of noticing.

If these methodological problems had been avoided, a much more convincing picture of the true effects of output on SLA would be evident.

EXPLICIT VERSUS IMPLICIT KNOWLEDGE

Despite the apparent inadequacies of Izumi and Bigelow's research design, their results lead to another interesting point of discussion. They found very little difference in the performance of their experimental and comparison groups despite their use of output tasks for the experimental group (pp. 260–261). This begs the question of whether manipulated or enhanced forms of input and output actually lead to more accurate grammatical production or whether any such gains are the result of long-term exposure to the target language. Many recent studies (again see Izumi & Bigelow, pp. 240–243) take the position that enhanced input, output, and form focus must be beneficial.

Even with form-focused instruction over long periods of time, however, many L2 learners never achieve mastery of form in the target language (Schwartz & Gubala-Ryzak, 1992). This observation is consistent with a second theoretical position (Schwartz, 1993; Schwartz & Gubala-Ryzak, 1992): Only positive linguistic data can activate the innate language mechanisms, and neither negative evidence, manipulated data, nor form-focused instruction plays a role in long-term acquisition of L2 structures. This claim suggests that negative evidence or form-focused instruction (including manipulated forms of input and output) can

result in grammatical knowledge but cannot result in the translation of this knowledge into the type required by innate language mechanisms. Accordingly, it may be explicit rather than implicit L2 knowledge that learners develop through exposure to form-focused input or output. Although short-term gains in the accuracy with which students use certain structures have been documented, the long-term effects of such instruction have not been confirmed (Carroll & Swain, 1993; White, 1991; White, Lightbown, Spada, & Ranta, 1991).

Recent studies investigating the effects of form-focused instruction on the learning of artificial languages (DeKeyser, 1995; Reber, 1993; Robinson, 1996) have attempted to differentiate implicit from explicit learning and provide tenuous conclusions that focus-on-form instruction leads to more effective short-term learning than does implicit instruction. The question, however, is whether the best method of measuring the acquisition of an L2 is by manipulating the rules of an artificial language in a laboratory setting with no longitudinal data, while working with a heterogeneous group of learners whose metalinguistic awareness is not considered.

Izumi and Bigelow effectively describe the importance of understanding the effects of output as well as input on L2 learners. However, their study emphasizes the methodological inadequacies of their own work and that of others indicating the positive effects of form-focused input and output on SLA. Their study and others that investigate such effects provide input and coerce output under special circumstances (i.e., special teachers, equipment, schedules, and materials) that draw learners' attention to the structure being presented and often make no attempt to disguise the focus of either the instruction or the assessment tasks. As such, contrary to the aim of researchers, participants in such studies may be made hyperaware of the explicit information being presented to them and, thus, may be performing well on assessment tasks that draw similar attention to the linguistic structures being examined.

Whether or not form-focused tasks affect implicit linguistic knowledge has not been determined, as very few studies elicit spontaneous production data. Given all that can be gained from understanding the effects of both input and output, it seems reasonable to suggest that studies investigating the effects of input and output on underlying linguistic knowledge include truly spontaneous production data collected longitudinally. Critical to L2 research and pedagogy is a theory of how input and output help develop linguistic knowledge, but the profession's understanding of these issues is in its infancy. Principled evolution of theory requires refinement of research methodologies such as those reported by Izumi and Bigelow.

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Methodological and Theoretical Issues in Testing the Effects of Focus on Form

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■ Research on the role of L2 production in second language acquisition (SLA) has various practical and theoretical implications. Whitlow makes a number of points to this effect, some of which require further clarification of some key concepts, and many of which are instrumental in improving and furthering research on the relationship between input, output, and SLA. In this response, we address the issues raised by Whitlow point by point.

AUTHENTICITY ISSUES

Authenticity, broadly defined, deals with not only the source and quality of the text but also the way users learn and perceive the text and the way it is related to other language learning activities. Whitlow questions the authenticity of the tasks used in our study, especially with regard to the forced nature of output and the high occurrence of the form in the input materials. Although the authenticity issues are complex and full discussion of them is beyond the scope of this response (for some useful discussions on many aspects of authenticity issues, see Arnold, 1991; Breen, 1985; Chavez, 1998; Devitt, 1997; Lee, 1995; Long, 1996a; van Lier, 1996), we mention three points in order to put these issues in perspective.

First, regarding the forced nature of our output tasks, we deliberately created the tasks to be more or less closed and guided in order to encourage the learners' use of the target structure as much as possible. This we did in consideration of Swain's (1985) output hypothesis, which stresses that learners need not just output opportunities in general but opportunities to be pushed to be more accurate and comprehensible in their output (as denoted by the term *comprehensible* or *pushed* output). In addition, our piloting of the tasks before collecting data for the main study suggested that learners often use production strategies to somehow avoid the use of the target form. Special tasks therefore needed to be devised to circumvent this problem and to elicit the target form. In choosing the two types of tasks used in our study—text reconstruction tasks and guided essay tasks—we weighed the relative strengths and weaknesses of each type of task for achieving this purpose. For example, the text reconstruction tasks were more tightly closed with regard to the elicitation of the target form while suppressing the creative use of language for expression of ideas. The guided essay tasks were more open-ended in terms of content to be expressed, thus creating wider discrepancies between the learners' production and the model input given to them. Our use of forced, or rather pushed, output tasks was based on these theoretical, practical, and pedagogical considerations.

We agree that the tasks used in our study did not parallel the types of class routines and activities the participants were accustomed to in their generally process-oriented writing class. This was due in part to the experimental nature of our study and its specific focus and in part to the need to narrow the instructional focus for greater impact on the learning of a specific grammatical item that the learners were known to have difficulty with. Even if some of the naturalness of our tasks was compromised as a result, we argue that the context created for the form in these tasks was functionally appropriate. That is, our tasks encouraged the use of the target form in contexts in which its use was appropriate (i.e., to

express hypothetical events that did not happen but could have happened given certain conditions). Thus, although it may indeed be misleading to think that our tasks are examples of what is usually considered a process approach to composition, these tasks, we believe, can be useful additions to process-oriented composition classes in which some focus on grammar is necessary for the learners' overall L2 development.

With regard to the high occurrence of the target form in the input, we note that input flood is a pedagogical technique used to encourage noticing of the targeted form. It is not meant to parallel the input L2 learners encounter outside the classroom. In fact, it is the insufficiency of mere exposure to genuine, unchanged input that underlies pedagogic proposals such as focus on form (see, e.g., Long, 1991). Our tasks were devised in response to the need to draw the learners' attention to form for their L2 development. Were our tasks authentic? The answer depends on how one defines *authenticity*. If, for example, authenticity is narrowly defined in terms of the genuineness of the text, the answer perhaps would be yes. However, if it also incorporates such notions as relevance to student needs and language learnability, one cannot answer the authenticity question simply by examining the text itself. As Long (1996a) points out, tensions exist between traditional notions of authenticity (e.g., the genuineness of texts and the real-worldliness of the tasks) and learning potential. Pursuing the genuineness of texts as if it were the only important criterion for language learning could severely undermine the potential of modified input to facilitate language learning.

Another consideration may be what Long (1996a) calls the *psycholinguistic dimensions of authenticity*, which take learnability notions into account. Genuine texts may suffer from lack of learning potential and can indeed be psycholinguistically inappropriate input for the learners. Our creation and use of the specific tasks in our study reflected our considerations of the learning needs and learnability of the materials without being unduly constrained by the notions of text genuineness.

