

LANGUAGE LEARNERS' BELIEFS: DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE

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ABSTRACT

This longitudinal study was designed to provide an orderly account of how beliefs about English language learning develop among seven Japanese high school students, identify beliefs that are beneficial and interfering for language learning and the routes by which these beliefs are reached, and identify belief changes and their sources. Beliefs are defined as a cognitive representation about self and the world. They are situated in experiences and social context. Learner beliefs pertain to many aspects of language learning and come from multiple sources, including educational background, experience living overseas, peers, teachers, and persons met in chance encounters.

The data for the study were collected from seven students attending a Japanese public high school. Beginning when the students were first-year high school students (10th graders), the data, which were drawn from in-depth interviews, journals, written reports, observations, and school records, form a qualitative multiple-case-study. Data gathering ended when the students chose a university in the third year of high school.

There were five major findings. First, learners develop and modify their beliefs based on their life experiences inside and outside the classroom. This finding suggests that providing learning experiences is important, but teachers should be aware that learners with different learning backgrounds and personal traits will likely respond to those experiences differently. Experiences that most influence learners' beliefs seem to be those that learners choose themselves. Second, beliefs are usually implicit, and thus, learners are not always aware of their beliefs until they are asked to verbalize them. Thus, one role for researchers and teachers is to find effective ways to elicit learner

beliefs and make them explicit. Third, beliefs can be placed in three categories: beneficial beliefs, indeterminate beliefs, and interfering beliefs. Beneficial beliefs enhance learners' motivation to learn, while interfering beliefs concern negative thoughts that hinder them from learning and from engaging in challenging tasks. Indeterminate beliefs can be either beneficial or interfering depending on the context in which they occur. Those beliefs are context-sensitive; thus, they are not necessarily shared by all learners. Individual learners have different beneficial and interfering beliefs depending on their learning context. Fourth, adolescent learners' beliefs change over time because adolescents are in the process of growing and changing physically and mentally. This suggests that there is great potential for modifying their beliefs in positive ways. Fifth, learners develop personal theories about learning based on their beliefs. Considering that learners behave according to their theories of learning, eliciting learners' beliefs can bring benefits for researchers and teachers because they can anticipate learners' behavior by knowing their beliefs.

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After finishing the courses, the members of my doctoral cohort started a journey called "dissertation writing." We felt as if we were thrown into the ocean. It took me a while before I finally found what I really wanted to know and investigate. It came to me like lightning one day in the midst of English activities while observing my students and feeling impressed with their efforts and strong motivation to learn. At that time, I decided to set off on a journey of conducting my dissertation study with some of them as the participants in the study.

I owe a great deal to the many professors from Temple University Japan Campus. Classes I took in TUJ were all inspiring and instilled me with the pleasure of learning. I attribute overcoming numerous hardships and setbacks to the guidance provided by all my professors and their inspiring classes.

Writing a dissertation is not easy. It is like growing *bonsai*. I was at first a tiny plant, then I developed by having my branches trimmed, receiving fertilizer and water, and finally being placed in a pot for all to see. I needed professional craftsmen to help me become a well-shaped *bonsai*. I am, thus, grateful to all of the academic professionals who took time out of their busy schedules and provided valuable and detailed knowledge for my project.

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For my father, Mikio Suzuki,
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Background of the Issue

Throughout my teaching career, I have met many students and I have had opportunities to observe their development as learners and as persons. What impressed me most was the passion and drive of some students to keep learning and to take part in classroom activities. They are active learners and they have beliefs about language learning that are beneficial for their learning. In the present study, beliefs are defined as a cognitive representation about self and the world. Beliefs strongly affect what people want and whether they succeed in getting it (Dweck, 2006, p. 1).

I often ask myself what I want my students to be. Although I am pleased to see my students pass a difficult English proficiency test or pass the entrance examination to a university they want to attend, my happiest moment is when I observe the students growing into learners who consider learning English enjoyable, keep learning by challenging themselves, sustain their motivation to learn English, solve new problems, develop their ideas and knowledge, and share their ideas with other people. When I sense that my words, pedagogical materials, choices of tasks, or learning experiences have enhanced their development, I am most content as a teacher.

In addition to the inspiration I get from my students, I am concerned about English education in Japan. Although English has an established status as the main foreign language in many educational institutions, Japan is an English as Foreign

Language (EFL) context, and the English language is seen as a foreign thing, not an integral part of the students' lives (see Appendix A). Some students have said to me, "Sensei (teacher), why do we have to study English? We can live without using English in Japan." This is the standard complaint of unmotivated students and is an indication of their negative attitude toward studying English, an attitude that led me to ask what studying and learning English should be, especially in the Japanese EFL context. In EFL contexts, learners' English-related goals vary, and becoming a successful and active learner is only one of several possible goals. I have seen high school students who were highly motivated to study English because of a strong desire to go to a certain university, but who lost their motivation after passing the university entrance examination. Even though they passed the entrance examination, they did not necessarily consider themselves successful learners of English. As a result of such experiences, I came to think that it is important for learners in EFL contexts such as Japan to consider English in more meaningful ways, and thus to continue studying it after achieving proximal goals, such as passing an entrance examination. In other words, they should have learning goals, not performance goals (Dweck, 1986).

In addition to studying in order to pass university entrance examinations, some of my students study for other reasons, such as communicating with people from foreign countries in English and learning about the cultures of countries where English is spoken. Their ups and downs studying English and their learning experiences have enhanced their awareness of the meaning of learning English, which has led them to be active learners. Good foreign language learners are described typically on the basis of

their accessing a variety of conversations in their communities (Norton & Toohey, 2001, p. 310). In EFL contexts, however, especially in a monolingual country like Japan, language learners have difficulties accessing English-speaking communities. Some students do their best to learn English in spite of those difficulties. I am interested in how those motivated students think, and in particular what beliefs they hold and how those beliefs inform their decisions and keep them progressing in their studies.

Learner beliefs are one type of individual learner difference (Kalaja & Barcelos, 2006, p. 1). Researchers have investigated their potential effects on learners' strategies and motivation in the classroom (Horwitz, 1987, 1988; Wenden, 1986a, 1987; Yang, 1999), the process and outcomes of learning (Dweck, 1986; Schommer, 1994), and attitude change (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975).

Beliefs can also hinder or enhance the learning process, or clash with the teacher's beliefs or the culture of a particular classroom (Sick, 2007, p. 42). Negative beliefs can even cause students to withdraw and feel unhappy (McCargar, 1993).

In sum, learners hold individual learners' beliefs and they influence learners' behaviors and learning.

There are many descriptions of learners' beliefs in the literature. They encompass aspects of knowing and language learning (Watanabe, 1990), "convictions" (Okazaki, 1997), *birifu* [beliefs as a loan word in Japanese] (Katagiri, 2005), assumptions about how languages are learned (Chawhan & Oliver, 2000; Lightbown & Spada, 2006), and "personal myths" about learning (Bernat & Gvozdenko, 2005). Furthermore, Wenden (1999) implied that beliefs are judgmental by their very nature.

Psychologists Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) wrote that "beliefs refer to a person's subjective probability judgments concerning some discriminable aspect of his world; they deal with the person's understanding of himself and his environment" (p. 131). They went on to say "beliefs are the subjective probability of a relation between the object of the belief and some other object, value, concept, or attribute" (p. 131). Thus, in this view, beliefs represent the information that we have about an object. These descriptions suggest that learner beliefs have subjective characteristics.

In addition, some researchers and educators considered social and contextual aspects of learner beliefs. Dewey (1938) saw beliefs as part of our experience. He stated that beliefs are not only cognitive concepts; they are also social constructs born out of our experiences and problems (1938, p. 6). Barcelos (2006, p. 28) suggested, learners' beliefs are shaped by social-cultural perspectives including students' cultural background and social context. According to Hosenfeld (2006, p. 39), beliefs are dynamic, socially constructed, and contextual. Pajares (1992) described beliefs as dynamic and emergent, socially constructed and contextually situated, experiential, mediated, paradoxical, and contradictory; beliefs change, and they are constructed in contexts within social groups and relationships, are influenced by others, and they are both social and individual. Dweck (2000) noted that beliefs help people organize their world and give meaning to their experiences; for these reasons, beliefs can be called *meaning systems* (p. xi).

Considering researchers' descriptions and the characteristics of learners' beliefs, in this study, I define learners' belief as a cognitive representation of a proposition

about self and the world. As such, beliefs can make a great contribution to a learner's sustained deep learning (Schumann, 1997), which is learning that takes place over an extended period of time and during which the learner becomes highly proficient in their area of study.

Beliefs are expressed explicitly in verbal discourse such as conversations, interviews, and in written discourse such as journals, essays, and e-mail. Thus, in this study, I investigate how the participants construct, develop, and change their beliefs in their learning contexts, in their social communities, and in their social and individual experiences and to what sources they ascribe their beliefs.

As a teacher and student, I have developed beliefs about my goals and means of learning and teaching English. My dual identities have allowed me to experience many benefits. Without English, I would not have made friends in Korea, the United States, England, and foreign friends in Japan, and would have missed many rich opportunities to learn from foreign cultures and people. I have shared thoughts and ideas with people from different countries whom I met in formal settings such as conferences or university classes, and informally at parties, private gatherings, and even small talk with people in public places. I have met novelists, philosophers, educators, and researchers through reading English, and their thoughts have enriched my life. Those experiences have made me what I am today. My experiences have constructed my beliefs about learning English and they have guided me to how to teach English. Learning English is an ongoing journey for me.

These experiences as a learner and a teacher have led me to ask what journeys have brought my students to where they are. What experiences have they had and how have those experiences influenced their beliefs about learning? Thus, I became interested in investigating what factors bring positive and negative changes to my students: how they sustain their learning, how they change their beliefs about learning, how they make choices, and how they eventually develop as active learners. At the same time, I am interested in knowing what factors reduce their motivation to learn and cause them to develop negative beliefs about learning. I believe that knowledge of my students' beliefs can help me understand them better and enhance my ability as a teacher.

As a teacher in Rokkaku (pseudonym) High School, my inquiries into students' beliefs started when I carefully observed some students in my classes and talked with them. One boy, Takeshi, told me about his difficult experiences in the United States. He said that going to the United States was not his choice and that he did not like it at all. When Takeshi was a first-year student in Rokkaku High School, he did not want anybody to know he had lived in the United States because he believed that his English ability, especially speaking, was not good enough to gain positive appraisal from his peers as a returnee from an English-speaking country. Two-and-half years later, when he was in his final year of high school, his attitudes and beliefs seemed to have changed. He told me that he should have studied English more in the United States and that he was attending a private language school in order to improve his vocabulary, fluency, and pronunciation so that he can acquire the skills he had missed out on acquiring in the

United States. His story suggests that the ability to make a personal choice is a more powerful motivator than having others make choices for us. This realization holds an important lesson for teachers, as there are identifiable factors that teachers can use to help students make their own decisions to become more independent learners. Takeshi might have had experiences, including his interactions with teachers, peers, parents, and their beliefs about learning English, that helped him change his negative attitude toward learning English.

Teachers see students often at school almost every day, and are therefore often oblivious to students' growth. On any given day, a student can surprise a teacher by showing a mature attitude. Yuko, one of my female students, joined an English camp in Korea in 2007. I took her with four other students to the camp, which was organized by a Korean college teacher, a good friend of mine. At first, Yuko was excited to be in the camp. As days went by, however, her attitude changed. She seemed to have difficulty working with other students and often felt irritated. She screamed hysterically, and eventually she spent most of her time alone. If the camp had been held in Japan, I am sure that she would have run away and not come back. At the end of the camp, my impression was that the experience had solidified hatred toward Korea in her. After the camp, I did not see her for two years, until the graduation ceremony. Yuko, looking very much a grown-up young lady, came to me and said, 先生、東京外語大に受かりました。韓国語を勉強します。2年前のキャンプの経験が無かったらこうなっていなかったと思います。チャンスをくれてありがとうございました。

(Teacher, I passed the entrance exam to Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. I will

study Korean. Without my experience at the camp two years ago, I would not have been what I am today. Thank you for giving me a chance.) I was stunned. During days at the camp, I often thought that bringing Yuko to the camp was a mistake and I had never thought that her experience would foster a determination to learn Korean. This anecdote symbolizes a theme of the present study that teenagers change in ways that are often unpredictable but usually good.

Another issue that was raised in an informal discussion with my students concerned whether students want *juken benkyo* (studying for entrance exams) in English classes at school. Some students stated that they do, but others said, "not always." Sachiko, a student who had lived in the United States for five years said, "No, school is more than that, I think." She meant that school is not only a gate to college, but also a place to learn, meet people, and challenge traditional ideas. Sachiko, who was in her final year of high school, had achieved good grades in English and had participated in activities such as English Day Camp, Drama, and Speech Contests that were relevant to learning English. She did not seem to encounter difficulty getting good grades on English examinations at school and thus she did not want to study strategies for passing those tests. Perhaps she had sufficient confidence that she could pass the examinations, and therefore she wanted more than just preparation for what Sakui (2004, p. 158) called "grammar-skewed" entrance examinations. In this curriculum, English classes are composed essentially of grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation exercises, ubiquitous translation questions (Burden, 2005, p. 32), and rote learning. Sachiko's ideas about learning English had been influenced both by her experiences in the United States and

at Rokkaku High School. Talking with such students as these made me realize that, with respect to learning English, each student has a unique background and beliefs that were constructed through their individual experiences.

Teachers' beliefs can influence students' beliefs. One teacher's anecdote shows how this can occur. This teacher, who responded to an open-ended questionnaire that I administered in 2006, said that she believes that the role of high schools is only to help students prepare for college and that therefore English teachers should teach students basic grammar and vocabulary. Her belief about teaching English was based on her experience as a high school student: At high school, she learned English through the grammar-translation method, but outside school, she exchanged letters in English with a pen pal and read English books by herself. She believed that school English classes should focus only on teaching grammar and translation because students can engage in communicative activities by themselves. If this teacher had had a chance to teach Sachiko, what would Sachiko have felt about a class in which the teacher's priority was teaching grammar and translation? Would Sachiko's beliefs be influenced or modified by the teacher? This question led me to consider further questions about students in general. What do Japanese students think about English classes at school? Why do they study English? What can teachers do when facing students with different beliefs? That was the starting point of my interest in learners' beliefs about learning English.

Statement of the Problem

Up to the present, researchers investigating learners' beliefs have not adequately addressed four problems.

The first problem is the lack of studies investigating the sources, development, and changes of learners' beliefs (Lightbown & Spada, 2006, p. 67). The results of previous studies have indicated certain tendencies concerning students' beliefs, but they did not explain why and how those students developed, held, or changed certain beliefs. SLA researchers have investigated individual difference variables that learners bring into the classroom, such as aptitude, anxiety, motivation, and working memory. Beliefs are not included in those categories, but they are a type of individual difference (Cotterall, 1999) that can influence the variables listed above; therefore, researchers should strive to shed light on the sources, development, construction, and change of learners' beliefs and their effect on learning. By knowing how beliefs change and what variables change learners' beliefs, teachers can create learning experiences that positively influence learners' thoughts and help them develop positive beliefs. One problem, however, is that detecting change requires the ability to discern "from" and "to" conditions: belief states that have recognizable forms and consequences. Also, with respect to changes of beliefs about foreign language learning, it is important to investigate how various factors bring about belief change (Tanaka & Ellis, 2005, p. 81). In addition, few studies have been focused on younger learners, such as secondary school students. Because adolescents must manage major biological, educational, and social role transitions (Bandura, 1997, p. 6), I assume that their beliefs change. By

knowing how and what can change learners' beliefs, teachers can create learning experiences that affect learners' thoughts and help them develop positive beliefs.

The second problem is that the complexity of learners' beliefs has not been investigated sufficiently. Researchers have investigated beliefs about language learning (Campbell et al., 1993; Horwitz, 1987, 1988), learning beliefs held by learners of different languages (Kuntz, 1996), and the relationship between learner beliefs and strategies (Wenden, 1987), but no researchers have investigated the interwoven relationships among learners' beliefs, their feelings about learning English, autonomy, their educational experiences, and the characteristics of their beliefs.

The third problem is that learners' beliefs have not been fully identified nor have researchers developed a typology of learner beliefs. In the process of growing, some learners develop positive beliefs, and others develop negative beliefs about learning; in both cases, those beliefs affect the learners' efforts to learn. The categorization of their beliefs can help teachers understand what activities and learning experiences might enhance students' motivation to learn and why some students are unwilling to learn. In the process of acquiring a foreign language, learners develop some beliefs that support learning and some that discourage it. By knowing what learners believe about learning English and why they construct their beliefs, teachers might be able to assist learners' to change negative beliefs into positive ones. Learner beliefs do not need to be regarded as unchangeable working conditions; instead, teachers can seek to understand at what points and how beliefs can be influenced.

The fourth problem is that the ways in which self-efficacy theory and attribution theory explain the development, change, characteristics, and categories of learner beliefs has not been investigated especially among adolescents. Bandura (2006) proposed that efficacy beliefs play a key role in cognitive development and accomplishment and that students' beliefs about their efficacy help them regulate learning activities and master academic subjects (p. 10), which suggests that learners with a strong sense of self-efficacy hold positive beliefs. Confirming this possibility with second language learners would produce practical implications for teachers and researchers.

Purposes of the Study

This study has four purposes. The first purpose is to investigate how learner beliefs develop and change. Change, as Bailey (1992) and Jackson (1992) pointed out, occurs in many forms, including knowledge, attitudes, understanding, and self-awareness. Change itself can have positive, neutral, and negative meanings: Effective learners can change their attitudes and give up learning, while previously unsuccessful learners can focus their energies on the pursuit of worthwhile learning objectives. In this study, I investigate changes among students who find their own way of learning, make sense of their learning, and develop learning goals (Dweck, 1986). I investigate how their beliefs change through educative experiences (Dewey, 1938) at school and in social interactions and to what they attribute their learning.

The second purpose is to investigate the general characteristics of learner beliefs. Learner beliefs have been characterized as stable (Cotterall, 1999; Victori, 1999; Wenden, 1986), or as changing (Benson & Lor, 1999; White, 1999). In this study, those two notions of learner beliefs along with the characteristics of those beliefs are investigated in order to better understand the complex nature of learner beliefs.

The third purpose is to identify learners' beliefs and categorize them in relation to their effect on efforts to learn English. Given previous rudimentary classification of learners' beliefs, I hope to illuminate how learners develop beneficial and debilitating beliefs about learning English, how they develop beliefs that enhance their ability to sustain learning English, how their beliefs help them make decisions to carry out actions related to language learning, and how feelings of self-efficacy assist in developing positive beliefs about learning English.

Previous questionnaire studies (e.g., Suzuki & Kumazawa, 2005; Suzuki & Wada, 2004; Suzuki, 2006) have indicated that students with high motivation to learn English also hold positive intentions to learn English and learn more about foreign cultures. This suggests that motivated students share some beneficial beliefs about learning English. The ability to identify both beneficial and debilitating beliefs can assist educators in cultivating positive beliefs in learners.

The fourth purpose of the present study is to investigate how self-efficacy theory explains the development and change of beliefs and how learners attribute their success and failure. The results will clarify whether a high degree of self-efficacy is strongly

associated with beneficial beliefs and low self-efficacy is strongly associated with interfering beliefs. Finally, learners' attributions are also examined.

Significance of the Study

First, by identifying and categorizing learners' beliefs, this study can sharpen our understanding of learners' beliefs in practical ways. All students bring prior learning experiences with them to the foreign language classroom; they have knowledge and feelings that are crucial factors in L2 learning (Cook, 2001), and in constructing beliefs about learning. However, it is difficult for teachers to know each student's background, understand what they are thinking in class, and what they believe about learning (Suzuki, 2004), particularly in contexts such as Japan where class sizes are large and many students do not react overtly. It would be pedagogically beneficial, however, for teachers to know what students believe about learning and teaching and where and how they developed their conceptions about learning English. Teachers can benefit from understanding why some students are willing to engage in some activities but not others, how self-efficacy functions in developing positive beliefs, and to what factors students attribute their successes and failures. Teachers might benefit from predicting what conceptions students with experience abroad have about foreign language learning. This would allow them to help students develop effective strategies for learning and, by the same token, students could become aware of how their beliefs and strategies affect their success.

Second, this study will help teachers anticipate belief changes in their students and know the general direction of belief change when the students have new learning experiences. Just as it is important to understand adolescents' physical growth and development, it is helpful for teachers to know how beliefs change differently in different individuals with different backgrounds and where and how students develop their conceptions about learning English. Knowing the full range of belief changes will help teachers predict and understand changing beliefs in their students and implement teaching approaches that can challenge students' negative beliefs.

Third, this study offers practical implications for teachers and schools. Knowledge of how teachers and schools can and cannot enhance students' positive beliefs about learning English can contribute both to effective actions and to understanding why some well-meaning actions do not work. Thus this study helps teachers anticipate students' potential beliefs so they can scaffold students' in their attempts to develop beliefs consistent with being independent and active learners.

Audience for the Study

Teachers are the first audience for this study. Knowledge of learners' beliefs about how languages are learned can help teachers encourage students to expand their repertoire of learning strategies and thus develop greater flexibility in how they approach language learning (Lightbown & Spada, 2006, p. 67). This study can also help teachers understand the gap between the sometimes simplistic views of adolescents and the complexity and change that characterize them, and particularly the powerful

emotions they must deal with as they face their changing selves in a changing social world.

The second audience for this study is school administrators. School administrators will benefit from the present study in four ways. First, because administrators usually do not teach and are unaware of students' voices, they can benefit from this study by learning to better anticipated problems students might encounter and better understand the students' wishes and needs. Second, they can better anticipate the effects of accepting students with different backgrounds and consider ways to construct a curriculum that allows those students to contribute to greater diversity in the student body. Third, they can benefit by knowing that increasing the variety of learning activities offers students more chances to learn; they can also encourage teachers to develop those learning activities. Fourth, they can benefit by knowing that young learners, especially adolescents, need a mentor and that most them rarely find one at school. This might entail a reconsideration of teachers' role at school.

The third audience for the study is researchers studying learners' beliefs. Researchers will benefit from the present study in four ways. First, the present study shows that a case study design can capture important aspect of learners' belief change. Second, they will benefit by knowing that arraying learners' beliefs using the dimensions of beneficial beliefs and interfering beliefs can lead to the identification of practical measures that can possibly promote the former and change the latter. Third, the present study indicates that researchers need to be concerned about the frequency of belief change and the uncertain nature of beliefs especially among adolescents. Fourth,

researchers will benefit by knowing that learners' beliefs are not permanent and that they can change.

Organization of the Study

Chapter 2, the Review of the Literature, is divided into four major sections: studies of learners' beliefs, research on high school students beliefs, the conceptual frameworks underlying this study, and belief changes during adolescence. At the end of the chapter, I identify the gaps in the literature and present the research questions that guide this study. In Chapter 3, Methods, I provide a definition of a multiple case study, and describe the research site, the participants, my position as a researcher, the use of qualitative data, the analyses, and ethical considerations. Chapter 4 is focused on the participants' experiences and their effect on their beliefs as those beliefs grow and change. In Chapter 5, Results, I provide a typology of beliefs and beliefs and changes. Chapter 6 is a discussion of the results using a cross-case analysis. Implications of the findings for teachers and educational institutions, as well as for researchers investigating the role of beliefs in language learning are also provided. Chapter 7 provides a summary of the findings, the limitations of the study, suggestions for further research, and concluding comments. Chapter 8 is a postscript describing what some of the participants in this study were doing and thinking when they were finalizing their plans for higher education. The further development of their beliefs about learning English are evident as they prepared to enter new educational contexts.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this chapter, I first review belief studies in the field of second language acquisition (SLA), research on high school students, along with the theory and philosophy I use to frame this study. Second, I look at belief changes and highlight the characteristics and possibilities of the adolescent years. Third, I identify the gaps I address in this study, state the purposes of the study, and introduce the research questions that guide this study.

Studies of Learners' Beliefs

Research about beliefs is not new in fields such as psychology, but it came late to Applied Linguistics, starting in the mid 1980s. Beliefs are considered one area of individual learner differences that can influence the process and outcomes of second/foreign language learning and acquisition (Cotterall, 1995; Kern, 1995). Beliefs have been related to mismatches between teachers' and learners' agendas in the classroom, students' use of language learning strategies, learner anxiety, and autonomous learning (Kalaja & Barcelos, 2006, p. 1).

Many researchers (e.g., Liao & Chiang, 2003; Mantle-Bromley, 1995; Wenden, 2001) have suggested that knowledge of learners' beliefs is one of the elements underlying effective learning and teaching. Descriptions of beliefs can be predictors of the future behaviors of students and they are a key element contributing to individual

learner differences in second language (L2) learning (Tanaka & Ellis, 2005, p. 63). Learners are sometimes consciously aware of some of their beliefs, but others are implicit (Kato & Yamaoka, 2000); thus, they possess both explicit and implicit beliefs. Hosenfeld (2006) found that journals kept by students learning Spanish provided evidence of the emergence of beliefs. The author explained why some beliefs emerged, why some emerged beliefs were acted upon, and why others were held but not acted upon (p. 51). Alexander and Dochy (1995), however, concluded that even if beliefs remain implicit, they are apt to impact thoughts and actions.

Wenden (1987) suggested that without knowing learners' beliefs, mismatches can occur between learners and teachers. For example, learners who believe that grammar is the most important aspect for learning foreign languages might employ grammar-centered learning strategies. This belief might lead them to feel negatively about classes lacking a grammatical component; this possibility underscores how important it is for teachers to know learners' beliefs when developing a class syllabus.

After acknowledging students' beliefs, teachers can attempt to modify them. Alexander and Dochy (1995) suggested that change agents of beliefs include education, learning experience, personality, information, and the nature of the beliefs. Teachers can develop strategies to alter learners' misleading beliefs about learning based on those change agents. Altered beliefs, in turn, can lead learners to more successful learning outcomes. Hashimoto (1993) stated that modifying learners' beliefs that affect learning can influence the development of learners' strategies.

Richards and Lockhart (1994, p. 52) suggested that learners' belief systems affect many aspects of the learning process, including motivation, learning strategies, and preferences regarding the learning environment. Therefore, by knowing more about their students' belief systems, teachers can better understand student learning behaviors and can help them learn more effectively (Keim, Furuya, Doye, & Carlson, 1996).

Students can have mistaken or negative beliefs that can lead to a reliance on relatively ineffective learning strategies, resulting in a negative attitude toward learning and autonomy (Victori & Lockhart, 1995), or a lack of confidence (Peacock, 1999). Stevick (1980) indirectly argued for the importance of beliefs when he stated that success depends less on the materials and teaching techniques used in the classroom and more on what goes on inside and between people (p. 4). Learner beliefs in this study are defined as cognitive representations about self and the world.

Modifying learners' beliefs might not directly lead to increases in their foreign language proficiency, but it can help them develop more positive attitudes toward learning the language or heighten the motivation that drives their learning. Changing beliefs, even the simplest beliefs, can have profound effects on learning (Dweck, 2006, p. 1).

Although researchers' interest in beliefs has grown, instruments for investigating the complex nature of learners' beliefs have not been fully developed. The most prominent survey instrument used in earlier studies of learners' beliefs, the Beliefs about Language Learning Inventory (BALLI) (Horowitz, 1987, 1988), was designed to sensitize teachers and researchers to the variety of beliefs held by American students

who were learning foreign languages in the United States, and to the possible consequences of specific beliefs for second language learning and instruction. The BALLI was developed to assess students' beliefs about language learning in five major areas: foreign language aptitude, the difficulty of language learning, the nature of language learning, learning and communication strategies, and motivations and expectations. The original BALLI was designed to "assess teacher opinions on a variety of issues and controversies related to language learning" (Horwitz, 1985, p. 334). In a free-recall activity, 25 foreign language teachers in the United States were asked to list their beliefs, other people's beliefs, and their students' beliefs about language learning. Teachers examined the list to add more beliefs they had encountered. Then, the instrument was pilot-tested with 150 foreign language students. Horwitz reported the striking finding that over one third of the students thought that a foreign language could be learned in two years or less by studying only one hour a day and that many students believed that learning a second language primarily involved learning vocabulary or grammatical rules. Those findings led her to conclude that investigating learners' beliefs is important because it leads to a better understanding of their expectations of, commitments to, success in, and satisfaction with foreign language classes.

Horwitz's (1988) descriptive study contributed to studies that followed by presenting (a) one way to make an inventory to investigate learner beliefs, (b) the importance and implications of studying learner beliefs, particularly where students learning a foreign language in their native country is concerned, (c) a pedagogical suggestion for teachers that knowledge of learner beliefs ultimately helps them foster

more effective learning strategies in their students, and (d) a foundation that was expanded into such concepts as learner strategies, learner anxiety, and learner motivation.