THE ROLE OF LEARNERS' PRIOR LANGUAGE EXPERIENCES AND METALINGUISTIC KNOWLEDGE

When dealing with a natural language as opposed to an artificial language, and second language learners as opposed to foreign language learners, researchers are challenged to identify which variables, out of many, to focus on and to devise ways to adequately control for many extraneous variables. Whitlow points out that the effects of the treatments in our study were not isolated from the effects of prior exposure and instruction and of the learners' native language. These variables may indeed have intervened or mediated the effects of the output-input

treatment we used in our study. This is an empirical question that is worth investigating. What was important for our study, however, was not so much the different amounts or lengths of prior language experience but the fact that the learners, regardless of L1, had not acquired the target form despite their likely exposure to and, in some cases, instruction in the form. This suggested to us that the target form in our study was difficult to learn independent of these factors. Considering this, we required three conditions in the study: (a) that no learner had yet acquired the target form at the time of the pretest; (b) that initial knowledge, as demonstrated on the pretests, be roughly equal in the two groups; and (c) that subjects with the same L1 not cluster in one group.

Whitlow also notes that learners' potential possession of metalinguistic knowledge could have aided their learning of the form, especially because our tasks, she argues, "clearly focused on one structure." Contrary to what one might think, our interviews with some experimental group learners, as well as informal interaction with some learners in both groups outside the experiment, revealed that many were not aware, let alone hyperaware, that the materials were designed to teach the past hypothetical conditional. In fact, during the debriefing session after the study, we asked the students what they thought the focus of the study might be. They offered many guesses, none of which related to grammar. Many students thought we were studying how they responded to the prompts and how their responses differed across the representative cultures. This suggests that, from the learners' perspective, meaning, as opposed to form, was the focus of the task. The fact that language teachers and applied linguists could easily identify the form targeted in a study such as this does not indicate that learners can do the same. This is not to say that learners' metalinguistic awareness plays no part. In fact, different levels of metalinguistic awareness on the part of the learners may have led them to notice the grammatical form with different degrees, awareness, and integration. Whether or not this type of knowledge has a significant facilitative effect upon acquisition, however, remains to be seen (for L1 and bilingual perspectives on this, see Bialystok, 1991; Francis, 1999; Levy, 1999; Muter & Snowling, 1998).

It is dangerous to assume that some sort of metalinguistic awareness on the part of learners leads directly to noticing and learning of the form. The question is, what exactly do they notice if they notice something in the input at all? Do they notice isolated words such as *would* and *had* in a past hypothetical conditional sentence, or do they notice the detailed makeup of the structure in the main clause, *if*-clause, or both? We reported the case of the learner MH, who was indeed aware of the grammar (by stating that he saw in the input "He would ride horses") but filtered out other related parts of the sentence (the relevant part of the original sentence reads "if he had stayed healthy, he would have

continued riding horses"). Thus, whereas the documentation of the learners' metalinguistic knowledge may be useful in SLA research, one should not assume an automatic link between such knowledge, noticing, and learning, just as one should not assume a direct and automatic link between teaching and learning (for more discussion of the noticing issues, see Izumi, 2000).

ASSESSMENT TOOLS

Whitlow points out the lack of a spontaneous production test to assess the effects of the treatment in our study. Although it would indeed be ideal to obtain a wide range of data on the learners' knowledge of the target form, factors such as time constraints, the need to deliberately elicit the target form, and the desire to avoid having multiple testing measures overshadow the instructional intervention guided our decision to use only two testing measures (one receptive and one productive) in our study. Whitlow also advocates for the need to obtain longitudinal data to assess the long-term impact of the treatment. We agree. However, we do not see short-term gains in contrast to "true acquisition" in Krashen's sense, which assumes no interface between what is "learned" consciously and what is "acquired" subconsciously. In addition to the many problems with Krashen's view of SLA (which are discussed elsewhere; see, e.g., Gass & Selinker, 1993; Gregg, 1984; Sharwood Smith, 1981; Stevick, 1980), longitudinal data alone do not necessarily demonstrate true acquisition. One may commit linguistic information to long-term memory that may not be fully integrated in one's interlanguage system yet use that information to produce. Likewise, short-term gains do not necessarily indicate marginal learning in Krashen's sense, as they may be indicative of some level of intake that can subsequently be integrated in the developing interlanguage system. The point is that, although there is clearly a need to examine the long-term impact of any instructional intervention, the relationship between short-term gains and long-term effects cannot be divided simply into temporary learning and solid acquisition as if they constituted dichotomous types of learning.

Furthermore, conducting a longitudinal study, though desirable in many cases, can compromise the internal validity of the study by allowing even more extraneous variables to affect results, reducing the credibility of a strict causality claim and defeating the very advantage of an experimental study. Rather than trying to argue that one type of study could possibly speak to all of the relevant issues surrounding input, output, and SLA, we would advocate and invite a variety of research approaches. We believe that longitudinal studies and laboratory studies are often complementary in research efforts to advance the understanding of SLA processes; one type of study has weaknesses that the other

type can make up for, and vice versa.[1] At this point, our research on the noticing function of output is highly exploratory and in its early stages. Whatever is observed in the short term, be it an immediate uptake or improvement in test performance, is worth further investigation.

THEORETICAL ISSUES

Whitlow asks whether manipulated forms of input and output actually lead to grammatical learning or whether any such gains are due to long-term exposure to the target language. She further argues that only positive linguistic data can activate innate language mechanisms. Again, Whitlow is assuming the learning/acquisition divide, following Krashen's and Schwartz's (1993) arguments. Krashen's position has been criticized widely. Schwartz's universal grammar–based arguments, though more refined than Krashen's acquisition-learning hypothesis, are interesting theoretically but are as yet without empirical substantiation. The role of negative evidence in both first and second language acquisition is a controversial topic that is currently being debated in the field (see, e.g., Long, 1996b). Likewise, the relationship between explicit and implicit learning/knowledge is also a hotly debated topic in current SLA research (see, e.g., Ellis, 1994, for a collection of relevant studies), as are many issues concerning the roles of attention and noticing. In short, the theoretical position Whitlow appears to rely on as fact is far from categorically accepted in the profession.

Nevertheless, Whitlow indeed makes a number of pertinent points concerning research methods. Yet, if we were to take Whitlow's suggestions in their entirety and follow them faithfully, we would find ourselves in a nearly impossible position. We would use only aural or written texts designed for native speakers, never manipulate them for pedagogical purposes, and use spontaneous speech as a (or perhaps the only) means to assess the level of learning achieved. This would preclude any deliberate attempt on the part of the teacher or researcher to elicit a troublesome form, create the conditions for "noticing the gap," or provoke learners' metalinguistic sensitivities in any way. We would also disqualify the theoretical role of negative evidence or any pedagogical techniques that give learners information about what they need help with. The resultant situation appears to be the type of naturalistic situation of L2 learning in which learners, especially adult learners, are known to have various acquisition problems that are difficult to over-

[1] The articles in Hulstijn and DeKeyser (1997), a special issue of *Studies in Second Language Acquisition,* clearly outline many promises and limitations of laboratory research. In contrast to Whitlow, we believe that this line of research has much to offer the understanding of how languages are learned.

come on their own. Faced with this situation, we have the choice of lamenting the fact that SLA research is incomplete, unsuccessful, and hopeless or attempting to explore pedagogical options such as focus on form. This approach seeks to overcome the problems associated with traditional, grammar-based approaches to language teaching, in which form is often the sole focus of teaching (*focus on forms,* as Long, 1991, put it), and a strictly meaning-based approach, in which communication, not the language forms, is considered primary (called *focus on meaning*). Focus on form, in other words, aims at integrating form and meaning by engaging learners in meaningful language use while drawing their attention to some code features that cause them acquisition problems.