Researchers that used questionnaires such as the BALLI (Horwitz, 1987; Yang, 1992) were considered to be applying normative approach (Barcelos, 2006, p. 11), in which types of learners' beliefs about SLA are described and classified (Barcelos, 2006, p. 11). In those quantitative studies of learners' beliefs, researchers conceived of learners' beliefs as preconceived notions and tended to consider learners' beliefs as generally stable (Campbell, Shaw, Plageman, & Allen, 1993; Horwitz, 1985, 1987; Hosenfeld, 2006, p. 38; Kuntz, 1996; Mantle-Bromley, 1995). Those studies did not produce a consensus concerning the relationship between beliefs and behaviors and they failed to describe context-bound and dynamic beliefs about foreign language learning adequately because they used only Likert-scale questionnaires and investigated learners' beliefs as stable constructs (Barcelos, 2006; Sakui & Gaies, 1999). While belief changes could be identified by administering questionnaires multiple times, such an approach is not ideal for investigating the dynamics of change, such as how easily and under what conditions beliefs change. Thus, in order to investigate emergent beliefs and the processes of belief change and belief ascription (Kramsch, 2006), a more qualitative approach using naturalistic discourse such as written or spoken texts (Barcelos, 2006, p. 93) or mixed-methods designs are appropriate.

The need for a qualitative approach was suggested by Keim, Furuya, Doye, and Carlson (1996) after they had used the BALLI to survey the attitudes and beliefs about

foreign language learning held by 215 first- and 196 second-year Japanese students taking communicative English courses at a Japanese university. The authors concluded that a more specifically focused instrument than the BALLI should be used to highlight differences between different groups of students. They also concluded that they could have used a more coordinated approach of triangulating information gathered from systematic classroom observations, survey techniques, and interview and written responses in order to target strategies that were based on beliefs (p. 100). They saw a need to develop an instrument more sensitive to the populations and situations they were investigating.

A study of the relationships among learner beliefs was carried out by Sakui and Gaies (1999), who administered a Japanese version of the BALLI, to 1,296 students attending several private and public two- and four-year institutions of higher education in Japan. The first author, Sakui, interviewed seven of the participants in Japanese. The main aim of this study was to assess the reliability of the questionnaire, particularly in terms of the consistency of responses to questionnaire items. The authors' conclusion, based on a test-retest comparison and on evidence from interviews with some students who completed the questionnaire twice, was that the participants demonstrated satisfactory consistency in their responses. The researchers also concluded, however, that there were limits to what they could learn about language learners' beliefs from questionnaire items. An additional source of information, well-conducted interviews, allowed the learners to reveal beliefs were not addressed in the questionnaire and to describe reasons, sources, behavioral outcomes, and other dimensions of their beliefs.

Fukami and Anma (2004) investigated how learner beliefs are influenced by individual factors, including intelligence, aptitude, personality, motivation and attitude, and age, as well as sociocultural factors such as assumptions about English education in Japan and the influence of TOEIC tests on students' aspirations. The participants were 30 Japanese university students. The researchers found that both individual factors and socio-cultural factors influence students' beliefs; students believe that speaking English is anxiety provoking but that learning English is crucial for their future career. They suggested that further study with a larger number of participants would be necessary to construct a belief model of Japanese university students. They found that learner beliefs are constructed primarily through their experiences as individuals and as social beings. To investigate the construction of learners' beliefs via learners' experiences, they suggested using qualitative approaches such as classroom observations, interviews, and case studies.

As a result of a number of critical reviews of the normative approach, two further approaches were developed, the metacognitive approach and the contextual approach (Barcelos, 2006). In the metacognitive approach, beliefs are defined as metacognitive knowledge, which is "the stable, storable, although sometimes incorrect knowledge that learners have acquired about language, learning and the language learning process" (Wenden, 1987, p. 163). Wenden (1999) later acknowledged that metacognitive knowledge might change over time as people mature and their situations change (p. 435). In those cases, researchers can collect verbal data through semi-

structured interviews and self-reports in order to investigate the nature of the changes (Victori & Lockhart, 1995; Wenden, 1986, 1987).

Wenden's studies (1986, 1987) were a springboard to other studies of learners' beliefs, attitudes, strategies, and motivations. For example, Yang (1999) investigated the relationship between EFL university students' beliefs about language learning and their strategy use with multiple methods. She conducted a survey of 505 Taiwanese university students from five universities using the BALLI, Oxford's (1990) Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (SILL), and author-designed questions. The main finding was that the students' beliefs about their ability to learn the foreign language were strongly related to their use of learning strategies, especially those that promote functional practice such as interacting with native speakers. Yang concluded that teachers should provide more opportunities to students to interact with native speakers, as well as to use English with non-native learners.

Recently, several researchers have used the contextual approach by collecting multiple types of data in order to arrive at a better understanding of beliefs in specific contexts. In general, they have described beliefs as embedded in students' contexts (Barcelos, 2006, p. 19) and they have tended to view learner beliefs as changing and dynamic (Hosenfeld, 2006, p. 39). Those researchers used research methods such as participant observation, semi-structured interviews, open-ended questionnaires (Barcelos, 2000), document analysis, learner diaries (Allen, 1996), written reports, semi-structured interviews (Grigoletto, 2000), narratives (Barcelos, 2008), and interviews (Barcelos, 2006; Malcolm, 2005). Case studies and narratives have revealed

aspects of beliefs that were not reported by previous researchers (Barcelos & Kalaja, 2006, p. 236). For example, Barcelos (2008) collected 53 narratives of Brazilian students and concluded that narratives allowed him to understand the students' experiences, their beliefs about themselves, and places for language learning in Brazil, and to gain a better understanding of the interactions among their previous, present, and future experiences (p. 47). Cotterall's (2008) narrative case study of three Japanese adult students revealed how those individuals became independent language learners. In a case study of beliefs and metaphors of a Japanese teacher of English, Sakui and Gaies (2006) found that the participant's professional identity was closely bound up with her effort to recognize and reconcile several competing sets of beliefs and tensions (p. 160).

To sum up, the three approaches have advantages and disadvantages. The normative approach allows researchers to investigate the beliefs of a large number of participants; however, the participants' responses are restricted to items on the questionnaire. The metacognitive approach allows learners to use their own words and reflect on their language learning, however, learners' beliefs are inferred only from the students' statements. The contextual approach allows researchers to investigate beliefs by listening to the learners and considering their learning contexts; however, it is time-consuming and therefore suitable only with small samples. The choice of approaches ultimately depends on the researcher and research questions.

Within the normative and metacognitive approaches, the implicit assumption seems to be that the students' beliefs do not change significantly. However, within the

contextual, alternative approaches, beliefs are described as dynamic and diverse, meaning that beliefs develop and change.

Research on High School Students' Beliefs

Few researchers have investigated Japanese high school students' beliefs about learning English. Two studies conducted by Japanese high school teachers shed light on how learners' beliefs can influence their learning, and describe the ongoing conflict between traditional and contemporary approaches to language teaching in Japan. The first study was conducted by Nishioka (2002), who investigated the beliefs of 28 students in the co-educational high school with the lowest academic ranking in Tokyo (p. 1). Nishioka used a modified version of the BALLI and a 23-item language learning questionnaire developed by Matsuura, Chiba, and Hilderbrandt (2001). The results indicated that the teachers developed beliefs about their students without asking them how they felt or what they thought, that the students were pessimistic about learning English, and that her students' motivation for learning English was integrative (as defined by Dörnyei, 1995), meaning that the learners were studying English because of a wish to identify with the culture of speakers of that language (i.e., They stated that they wanted to learn English so that they could get to know native speakers of the language.) Her findings implied that teachers' assumptions about students' beliefs are not always consistent with the actual beliefs and that students' beliefs and motivation also are not always consistent in themselves. Nishioka stated that when teachers know

what students believe about learning English, they can help the students become better learners of English by providing them with thoughtful guidance.

The second study was conducted by Oda (2004), who used the BALLI to investigate 1,700 students in a boys' junior and senior high school where approximately 80% of the students went on to prestigious Japanese universities (p. 74). The results indicated that although many of the students were aware of the importance of learning a foreign language, they were not willing to put into practice what they knew: They were overly self-conscious and reluctant to interact with speakers of the language. The results suggested that teachers should keep in mind that students come to the classroom with certain beliefs about language learning and that, although it is not easy to change their beliefs, teachers should attempt to modify them if they act as blocks to language acquisition.

Those two studies indicate that mismatches between teachers' perceptions of learners and learners' beliefs can occur and that knowing learners' beliefs and their sources can help teachers enhance student learning.

Conceptual Framework

In this section, I review the developmental psychology literature in the field of education. I also describe how theories developed in the field of developmental psychology can be used to interpret belief change in adolescents.

Developmental Psychology

Developmental psychology deals with how people change during their lifespans (Butler & McManus, 2000, p. 10). Its findings address what is developmentally typical. In a practical sense, those findings can help parents and teachers predict what children and students will and can do at different ages. For example, Erikson's (1968) stage theory posits that there are stages that everyone progresses through during their lifetime. For example, in stage 4, the school age stage (before puberty), the child faces the problem of developing competence in the face of a sense of inferiority about his or her personal skills. In stage 5, adolescence, the child searches for identity in the face of role confusion and a lack of ability to concentrate on required tasks. Having solved these problems, in stage 6, young adulthood, the individual strives to meld his or her identity with other people, steering a course between intimacy and isolation. Developmental psychologists using this theory focused on changes that occur with age and on group averages, but it is clear that there are great individual differences in the rates of progression (Hinde, 1994, p. 618).

Because development is a complex process, researchers must interpret differences between different age groups (Butler & McManus, 2000), and focus on not only individuals but also on those individuals as they function in a network of relationships (Hinde, 1994, p. 619). Thus, critical questions for developmental psychologists include not only how individuals progress toward maturity, but also how individual characteristics are affected by the relationships typically experienced at each age.

Developmental psychologists tell us what is possible. For example, typical four-year-old children cannot sit still for first-grade classes, but six-year-olds can (Bruner, 1997). Research on children's cognition and strategy use suggests that adolescents are more capable of dealing with advanced topics in a variety of areas than people typically think and that self-regulated students can use effective learning strategies in their pursuit of academic goals (Wigfield, Eccles, & Pintrich, 1996, p. 151). Not all students, however, can develop the level of autonomy that developmental psychologists suggest should be possible and desirable. Some second language researchers such as Ushioda (2003) have suggested that by carefully structuring the classroom learning situation to include group pressure, the resolve of individual students can be stiffened by their peers.

Sears (1957) and Bandura (1969) reacted against the notion that individuals progress through maturational stages by themselves. These researchers explored the social dimension of developmental psychology and developed a position known as social learning theory. Social learning theory is not a stage theory, as it omits the notions of biological influences, critical periods, and stages. Although Sears and Bandura were both developmentalists in the sense of being interested in the processes underlying behavior acquisition and change (Grusec, 1994, p. 474), their approaches differed. Sears (1957) considered development cultivated by learning, physical maturation, and the expectancies for action held by agents of socialization, while Bandura's social learning theory posits that people learn from one another, via observation, imitation, and modeling.

Dewey's Conception of Experience

John Dewey (1938), a philosopher and educational thinker, suggested that experience is personal and social and that life, or what he called “lived experience,” is education. This implies that students’ learning occurs in their lived experience, which is influenced by learning contexts, including the school curriculum, teachers, peers, and their experiences inside and outside of the classroom, and that their thinking and believing are constructed, modified, and developed over time. Students as learners are to be seen in relation not only to schools but also to society, and always in a social context. Thus, learning takes place not only within them, but also with a teacher, in a classroom, and in a community (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 2). Following Dewey (1938), we can observe that learners’ beliefs are shaped by the experiences they have both in and outside of classrooms. Japanese students sometimes have occasion to shape their beliefs at private schools, such as prep schools or language schools they attend after regular schools, on trips to foreign countries, in their discussions with parents and siblings, and even in conversations with strangers in public places.

Barcelos (2006) investigated the paradoxical nature of beliefs (conflicts between teachers and students) using a Deweyan framework and ethnographic methods at an international language institute in the United States. The participants in the study were three American ESL teachers and three Brazilian students. The data were gathered from classroom observations, semi-structured interviews, field notes, and the researcher’s reflective journal. Barcelos found that the participants’ beliefs were grounded in their experiences, there were conflicts and mismatches among their beliefs, and their beliefs

influenced one another. In order to understand how individual learners become what they are and the complex process of developing beliefs through learning and living experiences, investigating learners' experiences is crucial. In this type of qualitative approach, the ultimate goal of researching learner differences is not to produce generalizations about learners, factors, or outcomes, but to understand the experiences of the individuals in their particular social contexts (Cotterall, 2008, p. 126).

Attribution Theory and Learner Beliefs

Heider (1958) was a social psychologist and the father of the psychological theory of attribution. Attribution theory focuses on evaluating how people perceive their own behavior and that of other people (Williams & Burden, 1997, p. 104). It also deals with how people make sense of their world, particularly how they explain what they observe and experience (Dweck, 2000, p. 139). Heider proposed that all behavior is determined by either internal (personal) or external (environmental) factors. Heider's ideas have stimulated many researchers who investigated the ways in which people interpret the behaviors they see. In education, attribution theory can explain how students' behavior is influenced by their prior successful or unsuccessful experiences; learners with successful experiences might not be afraid to engage with tasks they perceive as challenging, while learners with failure experiences might avoid opportunities to face such tasks.

Weiner (1979, 1980, 1986) further developed Heider's theory of attribution or causal explanations by focusing on achievement; the attributions people make for their

success and failures determine the impact of success and failures. This theory leads to the notion of “locus of control” (Findley & Cooper, 1983), which concerns people’s beliefs about their control over life events. Attribution theory is closely associated with the concept of motivation. Most of the research on attributions has been focused mainly on sport and little research has been carried out in the area of language learning (Williams & Burden, 1997, p. 107). Recently a few researchers (e.g., Heikkinen, 1999) reported on learners’ beliefs using attributions or causal explanations as cognitive entities.

Weiner (1980) expanded the concept of attribution into the field of motivation. It was later developed into a theoretical framework that has become a major research paradigm in social psychology. Weiner focused attribution theory on achievement, perceived successes and failures in life (Weiner, 1974). According to attribution theory, the explanations that people tend to make to explain success or failure can be analyzed in terms of three sets of characteristics.

First, the cause of success and failure can be internal or external. That is, learners can succeed or fail because of factors that they believe have their origin within them such as ability and effort or because of factors that originate in their environment, such as task difficulty and luck.

Second, the cause of the success or failure can be either stable or unstable. If the cause we believe is stable, then the outcome is likely to be the same if we perform the same behavior on another occasion. If it is unstable, the outcome is likely to be different

on another occasion. If students believe that their ability is fixed, they might not make efforts to engage in further learning.

Third, the cause of success or failure can be either controllable or uncontrollable. A controllable factor is one we believe we can alter if we wish. An uncontrollable factor is one that we do not believe we can easily alter.

According to Weiner, high achievers approach rather than avoid tasks related to succeeding because they believe that success is due to both high ability and effort, so they are confident enough to persist when facing difficulties. Thus, successful learners are assumed to select challenges of moderate difficulty, rather than very difficult or very easy tasks because the feedback from those tasks tells them how well they are doing and helps them energetically pursue their goals.

Dweck (1999) wrote that she continued to believe that attributions were fundamental motivational variables and critical motivators of persistence (p. 140) and that motivation does not truly begin until people encounter outcomes with which they are satisfied. She also suggested that researchers should consider learners' goals and personal theories as motivational variables because a complete theory of motivation must deal with what motivates people to initiate behavior and what determines the direction of their effort (p. 141).

Regarding attribution and learners' beliefs about learning English, it is assumed that beneficial beliefs that enhance persistence in studying and effort include ability and effort attributions with unstable characteristics and controllability. Example of beneficial belief is that I succeeded because I am a competent person and I worked hard.

On the other hand, interfering beliefs that interfere further study and efforts may include task difficulty and luck attributions. Example of interfering belief is that I did not succeed because task was too difficult and I was not lucky.

There are few empirical studies of the relationship between learners' beliefs and attributions. Below I introduce three studies concerning attribution and learners' perceptions and beliefs.

Tse (2000) conducted a study investigating students' perceptions of foreign language study using a qualitative analysis of foreign language autobiographies of 51 adult foreign language learners studying in the United States. The participants were asked whether they felt they were successful in their foreign language study. They had varying levels of success that they attributed to many sources. Those who felt successful credited three areas: the teacher or classroom environment, family or community assistance, and a personal drive to learn. Thus, Tse found that effort was not the only factor contributing to students' success in language learning. The two most often-mentioned reasons for success noted by the participants were having teachers and professors willing to aid them in their learning and having language input from family and community interactions. The results of Tse's study did not completely support Weiner's theory that successful learners attribute their success entirely to their own effort, possibly because the participants in Tse's study were adult learners who had different perceptions of success and because learners differ from one another in many ways.

Yang (1999), drawing partly on attribution theory, used the BALLI and the SILL (Strategy Inventory for Language Learning) (Oxford, 1990) to investigate the relationship between beliefs about SLA and the language learning strategies of 505 university students in Taiwan. The main finding was that the students' beliefs about their ability to learn language, including their expectations of success, were related to their use of learning strategies: functional practice strategies, cognitive-memory strategies, metacognitive strategies, formal oral-practice strategies, social strategies, and compensation strategies. She suggested that second language instruction as well as strategy programs should take students' beliefs about second language learning, including both metacognitive and motivational beliefs, into account because she found that learners' beliefs were important determinants of behavior.

White (1999), who was interested in the expectations of learners as they enter a self-instruction context for language learning and the beliefs emerging from their experience, investigated 20 American university students studying Japanese or Spanish who were facing a new learning environment, university distance language learning. The participants ranged in age from 22 to 47 years. Data were collected in five phases (prior to course, weeks 1-2, weeks 5-6, weeks 8-10, and week 12) in a 12-week period in one semester via naturalistic interviews, telephone interviews, ranking exercises (students rank the statements relating to success), open-ended questionnaires, and a scenario exercise in which students choose a profile they identified as closest to their views and experiences. The purpose was to investigate student attributions for success. Through a content analysis of the data, White reported that three categories of

constructs emerged from the reports as central to an understanding how learners conceptualized the initial stages of the process of language learning: the learner context interface, tolerance of ambiguity, and locus of control. First, as the study progressed, learners' conceptions on self-instructed language learning were modified. In the beginning of the study, the learners expected that self-instructed learning would offer flexible physical circumstances for learning; however, they began to show metacognitive growth by thinking about the relationship between themselves and target language sources as the key components to self-instruction. By doing so, the learners were influenced in new ways by the self-instructed learning and developed their skills and knowledge about themselves as learners. Second, tolerance of ambiguity was identified. The learners began to feel less sure about themselves as learners or about their understanding of the material. Some learners eventually developed a form of self-instructed language learning, which was seen as requiring patience, endurance, and a degree of confidence in their ability to continue to progress. Third, during the final phase, the learners attributed their success to internal factors such as motivation, persistence, and self-knowledge. White concluded that beliefs can help individuals to understand and adapt to circumstances and that more studies investigating what learners attribute their success to would help researchers better understand how learners develop confidence in themselves.

Self-Efficacy and Learner Beliefs

Self-efficacy is a belief that one has the ability to complete actions and tasks in specific situations successfully. Bandura (1988) defined self-efficacy as “a judgment of one’s ability to execute a particular behavior pattern” (p. 240). Bandura (2006) also stated that self-efficacy involves “the beliefs people hold about their capabilities to produce results by their actions” (p. 1) and beliefs in one’s capability to organize and execute the courses of action, contributes to human motivation and attainment (1995, p. 3). In education, self-efficacy for learning refers to “students’ beliefs about their capabilities to apply effectively the knowledge and skills they already possess and thereby learn new cognitive skills” (Schunk, 1989, p. 14).

Self-efficacy affects the choices students make, their motivation, attributions, and the degree of control they exert in their own lives (Pajares, 2006, p. 339). Self-efficacy judgments also determine how much effort people spend on a task and how long they persist with it. Thus, a person’s sense of self-efficacy can play a major role in how one approaches goals, tasks, and challenges. People with strong self-efficacy beliefs exert greater efforts to master challenges, they have high motivation, they take risks, and they are eager to learn. In contrast, those with weak self-efficacy beliefs are likely to avoid challenges, reduce their effort, or even quit.

Low self-efficacy is closely related to a sense of helplessness. Seligman (1975) developed the concept of learned helplessness, which he defined as a sense of helplessness created by repeated failure to exercise control over outcomes. Learned helplessness disturbs normal development and learning because the learners expect to fail. Seligman

suggested changing people's explanatory styles by replacing learned helplessness with learned optimism. This dual explanation of high and low self-efficacy was followed by Dweck's (2006) explanation of two mindsets of self-efficacy: a growth mindset and a fixed mindset. The growth mindset is "based on the belief that your basic qualities are things you can cultivate through your efforts" (p. 7) and the fixed mindset "focuses on permanent traits and leads people to fear challenge and devalue effort" (p. 10). She claimed that people with the growth mindset were not labeling themselves and not giving up and that people with the fixed mindset did not believe in their capacity for growth. She also stated that "mindsets are just beliefs and you can change your mind" (p. 16).

Bandura (1977) stated that self-efficacy theory identifies four major sources of information used by individuals when forming self-efficacy judgments. The first is performance accomplishments, that is, a personal assessment of an individual's personal mastery or accomplishments (past experiences with the specific task being successfully accomplished). Previous successes raise mastery expectations, while repeated failures lower them. The second source is vicarious experience, which is gained by observing others perform activities successfully. This is often referred to as modeling, and it can generate expectations in observers that they can improve their own performance by emulating what they have observed (Bandura, 1978). The third source is social persuasion, which refers to activities where people are led, through suggestion, into believing that they can cope successfully with specific tasks. Coaching and giving evaluative feedback on performance are common types of social persuasion (Bandura,

1977). The final source of information is physiological and emotional states, which influence self-efficacy judgments with respect to specific tasks. Emotional reactions to such tasks (e.g., anxiety) can lead to negative judgments of one's ability to complete the tasks (Bandura, 1988).

Bandura (1982) concluded that self-efficacy theory has considerable explanatory power. He found that perceived self-efficacy helps to account for a wide variety of individual behaviors, including changes in coping behavior produced by different modes of influence, levels of physiological stress reactions, self-regulation, achievement strivings, and choice of career pursuits. Thus, Bandura's concept of self-efficacy can help explain why students can or cannot keep sustained motivation to learn.

Dweck's Conceptions of Mindset

Dweck (2006) proposed two mindsets, the fixed mindset and the growth mindset, and defined the mindsets as powerful beliefs. The fixed mindset is the belief that one's qualities are carved in stone and difficult to change. People who hold this mindset tend to have a goal of proving themselves in the classroom and in their careers (p. 6). In the fixed mindset, everything is about the outcome. The fixed mindset also limits achievement and it fills people's minds with interfering thoughts (p. 67).

The growth mindset is based on the belief that one's basic qualities can be cultivated through effort (p. 7). They believe in change and growth through the application of their abilities and experience. In other words, people with the growth

mindset believe that their potential is unknown; thus, even challenging goals can be accomplished with passion and effort. They seek challenge and appreciate opportunities to learn. The growth mindset allows people to value what they are doing regardless of the outcome (p. 48).

Belief Changes During Adolescence

Belief changes during adolescence have been addressed in only a few studies. Yoshimoto (1996) observed the perceptual changes of five Japanese college students in a longitudinal study conducted in Canada. Those students had thought they could speak English as fluently as native speakers of English before going to Canada, however, they realized that it was not only untrue, but also an unrealistic goal after arriving.

Characteristics of Adolescents

As Walsh (2004) wrote, "the teenage years are an in-between stage, it's sometimes awkward and difficult to know how to treat adolescents" (p. 14). Adolescents can be confused and they do not always understand why they feel angry or depressed. Along with influences from parents, peers, and teachers, adolescents struggle to develop a sense of identity. In this sense, they are in a time in which they explore behaviors, ideologies beliefs, and ways of behaving as they strive to create an integrated concept of self (Bem, Fredrickson, Hoeksema, Maren & Loftus, 2003, p. 99). Thus, it is assumed that the beliefs adolescents hold can change, often without noticeable outward signs. It is assumed that the factors influencing the construction and modification of

learners' beliefs are relevant to their physical and psychological development and are subject to a substantial degree of environmental influence (Butler & McManus, 2000, p. 77).

Factors Influencing Adolescents

Adolescence in Japan takes place during the “intense years” (Fukuzawa & LeTendre, 2001, p. 5) of Japanese middle school that are characterized by a far higher pressure to perform academically than in most other nations. Students who undergo adolescence in the Japanese educational system can be affected by academic pressure as well as by the major changes in personal and social lives that are characteristic of adolescents everywhere. Thus, several factors can influence adolescent beliefs, attitudes and behaviors: peers or friends, parents, private schools, and the prospect of taking highly competitive university entrance examinations.

First, influences from peers and friends are prominent in the literature. Coleman and Herdry (1990) questioned 800 children aged 11-17 and found that different issues peaked at particular ages. For example, young boys focus on heterosexual relationships but later become concerned about conflicts with parents. One 17-year-old high school boy told me that a person who speaks English fluently is cool and that he wanted to be able to do so. He also said that he wanted attention from girls. His desire for heterosexual relationships might allow him develop a naive hypothesis that if he could speak English fluently, he could get attention from girls. Because peer culture has a strong influence on adolescents (Obler, 1993, pp. 425-426), beliefs, and thus

motivations, can be resistant to the influence of parents and teachers. Peer pressure can sometimes retard the development of positive and beneficial beliefs. Perhaps for this reason, Ushioda (2003) recommended harnessing the power of peer groups by using classroom charters as an intermediate step in the development of autonomy and self-regulation for individual learners. Such psychological and social-psychological aspects of learners' beliefs have not been sufficiently studied in the field of foreign language education. A related concept is near peer role models (NPPMs) (Murphey & Arao, 2001), who are people who might be "near" to learners in several ways: age, ethnicity, gender, interests, and past or present experiences. Near peer role models might also be in physical proximity and in frequent social contact (p. 1).

Second, the adolescent's relationship with his or her parents should be considered. Wenger (1998) noted "the activity of children's learning is often presented as located in instructional environments and as occurring in the context of pedagogical intentions whose context goes unanalyzed (p. 54). Adolescence is seen as a turbulent period characterized by rebellion and the rejection of authority figures such as parents and teachers. On the other hand, studying the general population of adolescents has revealed that many not only do not rebel against authority; they maintain good relationships with them (Butler & McManus, 2000, p. 79). Researchers investigating learners' beliefs have paid scant attention to the influence of learners' parent(s) or the influence of the culture of the family (Umino, 2004). These issues do not often emerge in the elicitation of learners' beliefs, but they exist behind the scenes. It might be that parental participation in school activities varies depending on the age of the student, and

that by middle school, parents come to school less frequently, often just to view special classes (Fukuzawa & LeTendre, 2001, p. 102). Parental influence on beliefs might be particularly strong when children are young. A December 21, 2008 article in *The Asahi Shinbun* reported on the emergence of Japanese parents who strongly want their children to enroll in prestigious foreign universities. Those parents' blueprints of their children's futures as global citizens encourage the belief that studying abroad at a young age brings a higher probability of success. Parents who have a strong intention to send their children to foreign schools naturally shape their children's beliefs. It would be a rare elementary-school age child who questions the beliefs on which his parents are acting.

Third, *juken*¹ and *juku*² influence Japanese adolescents. *Juken*, which is often called "exam hell" in Japan, influences students' life significantly when they are in junior and senior high school. The degree to which young Japanese adolescents feel pressure to pass the entrance examinations of prestigious high schools and universities is greatly affected by their grades and aspirations, and the aspirations their family holds for them (Fukuzawa & LeTendre, 2001, p. 31). Fukuzawa and LeTendre wrote that *juku* provide a small window into a broader social world (p. 57). Students there study with students similar to themselves in terms of academic aspirations and performance.

Although students at regular schools typically have a variety of goals and interests, *juku*

¹ *Juken* literally means "taking examinations." Japanese students must pass entrance examinations to attend most private elementary schools, secondary schools, and universities.

² *Juku* is a private institution where students go after school review their study at school and to prepare for entrance exams.

classes are often made up of academically similar students who can strengthen the bonds of friendship and common beliefs among themselves, sharing a feeling that they are working together to achieve similar goals. As students climb the schooling ladder, their range of social contacts widens. This is most dramatic at high school in Japan when they come into contact with students from distant geographical locations. While some friendships continue over a student's school career, the most important sources of friendship in Japan are the student's current homeroom class and clubs (Fukuzawa & Letendre, 2001, p. 53).

In sum, along with influences from parents, peers, and teachers, adolescents struggle to develop a sense of identity. In this sense, they are in "a period of role experimentation" in which "various behaviors, interests, and ideologies and many beliefs, roles, and ways of behaving can be tried on, modified, or discarded in an attempt to shape an integrated concept of self" (Smith, Nolen-Hoeksema, Fredrickson, Loftus, & Contributor, 2003, p. 99).

Gaps in the Literature

The first gap is that the development and change of learners' beliefs have not been sufficiently investigated. Research into beliefs began with Horwitz's (1987) studies using the Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory (BALLI), which had a ripple effect in the field of foreign language education. A considerable body of research on learners' beliefs followed (e.g., Campbell, Shaw, Plageman, & Allen, 1993; Cotterall, 1995; Fukami & Anma, 2004; Hashimoto, 1993; Itai, 1999; Iwasawa &

Wakai, 2004; Katagiri, 2005; Kuntz, 1996; Sakui & Gaies, 1999; Tanaka & Ellis, 2005; Yang, 1992; Wenden, 1987). In those studies, learners' beliefs were elicited via questionnaires from the perspective of teaching (Woods, 2006, p. 202), or trying to identify the architecture of a stable belief system (Kramersch, 2006, p. 111). In this view, learners hold in mind beliefs that are relatively stable and act upon these beliefs when they perform tasks during the process of acquiring the foreign language (Hosenfeld, 2006, p. 18). However, beliefs are situationally conditioned (Sakui & Gaies, 1999, p. 481). As Benson and Lior (1999, p. 460) observed, it is more valuable to study the construction of learners' beliefs, where their beliefs come from, what effects the beliefs have on the learning process, their functions, and the ways in which they are open to change.

When investigating development and change, tracing beliefs over time is crucial. With respect to time, researchers need to investigate learners' past and present beliefs as well as their beliefs about the imaginary future. Learners' preconceived beliefs about language learning that were cultivated in the context of past learning experiences likely affect students' use of learning strategies and their success in learning a second language (Horwitz, 1987, 1988). By the same token, as some researchers (Anderson, 1991; Dagenais, 2003; Kanno & Norton, 2003) have suggested, imagining a future community can affect learners' current learning and beliefs about learning. To date, no studies have shed light on those three phases of constructing learners' beliefs. Many researchers (e.g., Bernet, 2006; Burden, 2005; Hashimoto, 1993; Nakano & Kubota, 2000; Ohata, 2005; Okazaki, 1996; Sakui & Gaies, 1999; Takayama, 2003; Wenden,

1986a; Wenden, 1986b; Yang, 1999, 2003) have investigated university students' beliefs. Studies targeting students at different levels of education are needed because this can provide pedagogical implications for school goals and objectives, curricula, instruction, and individual learning.

The second gap is that the complex nature and characteristics of learners' beliefs is little understood (Richards, Gallo, & Renandya, 2001, p. 56). The complexity is illustrated by their defining characteristics: They are dynamic and emergent, socially constructed, contextually situated, experiential, mediated, paradoxical, and contradictory (Kalaja, 2006, p. 233). Thus, there is a need to investigate patterns of beliefs, to evaluate their effects on learning, and to understand where beliefs arise from and how they are developing.

The third gap is that there is still no general consensus about what beneficial beliefs are and how they promote learning, and what interfering beliefs are and how they hinder learning. To date, researchers have been concerned with describing and classifying types of beliefs (Horwitz, 1987), such as beliefs about the difficulty of language learning, the nature of language learning, aptitude for language learning, and learning and communication strategies. Those classifications describe a diversity of beliefs; however, they do not show the relationship between beliefs and language learning. White (1999) investigated how learners experienced and articulated their experience of a solo distance language learning context and found that tolerance of ambiguity can be seen as related to the learners' particular locus of control. In order to investigate sources of beliefs and the factors that help learners construct, develop, and

modify beliefs about learning, researchers should investigate learners' learning contexts, including teachers, peers, parents, and their learning experiences.

The fourth gap is that theoretical explanations of learner beliefs have not been sufficiently investigated. Most studies of learners' beliefs have produced empirical evidence, but theories explaining learner beliefs were rarely proposed. Some researchers, however, have proposed theories regarding how learner beliefs are developed, modified and fixed. Examples include a study investigating agency in language learning histories using attribution theory (Murphy & Carpenter, 2008), students' perceptions of language study using a socio-educational model (Tse, 2000), and relationships between students' self-efficacy and their use of learning strategies (Yang, 1999). More studies are needed if we are to better understand how well theories match the empirical data.

Purposes of the Study

This study has four purposes. The first purpose concerns how learners beliefs develop and change. Change can occur in terms of knowledge, attitudes, understanding, and self-awareness. Change can also be positive, neutral, and negative: Successful learners can change their attitudes and discontinue learning, while previously unsuccessful learners can begin energetically pursuing worthwhile learning objectives. This study is focused on changes in students who learn somewhat independently, as they autonomously develop their own learning goals (Dweck, 1986). This study is also focused on belief changes through educative experiences (Dewey, 1938) at school and

in social interactions and to what the participants' attribute their learning.

The second purpose is to investigate the general characteristics of learner beliefs in terms of their stability (Cotterall, 1999; Victori, 1999; Wenden, 1986), or instability (Benson & Lor, 1999; White, 1999). These two conceptualizations of learner beliefs and the characteristics of those beliefs are investigated to better understand the nature of learner beliefs.

The third purpose is to categorize learners' beliefs in relation to their effect on efforts to learn English. My purpose is to investigate how learners develop beneficial and debilitating beliefs about learning English, how they develop beliefs that enhance their ability to sustain learning English, how their beliefs help them make decisions to carry out actions related to language learning, and how feelings of self-efficacy assist in developing positive beliefs about learning English.

The fourth purpose is to investigate how self-efficacy theory explains the development and change in learner beliefs and to what factors learners attribute their success and failure. The results will clarify whether a high degree of self-efficacy is strongly associated with beneficial beliefs and low self-efficacy is strongly associated with interfering beliefs.

Research Questions

The research questions that guide this study are as follows:

1. How do adolescent learners' beliefs, develop, and what factors influence changes in learners' beliefs?
2. What are general characteristics of learner beliefs about learning English?
3. What learner beliefs are beneficial for language learning, and what beliefs hinder the language learning?
4. What confirmation or modifications of theory are suggested by the present study?

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

In this chapter, I describe the methodology of the study and introduce qualitative analysis and multiple-case studies as the methodological framework for studying learners' changing beliefs. Next, I introduce the participants and the research site together with my position as the researcher. Finally, I discuss the data collection, data analysis and interpretation, and ethical considerations.

Qualitative Study Design

In the present study, the research questions concern learner beliefs and the changes in those beliefs. Thus, a qualitative approach with a small number of participants is appropriate for acquiring a detailed understanding of learners' beliefs.

Multiple Case Studies

A multiple case study is an exploration of a "bounded system" of multiple cases over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in a context (Creswell, 1998, p. 61). Thus, multiple-case studies involve collecting and analyzing data from two or more cases within the same study. The system is bounded by time and place (p. 61).

In the present study, the bounded system is a public Japanese high school and the cases are individual students. Yin (2003) indicated that multiple cases should be

selected so that they replicate each other by either predicting similar results or contrasting results for predictive reasons (p. 5). In this study, the seven participants had the desire to study English in the beginning of the investigation. Some of them might follow similar learning processes and others might not.

In a learner-oriented curriculum, individuals interact over time and develop shared meanings (Clegg, et al., 1985); thus, the research methodology used in this study is a multiple-case study approach, which is used to obtain details about phenomena such as thought processes and emotions (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 11). A small number of students were investigated in depth. The qualitative data gathering methodology potentially permits more precise answers to my research inquiries so that I can understand and interpret phenomena effectively using "thick description" (Geertz, 1973, p. 6). This description helps readers make ethnological comparisons in the research for general or universal processes of human behavior and thought (Davis, 1995, p. 448). Thus, the seven high school students in the present study are broadly representative of the wider group from which they are drawn (Benson & Lor, 1999, p. 465).

The names of the participants, the school, and other people and agencies that the interviewees referred to in the course of describing their experience, were changed to protect their anonymity.

Research Site

The research site, Rokkaku High School, a public school, is located in Yokohama, a major port city close to Tokyo. Yokohama is an international city, as it

welcomes many non-Japanese visitors and has approximately 70,000 foreign residents. The school was founded by Kanagawa prefecture fifteen years ago as an experimental and pioneer school. The standard deviation (*hensachi*) of the school is 68. This indicates that it is a fairly competitive high school. The school policy has been to accept a variety of students: regular students who graduated from Japanese junior high schools, students who have lived abroad, foreign students living in Japan, and restarters who quit other high schools. Rokkaku High School offers choices that are unavailable at other regular schools: The students do not wear uniforms, they can choose many of their classes except for a few mandatory classes, create their own timetables, join activities such as exchange programs with foreign schools, study any of six foreign languages, and take English classes, such as Global Issues, Media, Presentations, Introduction to Japanese Culture, Rapid Reading, and Creative Writing, which are not available at other regular high schools. The school environment seems to work well for the majority of the students; they enjoy the freedom and autonomy that is an integral part of the curriculum. Students can select one of two courses: the *Kokusai-bunka* (the International Culture) course and the *Koseika* (the Individual Characteristic) course. Foreign language studies are emphasized in the International Culture course; six foreign languages are offered along with English classes. The Individual Characteristic course is divided into five fields: Social science, Natural science, Sports, Home economics and welfare, and Art and music. Students can choose among a variety of classes depending on their interests.

Participants

The participants in this study are students in Rokkaku High School, which is located in Yokohama, Japan, where I was teaching English at the time the study was conducted. There are two reasons why I chose them as the participants in this study.

First, high school students were chosen because they represent a fertile ground for studying belief change. Previous studies (Cantwell, 1998; Chin & Brewer, 1993; Paris & Byrners, 1989; Schommer, 1990; Weinstein, 1989) have suggested that learners construct their beliefs about learning before they enter college and that the modification of learners' beliefs is not easy once they have entered college. Thus, investigating high school students' beliefs might provide teachers with knowledge about changing beliefs that hamper teaching and learning. Second, I chose to study students in the high school where I was teaching because I know that context well; I acted as a participant observer and interpreter of the site and of the participants. Having access to the students for interviews, and understanding their learning experiences allowed me to describe the subtleties and complexities of the setting in which their beliefs were formed and held sway.

To investigate the processes by which the students' constructed their beliefs, I found it crucial to know the students well. After considering ways to select the participants, an opportunity came to me in October, 2006, when I held an English Day Camp (EDC). More than 30 students participated in the camp, and among them I found six students who were serious and fairly reflective about studying English. Three of them were first-year students and three were the second-year students at that time. Each

participant was required to make a presentation, and those six students chose topics concerning English education in Japan. They chose the topics because, according to them, they like studying English. They had different reasons for liking English, but they had the same goal: to be a good English speaker or have a good command of English. They seemed to have stable beliefs about learning English at that time although, I subsequently learned, these beliefs had changed and would change again. While I was working with them at the camp, and later helping them prepare their presentations at an English teachers' association at a private university in Tokyo, we became close and I felt comfortable asking them about their backgrounds and ideas about learning English. I decided to invite those six students to participate in the present study. All of them agreed to do so.

The six students had different backgrounds and this allowed them to represent particular characteristics of Rokkaku High School, including the International Cultural Course and the Individual Characteristic Course. Two of the students were not Japanese citizens, one was born in Canada, one was good at using computers, one was interested in education, and one loved English literature. After they agreed to participate in the study, I added one male student who became a member of the ESS (English Speaking Society) club. He was born in Peru. I also included a student who quit another school and entered Rokkaku High School, because I thought that her background of attending two schools was different from those of other participants. The seventh participant became a member of the ESS club in April, 2007.

Thus, in the beginning of the study, I had eight participants, but one student from the Philippines told me after the first interview in 2007 that she could not participate in the study because she wanted to concentrate on studying for university entrance examinations.

Thus, there are seven participants in this study: Natsuko, Rumi, Honey, Mai, Kazuo, Fumiko, and Satsuki (pseudonyms). One of the students entered Rokkaku high school as a first-year student in 2005, five entered in April, 2006, and one entered as a second-year student in September, 2006 after quitting another private high school. The five first-year students were chosen in order to gather details of their English learning history before high school. I included the second-year students because I wanted to observe how studying for university entrance examinations (*juken*-style learning), which emphasizes rote memorization, influenced their beliefs.

Because of their professed liking of English, the seven participants are not necessarily representative of Japanese high school students, many of whom tolerate English but do not strive to succeed at speaking the language. The participants had progressed some way toward taking responsibility for their own progress. As will be seen, even among these seven, there is a general and more or less spontaneous trend for adolescents to shift toward positive and beneficial beliefs about learning English. My choice of these students was based on the judgment that more is to be learned from those who have traveled some of the road than from those who have traveled very little of it. Naiman et al. (1978) made a similar methodological judgment when they abandoned their initial plans for extensive interviews of unsuccessful students; they

only had two participants because the unsuccessful students did not want to talk about their unsuccessful learning experiences (p. 12).

The participants were selected through purposeful sampling (Patton, 1989) according to observer-identified categories (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995) and quota selection (LeCompte & Preissle, 2003). The questionnaire administered in April, 2006 helped me identify those students (see Appendix C and D). The questionnaire consisted of the BALLI and open-ended questions about the students' learning experiences, overseas experiences, former English classes, interests, and future hopes. It helped me identify students who have a positive attitude toward learning English and students with varied experiences, such as experience studying overseas, studying at a cram school, and studying at another high school. Those seven students were also accessible for me; I saw six of them almost every day and five of them were in my English classes.

In sum, the criteria I used to select the seven participants were that they had a variety of learning and life experiences, they were interested in learning English, they had demonstrated sustained efforts to learn English, and they had successful past learning experiences in terms of school grades before coming to Rokkaku High School. Some of them were active participants in English Day Camp.

Table 1 summarizes the backgrounds of the seven participants before they entered Rokkaku High School. Some of them had similar learning and life experiences. For instance, three students were born or had lived in foreign countries, and two had overseas experiences before attending Rokkaku High School. Their overseas

Table 1. *Study Participants*

Name	Gender	Country of origin	Background before attending Rokkaku High School
Maiko	Female	Canada	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Born in Montreal, Canada • Attended a preschool (8 months) and kindergarten (2 months) in Vancouver, Canada • Attended a kindergarten in Japan • Attended a public elementary school and a junior high school in Japan
Satsuki	Female	Japan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English grade in junior high school: 5 • Born in Japan • Went overseas briefly every year since childhood • Attended a Japanese elementary school and junior high school
Kazuo	Male	Peru	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English grade in junior high school: 5 • Born in Peru • Came to Japan at age 15 • Went to a Japanese school in Peru • Went to a cram school in Peru
Fumiko	Female	Japan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English grade in junior high school: 5 • Born in Japan • Attended a Japanese public junior high school • Attended a cram school • Went to Canada for 2 weeks
Honey	Female	Myanmar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English grade in junior high school: 5 • Born in Myanmar • Attended a local kindergarten and elementary school • Attended an international school for 2 years • Came to Japan at age 14 • Attended a public junior high school in Japan
Rumiko	Female	Japan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English grade in junior high school: 5 • Born in Japan • Attended a Japanese public elementary school and junior high school • Attended a cram school • No overseas experience
Natsuko	Female	Japan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English grade in junior high school: 5 • Born in Japan • Attended a public Japanese elementary school • Attended a cram school • Attended a private Japanese junior high school • Attended a private Japanese high school • Quit the private Japanese high school and entered a public high school • Went to Asian countries briefly (5times) before starting junior high school • Went to the Philippines to study English twice before attending the second high school • English grade in junior high school: 5

Note. English grade in junior high school: 5 = highest possible grade, 1 = lowest possible grade.

experiences were also unique in various ways. Kazuo was from Peru, and Honey was from Myanmar. Maiko had lived in foreign countries when she was very young because of her father's job. Satsuki had been abroad often for sightseeing, Fumiko had been abroad on a study trip as a prize for a speech contest. On the other hand, Rumiko had

Table 2. *English Classes the Participants Took at Rokkaku High School (2006-2009) in the First Year (2006-2007), Second Year (2007-2008), and Third Year (2008-2009)*

Maiko	English I (10) Writing I (9)	English II (10) Presentation (10)	Rapid Reading (10) Presentation(Audit) Creative Writing (9)
Satsuki	OC I *(9) English I (8) English Day Camp	English II (8) Writing I (8)	Presentation (7) Rapid Reading (7) Media (8) Global Issues (8) Creative Writing (8)
Kazuo	OCI (10) English I (9)	English II (8)	Reading (7) Global Issues (9) Presentation (Audit)
Fumiko	OCI (9) English I (10)	English II (10) Rapid Reading (9) Japanese Culture (9) Writing I (10) English Day Camp	Presentation (10) Creative Writing (9) Global Issues (10)
Honey	OCI * (10) English I (9) English Day Camp	English II (7)	Reading (7) Creative Writing (7)
Rumiko	OCI (7) English I (7) English Day Camp	Writing I (7)	None
Natsuko	English II(1st term) (7) Writing I (7)	English II(2nd term) (7) Writing I (7)	Presentation (8) Global Issues (7) Creative Writing (7) Reading (6)

Note. OCI = Oral communication course taught by a native speaker of English. Grades for each class are in parentheses: 10 = Excellent, 1 and 2 = Failure.

never been abroad. Finally, Natsuko entered Rokkaku High School after quitting another high school. One of the students, Fumiko, was a second-year student. She was included as one of the participants because I wanted to observe how her beliefs changed as she started preparation for college. To make the data consistent, I gathered data about the history of the third-year student before and during high school. I finished collecting data when the participant decided which university to attend. The last set of data was collected before they graduated from high school.

My Position as Researcher

My use of qualitative inquiry led me to be a participant observer and a collaborative partner in this study. I observed the students after they entered Rokkaku High School. I was a researcher and a teacher; as a teacher, I acted as a facilitator and encouraged the students to discover learning principles for themselves. This study included interviews and small talk so that I could have common experiences with the participants and they could feel comfortable talking with me about topics that were salient to them. Interview data were considered as “a product of the interaction between interviewer and interviewee” (Block, 2000, p. 759). Seeking a balance between subjectivity and objectivity in reporting, or seeking rigorous subjectivity (Wolcott, 1994, p. 354) that can be interpreted with some transparency by others, is important (Duff, 2008, p. 131). Because I occupied the research site with my participants and taught some of them, I had to try not to be too close to the case to see them objectively: I focused my inquiries as a researcher keeping mental if not physical distance, not bent

on investigating the participants' private life deeply because qualitative researchers are guests in the private spaces of the world (Stake, 1995, p. 244). I was simultaneously a teacher, researcher, listener, and recorder of the participants' voices.

The Use of Qualitative Data

Sources of evidence for this interpretive study included documentation, archival records, interviews, and direct observations; the use of multiple approaches allowed me to elicit data from various sources and maximized triangulation. Thus, I collected the participants' e-mail messages, written reports, internal records, evaluations (documentation), personal records, such as diaries and journals, and grades (archival records). I also conducted unstructured and semi-structured one-on-one interviews, observed their behavior in and outside of the classroom, observed the environmental conditions (direct observations), administered questionnaires to the participants' parent(s), and wrote reactions and journals as the study proceeded.

Interviews were a crucial part of this study as they shed light on the learners' implicit beliefs, attributions, perceptions, and social meanings. The purpose of conducting the interviews was to elicit the students' views of learning, especially those that eventually helped them develop beliefs about learning English. Individual, one-on-one interviews were conducted in the participants' L1, Japanese. Semi-structured interviews were conducted using an interview protocol (see Appendix D for the Interview Protocol), and, notes based on free conversations with the participants were recorded in the researcher's journal. Interview protocols were used in the beginning of

the interviews, however, as time went on, the participants spoke voluntarily about themselves. Those interviews were primarily conducted to collect data about the participants' insights; little attention was paid to the linguistic or textual features of the discourse (Duff, 2008, p. 133). During the interviews, I started with questions, but as time went on, I anticipated that the interviews would transform into narratives in which the students made sense of their experiences by casting them in narrative form (Bruner, 1990). A good interviewer is a listener rather than a speaker (Creswell, 1998, p. 125); thus, I did not speak excessively. After transcribing the interviews, I presented written information for the participants to check.

The interviews were usually conducted in a place in Rokkaku High School called the International Corner. It was named by one of the participants in this study, Maiko. It is a corner next to the foreign language teachers' room with a table and benches where teachers and students talk. One working group of parents, Bench People, which is a group of mostly fathers, made the benches and tables used in the International Corner. In the International Corner, students get together and talk or do assignments. Foreign exchange students, the Assistant Language Teachers, and Japanese teachers often stop by and talk with students there. Thus, the International Corner is a place for socialization.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, adolescents sometimes change beliefs without giving any outward sign of doing so. There is a further, existential, problem, that adolescents do not often think of themselves as holding beliefs—with the result that beliefs can be said to come into being only when elicited. For the qualitative researcher,

the situation is compounded by the further problem that participants who have changed beliefs routinely deny that they have changed. In a sense they are correct; not having held a belief consciously in the first place, they technically have not changed it. Nevertheless, to the careful observer, change is evident. In conducting the present study, I found that observations must be based on behavior as well as verbal reports and that considerable delicacy is sometimes required in order to discuss not only beliefs, but also belief changes, with the participants.

Reliability and validity of the qualitative study were investigated through Yin's (1984) critical tests: construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability. Construct validity was tested by attempting to minimize subjective judgments in collecting and interpreting data, which is problematic in case studies (Nunan, 1992). Thus, I showed written interpretations of the interview data to the interviewees to check if my interpretations were trustworthy. Operational sets of measures in this study were discussed with professors and peers studying with me in a doctoral program. Multiple interviews helped me avoid inaccurate inferences.

External validity was attained by analytical generalization (Yin, 1984), in which the purpose of the study was not to search for the only truth, but to identify possible truth, that is, knowledge that strikes others as meaningful.

Data analysis took place both during and after data collection, in line with Creswell's (1998) emphasis on a zigzag approach between data gathering and analysis. The qualitative data were analyzed as Stake (1995) described: by categorical aggregation, direction interpretation, holistic analysis, establishing patterns, cross-case

analysis, and naturalistic generalizations. Categorical aggregation seeks a collection of instances from the data, hoping that issue-relevant meanings emerge (Stake, 1995), direct interpretation concerns a single instance and draws meaning from it, which is the process of pulling the data apart and putting them back together in more meaningful ways (Stake, 1995), and cross-case analysis involves examining themes across cases, leading to a holistic analysis by which the researcher examines the entire case (Yin, 1989). It is expected that naturalistic generalizations help the reader learn from the case or its application to other cases (Stake, 1995). Finally, I tried to make sense of the data and provide an interpretation of the "lessons learned" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), which could be presented as assertions (Creswell, 1998). The interpretation of interview data was demonstrated immediately after the first interview. Each time I met a participant, I went over the previous data and discussed possible interpretations. When the participant rejected an interpretation, I made corrections. Thus, the participants and I constructed the stories together.

Analysis

There was no interview schedule, but instead a protocol listing topics to be covered (see Appendix E and F). At the beginning of the first interview, I asked the interviewees to talk about their educational background, past and present experiences, and the crucial events or experiences that influenced their feelings, thinking, and learning. In subsequent interviews, I asked them to talk about how they were doing. In order to elicit their feelings and thoughts, I occasionally asked questions so that I could

construct the participants' stories with them. When I interviewed them, I often interpreted what the participants said, or sometimes, I asked for their stories, judgments, and opinions by saying "Do you mean.....?", or "I think you meant....."

When I interviewed the participants, I realized that I had to play down my own reactions. For example, Rumiko said that she did not take any English classes in her third year because older students had told her that taking English II was not necessary and that she could study English by herself. As a teacher, I wanted Rumiko to take English classes, especially elective classes such as Presentation, Global Issues, and Media. I also became critical or judgmental sometimes. Realizing that my reactions as a teacher might influence the participants' narratives, I tried to concentrate on being an observer, reacting as little as possible.

I made a different color file for each participant and placed the data I collected, which included transcriptions of tapes, memos, questionnaires, essays, and reports, in chronological order.

I also made a journal of random thoughts that included my ideas, observations, comments from an advisor, suggestions from peers, feedback from my reading, reflections from watching movies, and conversations with people both in English and Japanese.

Meanwhile, I kept a journal of analysis, writing occasionally to keep notes on what I was doing. When I had a chance to see the participants, I interviewed them or talked for a while and wrote my reflections in a more systematic way than in the journal of random thoughts.

Collecting and sorting data were done synchronously from 2006 to 2009. All data, including interviews, reports, questionnaires, and diaries, were coded (Sato, 2008), that is, I wrote codes in the margins that explained the data (see Appendix G). After the coding was finished, I put the codes on a piece of paper with numbers to retrieve data and help me find quotations. I then categorized the codes using focused coding, which is used to elicit more detailed themes from coded data. Focused coding is considered to be an efficient approach when investigating areas in which few previous studies have been conducted (Sato, 2008, p. 104). Focused coding helped me elicit categories to explain how the participants learned English and what influenced their thoughts and changed them over time. Through this process a description of each participant gradually appeared. The categories that emerged from the coding were factors influencing their learning history. To put codes and categories together, I made a matrix for each participant (see Appendix H). In the matrix, I extracted an emergent theme from each chunk of coded data. These emergent themes are included in the stories of the participants in Chapter 4. I also paid attention to crucial changes in the participants' beliefs.

I finished a transcription of the first phase of each participant, which was before they came to Rokkaku High School. I read each transcription multiple times, paying particular attention to each student's encounters with or exposures to foreign culture and learning English. I paid attention to aspects of their learning environments, including parents, schools, peers, siblings, and teachers at school or cram school. After sorting the data, I started writing the story of each participant based on the data matrix. I wrote

each participant's story before high school and at Rokkaku High school. I included the participants' feelings, thoughts, and beliefs about learning English and their attitudes toward foreign culture and languages.

I transcribed the tapes and translated them into English. During this process, I read each transcription multiple times and sorted the information into chronological order. I listed questions that emerged and asked the participants to write answers. Kazuo, a male participant, said that it was easier for him to talk, so I asked him the questions orally and recorded his answers. I handed the participants' stories, which were written in Japanese, to them and asked them to check if had I missed something or misunderstood them.

After I started writing my interpretations of the participants' beliefs, many questions emerged: some questions concerned the participants and others were about their parents. I placed questions on an open-ended questionnaire with the same questions for both parents and participants so that I could check if their stories were consistent (see Appendix I for Questionnaire for parents I and Appendix D for Interview Protocol).

For member checks, I wrote each participant's story and showed it to him or her in order to see if he or she agreed with the information (Merriam, 1998, p. 204). The first participant was Natsuko, and she was followed by Rumiko, Kazuo, Satsuki, Honey, Maiko, and Fumiko. When I wanted to know more about them, I sent an e-mail message asking them to come see me. To analyze the data, I read the research questions repeatedly to tie them to my data (Merriam, 1998). To answer the research questions, I

extracted positive or negative experiences of each participant that were relevant to his or her changing beliefs about learning English.

I had been wondering when to stop collecting data and I came to the conclusion that I would stop when the participants made a decision about which university to attend. When they had decided, I could let them fly. I did not collect data on Fumiko's life in university because she had already been accepted by the university she wanted to go to (She was one year ahead of the other students.) However, I asked some questions to clarify data I had already collected about her.

After I finished each participant's story, I identified changes in their beliefs and the factors that affected their beliefs.

Finally, I categorized the beliefs in each matrix into beneficial beliefs, interfering beliefs, and indeterminate beliefs. Beneficial beliefs are positive beliefs that lead to the participants active learning. Interfering beliefs are negative beliefs that interfere with the participants' learning. Indeterminate beliefs are uncertain beliefs that possibly lead to active learning or disturb learning depending on the situation. A cross-case analysis of beliefs was conducted based on the categorization.