In regard to the notion of focus on form, Whitlow seems to believe that *focus-on-form instruction* is another type of explicit formal instruction and uses the term interchangeably with *form-focused instruction.* This misconception of what focus on form refers to points to the need to clarify how many researchers in the profession use the expression. Drawing on Long's (1991) definition of focus on form, Spada (1997) makes the following distinction:

> Form-focused instruction is any pedagogical effort that is used to draw the learners' attention to language form either implicitly or explicitly. This can include the direct teaching of language (e.g., through grammatical rules) and/or reactions to learners' errors (e.g., corrective feedback). . . . The essential difference [between form-focused instruction and focus on form] . . . is that Long's definition of *focus on form* is restricted to meaning-based pedagogical events in which attention is drawn to language as a perceived need arises rather than in predetermined ways. (p. 73)

Doughty and Williams' (1998) conception is similar:

> Focus on formS and focus on form are *not* polar opposites in the way that "form" and "meaning" have often been considered to be. Rather, a focus on form *entails* a focus on formal elements of language, whereas focus on formS is *limited to* such a focus, and focus on meaning *excludes* it. Most important, it should be kept in mind that the fundamental assumption of focus-on-form instruction is that meaning and use must already be evident to the learner at the time that attention is drawn to the linguistic apparatus needed to get the meaning across. (p. 4)

Thus, the term *form-focused instruction* encompasses both focus on form*s* and focus on form. However, focus on form stresses the need to integrate form and meaning without excluding either for the sake of successful language learning.

Whether output serves as one way to promote focus on form, in Long's (1991) and Doughty and Williams' (1998) sense, was at the crux of our investigation. Our aim was not to develop explicit knowledge of

grammar but to promote the mapping of form-meaning relationships. We did this based on theoretical arguments specified in Swain's (1985) output hypothesis that output has the potential to promote such mapping by engaging the learners in the active use of their mental resources. Our study failed to provide solid evidence for the positive role of output in this regard. Instead, it helped identify more questions that need to be addressed in such research, such as how to control learners' scattered attention better during output and input processing in order to promote their learning of form. One matter that needs to be delineated now, we feel, is under what conditions output might promote SLA. A study conducted later by Izumi (2000) therefore used a more refined methodology and found more robust results in favor of output in promoting grammatical learning in the L2. We believe that it is through the pursuit of this cycle—of critical reflection on study after study—that propels the field forward and enables it to gain more and more solid knowledge of SLA that can be applied to L2 teaching.

We wish to thank Whitlow for bringing some important issues to the readers' attention and the *TESOL Quarterly* editor for giving us an opportunity to participate in this exchange. We hope that this discussion will aid the ongoing exploration of important questions of SLA and teaching, and we caution the reader against dismissing a study that contributed to an understanding of how and why the role of output can be investigated.

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TEACHING ISSUES

TESOL Quarterly publishes brief commentaries on aspects of English language teaching. For this issue, we asked two educators to comment on current challenges for TESOL in China.

Edited by BONNY NORTON
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TESOL in China: Current Challenges

English Language Teaching in China: Trends and Challenges

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■ Learning English in a Chinese language environment is a rather daunting task. Millions of EFL learners[1] take regular English courses, 4 class hours a week, 18 weeks a term, for 12 terms in high school and 4–8 terms at university. For those not majoring in English, the goal is to function adequately in English at work, but not many have developed the necessary competence. In fact, although English language teaching (ELT) is a huge profession in the process of reform and renovation, it seems to fall far short of meeting the needs generated from the country's rapid developments in the economy, science, and technology, and from increasing contact with the outside world (Qin, 1999). As a consequence, the importance of English at all levels of education cannot be overemphasised.

Although English education may not be able to keep up with the need for it, over the years Chinese universities have provided tens of thousands of competent English users, a great majority of these having been English majors educated in over 300 intensive English programmes. However, this number is actually rather small relative to China's needs

[1] There are more than 200 million primary and high school pupils in China. In September 2000, 2 million school leavers were enrolled in universities.

and compared with the huge number of young adults trying to master English in addition to their other areas of study. Programmes designed for majors face a different challenge. A recent large-scale investigation (He, Yin, Huang, & Liu, 1999), initiated by the Higher Education Division of the Ministry of Education, reveals that in general the country's need for foreign language workers equipped with target language skills alone has dropped to zero. All foreign language majors are expected to develop knowledge of other areas in addition to competence in a foreign language. The Ministry of Education responded quickly to the need for English for students across disciplines by organizing major curriculum reviews for schools and for major and nonmajor English programmes at universities nationwide. Long-distance ELT and English on-line programmes are joining forces with formal ELT programmes in attempting to upgrade English proficiency levels across the nation. The ELT profession has felt the impact throughout the country, where many people are demanding reform.

In what follows, I outline what I see as the dominant trends of reform. I also discuss the accompanying challenges, with a view to appealing for support and efforts to promote ELT in China and for research in formal English language learning in a nontarget language environment.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE PLANNING

In recent years, English has been introduced into the primary school curriculum in an increasing number of cities across China. Efforts are being made to plan a two-stage learning process consisting of the primary/junior high/senior high stage and the university stage, which cover a total span of 14–16 years. Ideally, the learning process should be a cumulative one with varying subgoals and approaches for different stages, necessarily constrained by the developmental characteristics of the learners' cognitive growth and their learning environment. In reality, the reformers are still far from knowing a sound basis on which to plan the sequence of learning. Nor do curriculum reformers have a system of evaluating the planning yet. An added complication is that in a huge country like China, any planning has to accommodate the very uneven development in English proficiency levels among the learners. Research is needed to address these curriculum and evaluation issues.

TEACHER EDUCATION

Administrators and teachers themselves are increasingly aware that it is teachers who hold the key to the outcome of reform and therefore of ELT. Teacher education has received increasing attention, especially for university EFL teachers, who in general have not been trained for the

profession. The Ministry of Education, teachers' universities, leading linguistics and applied linguistics programmes, and ELT publishers have all been involved in organizing training programmes, and teachers are eager to take advantage of the opportunities.

But questions remain about how to develop teacher education programmes most effectively. What are suitable models of teacher development in China, where there is an acute shortage of ELT teachers and the need for development is often threefold—in (a) English proficiency levels; (b) knowledge about language in general, English in particular, and language learning; and (c) language teaching philosophies and methodology? What are we as TESOL professionals in China to draw from our own traditional ELT and from contemporary theories, research findings, and trends of practice in the profession? How can we best organize research with a view to meeting the challenges we face? These seem urgent questions to take up before teacher education can significantly affect ELT in China.

MATERIALS

Textbooks are essential in formal ELT in China. They provide input, suggest approaches and methodology, and guide or impose the course of learning. Materials also offer education of a sort. The major curriculum reviews and the subsequent launching of new curricula call for high-quality materials that frame and support systematic, efficient, and effective English language learning. ELT publishers and teachers have attempted to respond to the need.

Challenges to material writing include (a) a shortage of source materials, (b) a lack of full understanding of Chinese learners' learning process in the formal school environment, and (c) the need to combine traditional and multimedia materials effectively. To meet the first challenge, in recent years Chinese publishers and publishers in native-English-speaking countries have tended to form collaborative relationships. More crucially, though, material writers need to be critically informed in relevant theories and research findings concerning language teaching and learning, in task design, and in principles and methods that work in the traditional language teaching paradigm.

ASSESSMENT

As a form of assessment, language testing is especially influential in education in China. Indeed, large-scale exams whose design is based on structuralism and whose format is predominantly multiple choice have been found to constrain language teaching in a rather negative way. Teachers and administrators demand improvements in test design.

While existing test designs are being improved, organized efforts have been directed to alternative, more task-based test designs guided by contemporary language testing theories. Unlike the earlier tests, these new tests give due attention to speaking and writing. They are designed with a view to promoting learning. Formative assessment has been a means of teaching for many experienced language teachers over the years, but little research has been conducted on formative assessment in China and abroad. There seems a need for such research to complement language testing.

RESEARCH

All the trends outlined above, however immature or robust, must depend upon systematic research and informed practice to sustain and bloom. To upgrade ELT in China and to contribute to the TESOL field, China will need to organize nationwide research teams in each of the subareas of study and to draw on international expertise. Initial efforts are being made toward this end.