Ethical Considerations

The data collected from the participants were used to investigate what beliefs they hold about learning English and how the beliefs have developed and changed. In the data collection procedures, the participants were able to explore their thinking regarding learning English and with my help, they reflected on what they said through

reading transcriptions of interviews and perhaps were able to add meaning through scaffolding (Bruner, 1996, p. 77) and experienced positive effects by participating in the study. To establish a mutual working relationship, I explained the purposes and the procedures used in the study and then obtained informed written consent from each participant (see Appendix J for Consent Form for Interviews). Interviewing was collaborative in the sense that I typed out the first-person stories of the interviewees in Japanese and then asked them to correct and enhance the resulting autobiographical information. This procedure ensured the accurate representation of the interviewees' thoughts and increased their enthusiasm for reflecting on their beliefs and experiences.

Before I started collecting data, I had asked the participants to sign ethical release forms in order to inform them about the potential hazards of participating in the study such as emotional upset, limits to confidentiality, and the use of the data, and make it clear that participation was voluntary (Rudestam & Newton, 2001, p. 88). I asked the participants' parent(s) to sign release forms (See Appendix L for Consent Form for Interviews for Parents) because the participants were minors. Lastly, I asked the principal of Rokkaku High School to sign a release form (see Appendices N for Consent Form for Interviews for Principal).

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS: STORIES OF THE PARTICIPANTS

In this chapter, I describe the participants' life stories learning English. Using narratives, I summarize how the participants' experiences learning English enhanced or disturbed their efforts to learn, what factors influenced them to develop and change their beliefs, and how their beliefs changed as a consequence of those experiences. In what follows, the seven learners' stories along with their emergent beliefs are presented with a minimum of interpretation. This chapter is the first phase of explanation-building (Yin, 2009, p. 141); in a later chapter, generalizations that fit the individual cases are constructed.

Natsuko's Experiences

好きなことをしているのがうれしい。前の高校では何をするにもやらされている感じがあった。この学校に入ってから自分の考えの細かい部分が一つになった気がする。外国語をずっと勉強したいなって。

Doing what I want to do is fun. In a previous high school, I felt that I was forced to do whatever I did. After I entered this school, small parts of my thoughts united: I want to continue studying foreign languages. (Natsuko, I-7, 2007)

Childhood to Elementary School

Natsuko was born in Japan. She was the only child of a mother who worked in a hospital office and her father who was a certified public accountant who ran his own accounting firm. When I asked Natsuko how she felt about being an only child, she said

that she felt that it was an advantage as she was growing up. Natsuko said (my questions are in parentheses):

(一人っ子っていうのは考えたことありますか)一人っ子って考えたのは正直最近かも。(どういう風に?)ちっちゃいころは、一人っ子だからなんちゃらんちゃらみたいなの、結構小学校のクラスでもあって、一人っ子だってみんなと変わらないし、と正直思ってたの。そんなうち、裕福なわけでもないし、めちゃくちゃ。でも、最近、あ、一人っ子だから私立に行かせてもらったんだ、とか一人っ子だったからこうやってやりたいことやらせてくれたし、お父さんお母さんから注ぐのはうちしかいないから、すごい一人っ子だからこういうことができたんだなって、最近、周りと話していて思う。(今になってね)しかも、そういう学校変えたのだから、2人も3人もいたら、そんなに親身に、忙しくてそこまで真剣に話し合っていてくれてなかったかもって思うし、だから、改めて思うと、うちの家は一人っ子でよかったと思う。小学生の時は、一人っ子だからって何にも考えていなかった。

(Have you ever thought about being an only child?) Honestly, I have thought about it recently. (What did you think about?) When I was little, I was told that being an only child was this and that at elementary school, but I thought that an only child wasn't different from other students. My family wasn't particularly rich or anything. But recently I realized that I could have gone to a private school and was able to do whatever I wanted because I was the only child and my parents paid attention to me. Talking with friends made me realize that I was fortunate. (Now you think so.) If I had not been an only child, my parents wouldn't have talked seriously about my changing schools. No I think I'm lucky that I'm an only child. When I was an elementary school student, I didn't think about it at all. (I-14, 2008)

Natsuko's parents had different expectations for Natsuko. Natsuko's father majored in law and after graduating from the university, he established his own business. He strongly hoped that Natsuko would study law at a prestigious national university and would become a lawyer. On the other hand, Natsuko's mother wished for her daughter to like foreign cultures because she (her mother) likes traveling overseas and is fascinated with foreign cultures. Her mother's wish led her to expose Natsuko to foreign

experiences frequently. Natsuko did not see her father often. He was a licensed tax accountant and spent a lot of time at his office until late at night. In a sense, Natsuko's father was an invisible figure. Although his role as a financial supporter was obvious, his influence on Natsuko was not strong.

Natsuko's mother liked Thailand, so she took Natsuko to Thailand twice when Natsuko was a child. She also took Natsuko to Saipan, Guam, and Indonesia when she was an elementary school student because she wanted Natsuko to have as many opportunities as possible to be familiar with foreign cultures. These overseas experiences enhanced Natsuko's curiosity about foreign countries, especially those in Asia. Natsuko usually went overseas with her mother or her mother's friend, but on one occasion she went to Thailand with her mother and father. At that time, Natsuko did not speak English at all, as traveling with her parents did not involve communication with people who spoke different languages. Although Natsuko did not communicate directly with non-Japanese, she felt that learning about foreign cultures and being in foreign countries were fun and exciting. These early experiences led to the development of positive beliefs about learning foreign cultures and languages.

Natsuko was a child who put her effort toward doing what she was good at. For instance, at primary school, Natsuko liked making *origami* (making objects with paper) and impressed her parents and teachers with her origami creations. Because she believed she was talented in that area, Natsuko never wanted to be outdone by other students. Natsuko's mother described Natsuko on those days as *makezugirai* (unyielding).

Playing the piano, however, was different; Natsuko did not feel that she was good at it and she believed that other students were much better than she was, thus, she did not practice the piano intensively. Natsuko went to weekly piano lessons even before starting elementary school; however, she did not like the lessons in part because playing the piano was her mother's idea, not hers. Her dislike of the lessons was evident, as every Friday, the day before the piano lesson, she had a stomachache as she anticipated the following day's lesson. At the piano lessons, Natsuko sometimes played in an ensemble with other students. At that time, she practiced hard because she thought she was responsible for their success. She felt that working with other people demanded responsibility and commitment.

When she was six years old, her family went to an amusement park, and at that time, Natsuko's mother saw a gamelan, an Indonesian percussion instrument, and wanted her daughter to learn how to play it. Natsuko started going to gamelan lessons with her mother. At eight years of age, she took traditional Indonesian dancing lessons. Although Natsuko was not particularly enthused about playing the gamelan and dancing, she sometimes enjoyed them. Natsuko also took swimming lessons and calligraphy lessons, which were her own choice.

When Natsuko was in the sixth grade, a teacher asked Natsuko's family to host a student from Hong Kong who had studied Japanese at college in Australia. Her family hosted the student because Natsuko's mother was interested in having an exchange student in the house and she thought she could take care of the student because she had studied English. Natsuko had not studied English formally, therefore, she did not even

know the alphabet at that time. Natsuko communicated with the student using gestures or said simple things such as “hello” to her. Natsuko’s mother spoke English, although not fluently, so when her attempts to communicate in English failed, she used gestures. The student stayed with Natsuko’s family for two weeks, but Natsuko said that she understood very little. Natsuko remembered how poor her English was at that time and felt ashamed of her lack of ability to speak English; she wanted to ask about Australia but could not do it. Even though she could not communicate with the student, Natsuko’s positive beliefs about learning foreign languages, especially English, developed as a result of this experience.

When Natsuko had to decide which junior high school to attend, she talked with her mother and decided to apply to a private school. She wanted to go to that school because it was close to her house and the school facilities were beautiful. In addition, the public junior high school she was supposed to attend did not have a good reputation; people said that the school had poorly behaved students. Natsuko did not get along with some of the other students in her elementary school, so she wanted a new start at junior high school. After she decided to apply for Sakura Junior High School, she had to begin preparing for the entrance examinations. She stopped going to private lessons and instead went to a cram school every day to study mathematics, Japanese, science, and social studies. Although her grades at the cram school placed her in the middle of the class, she enjoyed studying there and she got along with the other students well. They all studied to pass the entrance examinations and shared common feelings about school, so Natsuko enjoyed going to the cram school more than elementary school. She liked

juken benkyo. Studying at elementary school was too easy for students like Natsuko who belonged to the *juken-gumi* (entrance-exam group) and studied relatively advanced topics.

Junior High School

Natsuko passed the entrance examination to Sakura Junior High School. She felt proud and had a feeling of superiority toward many of the other students. Because she had studied hard to pass the examination, Natsuko expected to be able to relax and enjoy herself in junior high school; however, she soon found that she had to study hard again because the demanding curriculum was designed to help students pass competitive university entrance examinations in the future. She felt that she did not have a choice, so she thought that she had to study whether she wanted to or not.

Natsuko said:

実際入ったら毎日宿題ばかり、特に数学の宿題がはんばでなくて、受験勉強終わったのに勉強かよってというのは覚えてる。カリキュラムを高3までのカリキュラムを高2につけてるから、もう全部詰め込みで。

When I started junior high school, I was flooded with homework, especially math homework. I still remember that I said to myself then, “Oh my God, I finished *juken benkyo* to come here, but again?” At that school, they stuffed a three-year curriculum into two-years. (I-16, 2008)

Natsuko studied English formally for the first time at the age of 12 in junior high school. Studying English was a new experience for her, so she was eager to learn it. Natsuko had a good English teacher in her first year, and she enjoyed the classes a great deal.

The teacher introduced foreign songs and music, which led Natsuko to develop both a love for music and a liking for English.

In Sakura Junior High School, there were 50 students in each grade who had lived overseas (*kikokushijo*). These students participated in English speech contests, so Natsuko felt that she could not take part in any of them. These students exerted a strong impact on her, and although she was friends with some of them, she did not feel very close to the majority of them. Natsuko felt that these students made their own exclusive group and that they were slightly snobbish. The spoken English these students produced in Natsuko's first year at Sakura Junior High School was beyond her imagination. She did not think about competing with them and she felt ashamed of speaking English in front of them. However, Natsuko wanted to study English more intensively and to catch up with them somehow.

Natsuko told her mother about her wish to study English and her mother found Natsuko a tutor, Ms. Nakagawa. Ms. Nakagawa was an architect by training who visited hospitals as a voluntary tutor. Natsuko went to Ms. Nakagawa's house once a week for two and half years for English conversation lessons. In the private lessons Natsuko learned that English is a tool to convey one's thoughts. Ms. Nakagawa not only taught English to Natsuko, she also talked about her foreign experiences in Japanese, which led her to feel that learning about foreign cultures was fun. Engaging in free conversation with Ms. Nakagawa made Natsuko realize that getting used to speaking English was crucial. Natsuko also learned from her that English could be a tool to do many things.

At the end of her second year at Sakura Junior High School, Natsuko's mother thought that having an American student visit their home would help Natsuko develop her speaking proficiency further. Her family hosted a student from the United States for one week. Natsuko was not only able to introduce herself in English, but for the first time in her life, could actually talk with a foreigner in English. Later she talked about this experience saying:

アメリカ人で1週間くらいいた。その時に、初めて会話ができた。感動して。「今、しゃべってる、自分」みたいな。で、それがうれしくて、でもやっぱり学校も一緒に行くんだけど、電車の中とか伝わらなかったり、うまくしゃべれなかったり。

An American student stayed with us for a week. It was the first time that I spoke in English, I was really moved. I said, "I'm speaking English now!" I was so happy, but I also found that I couldn't make myself understood in English while going to school on the train. I couldn't speak well. (I-1, 2007)

Although she was excited to speak with the American student in English while commuting to school with her, Natsuko felt that her English was not good enough.

Natsuko studied English diligently in Sakura Junior High School. Natsuko liked English very much and she always got good grades in English. She considered English to be a subject she was particularly good at.

At age 14, in her third year in Sakura Junior High School, Natsuko felt tired of studying. Social life beckoned, and her time and energy went toward more enjoyable activities. Her school grades started falling "like a snowball." The friends that Natsuko had in her third year were good ones and they shared many good times together. Natsuko thought that her accumulated frustration with studying finally exploded and set her free from intensive study and even from club activities. Natsuko had friends who

were like her, and they spent time together, going to movies or karaoke almost every day. With respect to academics, she described herself as “flushed away by the stream” at that time. Although she was spending a lot of time with her friends in her third year, Natsuko managed to study English and math just enough to stay in the upper classes; Natsuko studied both subjects enough to maintain her image as a good student.

First High School

Because she was a student at Sakura Junior High School, Natsuko was automatically enrolled in Sakura High School, which was itself attached to a junior college. However, as her interest in studying faded, her fascination with drama and acting was on the rise: she wanted to be a TV personality or stage actress. Her interest in drama was inspired by one of the students at Sakura Junior High School who did not choose to go to Sakura High School. The student was a good friend of Natsuko’s and loved acting. Another reason Natsuko chose drama was that she liked one actor very much and thought that she could see him face to face if she attended the acting school. At the age of 16, Natsuko started attending a private acting school once or twice a week. Tuition was expensive, but Natsuko’s mother supported her daughter and paid for it.

Going to the acting school changed Natsuko. She became more able to speak in front of people, and as the youngest student in the drama school, Natsuko observed many adult students practicing acting and dancing. They looked so alive to her, and she thought that those people were more human than the students in Sakura High School who lived to get good grades on examinations. She said:

養成所とかダンススクールとか行って、人とか一杯出あって、やっぱり好きなことやってる人の方が輝いているし、なんだろ、なんか、人間らしいっていうか、周りばかりやりやってる子が多いから。

At dance school and acting school, I met many people who did what they liked. They seemed to have an inner glow. They looked more human than the students around me at that time because the students around me at Sakura High school just studied intensely for exams. (I-19, 2008)

Her experiences at the acting school, however, gradually lost their appeal, as Natsuko found that the people in show business were ordinary people. She did not adore or envy them anymore. After listening to inside stories of actors, Natsuko thought that she could not make it in that business no matter how hard she tried. In the acting world, she thought, connections among people, and playing up to directors or producers were demanded. Natsuko thought that situation was unfair. She quit the school after one year, but even after quitting, Natsuko kept in touch with the friends she met there. After quitting the acting school, she wanted to do something she thought was worthwhile, and she thought of studying English because she liked the language.

She applied for a three-week program in the Philippines sponsored by Youth For Understanding (YFU), an association that was engaged in exchange programs. An offer from YFU came to Sakura High School. They could send one student to the Philippines. Natsuko thought she had a good chance to be selected: “Even a *bakana* (stupid) student like me could go.” There were two applicants. Natsuko had interviews with teachers and was selected because her grades were slightly better than the other applicant. Her enthusiasm for going abroad was very strong and she felt that the interviewers sensed her passion. It was brave of her to go overseas by herself for three weeks. Without her

experiences in the acting school, Natsuko would never have applied for the program.

She said:

養成所入ってからいろいろやりたくなって、それでもし、養成所、演劇始めてなかったら、フィリピン行ってなかったかもしれないと思う。なんか、行く勇気もなかったと思う。3週間、わけわかんないところ、こわ、みたいな。養成所行って、一人でそういうところにボーンって行ったから、怖いものなくなったから。

After I started going to the acting school, I wanted to take on various challenges. If I had not been to the acting school and had not practiced acting, I probably would not have gone to the Philippines. I wouldn't have had the courage to go to a place I didn't know at all for three weeks. That would be scary. I went to the acting school by myself, and I wasn't afraid of anything. (I-18, 2008)

The three weeks she spent in the Philippines had a big impact on Natsuko. It was a turning point in her life as her values and perceptions of school, studying, and her future plans were changed.

In the first week in the Philippines, Natsuko went sightseeing, which was followed by a two-week home stay. The first week of the home stay was very difficult for Natsuko. Her English was not good enough and she spoke with a dictionary in her hand. Her host brother said to her, "Your English needs to be improved." She knew that he was teasing her, but she felt ashamed. They became good friends after one week.

During her stay with her host family, Natsuko went to some local schools where some classes were conducted entirely in English. Although Natsuko had studied English intensively for three years in junior high school, and this had given her confidence that she could speak English reasonably well, she could not always make herself understood in English to the Philipinos. She realized that writing English and speaking English

were different and that without understanding what people said, communication was not possible. She felt that her first task was to improve her listening skills.

One night Natsuko had a dream in which she spoke English. Then she found that she had stopped mentally translating English into Japanese and Japanese into English. She said “I understood in English! I was so pleased!” This improvement was not yet enough to let her rest, however, because her English proficiency was still limited, but she had concluded that trying to communicate messages was the most important part of communication, more important than speaking correctly. Natsuko said (my responses are in the parentheses):

英語できなくても、伝えようと思わないと伝わんないと思って、とりあえずなんか周りを気にせずしゃべれるようになったかも。中学の時は、帰国子女がいるし、英語恥ずかしいよ、帰国の前じゃしゃべれないよ、だったけど、フィリピンに行ったら、そんなこと言ってたらなんもできないじゃん、まずしゃべろうと思って、辞書を使うなり、ジェスチャーだったり、（そうしないと動かないものね）うん、そんな時使った単語は覚えてる、だからなんか英語うまくなったっていうよりも、伝えようと思えるようになったって感じかも。

Even though I was not good at English, I thought it important to try to pass on my message. I came to be able to speak without caring what people thought about me. At junior high school, *kikokushijyo* intimidated me and I was ashamed of speaking English in front of them, but in the Philippines I didn't care about it. You have to speak English, so I tried speaking English anyway by using a dictionary or gestures. (Otherwise nothing would have happened, right?) Yes, then I still remember the words I used at that time. So, I don't think my English really improved, but I developed a wish to communicate. (I-19, 2008)

After coming back to Japan, Natsuko missed her host family in the Philippines, so she kept in touch with them and visited them during holidays. Her host family was wealthy, but she saw many poor people and street children in the Philippines. There was a wide

gap between the rich and the poor. Staying in the Philippines gave Natsuko a chance to think about life and the cleavage in society between the rich and the poor. After these experiences, her high school life in the private school seemed meaningless. She did not feel that she belonged in a school where students just studied hard only to get into prestigious universities. She started questioning the direction of her life. In the Philippines where people had a relaxed life, Natsuko asked, “What am I ?” Natsuko said:

フィリピンに行って帰ってきた。その時から高校が合わないなって思い始めた。周りは良い大学のために勉強するのであって、この中で自分は浮いてると思った。私の中・高って6年しかないのに、それを勉強、勉強、でいいのかなと思った。

I went to the Philippines and came back to Japan. Then I started thinking that I didn't fit in the school. Students around me studied to get into prestigious universities, but I was not one of them. I doubted if I should spend six years of junior and senior high school days just studying. (I-2, 2007).

When Natsuko became a second-year student in Sakura High School, she spent most of her time dancing, as she was going to three dance schools. Natsuko thought about becoming a dancer, and dancing deprived her of any enthusiasm for studying at school: She skipped classes and her teachers considered her to be a lazy student. Gradually, she came to dislike school.

Natsuko talked with her parents about how she felt: She did not fit in at the school anymore and as a result, she felt a lot of stress. She also mentioned what she wanted to do at another high school, such as joining club activities at school and enjoying school life. Her parents did not seem shocked when they heard how Natsuko felt, and they accepted her request to transfer to a school that would be more suitable for

her. Her mother felt that it was important for Natsuko to have a change, so she accepted Natsuko's request. Her father supported Natsuko when she made a decision by herself. Natsuko and her mother started looking for a high school she could transfer to. They found Rokkaku High School, as it accepted students who had quit other schools. Natsuko quit Sakura High School in August of her second year and applied for Rokkaku High School. Her father had heard that Rokkaku High School was a good school, so, he accepted his daughter's request to apply to Rokkaku High School.

Natsuko was accepted by Rokkaku High School in August. The entrance ceremony was in October, so she had had about two and half months before starting her new high school life. It was a long unexpected break for her. Her mother, as she always gave Natsuko suggestions, proposed that Natsuko should do something. She searched the Internet and found a language school for foreign students in the Philippines, a country Natsuko liked. The language school accepted Asian students from Japan and Korea. There was a one-month English program and she joined the program.

In the language school, students had English classes Monday through Friday. Each class was 100 minutes and was taught in English by Filipinos who were native speakers of English. On the weekend, the students went to the beach and visited tourist spots. Natsuko had two Filipino teachers and an American teacher. The classes were designed for non-native speakers of English, so they were not so difficult. After a while, the students were divided into two levels. Natsuko was put into the advanced class. The class was very difficult for her initially, so Natsuko studied hard. After a week or so, she became used to pace of the class and started to enjoy studying. This one-month stay

in the Philippines was a special experience for Natsuko. Through this experience, she met people from Germany, Korea, America, Vietnam, and the Philippines and enjoyed talking with them in English. She felt that she connected with people from different countries through English and thought that becoming interested in English by speaking it was the most important thing. Natsuko felt that her speaking ability improved as a result of participating in the program. She said:

英語がしゃべれたら、ドイツ、ベトナム、韓国、アメリカとかフィリピン、もう一気に広がったじゃないですか。それが嬉しくて、あ、英語がしゃべれたら、いろんな人と繋がっている感じが、すごい感じたんですよ。

I spoke English and then I met people from Germany, Vietnam, Korea, the United States, and the Philippines. My world became wider. That made me very happy. I felt that I was connected with people by speaking English. That was an authentic feeling. (I-3, 2007)

After she came back from the language school, Natsuko went to Australia to see a friend who was studying in Australia at that time. She could not understand the Australian accents well, so she sometimes felt confused. Natsuko then realized that there are many varieties of English.

Meeting people from foreign countries and communicating with them in English inspired Natsuko to think about becoming a flight attendant. This job would allow her to go overseas frequently and speak English. That was her dream at that time in her life.

Second High School

First year (2006). Upon entering Rokkaku High School, Natsuko could not immediately fit into the new school. She knew no one at the school and was afraid of

going to school. After joining the baton club, however, she became friends with several students. In her first year, Natsuko took English I (General English), Oral Communication I (basic English conversation), and Writing I (basic English grammar and composition). She chose Spanish as a second foreign language. The teaching method was different in Rokkaku High School in that she made oral presentations in many classes, not only in English classes. In Sakura Junior and Senior High School, she had made only one oral presentation in five years, as the English classes there had been based on fast-paced memorization. Now Natsuko realized that those classes had led her to believe that studying English meant sitting at a desk and doing rote exercises.

Natsuko spent her first year in Rokkaku High School adjusting to the school curriculum. Sometimes she was exhausted by the demands of the curriculum. At the end of the year, Natsuko joined a program at British Hills, a private institution that taught English and British culture. Staying there for a couple of days raised her awareness of British culture.

Second year (2007). In her second year, Natsuko went to Korea and Vietnam with her mother and to the Philippines in the winter to see her host family. Wherever she went, English was an indispensable tool for communicating. Those experiences enhanced her interest and passion for foreign countries and languages. In Rokkaku High School, Natsuko reconfirmed that she liked foreign countries (Q-2, 2007). She especially was fascinated by different cultures there and wanted to know more about them (Q-3, 2007). She wrote:

韓国とアメリカを訪問した時は、文化や国民性の違いなど発見がたくさんありました。海外に友人ができる素晴らしさや、交友関係を保つ楽しさを経験するにつれて、将来は様々な国の人々を関われる仕事がしたいと思うようになりました。

When I visited Korea and the U.S., I discovered differences among people and cultures. As I had fascinating experiences having friends overseas and keeping in touch with them, I gradually started thinking that I want to engage in a job that allows me to get involved with many people in different countries. (S-2, 2008)

Natsuko started working three or four times a week after school at a restaurant near her house. She wanted to earn money to join an exchange program to the United States offered by Rokkaku High School. When foreign customers came to the restaurant, Natsuko was always called to speak with them in English. She was happy to do it. Natsuko liked the former manager of the restaurant who had gone to Australia because his son lived there. He was an experienced manager who cared for everybody. On the contrary, the new manager, who was 25 years old, was lazy and mean. Natsuko did not like him at all. One day, a girl came for a job interview with the manager, but she left soon after the interview started. Natsuko asked the manager if he would hire the girl. The manager said to Natsuko, "No way. She's Korean." Natsuko got very angry when she heard this and wanted to quit her job then and there. She wanted money but thought that spending time at a part-time job was not good for high school students. She did not quit the job immediately after the incident but after a couple of months, she found a job at a cram school.

Besides the frustration of working at the restaurant, Natsuko enjoyed school life a great deal in her second year. In her former school, she was told what to do: She felt

that her teachers forced her to do things. In Rokkaku High School, however, she felt that she could make decisions by herself. She wanted to learn foreign languages, so she joined the English-Speaking Society (ESS).

At the end of her second year at Rokkaku High School, Natsuko went to Chicago on an exchange program and stayed with a host family for two weeks. With her host sister, she went to a local high school that was a sister school to Rokkaku High School. She found that Americans spoke so fast that she hardly understood what they were talking about. She had been familiar with a slower English spoken in the Philippines, so in Chicago, she found that the English spoken by Americans was difficult to understand. Also, the host students were learning Japanese and they wanted to practice with Japanese students, so often when Natsuko spoke to them in English, they replied in Japanese. Natsuko was surprised to see many American students who were interested in Japanese. Before she met them, Natsuko had thought of Japanese as a minority language that few people studied. Meeting the American students in Chicago made Natsuko feel that she had to know more about Japan to let people in the world know about the country. She said:

意外と日本に興味持っている子、こんなにいるんだって思った。結構、日本はマイノリティーだと思ってた。でも、行って、なんでこの人たちは日本語勉強したいんだろうって思っちゃった。だって、日本語って日本でしか通じないし、ほんとに日本が好きでないとがんばれないでしょ。で、それくらい思わせられる日本？そうやって日本でしか使えない日本語を一生勉強しようって思わせられる日本ってすごいのかなって思った。着物がきれいだからとか、桜を見たいからとかそういうのもあったし、将来、日本で永住したいとか、北海道で道場開きます、っていう子もいたし。日本のファッションが好き、アニメが好きとかいっぱいいたかも。

I was surprised to see that so many American students were interested in Japan. I had thought that Japanese was a minority language. In Chicago, I was wondering why those students were into Japanese and wanted to study it, you know, Japanese is only used in Japan, so I don't think you can continue studying it unless you have a strong passion. And I was impressed that Japan made them have passion for the country and want to continue study Japanese the rest of their life. That's amazing--I was proud of Japan. There were students who loved beautiful kimono, wanted to see cherry blossoms, wanted to live in Japan forever, wanted to open a farm in Hokkaido, liked Japanese fashion, and loved Japanese cartoons. (I-10, 2008)

Third year (2008). In Rokkaku High School, students do a project in their third year. Based on her experiences in the Philippines, where she realized that listening ability was the most important to understand what people said: Natsuko chose a topic for a project work as "How to develop listening ability by watching movies." She watched a movie many times and investigated how she could improve her listening ability. Then, she found out that continuity was important for improving listening ability. She wanted to continue improving her English. She wrote:

英語に限らず語学に関して言えば、長い時間聞いてその言語にふれていることが、語学を習得する一番早い方法だと思います。私たちが今使っている日本語も、小さい時から周りの人が喋っているのを聞き、簡単な日本語から始まったものです。よって、語学は短期間でおこなう学習よりも、継続的な学習に効果が見られるものです。もっと、リスニング力をつけるためには、テーマ研究だけで終わらせるのではなく、継続して続けていかなければなりません。難しく考えずに、自分の日常に英語を取り入れていけば変わっていくはずです。

I think it is important and the fastest way to learn not only English but any foreign language is to listen to them for a long time and get familiar with them. The Japanese language we use every day is acquired by listening to people's simple talk at an early age. Thus, continuously studying for a long time is more effective than intensive study. To develop my listening skill, I have to continue studying after I finish the project. If I take English into my daily life casually, I think I can improve my English. (R-19,2008)

Before she became a third-year student, Natsuko had been thinking about her future. In her third year, Natsuko seriously had to think about what to do after graduating from high school. She wanted to go to university, but she did not know which school would be good for her. She wanted to study English and something international: cultural studies or communication studies.

Natsuko went to Okinawa for vacation with her mother during a spring vacation before she became a third-year student. While staying there, her mother said that a university in Okinawa might be good for Natsuko. There was one university in Tokyo that Natsuko wanted to go to, but that university was very competitive. To enter that university, Natsuko had to go through “exam hell” which she had experienced before. She wanted to escape exam hell because she did not think that studying for entrance exams was worth the time and effort. At her former school, Sakura Junior and Senior High School, Natsu became emotionally unstable because of studying too intensely. She did not want to experience that again. She answered my question by saying

(受験勉強がいやだったのかね)それもあるかも。なんか、予備校とかの
雰囲気とも、胃が痛くなる、よみがえるさくら、みたいな。

S: You didn't want to study for the exam, did you?

N: Maybe so. It is like, when I think of the atmosphere of a prep school, I have a stomachache. It's like, Sakura again, you know. (I-20, 2008)

Natsuko also knew that she had been late for school often because she could not get up early and because she had a weakness for the pleasant things in life. This self analysis made Natsuko chose a university in Okinawa. She said:

正直、ここら辺にいたら遊ぶの目に見える。だって、たとえば立教とか行って、池袋キャンパスとか、遊べって言ってるようなものじゃないって。誘惑に勝てる自信が、そういう時は自分との闘いだけど、遊ばないわけではない。今の自分を見てても。都内の大学に行ったら、もっと自由になっちゃう、勉強とかじゃなくなっちゃうなって。友達見てもそういうの多いし。そのために高い学費とか親に払ってもらうのやだし、だったら、もうちょっと厳しく生きようか、って。

To be honest, I'll play when I am around here. It's obvious. For example, if I go to Rikkyo, in Ikebukuro, it sounds like I should play. I don't have confidence to be strong enough to say no to temptations in a city. I should fight against those temptations, but I know that I'll play. If I go to a university in Tokyo, I'll have more freedom to go anywhere. Then, my priority will not be studying. Many of my friends who go to university now don't study. I don't want my parents to pay a lot of money for tuition to let me play. So, I decided to choose a harder life. (I-9, 2008)

Natsuko was attracted by Okinawa: Okinawa belonged to Japan but had a “foreign” atmosphere, it was close to Asian countries, especially to the Philippines, and the weather was warm. Although Natsuko was happy about her decision, her friends did not welcome the news. They said to Natsuko, “University is the final school for you and people will judge you by the name of university, so the university you go to is very important. You'll regret it if you go to Okinawa.” Natsuko understood why her friends said that, however, she thought that her decision was correct. She knew that she would not have difficulty entering Okinawa International University: it was not competitive, and they selected students based on interviews and short essays in Japanese. After experiencing *juku* and *juken-benkyo*, the thought of studying for another entrance examination was what Natsuko called a “revived nightmare” (I-20, 2008). In addition, her friends who went to so-called good universities were not studying but playing around. She did not want to join the party.

After all, Natsuko thought that she chose the university not by its academic standing or name but because of the unique history and nature of Okinawa: Okinawa has a foreign-like atmosphere and it is close to Asian countries that she could visit. Just as she had decided to change high schools, she decided to go to Okinawa. She knew that she would have a full life in Okinawa, studying and meeting people. Natsuko was excited and looked forward to going to Okinawa the following year. In October 2008, Natsuko officially heard that she was accepted by Okinawa International University.

The Development of Natsuko's Ideas

Natsuko's interest in foreign cultures and languages was cultivated through foreign experiences when she was very young. Her frustration with classroom methods of studying English came to a head just at the age when she was taking an intense interest in her social life. Perhaps because of her overseas experiences, she had a growing suspicion that there must be a better way to learn English. She found it in speaking English. In the Phillipines she had a moment in which she realized that thinking in English was possible for her, was much better than translation, and enabled her to communicate with others. During this time, she also became able to make decisions on her own—notably the decision not to go to a prestigious university but to find one that offered the hope of an enjoyable experience. The maturing of her thinking led Natsuko to search for a higher education that suited her, and thus she made the final decision to go to Okinawa International University.

Rumiko's Experiences

英語が話せるようになりたいという願望をずっと持っていた。だが、もうこのときには、自分のなかで英語に対して壁ができてしまっていた。私は高校で挫折、躓いたのだ。

I have wanted to speak English well, but I have a wall inside me that prevents me from trying to speak English. At high school, I met with a setback. (R4-4, 2008)

Childhood

Rumiko was born in Japan. She lived with a single mother, an older sister, and an older brother, none of whom spoke English: “My family has nothing to do with English,” she said.

At a Japanese preschool, Rumiko had memories of several accomplishments. She practiced *kendo* (a Japanese martial art), and when her teachers praised her, she felt happy. She also learned to skate at the preschool, an activity she found fascinating. She practiced constantly, and she remembers feeling very happy when she first grasped the feeling of accomplishment after a long practice. When she was one of the older students at the preschool, she won a footrace. On Sports Day, there was a student in a wheelchair in her race. Rumiko's mother told Rumiko to push the student's wheelchair. She was last in the race but felt good about helping the other student.

In addition to her accomplishments early in her schooling, Rumiko also experienced a feeling of success outside of school. She joined the Boy Scouts because her older brother was a member (Girls could join the Boy Scouts at that time). There she learned discipline and became the leader of a group.

Rumiko's first encounter with English was when she was a little girl. Her mother, who used to deliver English materials for children, put a poster with the English alphabet on the toilet wall. There were pictures of animals, insects, and familiar things for children that started with the letters of the alphabet. Every time she went to the bathroom, she looked at those pictures and their English names, so she memorized the spellings of those words. No one told her to memorize the words; she learned them by heart by herself and said them in English. Rumiko has been interested in languages since that time.

Rumiko studied English for the first time as a fifth grader in elementary school. She went to a cram school where teachers taught advanced school subjects. Rumiko learned English through picture cards with English words on them or by playing games, which she enjoyed very much. She liked computer games and played with Play Station and Game Boy Color, both of which were popular among Japanese children.

Studying English through picture cards and playing games were fun. Before beginning junior high school, Rumiko had huge expectations and hopes for learning English at junior high school: she thought that it would be fun.

Junior High School

Rumiko got good grades in English in junior high school, which is when Japanese students start learning English formally. She quit the cram school when she entered junior high school because she did not think it was worth going and thought that she could manage studying English by herself. Although she was doing well studying

by herself, Rumiko wanted to keep her studies moving forward, so she took a correspondence course to prepare for high school entrance examinations. She did not pay much attention to English classes at school. In her first year, Rumiko had an English teacher who looked like a Japanese cartoon character, Anpanman, and whose English pronunciation was awful. She realized this when she entered high school and compared his pronunciation with that of the high school English teachers. Rumiko got a perfect score on her first English test in junior high school, and this was followed by passing the *Eiken level 4 examination*.³ Already in the first grade at junior high school, she knew she had aptitude for acquiring English. Good grades on English examinations at junior high school led teachers and peers to acknowledge that Rumiko was very good at English. Rumiko also thought of herself as a good learner of English. Good grades meant that she could translate English into Japanese and vice versa or she could answer questions about English grammar. She believed then that being good at English meant getting good grades on English tests.

Because she got good grades in English and her classmates recognized her skill, they often asked her to help them with English. She occasionally taught English to her classmates. She said:

³ EIKEN is an abbreviation of *Jitsuyō Eigo Ginō Kentei* (Test in Practical English Proficiency), Japan's most widely used English-language testing program. EIKEN is produced and administered by the Society for Testing English Proficiency (STEP), Inc., a nonprofit foundation based in Tokyo, Japan. Eiken Level 4 is equivalent to MEXT benchmark for junior high school graduates.

中学の時に英語を教えた時から、英語を教えることに興味があって、英語を教えるのがいいかな。英語を教えてわかってくれる時がうれしい。

I taught English to my peers at junior high school. Since then, I've been interested in teaching English. I like it. I'm happy when my friends understand what I taught. (I-1, 2007)

In her second year, Rumiko's English teacher, a middle-aged male teacher, was her homeroom teacher. He said to Rumiko, "*Tanaka-san nara wakaru daro*" (Tanaka-san, you already know this, right?), which Rumiko interpreted to mean that she did not have to work hard in class because she knew everything. Indeed, she got good grades without paying attention, so she chatted with her friends in class. Rumiko was very interested in English textbooks, however, and read them by herself many times, even memorizing some of the sentences in the textbooks. When she was in the third year at junior high school, Rumiko had a young female English teacher whom she said she could not trust very much because the teacher did not seem to be knowledgeable about English. Later, after Rumiko entered Rokkaku High School, she compared her junior high school teachers to those in the high school. She remembered that her junior high school English teachers did not pronounce English as well as her high school teachers.

In the summer of her last year at junior high, Rumiko started going to cram school to prepare for the high school entrance examination, which she was anxious about. At the cram school, she met a wonderful teacher whom she respected immensely and still respects as a mentor. The teacher, Mr. Oshima, had a moderate amount of teaching experience, and although he was not a fluent speaker of English, he was very good at teaching. His class was fun and the lessons were easy to understand. He passed

on his knowledge of strategies for studying English, for example, how to improve listening skills. Rumiko thoroughly trusted him, and she relied on his judgment for everything, for example, choosing a high school. He was the first adult she considered as a mentor. Because she was good at English and always got good grades, her classmates at cram school asked her to teach them English. Teaching was something Rumiko really liked. She used some of Mr. Oshima's teaching methods to teach a friend, and when her friend said that she understood, Rumiko was happy. She felt that teaching was difficult but rewarding. She enjoyed teaching English and because of Mr. Oshima's influence, Rumiko thought that she might become an English teacher in the future.

When Rumiko was preparing to take the *Eiken* semi-second level English proficiency test, she spent time with one of her cram school classmates who needed help. Rumiko taught English to her, so she did not enough time to study for herself. Mr. Oshima gave her a huge bag one day, in which Rumiko found listening materials. She also found a letter from him. In the letter, he wrote, "I was impressed with you helping your classmate just before the Step test; you have spent your time for someone else. Enclosed in the bag you will find listening materials for the Step test. I do hope those help you get a listening shower and get ready for the test." Rumiko was touched by the teacher's words and listened to the tapes at home, on the train and during break time at school. When she passed the test, Mr. Oshima praised her. Both passing the test and his praise made her happy, and she was proud of herself. Mr. Oshima was promoted and was transferred to another cram school in Chiba prefecture. Rumiko missed him very much.

In junior high school, an Assistant Language Teacher came to English classes occasionally and conducted games. Although Rumiko did not have chance to speak English in junior high school, she looked forward to finding more opportunities in high school. Those expectations led Rumiko to choose Rokkaku High School. Rumiko's first choice was the *Kokusai bunka* (International understanding) course at Rokkaku High School, so she applied for it. Rokkaku High School offered two phases of entrance examinations for junior high school students: *Zenki nyushi* (First term) examination that consisted of an individual interview and a group discussion (in Japanese) and *Koki nyushi* (Second term) examination that consisted of an individual interview and paper examinations. Rumi thought that she could study English at the *Kokusai bunka* (International Culture) course but she failed *Zenki nyushi*, so she changed to another course, *Koseika* (Individual Characteristic) course, which did not seem to be as competitive as the *Kokusai bunka* course. She passed the Rokkaku High School entrance examination in 2006.

After entering Rokkaku high school, Rumiko found that there were many students who were better in English than her. She also felt that her choice of the *Koseika* course was correct because she had much more freedom to choose classes in the *Koseika* course compared with other courses in the school.

High School

First year (2006). Rumiko took Oral Communication I once a week and English I (General English) twice a week in her first year in Rokkaku High School. She was

interested in languages and enjoyed studying alone by analyzing sentences; she did not enjoy studying in class as much in part because she did not like passive learning. She did not like English I, which was taught using the traditional grammar-translation methodology by a Japanese teacher of English. The students were asked to translate English to Japanese and copy what the teacher wrote on the board. The students in the English I class were supposed to have a notebook for the class but Rumiko did not have one. She thought that simply writing sentences whose meaning she already understood was useless, so she just wrote memos in the textbook. She said:

もともと英語の授業とか好きでないんで、英訳とかしているのが好きなんですよ、勝手に。一人で。（授業はいらない？）載ってないような情報をくれるのはありがたいし、使い分けとか詳しく教えてくれるのはいいんですけど、普通に聞いているのはつまらないかな。

I don't like English classes anyway. I like putting Japanese into English by myself. (Don't you need classes for that?) I appreciate it if teachers give me information that is in the textbook and teach how to use words in detail, but I get bored just listening to ordinary English lessons. (I-2, 2007)

Although English I was taught using a traditional teaching method, Rumiko's class, which was the upper class, had quite a few students who had overseas experience. She studied with those students who spoke English fluently (Q2-2, 2007), and their superior English ability shattered Rumiko's confidence. She decided that English was not a subject she was good at any more, and her motivation to study English faded away.

Rumiko preferred the Oral Communication I class, which was taught by a Japanese teacher and two Assistant Language Teachers in turn, and in which she had many opportunities to speak English. Rumiko learned that she could enjoy using English by making skits and that English was a tool for communication, not just

knowledge that needed to be memorized. The teacher told the students that learning something through English was important. That idea changed Rumiko's perception of studying English, as she realized that English is a tool to learn something. Her grade in Oral Communication I was 7 out of 10, and 8 for English I. She did not have as much confidence in her English as she did in junior high school and had what she called "an inferiority complex" about speaking English. She became nervous when she had to speak English with the Assistant Language Teachers.

Rumiko found the traditional way of teaching English uninspiring unless she learned something or something she felt was worth knowing. When studying grammar, she tried to discover rules and figure how the sentences were used. If she could not determine the rule, she looked up information in workbooks or a dictionary or asked the teachers. She liked English, but she did not like English class. She had no problem reading the textbooks, but she wanted to study something more than textbooks, such as English newspapers or paperbacks.

In her first year at Rokkaku High School, Rumiko attended the English Day Camp (EDC), which was an elective subject in which students spent four days speaking only English. Although she initially felt anxious, Rumiko eventually liked it because the students were not expected just to sit and listen but to get involved in activities. This approach appealed to Rumiko, as she liked discovering rules by herself. On the first day of camp, though, she almost dropped out because she was so nervous and lacking in confidence in her English, especially her speaking abilities. Her nervousness faded as time passed and she ended up enjoying the camp, in part because the Assistant

Language Teachers were supportive to the students. On the first day, Rumiko was impressed with a workshop conducted by Professor Tanaka of Keio University and Mr. Morimoto, a graduate student at Keio who had graduated from Rokkaku High School. Professor Tanaka's lecture was about learning vocabulary through a cognitive approach. The lecture changed Rumiko's ideas about learning English: 田中先生の授業はすごく面白かったです。英語の勉強方法についての考えを変えられました。知っている単語をうまく使って言いたいことを言えばいいんだということがわかりました。単語の本当の力がわかりました。[The class Mr. Tanaka taught was very interesting. He changed my thoughts about learning English; I learned that it is important to use familiar words wisely and express what we want to say. I was aware of true word ability (D-1, 2006).]

On the second day, Rumiko learned about fair trade and met people from Nepal. She was interested in Nepali Bazalo, a NGO that worked as a liaison between Japan and Nepal. She said: フェア・トレードについて知ることができました。世界が不平等なんて考えてもいませんでした。でも、何かやらなければいけないと思います。ネパリバザロの活動に興味があります。[I learned about fair trade. I had never thought that the world is unfair, but we have to make an effort. I'm interested in NAPALI BAZARO (D-1, 2006).]

On the final day, Rumiko and five other attendees made a group presentation about English education in Japan. Rumiko chose English education as her topic because she had become interested in teaching English as a result of her teaching experience at

the cram school and junior high school. Rumiko also thought that the English education she had experienced had problems and that it should be changed. Rumiko and five members discussed the construction of a new English education system in Japan and presented it at the end of the English Day Camp. She found that she was in a good group. She said: いいメンバーと一緒に発表したのは自分にとってよかったです。 [“I think it was good for me to present with great members” (D-2, 2006).]

After taking part in all the programs in the English Day Camp, Rumiko felt that her English ability, especially speaking, was far from perfect. She thought that her listening ability would not lead to an ability to express thoughts in English and wanted to know how she could improve her speaking proficiency.

Rumiko’s dilemma was that she could not do a presentation well in English although she could do it in Japanese. Her problem with English at the time was that she could not speak well even though her listening skills were reasonably well developed. When Rumiko did a presentation in Japanese in her computer class, she thought that she did well without looking at her notes, but it was difficult for her to make a presentation in English without looking at her notes. Thus, she thought that she needed more experience making presentations and wanted to learn how to express herself in English. At that time, she believed that she could become an excellent speaker in the future by accumulating experience speaking English.

At the end of her first year at Rokkaku High School, Rumiko passed the second level of the *Eiken* Test. Rumiko viewed the test as a challenge to herself, and passing it fueled her enthusiasm to continue studying.

Because she liked teaching, Rumiko taught Japanese to a German student, Rea. Rea studied Japanese very hard and wanted to take the *Kanji* Step test. Rumiko taught Rea specific Japanese expressions such as *dondon* (recklessly) and *motto motto* (more and more). Rumiko did not use any textbook but taught Japanese through conversation. She felt that she had become a real tutor. Rumiko found that teaching was enjoyable; she especially enjoyed thinking about how to teach ambiguous Japanese.

The strong positive impact from the English Day Camp in her first year at the high school, did not remain long. At the end of the first year, she had high hopes for studying English: She wanted to read English books and join activities including a two-week exchange program to the United States. However, at age 15, she felt that her passion for studying English faded away because English was not the subject she was not good at anymore and she did not think that she could be like returnee students until she went overseas.

Second year (2007). In the second year, the only English class Rumiko took was Writing I, which met once a week. Most second-year students took English II, but Rumiko opted not to take the course because some of the older students had told her that English II was not worth taking and that she could study English by herself. Rumiko did not like formal and traditional English classes anyway, so she was happy to take their advice. She liked translating by herself, but she found listening to teachers uninteresting. The Writing I class was taught by a male teacher who explained grammar in great detail. Just listening to the teacher's explanation was boring; she wanted the

teacher to check what she wrote in English, as she thought that the teacher's corrections were useful. Her grade for Writing I was 7 out of 10. She did not do well on paper exams.

Rumiko did not take any English classes focused on speaking because of her experiences meeting the Japanese students who had returned from trips abroad and speaking with non-Japanese students in and outside of class. She had lost her confidence and had almost given up on learning to speak English. She said: 英語をペ
らペら喋る人がたくさん居て、正直英語に対する自信が粉々になった。帰国子
女との差に英語に対する情熱を失ったりした。 [There were many students who
spoke English fluently. To be honest, my confidence in my English was broken into
pieces. The huge interval between the returnees and me reduced my passion for English
(Q2-1, 2008).]

Although Rumiko was not studying English very much in her second year, she was actively engaged in extra curricular activities. During summer vacation, Rumiko attended an English Summer Camp for elementary school children for one day. She felt that she got a good response from the students, and found that she enjoyed teaching English to them. At that time Rumiko was not sure what she wanted to do after high school, so she thought that she would decide after the English Summer Camp. After working at the day camp, Rumiko thought that she wanted to be an elementary school teacher.

Rumiko made presentations for the Slovenian ambassador when he visited Rokkaku High School, at a teachers' meeting at Sophia University, and at a speech

contest with ESS members. She thought that the content of the speeches was acceptable, but she was dissatisfied with her pronunciation. Rumiko had an inferiority complex about her English pronunciation because she compared herself with the students who had lived overseas. Rumiko thought that people with bad pronunciation were not cool and while she thought that she should practice reading aloud or practice pronunciation, she did nothing about it. She felt ashamed of her Japanese accent. She said: 発音が悪いとかっこ悪いと思った。なんか、スロベニアも上智も発音が素晴らしい人たちがまわりにいたから、だからあーあって思った。劣等感に陥った。[My pronunciation was terrible, I thought. At a presentation for the Slovenian ambassador and a presentation at Sophia University, there were students around me who had excellent pronunciation. I sighed and I felt an inferiority complex (I-6, 2008).]

Rumiko taught Japanese to foreign students. As a Japanese tutor, she occasionally taught Japanese to Harry, an exchange student from Australia. She spoke Japanese to him and when he did not understand her Japanese, she spoke English. She also taught a student from Malaysia who impressed her because of his improvement and enthusiasm.

Rumiko started considering taking the entrance examinations of two national universities, but that meant that she would have to take the National Center Test (See Appendix A), which required her to study not only English but also other subjects, such as mathematics. Rumiko was not good at mathematics, so she thought that she had to focus on that area. Instead of taking English classes at school or going to cram school,

Rumiko studied English by herself. She did exercises in textbooks, memorized words she found in vocabulary texts, and read textbooks on the Step Test.

In Rokkaku High School, a project study (1 credit) is required for all students. The students conduct the project in three phases in two and half years. Rumiko chose the topic “English education at elementary schools in Japan,” as she had heard and read that English education in elementary schools was a current topic. Her advisor, Mr. Enomoto, an English teacher, introduced a book about how to learn English. The book criticized early English education at elementary schools, saying it could only come at the expense of proper attention to the Japanese language. Through the book, she learned new ideas about English education, such as the idea of a critical age for learning languages. Rumiko thought that the book was too critical of English education in Japan, especially regarding teaching English in elementary schools.

The main idea of Rumiko’s paper was that elementary school students should be familiar with English, by receiving them many opportunities to enjoy and experience the language. She also suggested establishing stronger ties between the elementary school and junior high school curricula. As part of her project, Rumiko organized games and activities, and she was deeply involved in the English Day Camp for elementary school students. Being a leader of the English Day Camp, in turn, gave her confidence in teaching English to children. Working in the camp twice in summer and winter gave Rumiko a chance to think carefully about English education for elementary school students. She felt strongly that the materials for use in a long-term English

program must include rich content. The opportunities to teach English to elementary school students affected Rumiko's plans to be an elementary school teacher. She said:

授業をどうしたら楽しくできるかを考えて小学生のためにプリントを作ったりしてすごく楽しかった。だから教師になるより教材を作った方がいいかもしれないと思い始めた。

I made handouts for elementary school students by thinking how I could make lessons easy to understand, and I really enjoyed it. I started thinking that I might be better making materials for elementary school students instead of becoming a teacher (Q2-1, 2008).

Rumiko thought that she might be able to contribute to English education by producing good pedagogical materials. She wrote: 小学生対象の英語デイキャンプで、どうやったらわかりやすいかを考えてプリントをあげたりするから、自分には直接的な英語教育ではなくて、教材を作ることで子どもを教育することが向いているのかもしれないと思い始めた。[In EDC for elementary school students, I thought about how to make effective handouts. Maybe it would be good for me to engage in second-hand English education by producing English materials (questionnaire, January, 2008).]

Rumiko also knew that being a teacher would require a lot of work besides teaching English. She liked teaching but she did not want to do the extra work, such as dealing with social issues such as bullying. Rumiko strongly wished to be involved with education, so making teaching materials became one of her alternatives for a future job.

Third year (2008). Since she was a first-year student, Rumiko had worked part-time at a coffee shop. Her mother was a single mother, so Rumiko thought that she had

to do something to provide financial help for mother. She did not get any allowance from her mother; she had only asked for money if necessary before she started working. After working, Rumiko paid for her transportation and a cell phone. At the coffee shop where she worked, she sometimes had foreign customers. Rumiko did not speak to them in English because she thought that it was strange to speak in English in Japan. However, when communicating in Japanese did not work, she spoke some English (e.g., *large* or *small*) to help them understand. Older students and co-workers at the coffee shop told Rumiko that their attitude had changed when they went overseas and that Rumiko should go abroad even for a short time. Some people around Rumiko brought her stories of foreign countries, and the stories inflamed her imagination. She thought that she would go to those countries when she became a university student—but only for a short time because she was afraid to live overseas for a long time and because she liked Japan very much. During her time at Rokkaku High School Rumiko did not go overseas; she did not even apply for a passport. Instead of participating in the sister school program in the United States, she went to Yamagata Prefecture and stayed on a farm for her school trip.

As noted above, Rumiko had an inferiority complex toward the students at Rokkaku High School who had lived overseas, and she did not have confidence, particularly in her English speaking ability. She believed that she would never be able to speak English fluently if she only studied English in Japan. She also thought that her speaking would never improve without studying abroad. She thought of herself as a typical Japanese student: 今の自分が日本の英語教育を物語っているっていう感じ

だから。だってこう、会話も、中学のときとか発音をよくしたりとかもなく、ただ和文英訳を積み重ねてきた結果、みたいな。[I am a product of Japanese English education. I did not practice English pronunciation. What I have done was practice translation (interview, May, 2008).]

Rumiko felt that she might give up studying English, especially speaking English, when she went to university, and she became unenthusiastic about learning English. She felt that there was a wall in the form of her inability to speak in front of her and that she could not break through it. Rather than try to break through the wall by studying in Japan, Rumiko decided that it was best to go abroad. She believed that her speaking would improve if she went abroad because she would speak English every day. She said:

心の壁ができています。英語を勉強するのは別にいいんですけど、英語をしゃべることに対する壁は自分の中にある。もう確立されていて、ぶち破ることが無い限り、しゃべれないだろう、その壁を打ち破るのじゃ留学だろうって。だって、しゃべらざるをえないですか。

I have a wall inside me. Studying English is fine with me, but I have a wall against speaking English. It's already there and I don't think I'll be able to speak English until I break the wall. To break the wall, I have to study abroad. I have to speak there, don't I? (I-7, 2008)

Rumiko organized the English Day Camp for elementary school students in May and visited another elementary school. Because she had enjoyed studying English at a cram school before she officially started learning English in secondary school, Rumiko wanted the elementary school students to enjoy games or activities so that they would begin to like English.

Teaching elementary school students made Rumiko certain about her future: she wanted to go to university to study English education, and then she would work to make good English materials for children in Japanese schools. She wanted to promote an English-language curriculum in which students would learn to speak English well.

Rumiko's selected the university she wanted to attend by herself. She did not select a private university because the tuition was unaffordable for her mother. She chose a national university located in Tokyo so that she would not need to spend money for accommodations. She studied hard and passed the examination to the national university.

The Development of Rumiko's Ideas

Rumiko discovered a gap between being good at English at school and being able to speak English in real-life communicative contexts. She was considered good at English as measured by tests in school in junior high school, but she felt that her ability to speak English was inadequate in high school. Under her calm exterior, Rumiko was an emotional person. She wanted desperately to excel, but she feared failure. She sought out new ways of excelling, then drew back at the threat of humiliation. Long after Mr. Oshima moved away, she could have used him to give her courage and direction. Rumiko finally decided to engage with English education in the future, not by teaching, for which she felt inadequate because of her limited speaking ability, but by making pedagogical materials for Japanese students of English. She hoped that by doing this she would be able to help them communicate using English—the very thing she could not do.

Maiko's Experiences

みんな違う気持ちとか考えや意見を持っていて、それを知ると新しい考えや見方が浮かんで来て、自分の世界が広がると思います。

Everyone has different feelings, thoughts, and opinions which expose me to new ideas and points of view that enable me to broaden my horizons. (S-1,2007)

Childhood

Maiko was born to Japanese parents in Montreal, Canada. When she was seven months old, her family returned to Japan. She went to a Japanese preschool, and at the age of 4, her family moved to Vancouver, where she attended a preschool for eight months and a kindergarten for two months. Maiko remembered that she was happy with the big house she lived in with her parents.

At the preschool, she could not speak English initially, but many of her classroom friends were immigrants who, although they could not speak English well, spoke it in a fashion that allowed Maiko to generally comprehend what they were saying. Now Maiko doubts that she spoke English correctly at that time, but she was able to communicate to a degree. She remembered that she sang songs in English with her classmates when she was at the preschool. Her first teacher was Canadian. When the class practiced drama, Maiko was slower than other students, so the teacher scolded her. She knew that the teacher was very angry but did not understand what she said, so she was at a loss. The drama was about a story of a goat that lived in a valley. Maiko played one of the ordinary goats. She did not memorize her lines, so when she was told to say her lines she could not. The teacher repeatedly scolded Maiko, saying, "Maiko, Maiko."

Maiko thought that she was a slow learner and that the teacher was irritated by her. She was sad because she could not understand what the teacher said.

Once Maiko and her little sister went to a birthday party for a girl who called herself "princess." That was a gorgeous birthday party in which children danced and played games. Maiko remembers beautiful decorations in a big house. The girls were overwhelmed by the atmosphere and did not enjoy the party; instead they just sat silently in the corner.

Maiko returned to Japan and went to the kindergarten she had previously attended. She was nervous because she was not sure if she would be accepted back into the group. She remembers hanging back and wishing she could go back to Canada because she did not feel that she fit in any particular group of students. Maiko felt that she was different from the other students.

After returning to Japan, Maiko had a problem due to a lack of Japanese vocabulary. At the kindergarten, she could not say *murasaki* (purple) in Japanese, so she said *purple*. The teacher corrected her, saying, *Maiko chan, murasaki desho. Paapulu jyanai desho* (Maiko chan, murasaki, isn't it? Not purple.). Maiko could only say, *purple, purple*.