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Communicative Language Teaching in China: Progress and Resistance

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■ It has been more than two decades since the communicative language teaching (CLT) approach was introduced to the Chinese foreign language community, affecting tens of millions of Chinese learners of

English. In an arena previously dominated by the grammar-translation approach, these 20 years have witnessed profound changes in foreign language teaching. However, a variety of constraints have inhibited the adoption of CLT in China.

PROGRESS

Efforts to adopt CLT in China can be traced back to the work of Li Xiaoju and her associates, who compiled Communicative English for Chinese Learners, a series of communicative English textbooks, in 1979. In 1984, Li published "In Defense of the Communicative Approach," the first article published in *ELT Journal* in support of CLT. Li claimed that "language is communication, and learning a language is learning to communicate" (p. 2). This article profoundly affected Chinese teachers' attitudes toward CLT and spawned several projects that integrated topics relevant to Chinese students with common communicative expressions as well as grammatical structures.

The call for the adoption of CLT was not accidental. It came as a response to discontent with the traditional grammar-translation method. In this teaching method, classroom teachers focused on grammar and structure, which produced unsatisfactory results. Students had little ability to speak and understand English (Ng & Tang, 1997).

However, it was not until the early 1990s that substantial progress was made in applying CLT to teaching practice in China. In 1992 the State Education Development Commission (SEDC) replaced the 1981 structure-based national unified syllabus with a new one that set communication as the teaching aim. The 1992 syllabus called for training in listening, speaking, reading, and writing to enable students to "gain basic knowledge of English and competence to use English for communication" (SEDC, 1992, p. 1).

As Liao (2000) has pointed out, the SEDC, as the representative of the central government, is in a position to make educational policies and determine the goals, curriculum, course books, and even teaching methods throughout the country. Due to the highly centralized Chinese system of education, this top-down intervention proved to be very effective in urging teachers to teach communicatively in classrooms. By the mid-1990s, CLT had become "a general approach in teaching and learning," or "a principled communicative approach" (Gong, 1999, p. 116).

RESISTANCE

At the very outset, however, the application of CLT was constrained by various factors. Consequently, although CLT was introduced in the late

1970s, "87% of teachers in China's middle schools used the traditional method in the late 1980's" (Zuo et al., 1990, p. 40). Even now, a number of educators, researchers, and practitioners in the Chinese foreign language teaching community are skeptical as to whether CLT is really superior to the traditional analytical approach. Wang (1999) has reported on a 5-year (1993–1998) longitudinal case study undertaken at East China Teachers' University, which tests the "'communicative method' against the analytical" (p. 37). The experimental classes used the communicative-oriented course book developed by Li Xiaoju while the control classes used textbooks whose approach was considered traditional and analytical. According to Wang, the results of this study show that "both the experimental and the analytical classes have strengths and weaknesses" (p. 37). Thus the study concluded that both the communicative method and the analytical method should be practiced in foreign language classrooms.

For all its merits, this study as reported in Wang (1999) seems to represent a retrogression in the CLT movement in China. CLT as a theory and as a method, which treats language as communication, is well established. As far back as 1983, Stern noted that, unlike the six most influential language teaching methods (i.e., the grammar-translation, audiolingual, direct, reading, and audiovisual methods, and cognitive theory), CLT does not treat language learning as code learning. It explores "the possibility of non-analytical, participatory, or experiential ways of language learning as a deliberate teaching strategy" (p. 473). Stern thus concluded that because all the old methods "tend to place over-emphasis on single aspects as the central issue of teaching and learning, none of them are adequate" (p. 473). In my opinion, the research efforts of the East China Teachers' University study would have been more productive if the researchers had sought to incorporate some elements of the traditional analytical method into CLT to suit the specific needs of Chinese foreign language classrooms.

CONSTRAINING FACTORS

Current circumstances in China impose many constraints on CLT. Economically speaking, the low incomes of English teachers drive them into taking a second or even a third teaching job. "Consequently, few university or secondary school teachers will spend time analyzing learners' needs or designing their own syllabi, nor will they collect suitable materials to create communicative tasks and activities" (Hui, 1997, p. 38). In addition, classrooms with 60 students are too crowded for learner-centered teaching. Culturally, due to the pervasive influence of Confucian ideas, "teachers are viewed as knowledge holders. If teachers do not display their knowledge in lectures, or if they play games with

students or ask students to role-play in class, then they are not doing their job!" (p. 38).

But the most important constraint comes from the lack of qualified English teachers. A qualified English teacher should, in the first place, be capable in all four skills. But out of 550,000 middle school teachers in China, only 89.4% of junior middle school teachers and 55.0% of senior middle school teachers are professionally qualified (Liu & Gong, 2000). Quite a number of teachers know only some basic English grammar and vocabulary. For them the grammar-translation method is the most acceptable because they can basically teach English in Chinese.

Moreover, qualified English teachers should be familiar with theories of linguistics, psychology, and pedagogy. A sound knowledge of these theories will support the use of creative CLT in class and help teachers understand the new curriculum and new CLT textbooks. Motivated by the value of CLT, classroom teachers may be encouraged to overcome the existing constraints on CLT in China.

CONCLUSION

To adopt the relatively new CLT approach in China inevitably involves transforming the traditional analytic grammar-translation approach, which is no easy task. Current national structures and educational systems are subject to traditions and legislation as well as various attitudes toward CLT. As Xiao (1998) has pointed out, "the inefficient grammar-translation approach is continually reinforced. When some of the students who have been taught with the grammar-translation method turn out to be English teachers, they are most likely to use the same method in their teaching" (p. 28). To fundamentally change the situation, teachers must undergo training that will promote their theoretical awareness as well as their linguistic abilities.

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REVIEWS

TESOL Quarterly welcomes evaluative reviews of publications relevant to TESOL professionals.

Edited by DAN DOUGLAS
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Teaching ESL Composition: Purpose, Process, and Practice.

Dana Ferris and John S. Hedgcock. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 1998. Pp. xvii + 329.

■ *Teaching ESL Composition: Purpose, Process, and Practice*, just as its authors contend, is a suitable and comprehensive resource for current and prospective teachers of ESL composition. Indeed, most of the book's teaching suggestions could serve just as well for writing teachers of native-English-speaking students as for those working in the ESL classroom. An abundant number of charts, samples of ESL student writing, and suggested classroom activities fill each chapter. In addition, application activities that conclude the chapters provide direct practice in such tasks as developing lesson plans and writing commentary on student papers.

The chapter contents are as follows. Chapter 1, the introduction, deals with theoretical and practical issues in ESL writing. Chapter 2 discusses the reading-writing relationship in ESL composition. Chapters 3 and 4 offer advice on syllabus design, lesson planning, text selection, and materials development. Chapters 5–7 deal with instructor feedback and peer response, in-class editing, and grammar. Chapter 8 looks at classroom perspectives on writing assessment. A final chapter speculates about the uses and abuses of technology in the classroom.

The helpful chapter on instructor feedback includes 20 pages of exercises that allow the reader to assess samples of other teachers' responses to student work and practice with their own hypothetical commentaries. The authors also extol the virtues of the assessment of portfolio work, which allows for implementation of recursive practices in the spirit of the process approach to writing instruction.

The book also highlights important research on the relationship between reading proficiency and writing ability for both L1 and L2 students. Writing practice by itself is not enough to allow students to

assimilate the L2 skills they need: Good readers, more often than not, are good writers, and teachers must expose students to examples of different written genres. Writing, in turn, builds proficiency in reading, so instruction in ESL writing should utilize tasks that reflect the kinds of reading and writing students will be doing in their specific disciplines.

The authors take a good deal of care to familiarize the beginning composition teacher with different types of textbooks and even provide an exhaustive checklist of features to look for when selecting a text. The book's final chapter speculates on computer use in the ESL classroom, claiming that students generally enjoy writing more, are more motivated, and have greater confidence when composing on a word processor. But the authors remind readers that computers are no substitute for teacher guidance and that such devices as spelling checkers are not infallible in terms of correcting grammar, homonym errors, and so on.