Maiko did not read Japanese books by herself at that time. However, at the prompting of her father, who told Maiko repeatedly to read Japanese books, she eventually read many books. She believed that thick books were better because they looked cool. She read all the books written by Jun Okada, who was an elementary school art teacher. He wrote fantasies about ordinary pupils who joined in an adventure.

Maiko's grandmother gave her those books on her birthday. She liked to be excited by stories and felt empathy with the main characters of the books. She thought that she should read all his books.

After finishing kindergarten, Maiko went to a public elementary school. Her English was slipping away, but her parents were more concerned about her becoming interested in Japanese.

Maiko went abroad to Canada and Korea during summer vacations and sometimes her friends came to Japan to see her. She spoke English at that time. Her father's friends often visited her family, and sometimes Canadians from Montreal and English-speaking Americans stayed with her family. A movie director and his family and people whom her parents met in Canada when they were young came to visit them. Those visitors gave Maiko a few rare chances to speak English, but they were not enough to allow her to maintain her ability to use the language.

Maiko attended an international understanding class taught by various teachers in elementary school. She looked forward to the class and wanted to speak English. She was also interested in the guest speakers from outside of English-speaking countries who came to the school and introduced their culture in English. Maiko enthusiastically spoke to the teachers in English because she had not spoken to English speakers for a while after she came back from Canada and she missed speaking the language, but the other students could not understand her. She interpreted what the teacher said to them because the teacher could not speak Japanese. When she spoke English, her classmates

said, "Oh!" with amazement. She thought that understanding what people said in English was fun and wanted to use English more often as a tool for communication.

In the upper grades of elementary school, Maiko became interested in getting good grades on tests; she was a perfectionist who wanted to get a perfect score on every test. Because her father did not talk to her about her grades, it seemed that he was not interested in her scores in school; however, Maiko's mother was pleased to see Maiko getting good grades. Perhaps because of her good grades, Maiko did not study hard; instead, she played outside with her friends after school.

Junior High School

Maiko's parents suggested that she apply to a national junior high school attached to a high school and university. While she was at first unenthusiastic about the idea, Maiko gradually became interested in applying to the school. In order to prepare for the school's entrance examination, she studied at her regular school, but this strategy was unsuccessful, as she did not pass the examination. She was very disappointed but decided to do her best at a junior high school in her neighborhood.

The junior high school English classes, which were designed to introduce English from the beginning, were focused on grammar. The demands of the class and the textbooks she used were easy for Maiko. Because she was born overseas, she took it for granted that she should do well with English and French: She felt that she had to be good at them.

Despite her success in classes, they were far from satisfying. The first English teacher tried to introduce songs, and she had fun in the class, but the next teacher was a typical cram school-type teacher who always said, "This will be on the test" and gave the students many tests from high school entrance examinations. She did not have a single chance to speak English, so she found this approach boring. She said: 中学の授業では、高校受験用の、これは出るぞ、と入試のために何回もテストをやるよ
うな先生で、話す機会はなかった。 [At junior high school, the teacher used materials for high school entrance exams, saying that this would be on test. He gave many tests and we didn't have any chances to speak English (I1-1, 2007).]

The teacher let the students write *katakana* (one type of Japanese phonetic syllabary) above the English words and had them memorize the Japanese approximations of the English phonology. Maiko memorized the words and sentences in the textbook for tests. As time went on, she thought that she should not stand out and that she should not show her understanding of English or her good pronunciation because she did not want to embarrass the teacher and get unwanted attention from her classmates. She became invisible. She could do it, but it was not fun.

When Maiko had to decide which high school to attend in her third year at junior high school, Maiko's parents heard about Rokkaku High School by some friends. They thought that the school would provide a good environment for their daughter, who had overseas experiences. Following her parents' advice, Maiko applied for the Individual Characteristic course at Rokkaku High School. She wanted to study about the environment in a foreign language.

High School

First Year (2006). In junior high school, Maiko had studied in the way other students did by memorizing words and sentences or doing textbook exercises because that was the only learning strategy she had. After entering Rokkaku High School, Maiko continued with the same approach. She took English I and Oral Communication I. In English I, Maiko was an excellent student who earned perfect scores on her tests in the first semester, an achievement that made her feel satisfied.

Maiko was not happy about Oral Communication I class, which was taught by an American teacher, Jon. She had high hopes for the Oral Communication class, but Maiko did not think Jon knew how to teach effectively. He spent too much time just talking. She believed that Jon was a good person, and interesting, but thought that his teaching style had problems. She thought that Jon did not know what he should do for the students, so she wanted to talk with him about the class. She felt ashamed talking to him in front of other students by herself, so she talked to him after class with one of her Chinese classmates. She observed that most of the students were sitting in the back of the classroom and did not speak up. She told him that pointing to some students and asking them to talk or making a circle might be effective. Jon listened to Maiko and her friend and changed the class so that the students sat together in the center of the classroom, or made groups and talked. When Maiko told Jon that she wanted to sing, he brought a song. In the second term, after every class, she went to Jon and they talked or sometimes had lunch together. They developed classes together. In retrospect, Maiko believed that Jon's Oral Communication class, in which she played a leading role, was a

valuable experience. Through her experience of working with Jon on the class, Maiko learned that she needed to speak up sometimes, and that being too passive was not good for her.

In the second term she joined English Day Camp, which also changed her attitude and her approach toward learning English. She did not know what English Day Camp would be like, but the older students said that it was good and she liked the syllabus, so she signed up for it.

In English Day Camp, students were not allowed to speak Japanese even during breaks. Maiko was shocked by the all-English classes, as using English for everything was more difficult than she had thought. She could give a simple self-introduction in English, but she realized that she could not keep up with the students who had lived overseas and older students when talking about things like social problems. When she could not make herself understood in English, she felt mortified at her poor English and longed to be a better speaker of the language. Maiko wrote in the questionnaire (2007) as follows: 私は英語が上手に話したいと思いました。文法のテストでよい点を取るだけではだめです。もっと英語の力を上げたいと思います。 [I strongly want to speak English well. Getting good grades for grammar tests is not enough. I have to improve my English (Q2-1).]

Older students, especially those who belonged to a volunteer group discussing international issues and aid, whom Maiko met in English Day Camp, influenced her greatly. Their English ability was excellent but that was not enough for them. They

always tried to improve themselves; they had high goals in terms of learning both English and social issues. Maiko was impressed with their attitude.

At lunch time in July, Maiko talked with Nimo, one of older students who belonged to the volunteer group. Before that, she watched older students talking with exchange students and she envied them. Nimo asked her to join the volunteer group. Group members often got together and discuss contemporary topics. For instance, one person brought up a topic such as development in India or computers in Japan and they discussed the topic. They participated in an English drama contest in November, creating a drama criticizing the gap between the rich and poor countries. Maiko played the main character. Knowing the older students made her feel ashamed of being satisfied with just getting good grades on tests. Maiko thought that they were confident and wanted to be like them.

Maiko wanted to set up an English Speaking Society and wanted to learn from both foreign teachers and Japanese teachers even though she did not take their classes. Maiko always seemed to set high goals, introducing ideas that most people never thought of. She wanted to learn English and French to broaden her horizons. In college, she wanted to study abroad. Maiko thought that if she had not met foreign teachers, older students, and English teachers, she would have been satisfied simply with good results of tests. She said:

高校に入ってから、英語っていう科目に関して考えが変わったっていうか気持ちが変わった。中学の時は、ただ単語を覚えてテストに備えたりとか、教科書を覚えたりばかりだったんですけど、高校に入ったら、そういうのも大事だけれど、やっぱり、英語は常に上へ上へ、満足しちゃうだめだなって思うようになりました。もっと、高度を目指すようにな

りました。ネイティブの先生がいっぱいいいて、あと先輩の存在が大きい。

After I started high school, my thoughts toward English as a subject changed, or my feelings toward it changed. In junior high school, I just memorized English words to prepare for exams or memorized textbooks, but in high school, those things are still important, but I also think I should never be satisfied, but should improve my English all the time. I aim to achieve higher goals now because I met many foreign teachers and older students. (I1-2, 2007)

During the summer vacation in her first year, Maiko joined an English program at Temple University Japan Campus. There she met people from different countries. She enjoyed talking with them in English. She wrote: 特に話せてよかったのは、ナイジェリア人の方です。話した内容は、政治なこと（ジョージ・ブッシュが好きか）や彼の国のこと。勉強になり、充実した時間でした。[I especially enjoyed talking with a person from Nigeria. I talked with him about political issues (if he liked George Bush) and his country. It was interesting and I had a good time (R1-3, 2007).]

Maiko's understanding of how to study English changed at Rokkaku High School. In junior high school, she just memorized vocabulary and textbook passages and prepared for tests. In high school, however, although she still thought that those tasks were important, she developed the attitude of never being satisfied with her current level of proficiency: She always wanted to keep climbing toward the peak. To do so, Maiko believed that studying other subjects and accumulating knowledge of various issues would enhance her speaking ability. At the end of her first year, 15-year-old Maiko decided she wanted to study abroad in the future.

Second Year (2007). In the second year, Maiko became very active and sought out learning experiences. The passive Maiko did not exist any more. She set up an English Speaking Society (ESS) with her friends, participated in an English speech contest and a French recitation contest, organized the English Day Camp for elementary school students, went to Costa Rica with her family, made a presentation to the Ambassador of Slovenia, joined a study trip to Hiroshima with a group of British students, and joined a sister school program to visit the United Kingdom. She took French classes, and two English classes, English II and Presentation. She received perfect grades in her English classes.

The most impressive activity for Maiko was her presentation to the Slovenian Ambassador. The Europe Union, which hoped to promote the United Nations, sent ambassadors to schools all over Japan. Rokkaku High School had one student whose father was from Slovenia and he told the Slovenian Ambassador about Rokkaku High School and this resulted in a visit from the Ambassador. The students in the English Speaking Society had an opportunity to make a presentation introducing the school and student life. Maiko thought it was a major debut of ESS.

Maiko had a difficult but inspiring experience of speaking English in the presentation class. Several older students she had met at English Day Camp and who spoke English with confidence were in the presentation class. There were many in-class discussions in English with foreign students from China, Myanmar, Malaysia, Germany, and Australia. Maiko prepared for the discussions and enjoyed them; she felt that her English improved through taking part in those discussions. The foreign students and

Assistant Language Teachers talked in English among themselves and although Maiko always wanted to join their group, she found it difficult to do so. As a result, Maiko just listened to them without expressing her opinions. She felt ashamed because she thought that being passive in a discussion was meaningless. She said:

イザとハリーとラーさんと。あの3人がすごい英語話すじゃないですか。あとはALTの先生方が変わったんですけど、みんなが外人同士でしゃべるじゃないですか。それがくやしくて、私もこんなかに入りたい、じゃないけれど、こう、言いたいと思って。最初、結構、先輩と留学生たちがディスカッションしてるっていう感じだったんですけど、ちょっと最後は入れたなっていう感じでした。

Iza (Malaysian student), Harry (Australian student) and Lau (Chinese student) spoke a lot of English. And the ALTs, who changed three times, spoke with them and among themselves and foreigners. I felt mortified because I couldn't join the group. I wanted to speak up. At first the older students talked with the foreign students, but in the end I joined them a little. (I2-1, 2008)

Maiko felt that she had a full life in her second year. She had quite a few opportunities to teach English to elementary school students with the other English Speaking Society members. They had a summer English camp, a Halloween party, and a Christmas party. Maiko especially enjoyed making and organizing the programs with the other students in the club. Through participating in many activities, Maiko thought that she had changed from being a passive student to an active student.

Although she was busy, Maiko was told by Mr. Hiranuma, a PE teacher who put himself in the position of personal consultant, that she was playing around, not seriously studying, and that she ought to give up her frivolous activities in favor of serious preparation for college. At that time, Maiko thought that she would follow Mr. Hiranuma's advice.

While considering where to go to university at the end of her second year in high school, Maiko reasoned that bright students avoided international-oriented universities. It was her belief that students at international-oriented universities are “flippant and shallow.” She wanted to attend a university that attracted serious students. She said:

国際系っていう方面が、まじめじゃないっていう勝手な偏見があって、頭のいい人っていうのは国際系は行かないと思ったんですよ。いわゆるちゃらちゃらしてて元気な人が、SFCのAO受けてたり、ICUがんばっていったりとか、英語だけ勉強して国際教養行ったりとか、勝手な想像してたんですよ。もちろん、その人たちもすごい意思があって、頭のいい人たちなんだろうけど、ほんとに頭のいい人たちは国際系って言わないんだって思ってた。

I had a stereotypical idea that students who belong to *kokusai-kei* (international-oriented) are not serious students. I thought that smart students did not go to *kokusai-kei* universities. I thought that so-called *chara-chara* (flippant) students applied for Admission Office exam to SFC (Keio Shonan-Fujisawa Campus), to ICU, or to *Kokusaikyoyo* (International studies) at Waseda just by studying English. That was my biased thought. Of course, they have strong intentions to apply for those universities and are smart but deep in my mind I thought that really smart students would not go for *kokusa-ikei*. (I2-2, 2008)

Maiko was unwilling to study for the university entrance examinations, so she decided to apply to Waseda University, a prestigious private university with a good reputation.

Maiko went to Mr. Hiranuma and said that she would apply to Waseda University because studying for entrance examinations was meaningless. Waseda and Rokkaku High School had an agreement that one student per year could enroll in Waseda without taking an entrance examination and she wanted to be that student. Mr. Hiranuma was furious to hear Maiko’s decision and told her that it was just an excuse to avoid studying for the entrance examinations. He wanted Maiko to take the entrance

examination of a competitive national university. Maiko talked with other teachers to get advice. Some recommended Hitotsubashi University, a prestigious national university in Tokyo. She listened to them and gradually came to feel that she wanted to attend Hitotsubashi University. Although she thought that she decided to go to Hitotsubashi by herself, Maiko had a small doubt about her decision. She said later:

私の誕生日、1月22日に、平沼先生のところに行った時に、私は早稲田受けますって言ったんですよ、受験っていうのは意味のないことだから、そしたらすごい怒られたんですよ。ちょうど、11期が受験でもまわっているときで、そんな時に甘えたこと言うなって怒られて。それで、先生のこととか気にしすぎたかなあ、それも言い訳に一ツ橋って言ったような気がしますね。

On my birthday, on January 22, I went to Mr. Hiranuma and said, "I'm going to apply for Waseda University. I don't think juken is beneficial for me." Mr. Hiranuma was very angry and scolded me. At that time, the third-year students were studying hard for entrance exams. He said, "Don't spoil yourself." I took his words seriously and said "Hitotsubashi University" without thinking. I think that was a kind of excuse. (I2-3, 2008)

Third Year (2008). Beginning in her final year of high school, Maiko began studying for the Hitotsubashi University entrance examination. This decision obliged her to stop many other activities she wanted to do. During summer vacation, Maiko attended a large cram school and studied every day. The classroom was packed with students who wanted to go to Hitotsubashi University. She felt that everything was strange at the cram school. She did not like the school's examination-oriented teaching approach or its shortcuts for efficiency. Students were required to memorize long lists of words by rote. She took prep tests many times and eventually she felt sick. Maiko said:

予備校は、すごく私好きになれなかったです。周りみんな一橋じゃないですか、すごい大教室にいっぱいいて、塾っていやだなって思いました。それは考えすぎなのかもしれないんですけど、私は、すぐ考えちゃうんですけど、もう、寒気がするじゃいけど、考えなくてすむ子はぜんぜん平気だと思うんですけど。ちょっと変ですよ、教え方も、英語も変だし、あと参考書とかも、どの参考書もそうなのかもしれないんですけど、倫理かだと、ここをもっと知りたいよっていうことに、「ハイデッカーの思想は難しいから、単語だけでも覚えておこう。今は、そんなに深く知らなくていいんだよ、オッケーみたいな感じで書いてあるんですよ。何これーって思って。あと、英語の単語も使って覚えたいし、じっくり覚えていきたいのを、1日20個とか決めてやるのももう疲れてきたし、受験勉強ってやだだなって思いました。

I didn't like the yobiko at all. The students around me all wanted to go to Hitotsubashi University. There were many students in a huge room. I didn't like the juku. Maybe I thought too much, but I always think deeply. I felt scared of the yobiko. Students who don't think much maybe don't mind going to the yobiko, but I felt that the yobiko was really strange. Their way of thinking about English was weird, and the textbooks included the strangest notes. For example, on ethics, it said, "The philosophy of Heidegger is difficult, so just memorize some words. You don't need to know about it deeply now. It's OK not to know it very well." I said to myself, "What is this?" I want to use English words after memorizing them but they wanted me to memorize twenty words a day. I became exhausted and hated juken benkyo. (I2-1, 2008).

Maiko talked to her uncle, who used to be a prep-school teacher, and confessed her feelings. She expected that her uncle would scold her as Mr. Hiranuma had but, to her surprise, he understood Maiko's distress. He agreed that Maiko should quit studying for the entrance examination, and said that it was good lesson for her to know the first-hand consequences of such study. Maiko also talked to her father, a university instructor, and told him that she wanted to go abroad. Her father's advice was to do what he had done-- go to a Japanese university first and then study abroad. After listening to her uncle and her father, Maiko finally decided to apply to a prestigious private university, Waseda University, which had been her initial choice. Following the advice of adults had led her

on a long detour on the way to choosing a university. Maiko consoled herself by saying that she had learned a great deal, both about choosing a university and about herself. She had accepted advice uncritically, but choosing what she really wanted would be the best course for her. She talked about her feelings then saying:

日本のシステムで、まじめな先生は、私のこと考えて言ってくださると思うんですけど、国立行けて。昨日、担任の先生と話して、国際系で行きたいと言ったら外務省に行けて、やっぱりそういう考えなのかなって。外務省なら活躍できるって言うんでしょうけど、最初にそういうのが出てくるのかなって思って、私はちょっと違う気がして。

Serious teachers think about the Japanese context and they told me to go to a national university. I think they told me that because they thought about my future. Yesterday, I was talking with my homeroom teacher and said to him, “I want to go to Kokusaikei University.” Then he said, “If you want to go to Kokusaikei, you should work at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.” I anticipated that he would say that. Maybe he thinks that I can do what I want at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but I still don’t understand why the idea came to his mind first. I don’t think that’s what I want. (I2-5, 2008)

She was not sure what occupation she would choose in the future, but she thought that it would involve overseas study and research. Maiko wanted to study English and French at the university and introduce authentic Japan and Japanese to foreign people. Through her experiences meeting foreign people in foreign countries and in Japan, Maiko felt excited to meet them and learn from them. She also liked being in foreign contexts, as they allowed her to do things she could not do in Japan. Those foreign experiences and people also gave Maiko chances to look at Japan from the outside. She learned what foreign people thought about Japan and what images they had of Japan. They sometimes had stereotypical ideas. She wrote about one episode she experienced during a family trip to Ecuador:

ジャングルで勉強した後、海に面した小屋でサンドイッチを食べました。そこで、家族と私、スイスから来た家族、オランダから来たカップルにカルロスが話をしました。お互いの国のことを訊いたのです。スイス人のお父さんが私たちに、「いつもどんなものを食べているのか、寿司でしょ？」と聞きました。

After we studied a lot in the jungle, we had a sandwich lunch at a cottage facing the ocean. There, we (my family and I, a family from Switzerland, a couple from Holland, and Carlos) had a fun conversation. We asked each other about our countries, The Swiss father asked us what we usually eat, saying ‘Sushi? You eat sushi, right?’
(R2-3, 2007)

Maiko was eager to learn foreign languages, go overseas, learn foreign culture and meet people there, and at the same time she believed that knowing about Japan would be very important.

The Development of Maiko’s Ideas

Maiko was a hard-working student who was curious about everything around her. Her experiences overseas ignited her interest in languages and cultures. In her childhood, however, Maiko was a passive learner. She listened to what teachers said and did what she was told to do. In junior high school, Maiko showed that she could keep her head down and her mouth shut as well as any model student, and keep doing it for years if necessary. However, she knew from the beginning that there should be more joy in learning, and she found her way to people like Jon and her uncle, who could respond to her feelings. In high school her inspiring encounters with older students and foreign students changed her attitude toward learning English. She became an independent and active learner and, after a detour, one who chose her own fate. She

learned to recognize stereotypical judgments about universities and mindless drills for entrance examinations. In the end, she chose a university for what she was sure were the right reasons.

Kazuo's Experiences

できるだけ多くの人に会って彼らから学びたい。彼らは僕が違った視点で考える手助けをしてくれるだろうと思う。言語はそのために使うものだ。

I want to meet as many people as I can and to learn from them. They will help me to think from different perspectives. Languages play a part there (Q3-1, 2008).

Childhood

Kazuo is a Japanese citizen who was born in Peru and who lived in Peru for fifteen years before he came to Japan to go to high school. Although he lived in Peru for an extended time, his native language is Japanese. Kazuo went to a full-time Japanese school in Peru where the students were all Japanese and classes were conducted in Japanese. His older sister went to a local high school in Peru, so her Spanish was much better than Kazuo's and his older brother's. His sister spoke Spanish naturally. His older brother went to high school and college in Japan. In his family, Japanese was generally spoken, with Spanish occasionally mixed in.

Kazuo's first encounter with a foreign language, Spanish, occurred when he was a child. Two Peruvian maids worked in his house, so he acquired Spanish, which he regarded as only a tool for communication with the maids; thus, Kazuo learned Spanish by speaking it. Kazuo also went to a local primary school for a Spanish class once a

week. Kazuo's mother, who spoke Spanish, sometimes brought her Peruvian friends home, so Kazuo spoke Spanish with them. Spanish was taught at the elementary school through speaking-focused activities, so he did not learn to write.

Kazuo started studying English at elementary school where English conversation was included in the curriculum. At that time, he could not speak English well, but he memorized high frequency English formulae such as greetings. He thought that studying English was meaningless because he did not think he would use it. When he was in the sixth grade, Kazuo's parents sent him to a private cram school to learn English. They thought that English was important for their son and believed that he would use it in the future. At the cram school, Kazuo took a 90-minute English class once a week that was taught by Peruvian teachers who had overseas experience in England and who were qualified as teachers of English. At first, the weekly English class had little impact on him, in part because he hated English and knew so little of the language. He could not even write the word *one*. Every month the teachers gave a quiz in which the passing marking was 70. Kazuo's marks were usually 72 or 73, so his parents had him start going to the cram school five days a week.

He said that going to cram school helped him get better grades because his exposure to spoken English increased immensely. When Kazuo started going to cram school five days a week, he was not motivated to go initially because it was tiring, but as time passed and his speaking skills improved, he started enjoying speaking English. He said: 最初は面倒くさいと思っていたけど、だんだん話せるレベルになって来たら楽しくなってきた。 [At first, I felt that going to *juku* was troublesome and

didn't want to go, but when my speaking gradually improved, I found that going there was fun (I 1- 1, 2007).]

When I asked him which school, the Japanese School or the cram school, helped him find meaning in studying English, Kazuo said, 塾ですね。学校の英語は、全然、簡単すぎて。 [It was the cram school. English classes at school were definitely easy for me (I 3 -1, 2008).]

Junior High School

At junior high school in Peru, Kazuo did not use Spanish often except at home when he spoke with the maids or his mother's local friends. Kazuo realized that languages slipped out of his memory unless he used them.

When Kazuo was in the second year of junior high school in Peru, he had an experience that changed his attitude toward learning English. That summer, he flew to Japan to visit his relatives. On the airplane, a woman was sitting next to him. Soon he found out that the woman was Korean and that she had visited her son in the United States. Because English was the only tool for them to understand each other, they started talking in English. She was in her 50s and her English was not very fluent, but Kazuo enjoyed talking with her immensely and was moved by the fact that he could communicate with her in English. This experience made him realize that he could speak and communicate in English and that English was important. That made him glad that he had studied English, and he started enjoying the English classes at the cram school.

He talked about his experience of talking with a Korean woman:

隣に座っていた人が韓国の人で、お互い言葉が通じなかったけれど英語をやっていたので話せた。どっちもうまくないけどがんばって話して楽しくて、中2の時にそれがあって、英語の必要性とか、英語やっててよかったなって思って、そこから楽しくなった。塾とか。

The person next to me on the airplane was Korean. We could not communicate with our native languages but we talked in English. Neither of us could speak English fluently, but I had a good time talking with her. This happened when I was in the second year at junior high school. I thought that English was important then and was glad that I had studied English. Since then, I enjoyed going to the cram school. (I 1-2, 2007)

Because of this experience along with studying at cram school in Peru, Kazuo developed a strong belief that speaking is most important and that continuing to speak English is crucial. He wrote in the questionnaire: とにかくしゃべれば英語がうまくなるから、しゃべっていくことが必要。[If I speak English, my English will improve, so I think it's important to keep talking in English. (Q 2-1, 2007)]

The English classes at the Japanese junior high school were taught by Japanese teachers speaking mostly Japanese. The teachers used *New Horizons*, a textbook that was used in many secondary schools in Japan. English classes in his junior high school in Peru were the same as those in Japan. The classes were too easy for him and although he did not pay attention to grammar he got good marks on the tests. Kazuo's ideas about studying English were influenced by the cram school, where he was taught English in English, not by junior high school classes where teachers taught English through the medium of Japanese, using variants of the grammar-translation method. He believed

that if he had not gone to cram school in Peru, he would not have learned to speak English or understand English as well as he currently did.

Kazuo did not like the English teachers at his junior high school, and he especially disliked the Japanese teacher who taught English in the first and second year. The teacher was a stickler about spelling and he pointed out Kazuo's spelling mistakes. Kazuo thought that that teacher did not like him because he was ahead of the other students. In retrospect, he attributed his hatred of grammar to that teacher. He did not like grammar because he did not understand the teacher's explanations. He thought that he could make himself understood when he was speaking and believed that grammar was not necessary. He said (my questions are in brackets):

中学校に来て、なんか遊んでました、遊んでるっていうか、授業つまんないから。問題集をどんどんやってって。教科書とか聞かれてもふつうに答えられるから、(テストもよかったの) ぜんぜん、勉強しませんでした。でも、90点以上取ってたし。(文法が苦手だって思ってるじゃない。それはどうしてだろう) たぶん、塾ではあんまり、文法、やるんですけど、形で覚えたり、聞いて聞いて聞いて、あ、こうなるんだって覚えて。(文法用語はやってないじゃない。) たぶん、やってるんですけど、中学の授業で、でも聞いてないんですよ、ほとんど。できるから。(でもテストはできちゃうからね) 問題ないです。だから、そこですよ。スピーキングとか、そっちの慣れを上げすぎて、こっちのグラマーの基礎はわかっちゃうから、いいよいいよってなって。(3年間英語ずっとよかった?) ずっとよかったです。でも3年次のときに、1回かな、先生があえてグラマーっぽい問題を出してきて、それはよくなかったです。(テストが?) 1回だけ。なんか、長文とかもすぐ終わっちゃうんです。20分くらいで終わっちゃうって。テストのとき。あと30分何してようか。(長文は楽だよ) とりあえず、全部楽でした。100点は取れなかったですけど、なんでかっていうと、いつも教科書とか勉強してないから、ポイントとかグラマーのちょっと出るじゃないですか。そういうのが取れなくて、いつも。

At junior high school, I didn't pay attention in the English classes. They were boring. The students did exercises in the textbooks. I could answer those questions. (Did you well on the tests?) I didn't study for the tests at all, but I got 90 out of 100. (You don't think you're good at grammar. Why do you think so?) Maybe, I didn't study grammar much at juku because English was taught in English. They taught grammar but they taught forms and I memorized them by listening. (Then, you didn't learn grammatical terms, right?) Maybe I did at junior high school but I didn't pay attention to it. I didn't have to because I could get good grades on tests. (No problems on tests?) No. That's the point. I was used to speaking too much and I knew basic grammar anyway, so I thought that I didn't have to worry about grammar. (Did you get good grades in junior high school?) Yes, but in my third year, once perhaps, the teacher gave a grammar-centered test and I didn't do well on the test. (Test?) Only once. I could finish tests quickly, even reading tests. I took about 20 minutes to finish and didn't know what to do for the rest of time, 30 minutes. (Reading was easy, wasn't it?) Everything was easy for me. I couldn't get 100 because I didn't study the textbooks at all and the tests covered the content of the textbook such as grammatical points. I couldn't get good scores on those tests. (I 3- 2, 2008)

Kazuo's belief about himself as a good learner of English allowed him not to pay attention in English classes. He said: 中学では文法が必要ないと思っていました。しゃべればいいたろうって、ぶっちゃけわかるし。 [At junior high school (nihonjingakko) in Peru, I believed that I didn't need grammar and that speaking was everything because I understood what people said in English. (I 2-3, 2008)]

He also said: ペルーの日本人学校の英語の授業は、全部英語ではなく普通の授業だったけれど、簡単だったので文法とかあんまり気にしなかった。 [English classes at the nihonjingakko in Peru were conducted mostly in Japanese. They were ordinary grammar-centered English classes. They were easy, so I didn't pay attention to them. (I 2- 2, 2007)]

Because he had studied at the Japanese school, Kazuo's parents wanted him to go to a high school where he could study in Japanese because they anticipated coming

back to Japan someday. There was, however, no Japanese school for high school students in Peru because high school is not compulsory in Japan. Accordingly, Kazuo's family moved to Japan and Kazuo applied to Rokkaku High School in Yokohama because the school accepted students who had lived in foreign countries and foreign students who lived in Japan. Those students received preferential treatment over applicants who graduated from junior high schools in Japan when applying to Rokkaku High School.

Kazuo encountered various types of culture shock in Japan: There were traffic lights, he had to do everything by himself, he had to use Japanese currency, and the class sizes seemed too big. In Peru, he did not have the freedom to walk around by himself: a maid or a chauffeur was always with him. He did not take trains or buses but took a car with a chauffeur, which he did not enjoy much. When he came to Japan, he realized that he could go anywhere by himself without asking permission from his parents. He enjoyed it, but soon realized that he did not have a good sense of direction because he had always been driven by a chauffeur whenever he went out. Although it took a while for Kazuo to get used to life in Japan, he enjoyed the freedom he found there.

High School

First year (2006). When Kazuo was in the first year of his studies at Rokkaku High School, he took English I (general English) twice a week and Oral communication I (basic English conversation) once a week. He had not studied grammar formally

before, so had little awareness of grammatical structures. In English I class, grammar was important; consequently, Kazuo felt that it was difficult to learn English in that class. He got 70 or 80 out of 100 on the English I tests. He said:

六角高校での英語は、英語 I とオーラル。英語の I は、文法があんまりやっけていなくて、感覚的に覚えるので文法が入ってこない。文法の形式がわからない。自分では使っているけど理解していない。これはあつてると思っているけど理解していない。英語をやつてて文法が重視されているので難しい。

In Rokkaku High School, I took English I and Oral Communication. In English I, I didn't study grammar much and learned English using my instincts, so grammar doesn't speak to me. I don't understand how grammar functions. I use it, but I don't understand it. I sense that what I write is right, but grammatically I don't understand it. Grammar is emphasized in the classes, so it's difficult for me. (I 1- 1, 2007)

Because of his good grades at junior high school, Kazuo had thought that he was good at English before coming to Rokkaku High School. In Rokkaku High School, Kazuo was inspired by other students, especially ones who had similar background with him: *kikoushijo*, foreign students and exchange students. He said (my questions are in brackets):

高校は、みんなできる人がいるなつて。中学ではみんなできないからできない、日本の子じゃないですか。全然、あ、まして塾行つてる子もあんまりいないし。ここは、あ、できるみんななつて。できる人が多いなつて。自分よりすごいできる人がいてびっくりしました。（それが刺激になつた）刺激になりました。（だから英語部作ろうと思つたの）自分で塾に行つてたときの感じがなから、すごい、高校からは楽しくなつてきたんですけど、つままないなつて。（英語で活動するつていう）意外と価値感とか、多いじゃないですか、海外とか、そういう考え方一緒だから、話してて面白い。

I found that there were many students in the high school who were good at English. At junior high school in Peru, students, they were Japanese students, they did not do well in English. Few students went to juku. Here, I was surprised to meet students who were better than me in English. (Were you inspired by them?) Yes, I was. (Is that why you wanted to set up ESS?) I missed juku. It has been interesting at high school, but I am still bored. (You mean doing something in English?) The ESS members value foreign countries, so I enjoy talking with them. (I 3-3, 2008)

Although he acknowledged that he needed grammar for the examinations and the Step test, he did not study it by himself. He thought that he would pass on the basis of his spoken fluency. His weakness, he thought, was a lack of English vocabulary. As for the paper tests, he almost always understood what a passage was about, but could not fill in the gaps or choose the correct multiple-choice answer because of a lack of vocabulary and grammatical knowledge. The Oral Communication class was similar to the class Kazuo had taken at the cram school in Peru: He did not have to read very much, so he enjoyed the class. His grades were 9 out of 10 in this class.

Because Kazuo wanted to speak English, he started the English Speaking Society (ESS) with some friends. For Kazuo, speaking was most crucial factor in learning a foreign language, but in English I class, he did not have any chances to speak English and the once-a-week Oral Communication class was not enough for him. In cram school in Peru, English was everywhere, but in Japan, he felt that he had few chances to speak English. He wanted more opportunities to speak English. Thus, for Kazuo, the ESS club was a substitute for the cram school he had attended in Peru.

In his first year at high school, Kazuo wanted to take the STEP test because he wanted to have a practical purpose for studying English. His experience living in Peru

gave birth to his interest in international relations in which he believed that English plays an important role. He also believed that speaking was most important and that if someone studied a foreign language but could not speak the language, the study was meaningless. He wanted to go to a Japanese university, but he did not want to stay indefinitely in Japan. He wanted to go to many countries, and to do so, he believed that the ability to use English, especially speaking, would be an important tool.

Second year (2007). In his second year at high school, Kazuo took an English II (general English) class twice a week. He was supposed to take Writing I, a grammar class, but he forgot to register for the class.

Kazuo accepted an opportunity to be a volunteer teacher at an elementary school near Rokkaku High School. The elementary school had an Assistant Language Teacher who taught English, so he was in class as a teaching assistant. The Assistant Language Teacher was from Italy and he spoke English with an Italian accent. Kazuo had nothing to do in the class because the teacher did not ask him to do anything; thus, he was just an observer. Kazuo felt that simply observing the class was meaningless, so he stopped going.

Instead of going to elementary school as an assistant, Kazuo and the other English Speaking Society members, acting on a teacher's advice, organized an English Day Camp for elementary school students. The English Speaking Society held English Day Camps during summer, Halloween, and Christmas. Through teaching English to elementary school students and observing the elementary school students' learning, he

observed that the children learned by playing games, not by sitting at desks. He confirmed that learning foreign languages should be enjoyable and interesting.

Although he had scorned grammar for years, Kazuo had a change of heart in his second year of high school. When he listened to a Malaysian exchange student speaking broken Japanese, Kazuo lost confidence in his own English speaking ability; he worried that his speaking was disfluent and that he might sound like a child. At that point, Kazuo wanted to improve his English skills, especially his grammatical knowledge because he thought that a lack of grammatical knowledge hindered him from developing more advanced speaking proficiency. Kazuo began to think that he had to develop grammatical knowledge and increase his vocabulary to become a better learner of English. He said:

日本に来てからは、最初はしゃべっていればいいのかと思っていたけれど、知識がもっと必要だと思ってきた。もっとレベルの上でしゃべるには、知識とか法則とかを理解してないとしゃべれないとわかって、そういう勉強も大切だとわかった。授業でではなくて、ノバの人や、学校の留学生と英語をしゃべっていると、”good”しか言えない。「要は話せばいいじゃない、言語は」って思ってたのが、今もそうは思っているけど、speakingにおいても文法が必要だってわかった。1年の時は必要だとわかったけど、2年次から実感した。話しているときに、同じことしか言えない、ワンパターンのことか言えなくて、ボキャブやイディオムとかまじえて言えなくて単調になり、頭悪いなって自分で思ったり。それを越えるためには、とりあえずはしゃべんなきゃいけないし、ボキャブを増やしながらしゃべるのも必要だし、書いたりするのも必要だと思う。

Since I came to Japan, first I thought that speaking English was everything but I began to think that I need knowledge. To speak in a sophisticated manner, I realized that I have to understand knowledge and rules and that studying them is also important. Not in English classes but speaking at NOVA (language school) or with exchange students made me aware that I could say only “good.” Before, I thought that learning a language meant speaking. I thought so, but now I know

that grammar is important to improve speaking. In my first year, I sensed that I needed to learn grammar but in the second year, I was sure that I needed grammar. I just repeated the same sentences while speaking. I couldn't include new words or idioms and my speech was too simple. I thought I was stupid. To fill this gap, I think I have to keep speaking and speak while developing vocabulary. I also have to write. (Q8-1, 2008)

Looking back at his second year, Kazuo did not feel that he put much effort into studying English. He liked speaking English, however, and wanted to improve his speaking skills, so he went to a conversation school twice a week from June to October until the school went bankrupt. There, he had classes with native speakers of English and a small number of students. Classes were fun and Kazuo thoroughly enjoyed them.

In the second year of high school, the students play key roles in school events, especially in the school festival held in the fall, because the third-year students stop taking part in school events so that they can prepare for the university entrance examinations. Kazuo was busy working, as he volunteered to be a leader of the students' committee for the school festival. He liked working at school events but at first he did not want to be a leader because he knew that the position entailed a great deal of responsibility. No other student volunteered to be the leader, so Kazuo felt that he had to take responsibility and apply for the position. He enjoyed working with other students and he realized that he liked exchanging ideas and negotiating with others; organizing the school festival gave him a chance to do so.

Third year (2008). In his third year, Kazuo took Reading, Global Studies in English, and Spanish III (advanced). He also audited the Presentation class (English),

and joined a supplementary lesson in English with a Japanese teacher and an Assistant Language Teacher. He joined the class because he believed that continuing to speak was crucial. There were only five students in the class, which was focused on discussions and speaking English. It was like the cram school Kazuo had attended in Peru and he enjoyed it very much, but he still felt that his lack of vocabulary and grammatical knowledge was limiting his ability to express himself. He said (my questions are in brackets):

(自分の英語力をどう見てる?) 英語力?(自分はどのくらいできるのかなって) 文法と、語力がないなって。(いつ?) 文法はいつも。(なんでだろ、文法できない、できないって1年時から言ってるのはテストが悪いから?しゃべってる時文法できないとだめだって思わないじゃない) 思わないですけどね。ずーっと、文法はできないとずっと思っていましたから。やるときに、たとえば、形容詞とか言われてもわからないし、SVとか言われても。文法っていうものを勉強したことがないからだと思うんです。(そうだね、ちゃんとね、中学校のときにやってたんだよね) たぶん、やってたんですけど、そんなに。あれは、文法と呼べるのかってあるんですけど。3年次でちょっとあれだったんですけど。出てきたのかなって。でも、それも **have been** とかじゃないですか。中3とか。しゃべることがすごい楽しいじゃないですか。だから、そっちの方が全然いいなって。(しゃべること文法が必要だって感じたことある?経験とか) 経験っていうか、しゃべってる時に、幼稚なことしか言えないなって。I think,とかそういう系しか言えないみたいな。もっと、ナチュラルにいろんなものを、レベルの高いワードを使ってみたいとか、表現とかイディオムみたいなを使いたいなってあるんですけど。(それはどうしたらできるの、文法かね) 文法も、だからその組み方ができないから、聞いたものしか言えてないので、新しく作ろうとしても、あら、どうして作るのかなってという感じなんで。(たぶん、書くことなんだよね) たぶん。

(What do you think of your English proficiency?) English proficiency? (I mean your ability in English.) I lack grammar and vocabulary. (When do you think so?) Always. (Why have you kept saying that you're not good at grammar since you were a first-year student? Is it because you don't do well on tests? When you speak English, you don't think about grammar, do you?) No. I've always thought that I'm bad at grammar. In the English classes, when a teacher says adjective or SV, I don't understand what they are because I haven't studied grammar. (Maybe so, but you studied it in junior high school, right?) Maybe, not much. I'm not sure I learned grammar. In my third year, I learned it a bit, but it was "have been" or something like that in the third year at junior high school anyway. Speaking is fun so I preferred speaking. (Have you felt that you needed grammar when you spoke, or during any other experiences?) Experience, or when I speak, I can say childish things, for example, I *think* or something like that. I want to use difficult words naturally, or I want to use expressions or idioms. (How can you do it? Grammar?) Grammar also. I can not construct sentences, I can just say what I heard. When I try to make new sentences, I don't know how. (Maybe you should write) Maybe. (I 3- 4, 2008)

In the beginning of the third year, Kazuo did not know which university he wanted to apply to, but he knew that he would like to communicate with people from different countries and study international relations or something similar. In Rokkaku High School, Kazuo met students from different countries. He found that meeting people from different cultures was interesting; as a result, he developed an interest of intercultural experiences and understanding different cultures.

Kazuo was fascinated with discovering the different views and values of people with different backgrounds. Thus, he was sure he would continue learning not only English but other foreign languages as well. He thought that it is important to communicate with people in their native language. He said: 英語はツール。より近く、通訳者がついてはいけない。自分と相手であって、ニュアンスを知りたい。訳してもわからないから。 [English is a tool. I want to be close to the person who is speaking. I don't want to depend on an interpreter. It's between me and my

interlocutor. I want to know the precise meanings that he or she conveys. (Q8-2, 2008)]

Before the summer vacation (the midpoint of his third year), Kazuo decided to apply to Yokohama City University and study in the International Department. To prepare for the entrance examination he went to a prep school where he focused on English grammar. After four months, however, Kazuo decided to apply to Akita International University, where all classes are taught in English. He chose the university because it has an ideal learning environment for him with foreign teachers and students. The entrance examination for Akita National University was competitive; however, Kazuo passed the examination in March.

In his future studies, Kazuo wanted to have opportunities to meet as many people as possible from different countries and to enjoy cultural differences. He also wanted to go overseas. To accomplish these goals, he planned to continue learning foreign languages, including English. To Kazuo, communication is related with getting to know people, and he believed that communication had to be done in the native language. Through meeting many people from different countries at Rokkaku High School, Kazuo developed a belief that while he needed to look at a situation using his own value system, he also needed to be flexible enough to understand and negotiate different view points. He also believed that languages are a tool for communication and therefore grammatical knowledge and general knowledge about the world are necessary. He talked about his future saying:

職業は決まってないけれど、夢は、いろんな人と話すとカルチャーショックがあり楽しい。考え方をふくらませられるし、一つのことをいろんな方面から見られる。だから、いろんな所に行って、直に接したい。言語はツールとして、もっといろんな言語を使うようになりたい。原則、その言語を使って社会をいろんな方向から見られるようになりたい。今は、自分の知っている言語でおこなってそこから広げたい。

I have not decided on my future job, but my dream is to talk with as many people as I can. By doing it, I have cultural shock, which I enjoy. I can expand my ideas and see things from different angles. I want to go to many places and meet people. I want to use many languages as a tool. I want to use languages to see society from different points of view. Now, I want to use the languages I can use now to expand my world. (Q8-1, 2008)

The Development of Kazuo's Ideas

Kazuo's life in Peru for 15 years was like living in a garden surrounded by a wall. Even though he lived in a Spanish-speaking country, he could speak only a little Spanish. His strong interest in studying and speaking English arose through an experience of communicating with a Korean woman in English. Kazuo experienced a belief change in high school. He had thought that speaking naturally would always be acceptable and that acquiring a language thorough speaking was more important than studying grammar, but he became consciously aware of the importance of studying English grammar in order to make his English more sophisticated. His overall motive remains fixed: He loves to communicate with people in their own languages.

Honey's Experiences

英語は新しい自分をきづかせてくれたものですね。2ヶ国語をしゃべれるようになっただけでも、他の人より自分は力を持ってる、そういう自信をもてるようになって、積極的になった。英語って力を持っていると思うんです。

English helped me to discover myself. Speaking two languages gave me confidence and I became active. I think English has power. (I3-2, 2008)

Childhood

Honey was born in Myanmar. She went to a local school near her house in Myangon, the capital city. In Myanmar, kindergarten, elementary school, junior high school, and high school were combined in a single institution. Honey attended the local school until she entered the fifth grade, and she then went to a school in a different city. At those schools, Honey used the Myanmar language (as she called it). She then went to an international school, where she studied for about two years. The transfer to the international school was decided by her father who wanted her to improve her English skills. Her father often made sudden decisions that surprised her. One day he said to her out of the blue, "Let's move to another school." Almost immediately, she transferred to the international school. There were many foreigners as well as students native to Myanmar at that school. Classes were taught only in English, and although the students from Myanmar were supposed to speak only English inside and outside of the classrooms, they spoke the Myanmar language among themselves. The teachers were authoritative and strict, and the students were afraid of them.

Honey reflected that if she had not gone to the international school, she would not have learned to speak English well, but that learning English changed her. Before she went to the international school, Honey had been shy, afraid of standing in front of people, got nervous easily, and did not have confidence in herself. She was from a poor

area and her family was not wealthy; as a result, she felt that she should not voice her opinions. However, the English ability she gained at the international school gave Honey confidence. By the time she was in the seventh grade, she believed that English had the power to change people and that English was a weapon she could use. Speaking two languages also made her believe that she was better than the monolingual students. At the international school, she spoke English with friends, and gradually gained the ability to speak English effectively. Students at the international school were hard workers; Honey was influenced by those students and studied hard. She became active and outgoing. She said:

英語は新しい自分を気づかせてくれたものですね。私、すごい無口な子だったんですよ。人の前に立つの怖いし、緊張するし、家庭的にも小さい頃は自分に自信を持っていなかった。裕福な家庭ではなかったし、お父さんが日本に来るまでは。でも、インターで英語を習い始めて変わりました。英語を話すスタイル、自分が思っていること、主張することが多いんじゃないですか。自分の意見とか主張するのが多いじゃないですか。だからインターに行って環境が変わったのもあるし、英語をしゃべれるようになって自信を持てるようになった。2ヶ国語をしゃべれるようになっただけでも、他の人より自分は力を持ってる、そういう自信もてるようになって、しゃべれるようになったり、積極的になったり。今は、みんなには、社交的とか積極的とか。(日本に来てから変わったんだよね)そうです。ステップ、ステップで変わったんですよ。ミャンマーにいたときは、ミャンマー語しかしゃべれなくて、普通の公立校しか通ってなかったし、でも、インターに行ったときはミャンマーの中でも自分のレベルが上がったっていう気分。

English made me aware of a new self inside me. I was a quiet girl and scared of standing in front of people. I became nervous easily and did not have confidence about my family. We had not been wealthy before my father came to Japan, but when I started learning English at the international school, I changed. The English way of speaking, I mean, in English we say what we think. I say my opinions and insist on them. So, in the international school, in a new environment, I became confident with my English. I felt confident because I

could speak two languages and so I had more power than other people. Then, I became able to speak up. Now, people say that I am sociable and active. (You changed after you came to Japan.) Yes, I've changed step by step. In Myanmar, I could only speak the Myanmar language and went to an ordinary public school, but when I went to the international school, I felt that I stepped up in Myanmar. (I3- 2, 2008)

Junior High School

When Honey was 14, she came to Japan with her family. Her father had initially come to Japan alone and worked hard to get enough money to bring his family to Japan. Honey entered a Japanese junior high school at the end of the first year of the school. She did not speak Japanese at all, so her strategy was to learn Japanese by talking with friends, just as she had learned English by talking with her friends at the international school in Myanmar. Honey never had difficulty making new friends, so it was not difficult for her to get used to the new linguistic environment.

At first, Honey sat quietly in the junior high school classroom. Although she did not understand a single word of Japanese in the beginning, she listened to her teachers carefully and copied what they wrote on the blackboard. She also enjoyed talking with her friends, and she attended supplementary Japanese classes at a local elementary school where volunteers taught Japanese to foreign students. She developed a learning strategy of deliberately using expressions soon after learning them in the supplementary classes. These strategies worked, as Honey gradually came to understand Japanese. She said (my questions are in brackets):

だから、言語でも同じであって、この表現がいいと思ったら必ず使うんですよ（日本語でも？）日本語でも、中学の時、放課後の時、ほんちよう小学校で日本語の授業があって、中学の授業が終わったら、放送部に入ってたんですよ、それは発音よくなりたから、部活無い日は、小学校に行って、日本語教室かよって、そこでそういう表現とか勉強するじゃないですか、それを次の日、必ず、友達との会話の中で使うようにしてたんですよ。（それはいい勉強方法だよ）だから、覚えた表現は必ず使う。それは私の中で、必ずやっていたことかもしれない。もっているものは使わないと意味がないじゃないですか。私、ノートとか取るより頭で覚えた方が多いかもしれない、得意だし。

When learning a language, I use expressions I like. (Even in Japanese?) In Japanese, too. When I was a junior high school student, I took Japanese lessons at Honcho elementary school after school. I joined a broadcasting club at junior high school because I wanted to improve my Japanese pronunciation. After school, I went to Honcho elementary school and learned Japanese expressions. The next day, I used them when I talked with my friends. (That's a good way to learn.) So I always use the expressions I have memorized. I do it all the time. Without using them, they were meaningless. I memorized more than taking notes. I prefer doing it. (I3-5, 2008)

Her foreign friends told her that their fathers helped them a lot when they came to Japan by taking them shopping or showing them around, but Honey's father did not do anything like that. She could not rely on her mother because she did not know anything about Japan and did not speak Japanese. Three days after she came to Japan, Honey had to go to Shibuya (a big shopping area in central Tokyo) by herself to buy some clothes. At that time she spoke English. Gradually she became increasingly independent. In Myanmar, she had followed her mother, but in Japan, her mother followed her because she learned how to function in Japan quickly.

Honey said that her sudden independence changed her into a new person. Being a good student and studying all the time did not attract her anymore. She wanted to have fun with her friends. She enjoyed talking and doing things with her friends.

As a result of her learning and living context, Honey's orientation gradually shifted to Japanese. When Honey went to the international school in Myanmar, English was important to her because she read, wrote, thought, and spoke English, but in Japan, she felt most comfortable when speaking Japanese. As a result, English was becoming less and less important. In Japan, Honey was surrounded by Japanese and was very comfortable using Japanese. She was like a language chameleon who changed herself based on the language she used.

High School

First year (2006). When she arrived at Rokkaku High School, Honey spoke good English. She attributed her speaking ability to the international school in Myanmar. Honey entered Rokkaku High School in 2006 as a foreign student living in Japan. In her first year at Rokkaku High School, she took Oral Communication I, taught by a native speaker of English, and English I, taught by a Japanese teacher. The Oral Communication I class was easy for her, and English I was be difficult even though it was taught in Japanese. Honey also has a restrictive (reflective) belief that English is a weapon. By acquiring the power to use English, she changed into a more confident person. She said (my questions are in brackets):

英語は武器ですね。（今は、日本語の方が武器じゃない？）そうですね。（日本にいる間は）でも、日本人と比べると武器としては英語になるんですよ。自分の特徴としては3カ国語しゃべれて、その中でもミャンマー語ってあんまり使っていないじゃないですか。だから私の武器としては英語なんですよ、日本で。日本人にかなわないことあるじゃないですか。ミャンマーに帰っても、日本にいても自分が一番プライドを持てる

のは英語かもしれない。（英語はこれからも勉強する？）そうですね、今は、いっぱいいっぱいなんですよ、自分の生活。でも私は、好きだし、好きなものは続けたいなと思ってて、だから、大学に行ったらもっと余裕がでるじゃないですか。やりますね。あと、やっぱり自分が関わっていく社会っていうのは、医療だけど、日本の医療って決めてないんですよ。国際っていうのが自分の中でいつもあるから、自分は生きていくルートの中でも必ず必要な言語だからやると思いますね。

English is a weapon. (Now, Japanese is a weapon, isn't it?) Yes. (While you are in Japan, I mean.) But compared to Japanese people, English is still a weapon for me. I speak three languages, but among them, I do not use the Myanmar language, so English is a weapon for me in Japan. There are so many things where I can not compete with Japanese. In Myanmar and Japan, I think English is a language I can be proud of. (Will you study English?) I think so, but now I'm fed up with other things, my life, but I like English, so I want to continue studying it. At university, I think I can study English. I'm sure I'll study it. I'll get involved with medical services, but I haven't decided if I would practice them in Japan. The word *international* has been in mind, so I'll need English anyway, so I'll study it. (I3- 5, 2008)

When in Myanmar, especially at the international school, her teachers told Honey to study hard and her peers did so: Studying was her life there. After she came to Japan, however, the teachers did not seem strict and the other students were not so hard-working. In this new context, even her parents were not behaving in an authoritarian way. She said that it was as though she had been set free in the open sea. As a result of this change, Honey's perception about school and studying changed completely. She did not study hard in the first year at Rokkaku High School. Nobody told her to study and she was getting used to life at the high school, spending time with her friends, and doing a part-time job. Before the term examinations, she studied a little, but she realized that it was not easy to catch up with the other students. Although she faced a dilemma of whether to study or to spend time with friends, she made excuses to herself that she

was busy doing this and that. Inside, however, she knew that she was neglecting her studies and she felt slightly guilty about putting her efforts into other activities, such as socializing and hip-hop dancing.

In the second term of the first year, Honey joined the English Day Camp, where the students had to speak only English. She learned about foreign cultures and issues such as poverty or global warming. On the final day, visitors from Nepal talked about poverty in that country and said that many children in Nepal could not attend school. Honey was shocked to hear that and thought that she wanted to help them. English Day Camp made her think that learning about the world and studying English are important. She also learned that communication was possible in spite of difficulties, when people had a strong wish to communicate.

At the end of her first year of high school, Honey decided that she wanted to be a doctor because she liked helping others in need. She knew that becoming a doctor in Japan would demand a lot of hard work for at least six years at a medical school, financial support from her parents, and the aptitude to be a doctor. Honey was not confident that she would meet all the qualifications to be a doctor, but it was nonetheless her dream.

Second year (2007). In her second year at Rokkaku High School, Honey took only one English class (English II) because her attention was shifting to Japanese. English was not something special anymore to her. She started thinking about her future, and she had misgivings: She was not Japanese and she wondered if she could get

a good job in Japan in the future. Her life at that time was filled with her part-time job and going out with friends, so she could not afford to think about or study English. Although Honey had lived in Japan for five years by then, she was not sure if she would stay in Japan rest of her life. She liked Japan but she was not Japanese and her limited native language skills did not allow her to believe that she was fully Myanmarese. Her shifting identity suggested the possibility of living outside of Japan in the future.

Honey's dilemma was that she felt that she did not have time to take the classes she was really interested in such as global issues, philosophy, and psychology. Instead of taking those subjects, she took general classes that were necessary for passing the university entrance examinations.

Honey's wish to be a doctor was not fully supported by her parents, who believed that Honey had not studied enough to go to a medical school in Japan. Her parents did not think that she was serious about becoming a doctor because she was rarely at home. She spent a lot of time dancing or working. Conflicts with her parents gave Honey a chance to think about herself. She questioned if and why she wanted to be a doctor and found that she had two reasons. One was that in her house in Myanmar, Honey experienced the death of her grandparents. She had wanted to help them, but she was unable to do anything. She thought that becoming a doctor would allow her to help people like her grandparents. The second reason was that she believed that doctors made a lot of money and that she could help her family financially. However, she knew that she faced serious barriers to becoming a doctor in Japan: She was not Japanese, her Japanese was not as good as Japanese students, she did not have any relatives who were

doctors, which meant that she did not have any connections, and she could not get support from her parents. It was a time of confusion and a time when she had many arguments with her parents.

In her second year in the high school, Honey spent time on activities such as eco-concerts, candle nights, and organizing workshops. Her mother told Honey to come home as soon as school finished and help her to do housework, but Honey told her mother that she was working on important events, so she did not listen to her. To make matters worse, Honey's father lost his job. At that point, she stopped thinking about going to medical school, and despaired of attending any university. Her family had a hard time for a while, until, at last, her father got another job.

Third year (2008). In the third year, Honey took English classes in Reading and Creative Writing to prepare for the university entrance examinations. She liked English, but she did not have time to enjoy it. She could have taken interesting elective classes, but she did not think she had time for them.

Honey also started attending a cram school, which she paid for with the salary she earned from a part-time job. At this time, she started thinking seriously about her future and which university she should attend. She applied for a scholarship that was available for students in need, as the scholarship would have eliminated the need for her parents' financial support. Her parents wanted her to give up going to a university, but Honey refused to do so. She wanted to be independent and knew that she had to do so in Japan; thus, she wanted to become a professional in some area, as she strongly believed

that a professional skill would help her in the future. Although she had given up her dream of becoming a doctor, Honey still had a strong desire to help people. She had other choices such as becoming a nurse, a care-giver, or a medical technician. She chose the third one and decided to become a radiologist.

After struggling to determine what she wanted to do in the future, Honey found a university she wanted to attend: the International Social Welfare University, located in Tochigi prefecture. The university had a program Honey was interested in: She could become a radiologist and gain experience working in hospitals overseas. She said: 自分が関わっていく社会っていうのは、医療だけど、日本の医療って決めてないんですよ。国際っていうのが自分の中でいつもある。 [I want to work in a medical context, but I haven't decided if I will work for Japanese medical society. The word "international" has stayed within me. (I3-5, 2008)]

Her parents agreed with her choice although they worried about her living alone in Tochigi prefecture.