One concern is that, as all this information adds up, teaching ESL composition begins to sound like an insurmountable, almost superhuman task. The teacher has to plan far ahead yet be flexible enough to transform or ad lib an in-class activity. Unintentionally, the book forces readers to conjecture on just how much advancement their teaching can realistically provide for their L2 students.

All in all, *Teaching ESL Composition* is a fine reference, providing extensive, perhaps overwhelming, historical and theoretical foundations for its practical advice.

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The Light in Their Eyes: Creating Multicultural Learning Communities.

Sonia Nieto. New York: Teachers College Press, 1999. Pp. xxiv + 207.

■ Perhaps once every 5 years, one is fortunate enough to read a scholarly book that is as hard to put down as a good novel yet is brimming with profound insights on virtually every page. Nieto has written such a book, and its title vividly evokes both the process and the goal of teaching in multicultural contexts. In charting her own growth as an educator in the Introduction, Nieto notes that the light in students' eyes when they become excited about learning "is eloquent testimony to their capacity and hence their right to learn" (p. xix). Student learning, however, is not just simply a personal discovery; it is also a social act that is deeply connected with the belief systems of educators and the pattern of interactions they orchestrate with their students. These interactions are

shaped by the power structure of the society; specifically, Nieto notes that "structural conditions and policies outside the control of most educators—including societal stratification through institutional racism, sexism, and social class oppression, and discriminatory policies of schools—prevented many of my students from learning" (p. xxii).

The seven chapters focus on core issues within multicultural education and the education of L2 learners. Nieto insists that student learning must become once again the primary objective and focal point of multicultural education, and the first three chapters relate learning to the social context, inequality, and culture, respectively. Chapter 4 argues that institutional transformation is essential to promote the learning of culturally diverse students. Chapter 5 examines the intersections of critical pedagogy, empowerment, and learning, and the final two chapters address the personal and collective transformation of teachers (chapter 6) and the creation of learning communities (chapter 7).

Nieto speaks directly to educators caught between two contradictory sets of discourses regarding educational effectiveness. The themes emphasized by critical pedagogy and multicultural education accord with teachers' sense of their role as advocates for their students and with their awareness of the personal and academic challenges their students face in school systems that are often ill-prepared to address their learning needs. However, teachers are also increasingly required to prepare their students to take standardized tests long before students have been learning English long enough to have any hope of performing at grade level on these tests. The dilemmas of teaching in multicultural contexts are addressed in the reflections of 12 teachers who "have thought long and hard about what schools should be like and about the role of multicultural education, critical pedagogy, and social justice in creating those schools" (p. xiii).

As a text within teacher education courses, this volume would serve as a powerful catalyst for beginning teachers to reflect on, discuss, and clarify their identities as teachers. Nieto reminds readers of the pivotal role that teacher expectations and identity play in student achievement. To teach the curriculum effectively in a multicultural/multilingual classroom, it is essential to see oneself not only as an "effective teacher" in a narrow sense but also as an advocate for students whose voices are not being heard.

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Fundamentals of English Language Teaching.
S. Kathleen Kitao and Kenji Kitao. Tokyo: Eichosha, 1999.
Pp. xiii + 157.

■ This book is an overview of English language teaching (ELT) methods and resources. It gives a general background of and implications for various teaching practices and can serve as a quick reference to broad issues of ELT. Although the book is especially aimed at students in teacher education programs and beginning teachers in Japan, those interested in ELT everywhere will find much useful information. Perhaps the most significant contribution of this book can be found in the last four chapters, which discuss various uses of technology and resources.

Consisting of 19 chapters, the book begins with a discussion of the importance of studying English as a world language and goes on to give a brief modern history and overview of teaching methodologies, followed by the discussion of some second language acquisition theories that influence these methodologies and teaching techniques. Next, the authors talk about the importance of making teaching plans and suggest what to include and how to make effective use of them. The next five chapters discuss principles of the teaching of listening, speaking, reading, writing, and vocabulary, showing how each skill is different from yet interrelated with the other skills. The authors provide ideas and techniques for teaching these skills, along with suggestions about teaching culture in the English classroom. Chapter 13, which deals with teaching materials, explains their role and characteristics and gives implications for choosing the right ones. Evaluation techniques are discussed in chapter 14, and in examining possible drawbacks of particular assessments, the authors argue that tests should be more communicative and provide suggestions on how to achieve this.

Finally, the book devotes the last four chapters to discussing uses of technology, especially computers and the Internet, and shows how to incorporate technological resources into ELT in various ways. These chapters discuss the implications of various forms of multimedia and provide detailed information about on-line resources. The authors suggest that using computers and the Internet in ELT can be very exciting and motivating for students because these media can provide opportunities for students to actually use the language they are learning in class.

Overall, this book is very concise and informative, but the authors might have considered some additional issues. Although the book is apparently intended for those who are teaching and interested in teaching English in Japan, there is a relative lack of information and analysis of Japanese ELT, and more specific information, particularly from the perspectives of Japanese educators, would have been useful.

Another aspect is an ambiguity concerning the distinction between EFL and ESL. Because learners' needs and applicable methods can be very different depending on the context, a clearer distinction should have been drawn between those two learning contexts.

In general, this book is a useful one for both pre- and in-service teachers, particularly for those considering the role of technology in ELT at the beginning of the 21st century.

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Fifty Strategies for Teaching English Language Learners.
Adrienne L. Herrell. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill, 2000.
Pp. xvi + 239.

■ Designed to train ESL teachers in the most effective practices for instruction of limited English proficient students, Herrell's *Fifty Strategies for Teaching English Language Learners* provides an informative introduction to the field. This teacher training text was based on Herrell's research of the most successful strategies employed to support English language learners in their language acquisition process. She describes the book as a practical manual to provide K–12 ESL instructors with theoretical background and a step-by-step guide to the most effective language teaching techniques. This text is suitable for university-level or volunteer teachers-in-training.

The text comprises 50 strategy chapters as well as an introduction, which includes a theoretical overview of second language acquisition theory, a discussion of practice with underlying theory, and a matrix of the 50 strategies with their objectives. Although the theoretical overview is a mere three pages long, it mentions such theories as Steven Krashen and Tracy Terrell's input hypothesis, Merrill Swain's output hypothesis, M. A. K. Halliday's seven functions of language, and Jim Cummins's concepts of basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP). The author's discussion of the underlying theory base of instruction is also short but provides newcomers a compact set of five principles to follow: encourage verbal interaction, promote active involvement, support comprehensible input, contextualize language, and reduce anxiety. The matrix of the 50 strategies, which is vital to the use of this text, highlights which of the above principles are primary or secondary objectives of each strategy.

The 50 strategies are organized alphabetically throughout the textlike

chapters. Examples of strategies include Advanced Organizers, Integrated Curriculum Projects, Learning Strategy Instruction, Manipulative Strategies, Modeled Talk, Preview/Review, and Scripting. The principles and goals of the strategy (called *Supports*) are emphasized at the beginning of each chapter for clarity and practicality. A brief paragraph on the historical and theoretical background of the strategy is provided, as is an explanation of the importance of the strategy. A step-by-step procedure follows with details of strategy implementation in the classroom. In addition to the comprehensible explanations, many of the strategies include evaluation steps. Applications and real-life examples contextualize the strategy and its implementation. Each chapter concludes with several references and suggestions for further reading.

Only one blemish—relating to organization, not content—exists in the design of the text. Because the strategy chapters are arranged alphabetically, one must examine the whole list to find several related strategies. Arranging the strategies by theme or genre might have made the text more useful.

The strengths of *Fifty Strategies* are abundant and significant. The matrix of principles and strategies provides for quick access to the objectives of each strategy. The discussions of historical and theoretical background and the overall theoretical stance emphasize the interrelated nature of theory and current practice, which informs the practice of beginning teachers. The basic tenets of each strategy are delineated in an explicit, concise manner with little unexplained jargon, allowing teachers to implement the suggestions.

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Intelligence Reframed: Multiple Intelligences for the 21st Century. Howard Gardner. New York: Basic Books, 1999. Pp. x + 292.

■ In *Intelligence Reframed: Multiple Intelligences for the 21st Century*, Gardner continues the argument he developed in many of his earlier books: that there are many kinds of minds, labeled as multiple forms of intelligences. The theory of multiple intelligence (MI) is very important to language teachers as it allows them to examine their classroom techniques and assessments in light of individual learner differences. The manner in which language learners approach learning varies with individual intelligence profiles; therefore, the educator's understanding

of multiple intelligences may enhance curriculum design and daily lesson planning.

In 12 chapters, Gardner provides readers with a well-articulated discussion of the history of intelligence, kinds of intelligences, common questions about intelligence, and the commonsense understanding of intelligence. Detailed reference notes are conveniently located in a section at the end of the book, so that the flow of the text is continuous. The four appendixes represent a welcome background for the interested reader. In this book, Gardner offers a newly refined definition of *intelligence*: "an intelligence is a biopsychological potential to process information that can be activated in a cultural setting to solve problems or create products that are of value in a culture" (pp. 33–34).

A real strength of the book lies in chapter 9, which describes and justifies the ways in which MI theory can be applied to scholastic settings. Because certain institutions may encounter difficulty implementing Gardner's multiple approaches to understanding, this chapter is particularly useful for language educators, as it highlights how others have successfully implemented MI theory and how it can be applied to classroom learning.

In addition to the 7 original intelligences, Gardner uses the book to introduce 2 new intelligences, naturalistic and existential. He also warns that the most important task in the new millennium is not to "just hone our various intelligences and use them properly, but figure out how intelligence and morality can work together to create a world in which a great variety of people will want to live" (p. 4). And this observation helps get readers ready for the 10th intelligence, moral intelligence, which, Gardner argues, is going to be one of the most valued intelligences of the century, as the world has witnessed many smart people lacking moral values, which has caused other people to suffer.

Gardner's line of reasoning is persuasive because of the extensiveness of the information he includes. However, beyond the canonization of three new intelligences and some refinements, the book is mainly a review of Gardner's previous works. The chapter on moral intelligence will probably take the spotlight, although the reoccurring illustrations that he provides, such as references to war-related events that occurred over 50 years ago, seem outdated for a book that professes to speak to the 21st century.

Like so many of Gardner's earlier books, *Intelligence Reframed* will have a powerful impact on all who read it. Gardner offers a scholarly formulation of a commonsense message that so many people in education already know: Each of us is very special.

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Mark My Words: Assessing Second and Foreign Language Skills. Language Testing Research Centre. Melbourne, Australia: University of Melbourne, Multimedia Education Unit, 1997.

■ The growth over the past decade of interest in assessment practices in language education has been accompanied by the publication of a number of core texts. Fine as these texts are, they all tend to suffer from an overriding density of content attributable no doubt to the inherent complexity of the whole area of assessment. The approach adopted in the *Mark My Words* videotape series is a radical departure from the more traditional ones taken in texts. In an unusual video-based presentation, the members of the Language Testing Research Centre at the University of Melbourne in Australia, led by Alan Davies, have created an interesting and informative set of materials. These materials are designed to "either complement an existing course in language assessment, or to form the core around which a course can be built" (*Introductory Booklet,* p. 3).

The series consists of six videotapes, each of which focuses on a particular aspect of assessment: a general introduction to language proficiency assessment; principles of test development; objective and subjective assessment; stages of test analysis; performance assessment; and classroom-based assessment. Each tape contains a number of brief monologues on aspects of the topic and comes with a booklet that describes the content, offers a number of summary questions for discussion, provides a list of key terms, and suggests a range of further readings.

The series is consistent and balanced in both the input offered by the speakers and the overall conceptualisation. All aspects of the course are discussed in terms of real language tests and real language learning contexts. That these tests and contexts are varied adds to the sense that they have been extremely well chosen to best exemplify the underlying concepts. In many ways the video format makes these concepts more accessible than textbook descriptions could.

This series has been criticised for being too specific to Australia (in terms of the tests referred to) and for not reflecting the view of language testing as expounded in existing, North American, language-testing textbooks (Kunnan, 1998). However, the approach taken in the series reflects a dynamic interpretation of an assessment tradition that is philosophically different from the tradition reflected in these textbooks. Secondly, the dynamism of Australian assessment, inspired by a number of the speakers interviewed in this series, has led to an approach to assessment that is both theoretically sound and practically based. Finally, I would suggest that when tests are referred to, they are succinctly

introduced, and only those aspects which refer to particular discussion points are dwelt on.

Although the video presentation increases the accessibility of the issues, the series finally succeeds because it interweaves complex concepts with practical application to produce a cohesive and convincing view of assessment. The relatively high cost of the series means that it may stretch the resources of interested individuals. Nevertheless, I believe that the importance of the series means that it should be seen as a core text, central to any language assessment library, private or institutional.

REFERENCE

Kunnan, A. (1998). Review of "Mark My Words." *Language Testing, 15,* 415–417.

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BOOK NOTICES

TESOL Quarterly prints brief book notices of 100 words or less announcing books of interest to readers. Book Notices are intended to inform readers about selected books that publishers have sent to TESOL and are descriptive rather than evaluative. They are solicited by the Book Review Editor.

Techniques and Principles in Language Teaching.
Diane Larsen-Freeman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
Pp. xv + 191.

■ First published in 1986, this popular title in the series Oxford Teaching Techniques in English as a Second Language has been updated and revised. In particular, the author's introduction has been expanded to focus on challenging not only novice teachers but experienced ones as well to "leave behind teaching as they were taught and become aware of, and open to, alternatives" (p. xi). The book discusses a number of teaching methods, including content-based, task-based, and participatory approaches, and a greatly revised chapter on what is now called *Desuggestopedia,* emphasizing the importance of "desuggesting" the limitations on learning.

On Second Language Writing.
Tony Silva and Paul Kei Matsuda (Eds.). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 2001.
Pp. xxi + 241.

■ This collection of papers by 15 well-known practitioners and researchers in L2 writing grew out of a symposium held at Purdue University to take stock of the state of the art at the cusp between the old and the new millennia. The chapters, representing a wide variety of styles and approaches, provide a much-needed overview of the teaching and learning of writing in an L2 at a time when there is a growing interest in bridging the unfortunate gap between writing pedagogy and composition theory. Most of the chapters reflect their authors' North American ESL context, but the ideas and approaches in them should be applicable to a wide range of teaching and learning situations.

Tense and Aspect in Second Language Acquisition: Form, Meaning, and Use.
Kathleen Bardovi-Harlig. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000. Pp. xvi + 491.

■ All speakers, no matter what their language, have ways of talking about time and of focusing on the relationship of the events being talked about to the time of the utterances referring to them. In second language acquisition, learners seek to employ not only verbal morphology but also lexical references, such as time adverbials, and discourse organization itself in the sequencing of verbs to indicate chronology. The author provides an in-depth analysis of a fascinating side of interlanguage structure. It should be of interest to students, researchers, and classroom practitioners alike.

Research Into Teaching English to Young Learners.
Jayne Moon and Marianne Nikolov (Eds.). Pécs, Hungary: University Press Pécs. Pp. 416.

■ This interesting collection arising out of two conferences held in 1999, one in Hungary, one in Poland, contains some 20 papers by teachers and researchers in the field of teaching English to young learners. The contributors represent a variety of national contexts in Europe, including Turkey, Slovakia, Spain, Italy, Hungary, Finland, Germany, Croatia, Poland, and the United Kingdom. The collection deals with a range of research and pedagogical issues. The four sections of the book consider general research, international projects, the teachers of young learners, and classroom-based research. The theme is understanding "how and to what level children develop proficiency in foreign languages in particular kinds of contexts" (p. 11).

Language, Power, and Pedagogy: Bilingual Children in the Crossfire.
Jim Cummins. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters, 2000. Pp. viii + 309.

■ In this book, bringing together theory, research, policy, and practice, Cummins addresses concerns and confusion surrounding those charged with instructing bilingual children in a variety of contexts. Major themes include the issue of power relations in culturally and linguistically diverse educational situations, the conceptualization and assessment of language proficiency in multilingual contexts, and controversies regarding bilingualism and educational equity. The author's goal is to elaborate "the importance of identity negotiation and processes of knowledge

generation (learning) for charting more imaginative and equitable educational opportunities for all children" (p. 7).

Sustained Content Teaching in Academic ESL/EFL: A Practical Approach.
Marcia Pally (Ed.). Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2000.

■ This book, a collection of 12 chapters written by experienced practitioners of content-based ESL/EFL instruction, grew out of the editor's concern that nonnative-English-speaking writers were producing essays in English that she could not understand. The problem was not with their vocabulary, sentence-level accuracy, or textual coherence, nor with their level of general English proficiency or educational background, but rather was something to do with the way arguments are made in English. The contributors provide a variety of approaches to and practical examples of courses designed to meet the challenge of helping university-level learners cope with sustained academic work in their L2.

INFORMATION FOR CONTRIBUTORS

EDITORIAL POLICY

TESOL Quarterly, a professional, refereed journal, encourages submission of previously unpublished articles on topics of significance to individuals concerned with the teaching of English as a second or foreign language and of standard English as a second dialect. As a publication that represents a variety of cross-disciplinary interests, both theoretical and practical, the *Quarterly* invites manuscripts on a wide range of topics, especially in the following areas:

1. psychology and sociology of language learning and teaching; issues in research and research methodology
2. curriculum design and development; instructional methods, materials, and techniques
3. testing and evaluation
4. professional preparation
5. language planning
6. professional standards

Because the *Quarterly* is committed to publishing manuscripts that contribute to bridging theory and practice in our profession, it particularly welcomes submissions drawing on relevant research (e.g., in anthropology, applied and theoretical linguistics, communication, education, English education [including reading and writing theory], psycholinguistics, psychology, first and second language acquisition, sociolinguistics, and sociology) and addressing implications and applications of this research to issues in our profession. The *Quarterly* prefers that all submissions be written so that their content is accessible to a broad readership, including those individuals who may not have familiarity with the subject matter addressed. *TESOL Quarterly* is an international journal. It welcomes submissions from English language contexts around the world.

GENERAL INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

Submission Categories

TESOL Quarterly invites submissions in five categories:

Full-length articles. Contributors are strongly encouraged to submit manuscripts of no more than 20–25 double-spaced pages or 8,500 words (including references, notes, and tables). Submit **three copies** plus three copies of an informative abstract of not more than 200 words. If possible, indicate the number of words at the end of the article. To facilitate the blind review process, authors' names should appear only on a cover sheet, not on the title page; do not use running heads. Submit manuscripts to the Editor of *TESOL Quarterly*:

Carol A. Chapelle
Department of English
203 Ross Hall
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The following factors are considered when evaluating the suitability of a manuscript for publication in *TESOL Quarterly*:

- The manuscript appeals to the general interests of *TESOL Quarterly*'s readership.
- The manuscript strengthens the relationship between theory and practice: Practical articles must be anchored in theory, and theoretical articles and reports of research must contain a discussion of implications or applications for practice.
- The content of the manuscript is accessible to the broad readership of the *Quarterly,* not only to specialists in the area addressed.
- The manuscript offers a new, original insight or interpretation and not just a restatement of others' ideas and views.
- The manuscript makes a significant (practical, useful, plausible) contribution to the field.
- The manuscript is likely to arouse readers' interest.
- The manuscript reflects sound scholarship and research design with appropriate, correctly interpreted references to other authors and works.
- The manuscript is well written and organized and conforms to the specifications of the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (4th ed.).

Reviews. *TESOL Quarterly* invites succinct, evaluative reviews of professional books. Reviews should provide a descriptive and evaluative summary and a brief discussion of the significance of the work in the context of current theory and practice. Submissions should generally be no longer than 500 words. Submit **two copies** of the review to the Review Editor:

Dan Douglas
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Review Articles. *TESOL Quarterly* also welcomes occasional review articles, that is, comparative discussions of several publications that fall into a topical category (e.g., pronunciation, literacy training, teaching methodology). Review articles should provide a description and evaluative comparison of the materials and discuss the relative significance of the works in the context of current theory and practice. Submissions should generally be no longer than 1,500 words. Submit **two copies** of the review article to the Review Editor at the address given above.

Brief Reports and Summaries. *TESOL Quarterly* also invites short reports on any aspect of theory and practice in our profession. We encourage manuscripts that either present preliminary findings or focus on some aspect of a larger study. In all cases, the discussion of issues should be supported by empirical evidence, collected through qualitative or quantitative investigations. Reports or summaries should present key concepts and results in a manner that will make the research accessible to our diverse readership. Submissions to this section should be 7–10 double-spaced pages, or 3,400 words (including references, notes, and tables). If possible, indicate the number of words at the end of the report. *Longer articles do not appear in this section and should be submitted to the Editor of* TESOL Quarterly *for review.* Send **one copy** of the manuscript to **each** of the Editors of the Brief Reports and Summaries section:

Rod Ellis
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The Forum. *TESOL Quarterly* welcomes comments and reactions from readers regarding specific aspects or practices of our profession. Responses to published articles and reviews are also welcome; unfortunately, we are not able to publish responses to previous exchanges. Contributions to The Forum should generally be no longer than 7–10 double-spaced pages or 3,400 words. If possible, indicate the number of words at the end of the contribution. Submit **three copies** to the Editor of *TESOL Quarterly* at the address given above.

Brief discussions of qualitative and quantitative **Research Issues** and of **Teaching Issues** are also published in The Forum. Although these contributions are typically solicited, readers may send topic suggestions or make known their availability as contributors by writing directly to the Editors of these subsections.

Research Issues:

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Special-Topic Issues. Typically, one issue per volume will be devoted to a special topic. Topics are approved by the Editorial Advisory Board of the *Quarterly.* Those wishing to suggest topics or make known their availability as guest editors should contact the Editor of *TESOL Quarterly.* Issues will generally contain both invited articles designed to survey and illuminate central themes as well as articles solicited through a call for papers.

General Submission Guidelines

1. All submissions to the *Quarterly* should conform to the requirements of the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (4th ed.), which can be obtained from the American Psychological Association, Book Order Department, Dept. KK, P.O. Box 92984, Washington, DC 20090-2984 USA. Orders from the United Kingdom, Europe, Africa, or the Middle East should be sent to American Psychological Association, Dept. KK, 3 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, WC2E 8LU, England. For more information, e-mail order@apa.org or consult http://www.apa.org/books/ordering.html.
2. All submissions to *TESOL Quarterly* should be accompanied by a cover letter that includes a full mailing address and both a daytime and an evening telephone number. Where available, authors should include an electronic mail address and fax number.
3. Authors of full-length articles, Brief Reports and Summaries, and Forum contributions should include **two copies** of a very brief biographical statement (in sentence form, maximum 50 words), plus any special notations or acknowledgments that they would like to have included. Double spacing should be used throughout.
4. *TESOL Quarterly* provides 25 free reprints of published full-length articles and 10 reprints of material published in the Reviews, Brief Reports and Summaries, and The Forum sections.
5. Manuscripts submitted to *TESOL Quarterly* cannot be returned to authors. Authors should be sure to keep a copy for themselves.
6. It is understood that manuscripts submitted to *TESOL Quarterly* have not been previously published and are not under consideration for publication elsewhere.
7. It is the responsibility of the author(s) of a manuscript submitted to *TESOL Quarterly* to indicate to the Editor the existence of any work already published (or under consideration for publication elsewhere) by the author(s) that is similar in content to that of the manuscript.
8. The Editor of *TESOL Quarterly* reserves the right to make editorial changes in any manuscript accepted for publication to enhance clarity or style. The author will be consulted only if the editing has been substantial.
9. The views expressed by contributors to *TESOL Quarterly* do not necessarily reflect those of the Editor, the Editorial Advisory Board, or TESOL. Material published in the *Quarterly* should not be construed to have the endorsement of TESOL.

Informed Consent Guidelines

TESOL Quarterly expects authors to adhere to ethical and legal standards for work with human subjects. Although we are aware that such standards vary among institutions and countries, we require authors and contributors to

meet, as a minimum, the conditions detailed below before submitting a manuscript for review. TESOL recognizes that some institutions may require research proposals to satisfy additional requirements. If you wish to discuss whether or how your study met these guidelines, you may e-mail the managing editor of TESOL publications at tq@tesol.org or call 703-535-7852.

As an author, you will be asked to sign a statement indicating that you have complied with Option A or Option B before TESOL will publish your work.

A. You have followed the human subjects review procedure established by your institution.

B. If you are not bound by an institutional review process, or if it does not meet the requirements outlined below, you have complied with the following conditions.

Participation in the Research

1. You have informed participants in your study, sample, class, group, or program that you will be conducting research in which they will be the participants or that you would like to write about them for publication.
2. You have given each participant a clear statement of the purpose of your research or the basic outline of what you would like to explore in writing, making it clear that research and writing are dynamic activities that may shift in focus as they occur.
3. You have explained the procedure you will follow in the research project or the types of information you will be collecting for your writing.
4. You have explained that participation is voluntary, that there is no penalty for refusing to participate, and that the participants may withdraw at any time without penalty.
5. You have explained to participants if and how their confidentiality will be protected.
6. You have given participants sufficient contact information that they can reach you for answers to questions regarding the research.
7. You have explained to participants any foreseeable risks and discomforts involved in agreeing to cooperate (e.g., seeing work with errors in print).
8. You have explained to participants any possible direct benefits of participating (e.g., receiving a copy of the article or chapter).
9. You have obtained from each participant (or from the participant's parent or guardian) a signed consent form that sets out the terms of your agreement with the participants and have kept these forms on file (TESOL will not ask to see them).

Consent to Publish Student Work

10. If you will be collecting samples of student work with the intention of publishing them, either anonymously or with attribution, you have made that clear to the participants in writing.

11. If the sample of student work (e.g., a signed drawing or signed piece of writing) will be published with the student's real name visible, you have obtained a signed consent form and will include that form when you submit your manuscript for review and editing (see http://www.tesol.org/pubs/author/consent.html for samples).
12. If your research or writing involves minors (persons under age 18), you have supplied and obtained signed separate informed consent forms from the parent or guardian and from the minor, if he or she is old enough to read, understand, and sign the form.
13. If you are working with participants who do not speak English well or are intellectually disabled, you have written the consent forms in a language that the participant or the participant's guardian can understand.

Statistical Guidelines

Because of the educational role the *Quarterly* plays modeling research in the field, it is of particular concern that published research articles meet high statistical standards. In order to support this goal, the following guidelines are provided.

Reporting the study. Studies submitted to the *Quarterly* should be explained clearly and in enough detail that it would be possible to replicate the design of the study on the basis of the information provided in the article. Likewise, the study should include sufficient information to allow readers to evaluate the claims made by the author. In order to accommodate both of these requirements, authors of statistical studies should present the following.

1. a clear statement of the research questions and the hypotheses that are being examined;
2. descriptive statistics, including the means, standard deviations, and sample sizes, necessary for the reader to correctly interpret and evaluate any inferential statistics;
3. appropriate types of reliability and validity of any tests, ratings, questionnaires, and so on;
4. graphs and charts that help explain the results;
5. clear and careful descriptions of the instruments used and the types of intervention employed in the study;
6. explicit identifications of dependent, independent, moderator, intervening, and control variables;
7. complete source tables for statistical tests;
8. discussions of how the assumptions underlying the research design were met, assumptions such as random selection and assignment of subjects and sufficiently large sample sizes so that the results are stable;
9. tests of the assumptions of any statistical tests, when appropriate; and

10. realistic interpretations of the statistical significance of the results keeping in mind that the meaningfulness of the results is a separate and important issue, especially for correlation.

Conducting the analyses. Quantitative studies submitted to *TESOL Quarterly* should reflect a concern for controlling Type I and Type II error. Thus, studies should avoid multiple *t* tests, multiple ANOVAs, and so on. However, in the very few instances in which multiple tests might be employed, the author should explain the effects of such use on the probability values in the results. In reporting the statistical analyses, authors should choose one significance level (usually .05) and report all results in terms of that level. Likewise, studies should report effect size through such strength of association measures as omega-squared or eta-squared along with beta (the possibility of Type II error) whenever this may be important to interpreting the significance of the results.

Interpreting the results. The results should be explained clearly and the implications discussed such that readers without extensive training in the use of statistics can understand them. Care should be taken in making causal inferences from statistical results, and these should be avoided with correlational studies. Results of the study should not be overinterpreted or overgeneralized. Finally, alternative explanations of the results should be discussed.

Qualitative Research Guidelines

To ensure that *Quarterly* articles model rigorous qualitative research, the following guidelines are provided.

Conducting the study. Studies submitted to the *Quarterly* should exhibit an in-depth understanding of the philosophical perspectives and research methodologies inherent in conducting qualitative research. Utilizing these perspectives and methods in the course of conducting research helps to ensure that studies are credible, valid, and dependable rather than impressionistic and superficial. Reports of qualitative research should meet the following criteria.

1. Data collection (as well as analyses and reporting) is aimed at uncovering an emic perspective. In other words, the study focuses on research participants' perspectives and interpretations of behavior, events, and situations rather than etic (outsider-imposed) categories, models, and viewpoints.
2. Data collection strategies include prolonged engagement, persistent observation, and triangulation. Researchers should conduct ongoing observations over a sufficient period of time so as to build trust with respondents, learn the culture (e.g., classroom, school, or community), and check for misinformation introduced by both the researcher and the researched. Triangulation involves the use of multiple methods and sources such as participant-observation, informal and formal interviewing, and collection of relevant or available documents.

Analyzing the data. Data analysis is also guided by the philosophy and methods underlying qualitative research studies. The researcher should engage in comprehensive data treatment in which data from all relevant sources are analyzed. In addition, many qualitative studies demand an analytic inductive approach involving a cyclical process of data collection, analysis (taking an emic perspective and utilizing the descriptive language the respondents themselves use), creation of hypotheses, and testing of hypotheses in further data collection.

Reporting the data. The researcher should generally provide "thick description" with sufficient detail to allow the reader to determine whether transfer to other situations can be considered. Reports also should include the following.

1. a description of the theoretical or conceptual framework that guides research questions and interpretations;
2. a clear statement of the research questions;
3. a description of the research site, participants, procedures for ensuring participant anonymity, and data collection strategies, and a description of the roles of the researcher(s);
4. a description of a clear and salient organization of patterns found through data analysis—reports of patterns should include representative examples, not anecdotal information;
5. interpretations that exhibit a holistic perspective in which the author traces the meaning of patterns across all the theoretically salient or descriptively relevant micro- and macrocontexts in which they are embedded;
6. interpretations and conclusions that provide evidence of grounded theory and discussion of how this theory relates to current research/theory in the field, including relevant citations—in other words, the article should focus on the issues or behaviors that are salient to participants and that not only reveal an in-depth understanding of the situation studied but also suggest how it connects to current related theories.