Honey's summary of her situation was that her journey to Japan gave her a chance to learn Japanese, and now she speaks three languages: the Myanmar language, English, and Japanese. She feels that she can see three worlds through the three languages. As long as she lived in Japan, English would be a weapon for her to compete with other Japanese because she knew that her Japanese would never be perfect. One corner of her mind was labeled "international." She wanted to work in foreign countries and knew that she would need English to do this. Therefore she would continue studying English.

In October 2008, Honey was officially informed that she passed the entrance exam to International Social Welfare University in Tochigi.

The Development of Honey's Ideas

The disruptions in Honey's life might have defeated a less resilient person. By junior high school, she had experienced successive floods of three languages, the Myanmar language, English, and Japanese. Her self-image and her understanding of what was important changed repeatedly. In her second year of high school, at a time when even monolingual adolescents are fully occupied with creating independent lives and social groups, Honey faced questions of national identity, a conflict between her obligation to her family and her commitment to her own future, and a desire to dedicate her life to the service of others. By the time she graduated from high school, she had developed several beliefs about languages: English was be a weapon for her to survive, Japanese was her first language and identity as long as she lived in Japan, and language is not only a subject to study at school but a means by which to live. Honey also believed that marketable skills are crucial to living in foreign countries. This belief affected her choice of university; she decided to go to university to acquire skills that would lead her to become a medical practitioner.

Satsuki's Experiences

私は、英語の文化とか現地の人たちとか触れ合ったりしてるんで、面白さっていうか、そういうのわかるんで、英語を勉強していて全然苦にならない。

For me, studying English is not painful at all because I know how interesting it is to meet cultures and local people in foreign countries. (I2-7, 2008)

Childhood

Satsuki was born in Yokohama, Japan. Her first encounter with English occurred when she was about three years old. Her parents, who were world travelers, took Satsuki overseas every summer. Her father went abroad every year to play golf. Satsuki's mother spoke English quite well. Satsuki's mother had studied English at Ferris University in Japan. There she developed a conviction that English is important, and so she strongly encouraged her daughter to study English. She had Satsuki listen to English CDs, do textbook activities, and she took her abroad every year. Going abroad and experiencing foreign cultures had the greatest impact on Satsuki. Satsuki's mother, who used to be a computer engineer, also wanted Satsuki to learn how to use a computer. Thus, Satsuki started using a computer when she was four or five and started to learn to type at eight.

Satsuki's parents loved traveling, and went abroad for at least a week every year. They went to many countries including the United States, Mexico, Australia, Saipan, Guam, Malaysia, Singapore, Fiji, and Hawaii. While in foreign countries, they stayed in a hotel or rented an apartment. Satsuki remembers going to Guam and Saipan before starting elementary school, followed by Saipan again the next year. When Satsuki was a

first-grader, she and her family stayed in Hawaii for one month. Satsuki's first experience of making herself understood in English was when she went to a restaurant with her parents in Hawaii. She said, "Water, please" and a waiter understood her. As a result of her overseas experiences, Satsuki strongly believed that languages should be studied to communicate with people living in foreign countries.

Satsuki played with children in the Kids' Club in Hawaii while her parents were playing golf. She made friends but because she could not speak English, they communicated using gestures. Satsuki was at a loss when she did not know the word for toilet in English, but she gradually found out that she could communicate with the other children without language.

There were no formal English classes in Satsuki's elementary schools, but once every three or six months there was an International Understanding Class in which foreign teachers visited the class and led the children in games. Gradually Satsuki began to pick up English. When she was in the sixth grade of elementary school, Satsuki went to an English conversation school, which she found too easy. In the sixth grade, Satsuki took part in the Yokohama City International Speech Contest. Her speech was about the relationship between Japan and South Korea.

Junior High School

Satsuki went to a local junior high school. Although she started learning English formally at school, her overseas experiences helped her feel that studying English very easy in junior high school. She got straight 5s (top grades) in her English classes.

Satsuki attributed her good grades to the overseas trips she had taken with her parents. Satsuki's overseas experiences led her to believe that getting used to English was more important than memorizing English phrases and words. Thus, she thought that English classes that offered exposure to English were beneficial, and she thought that English teachers should speak as much English as possible in class. She did not think that she could develop her English skills sufficiently at school and concluded that she had to study outside of school and that she needed to find an environment in which she could use the English she was learning.

In order to be close to English, Satsuki spent time listening to English songs, as this helped her feel close to English. She borrowed CDs by groups such as the Back Street Boys, and she sang their songs. Satsuki felt that listening to the CDs and singing contributed to the development of her English pronunciation.

Besides her self-study of English pronunciation through music, Satsuki's attitude toward speaking in front of people was developed at junior high school. Satsuki chose topics that were related with foreign countries in school studies: Integrated Study (*sogoteki gakusyu*) course. In the first year she chose a topic "Relationship between France and Japan" and "Trade in Australia" in the second year in her. She was interested in international cultures at that time. Because she had many opportunities to do presentations, Satsuki became used to speaking in front of large audiences.

High School

First year (2006). Satsuki applied to Rokkaku High School and chose the International Culture Course because she liked English and wanted to take many English classes along with a second foreign language. Many of her friends in the International Culture Course had been abroad and liked English. She commented that having chances to go overseas and use English motivated people to like English, and that having bad grades in English classes were a demotivator. She thought that having a positive attitude toward learning English was related with foreign experiences or experiences using English. She said:

英語が好きな人は、私の周りの人、国際文化の人って、何かしら海外旅行をしたことのある人、英語に触れたことのある人、英語が嫌いっていうのは行ったことがないとか、機会が無い人が多い。勉強しかしていないとネガティブなイメージがある。成績が悪いと嫌いになるかもしれない。

Students around me who like English, especially who belong to *Kokusibunka* (International Culture) course, have experience going overseas and encountering English. On the contrary, students who don't like English have never been abroad or have not had chances to go abroad. Students who just study English at school have negative images toward English, for example when they have bad grades on tests. (I1-1, 2007)

In her first year in high school, Satsuki took Oral Communication I (OC I) and English I. An American teacher taught the OC I class. Satsuki enjoyed the class and did not find it difficult. English I, a more formal study of English, was divided into two classes (an upper and lower class). Satsuki belonged to the upper class but it was sometimes challenging for her. She found that her classmates were very good at English, especially the students who had lived overseas.

Satsuki joined English Day Camp in order to get more practice speaking English. English Day Camp was an eye-opening event in that she was amazed by the older students' English oral proficiency and wondered if she could be as good as them when she became older. In junior high school her image of herself was that she was good at English, but in high school she could no longer hold that belief.

Satsuki also took a Spanish class, which eventually helped her communicate in Spanish when she went to Mexico with her parents. She had thought that she could make herself understood in English in Mexico because English was the common language in the world. The reality, however, was that local people in Mexico did not understand even simple English. Satsuki's Mexican experience changed her perception of the place of English: she realized that English was not always a tool for communication. Although she could not make herself understood in English, Satsuki could communicate with the local people in the Spanish she had begun to learn. She was the only person in her family who understood Spanish, and she was proud of herself. She said:

高一の時にメキシコに行って思ったんですけど、あの、ほんとに、（旅行で行ったの？）旅行で行ったんですけど、英語通じないんですよ、全然、ほんとになんか **water** も通じないんですよ、**bus stop** も通じなくて、もうどうしようって、私もスペイン語とってて、辞書とかも持ってたんで、私が唯一なんとか単語ぐらいはわかるっていうんで、ちょっと頼られたりしましたが、それで、えーこんな英語でも通じないのって思って、だから、全然、しゃべれない人はしゃべれないんだねって。（そうだね、世界の共通語とかいいながらね）いいながらやっぱりそういう基本的な、**water** とか **bus stop** でも通じないなんか、日本人でもそこまでいえないと思うので、メキシコっていう発展途上っていうのも、教育っていう問題もあるのかもしれないですけど、いくら世界共通っていても、通じないところ、通じない人もいるっていう、実感しました。私、ほんと

にびっくりしました。え、メキシコなんてアメリカに近いから（バイリンガルとか思うよね）はい、そう思いました。

When I was in the first year, I went to Mexico and found that really (Did you go on a trip?) Yes, I went there for sightseeing, but I couldn't communicate in English at all. People didn't understand simple words like *water* or *bus stop*. I was at a loss. I had taken Spanish class and brought a Spanish dictionary, so I understood Spanish words. My parents relied on me a bit. I was shocked to know that I could not make myself understood in English, so I realized that there are many people who do not speak English at all. (Yes, English is considered a common language in the world, isn't it?) Yes, that's what people say, but many Mexican people don't even understand *water* or *bus stop*. Even in Japan, I think most people understand *water* or *bus stop*. Maybe it's because Mexico is still a developing country and not all people have a good education. Anyway, I learned that although English is said to be the global language, there are many people who don't understand English. I was surprised to know it. Mexico is close to the U.S., so I thought that (people are bilingual?), yes, I thought so. (I2-6, 2008)

At the end of the first year of high school, Satsuki wanted to use English as a tool when, in the future, she would be a management consultant. With this goal in mind, she continued to study English and develop her speaking, writing, and reading abilities. She was also interested in working for a tour company organizing tours. To realize her dreams, she thought that English was a must for her because she thought that English is routinely used on business.

Satsuki selected the International Cultural course in high school. Many of her friends in the course had been abroad and liked English. She thought that having chances to go overseas and use English motivated people to like English, and that just studying English at school as a subject, as well as getting bad grades in English demotivated students to learn English.

Second year (2007). In her second year, Satsuki took English II and Writing I. Knowing that she would have to study for university entrance examinations in her third year, Satsuki wanted to enjoy her life in the second year. She started practicing the drums, she took part in the all-Japan word processor competition, became a committee member for a sports festival and a school festival, and joined a dance club called Toys. Through those activities, Satsuki met Japanese students who had lived overseas and foreign students. For each school activity in Rokkaku High School, there was a small society or a community. There, the students struggled to solve problems, discussed their concerts or talked about breaking up the group. They sometimes had parties at their houses and talked, watched videos, and played games together. Through those experiences, Satsuki said that she learned how to cooperate with other people.

During the summer vacation, Satsuki joined a two-week program in Canada that was organized by a private company. She stayed with an older Canadian couple and went to a language school. That was the first time Satsuki had gone abroad without her parents. She was not satisfied with the program because it was too easy for her, but she thoroughly enjoyed being away from her parents. As a teenager, she was bored by the trips with her parents, so she did not miss Japan at all for the two weeks she spent in Canada. Satsuki did not speak much with her host family, but she was happy doing her own shopping, doing laundry, and being alone in her room.

In March, 2008, Satsuki joined a sister-school program. She went to Chicago and stayed there for two weeks, attending an American high school. At first, Satsuki could not keep up with the rapid speech of the other students, but by the end of the

program, her ability to converse improved. Although her English was limited, Satsuki found many similarities and commonalities between Japanese and American high school students. She said:

日本人とアメリカ人とか価値観、多少違うんですけど、やっぱり、話す話題は一緒だし、アメリカンジョークとかは、笑いどころがわからないのがあるんですけど、好きな話題っていうのは、日本人の高校生と共通してるかなって、あ、やっぱり同年代の高校生なんだなって。そんな私が思っているより考え方、価値観は、変わんないかなって、気がしました。

Japanese and American students have slightly different values, but we talked about the same topics. I didn't understand American jokes thoroughly, but we shared topics about what we liked. I felt that they are high school students anyway and that their thoughts and perceptions weren't different from what I had thought. (I2-3, 2008)

Her short stays in English-speaking countries made Satsuki reconfirm that “being there and speaking English there” was crucial. She began to ask for speaking classes at school, and watched for chances to speak English. Sometimes, for example, she chatted with an exchange student from Australia.

Satsuki also communicated with non-native speakers of English in English. She wrote on a questionnaire: スペイン人との英語でのメール交換で、英語は、コミュニケーションの手段だということが身を持って体験でき、国によって、文化や考え方が違うことを実感できた。[Through exchanging mail with a Spanish person, I experienced communicating in English and learned that people have different cultures and ideas in different countries. (Q2-1, 2007)]

By the end of her second year in high school, Satsuki was an independent learner who worked to find ways to study English by herself. Besides studying for

classes at school, she developed a routine of listening to foreign music on the train and reading English paperbacks almost every day. To study for the upcoming university entrance examinations, Satsuki started memorizing English vocabulary using textbooks.

Third year (2008). In her third year, Satsuki took more English classes than were required: Presentation, Rapid Reading, Creative Writing, Media and the World, and Global Issues. She wanted to study current events in English.

Satsuki started going to a prep school that trained students to pass university entrance examinations. Her studies at the prep school were demanding; they involved studying ten hours a day, but Satsuki did not feel overwhelmed. Her parents did not push her to study hard to get into a prestigious university but told her to do her best. For her part, however, Satsuki interpreted her mother's words to mean that she wanted Satsuki to go to a prestigious Japanese university. Satsuki decided to apply for the Politics and Law Department of Waseda University, one of the most prestigious private universities in Japan. She knew what kind of learner she was: She was not good at everything, so she had to make choices. At school, she could not study for term examinations effectively. She believed, for example, that she had put a lot of effort on history, which was her favorite subject. As a result of this, she got low grades in some other subjects. She described herself as an unbalanced learner and she knew that any attempt to study even more would cause stress. This self-analysis led Satsuki to choose a private university that did not demand excellence in all subjects: She studied world history, Japanese, and English. To concentrate on studying, Satsuki gave up playing the

drums and dancing. She said that a student like herself who was preparing for entrance examinations had to draw a line between study and play.

Satsuki still intended to become a management consultant. In the third year, however, she had more practical ideas such as going to a Japanese university and studying abroad to get an MBA. She heard from her friends that universities did not offer sufficient language classes, so she thought she might go to a language school to develop her speaking ability and prepare for the TOEFL, or go to a school specializing in management and marketing.

Satsuki had been abroad many times but in her third year of high school, she still believed she could not speak English well. Satsuki thought that to keep using English was the way to improve her speaking ability. She said (my questions are in brackets):

(なんでしゃべるのが得意じゃないと思っているのかしら?) うーん、普段しゃべらないから。ほんとに授業では、3年次になってそういう機会は増えたと思うんですけど、やっぱり、それでもほとんどしゃべらない。(留学生としゃべるとか ESS に入っているとか) ないですね。やっぱり、しゃべらないとしゃべれません。(シカゴに行った時はどうだった?) シカゴに行った時は、それは、最初は、しゃべれない、(速いしね) 速いし、ちょっとたどたどしかったのが、最後の方になるとなんとなく、ちょっとしゃべれるようになったかも、みたいな感じで帰って来て、しばらくたって授業とかで、あ、しゃべれないって気づいて、アメリカに行ったときとは全然違う、もうしゃべれなくなっちゃったって。多少、あっちに行った時は効果あったのかなって。(あのカナダの2週間?) カナダの2週間もたしかに、最後の方になって実感はありました。でも、帰って来ると戻っちゃう。

(Why do you think you're not good at speaking English?) Um, I don't speak it every day. In classes, in the third year, I think the chances to speak have increased, but I don't speak it often. (Speaking with exchange students or belong to ESS?) No. Without speaking it often, I can't speak it. (What about Chicago?) When I went to Chicago, at first I couldn't speak. (They speak fast.) Yes, fast,

but after a while I felt that my English became better. Then I came back to Japan. In English classes, I realized that I couldn't speak. I thought that my English slipped away quickly. Staying there was effective, I think (You mean, two weeks in Canada?) Yes, two weeks in Canada was effective. I sensed it at the end of the program, but when I came back to Japan, I felt that my English was gone. (I2-3, 2008)

In March, 2009, Satsuki took the entrance examinations of several universities including Waseda and was accepted by Aoyama Gakuin University. It was not her first choice but she was satisfied with the result.

The Development of Satsuki's Ideas

Satsuki's initial interest in foreign cultures and her motivation to learn English was at first the result of accompanying her parents on multiple trips overseas. She had various experiences that led to greater insights into the place of English in the world as well as the state of her own developing English ability. Satsuki attributes her interest in English to her overseas experiences. She said:

でも、私は、英語好きなのは、昔小さい頃から、物心つくころから行ったりして、英語の文化とか現地のひとたちとか触れ合ったりしてるんで、そういうのがわかるんで、英語を勉強していてせんぜん苦にならない。

I like English because I have been going to foreign countries since I was little and have experienced foreign culture and meeting local people, which I find very interesting. So, I don't mind studying English and don't consider studying a hardship or anything. (I2-6, 2008)

In high school, she took control of her own life, treating herself to a relaxed second year before the grind of studying for university entrance examinations. With her new self-reliance, she went on an overseas trip without her parents and planned and executed her

own attack on English. Determined to work in the international community in the future, she knew English would play a key role in her work as a management consultant.

Fumiko's Experiences

既成の概念に捉われずに、真剣に向き合うということが最も重要なのではないかと感じます。私は、国を超えた部分、たとえば、異なる母語を持つ人々の繊細な感情や表情をかいま見る。異なる地を踏み、異なる風を感じる。そういう瞬間に感動を覚えます。

I learned that detachment from established values led me to discover myself. By questioning stereotypes about foreign countries and people, I could feel people's real feelings and see their expression beyond nations. At that moment, I was really moved. (S-2, 2008)

Childhood

Fumiko was born in Tottori prefecture. As a child, Fumiko was a daydreamer and played alone. She drew many pictures, took walks, picked flowers, sang songs, and danced by herself. In a way, Fumiko lived in her own world.

Fumiko's meeting with English and foreign culture was triggered by her father who loved the blues and played music in the car. Fumiko listened to songs in English. She did not understand the lyrics and felt afraid of English and the foreign atmosphere. One day, she was taken to the U.S. military base in Atsugi to see fireworks and enjoy the summer festival. Again, she did not understand what the Americans were saying, so she became scared of being with foreign people. She recalled those days and said:

お父さんがブルースとか好きで、よく車の中で流してたんですけど、英語じゃないですか。だから、何言ってるかわからないから、英語とか怖かったんですよ。アメリカの基地とかによく連れていかれたんですよ。でも、それでも、何言ってるかわからないから、英語とか外国人の雰囲気とか、においと怖かった、ちっちゃい頃。

My father likes the blues and played them in the car. They were in English, so I was scared because I didn't know what the singers were saying. I was often taken to the American base when I was little, but I was still scared of English, foreign people, and the foreign atmosphere because I didn't understand what the people were saying in English. (I2-1, 2008)

When Fumiko was an elementary school student, she did not study and consequently did not do well at school. She was especially bad at math. She got good grades only in art and Japanese. Even though she got bad grades, she did not care because studying was not her goal. Her parents urged her by saying “Try”, but trying did not appeal to her. She did not study or read books at home. Fumiko spent four years at elementary school playing soccer and working on art.

Fumiko said that she was an obnoxious child who disturbed the class. In class, she asked the teacher, “Why should we understand that?” She frequently stood up and said annoying things because she wanted attention. When she started asking those questions, the teacher said, “*Hamasaki, mataka.* (Oh, Hamasaki again)” (Hamasaki is her family name), being weary of Fumiko's disturbing questions.

When Fumiko started the fifth grade in elementary school, she started thinking about her future and felt insecure because she had not accomplished anything. This anxiety provided her with motivation to study. First, she took a correspondence course, but did not like it. Then she started going to cram school to study mathematics and Japanese. Gradually her grades improved, a situation that gave her a sense of

satisfaction. Still, Fumiko was doubtful about what she was doing: She was unsure why she had to study mathematics and where she would go by doing so. Despite her doubts about studying math, Fumiko felt some satisfaction by getting good scores on the math tests.

Junior High School

Fumiko wanted to change herself in junior high school, so she behaved quietly and nicely in class. Then she applied to be a class leader. No one but her stood up for becoming a leader, so eventually she was selected. The leader's responsibilities included being in charge of class meetings, being a liaison between the class and teachers, and leading the class at school festivals or activities. At that time, she started going to a cram school where she was told by the teachers that she should study hard to get perfect grades in all subjects in order to be admitted into the high school she wanted to attend. Fumiko decided to study hard and did so. However, being the class leader while doing her school work and cram school work was not easy, as she felt pressure to bring the class together. She wanted to take charge of the class for a choir contest at school, so she pushed her classmates to practice hard. The result, however, was that she was disliked by some of her classmates and was bullied for a year; her glasses were stolen and she found nasty notes in her shoes.

In her second year, Fumiko had a new homeroom class with new classmates. Although the bullying had stopped, Fumiko still felt the trauma of the previous year. On the surface, she pretended to enjoy school life, but she often felt that she wanted to be

alone. She sometimes shut herself in the toilet and kept flushing it. She said that it was an act of blowing the cobwebs away. Fumiko believed that by studying hard and getting good grades she could forget the nightmare she had experienced.

Fumiko studied English formally for the first time in junior high school. Her purpose was to prepare for the high school entrance examinations. She went to a cram school, a place that she really liked. The cram school had a small number of students and Fumiko had a feeling that the teacher knew her well. When she was in the second year at junior high school, one of her cram school teachers encouraged her to enter a speech contest. She decided to do so, and she practiced English pronunciation because she thought that good pronunciation was crucial. She did not win the speech contest, but she enjoyed giving the speech about drawing pictures, an activity she liked a great deal. She developed confidence by reading aloud in front of many people.

In the second year of junior high school, Fumiko applied to take part in an exchange program between cities in Canada and Japan because she always had had a longing for foreign countries and had never been abroad. She liked English a great deal and studied it hard to win the contest. Fumiko won the contest, and went to Canada for two weeks. She enjoyed her trip. She visited Niagara Falls and stayed with a Canadian family for three days. She spoke in English to all the people she met, even the flight attendants, and asked questions. She avoided being with Japanese students as much as possible. She sometimes could make herself understood in English but at other times, she failed to do so. That was Fumiko's first overseas experience and she said it was

because of that experience that she jumped from the small pond, a classroom, to the open seas, the world.

Although Fumiko received perfect grades in English for three years at junior high school, she had difficulties communicating effectively with the Assistant Language Teacher. She was scared of him despite the fact that he smiled at her.

When it was time for Fumiko to apply for admission to high school, she abandoned her first choice because it was a high-level school. Fumiko, instead chose Rokkaku High School, where she thought she would see many students from different junior high schools. Fumiko wanted to make a clean start in high school and escape from the environment she was in. Thus, she applied for *Kokusaibunka* (the International Culture) Course at Rokkaku High School, intending to study English intensively.

High School

First year (2005). In the first year at Rokkaku High School, Fumiko did not have much self-confidence. She took Oral Communication I, taught by an Australian teacher, because she wanted to learn spoken English, but she found the class boring and was very disappointed. She had entered Rokkaku High School because she intended to study English intensively for three years. In English I (General English) class, Fumiko worked very hard and also became close to the teacher. Although she was exhausted by the long commute to school and her life at high school, English was her hope and she was determined to study English no matter what happened.

In the International Cultural course, students were encouraged to take both English and second foreign language: French, Spanish, German, Chinese, or Korean. Fumiko did not study a second foreign language, as she insisted on taking only English classes. She did not see herself as a juggler who could handle studying multiple languages.

Fumiko's school life in the first year was not enjoyable, as she was struggling to get used to the new school and find a comfortable niche; unfortunately, she was unable to find one. There were many talented students at Rokkaku High School who were good at dancing, singing, and organizing events, and as Fumiko could not match the other students' talents, she not only failed to find the niche she sought, she also lost confidence in her own abilities. There were many activities, including club activities, available at Rokkaku High School but Fumiko did not join any of them. She avoided meeting other students, and even avoided going to the locker space where students got together and talked. She said:

すごい人たちもたくさんいて、自分を見失ったっていうか、自信が無くなった感じだったんですよ。ロッカーに行くのもすごい怖かった。なるべく人と会わないように、人と友だちになれば怖くなくなるのに、わざと人避けて。

There are so many students who were great in many things, so I lost myself and I lost my confidence. I was scared to go to my locker. I avoided seeing people at that time. Making friends with them would have helped me, but I tried to avoid seeing people. (I2-5, 2008)

Second year (2006). In her second year, Fumiko took English II, Rapid Reading, Writing I, Japanese Culture (English) and attended the English Day Camp. It was unusual for a student to take so many English classes in one year.

During summer vacation, Fumiko joined a five-day sister-school program in Seoul, South Korea. Fumiko stayed with a Korean student. The students communicated mainly in English and Japanese. Through talking with the Korean students, Fumiko realized her lack of knowledge about World War II and the Japanese army's invasion of Korea. She was shocked to learn about Korean "comfort women" (women conscripted for sexual service to Japanese soldiers) at a museum. Fumiko understood that the knowledge and experiences she gained in South Korea were authentic ones, not those that she had found in her school textbooks.

Fumiko also joined a four-day English Day Camp where the students had to speak only English. This restriction had an impact on Fumiko. She found it difficult to speak only English but she did her best; she thought that exposure to English was very important and spoke even when she was not sure if she could make herself understood. Sometimes she was at loss for words, but the experience increased her motivation to study English. Fumiko joined a group that did a project on English education in Japan. Her group made a presentation in front of other students and teachers. At the presentation, she was very nervous, but the achievement of speaking in front of students and teachers gave her confidence in speaking English in public. At the English Day Camp, Fumiko also learned about foreign cultures in Hawaii, the United Kingdom, Thailand, and Nepal. Fumiko thought that in turn she wanted to introduce Japanese

culture to those foreign guest speakers. Preparation for the final presentation at English Day Camp was not easy: she had meetings with her group members every day. At the presentation, she was very nervous, but speaking in front of the other students and teachers gave her confidence. Although she was getting used to making presentations, Fumiko still felt uncomfortable when she spoke with native speakers of English even if she clearly understood what they said. She said: 今でも、自分で用意してプレゼンとかはできるけど、ネイティブとの距離のつかみかたがわからない。1回構えてからではないとできない。日本語のようににはできない。 [I can make a presentation after preparing for it, but I still don't know what to do with native speakers of English. I have to get ready before I talk with them. I can't talk with them as I do in Japanese. (I1-1, 2008)]

In the second year, Fumiko chose English satire as a topic for her project, a mandatory one-credit course all students took. Fumiko's choice of topic was inspired by a cartoon by Bainsky, a British caricaturist. She became deeply involved in the project and enjoyed studying the topic. For her, studying was her identity. She said: いじめられた時も、勉強続けて、結局、それは裏切らないじゃないですか、自分の身になるから、それを信じてこられた。 [When I was bullied, I kept studying English. After all, studying would not betray me. It would be good for me eventually. I believed that and that is why I have been able to get through hardships. (I2-7, 2008)]

At the end of her second year, Fumiko's wished to go to England to study the guitar, especially the blues. She wanted to go to England because she preferred British blues and rock music to that of the United States. Fumiko's interest in England and her passion for music led her to apply to an exchange program between Rokkaku High School and a school in the United Kingdom. She was one of 18 students selected from 30 applicants based on the results of an interview and essay. Fumiko, the other students, and two teachers went to England for two weeks where they visited two sister schools. The program was an eye-opening experience for her, as she met many people with different perspectives, broadened her view of the world, and began to see the world in a more positive light. Although Fumiko still had an inner barrier between herself and native speakers of English, in England, she discovered that she could keep talking if the topic was something she was interested in such as music. She also realized that if she had something she really wanted to say, she could communicate with native speakers of English without a great deal of anxiety. At that time, her belief about native speakers of English was challenged.

Finally, Fumiko made a decision to study hard in Japan so that she could return to the United Kingdom someday. When she arrived at Narita airport in Tokyo, the world seemed different: She felt that she was not what she used to be.

Third year (2007). In her last year of high school, Fumiko took two English classes, Presentation and Creative Writing for English. In the Presentation class, Fumiko experienced a joint-curriculum project between Rokkaku High School and a

school in the United Kingdom in which students in both schools worked to find answers to the question, “Was the bombing of Hiroshima justified?” Both schools received grants from the British Council and the Daiwa Foundation that made it possible for them to go to Hiroshima for five days together. Through the project, Fumiko learned a great deal about Hiroshima, was impressed by talks given by survivors, and was aware of the difficulties of translating survivors’ words into English. She felt the diversity of human languages and sensed that languages can influence people’s minds.

During her third year in high school, Fumiko decided to go to Sophia University, which is well known in Japan for its foreign language department. Instead of the foreign language department, however, she chose the literature department. First, she thought about going to the United States to play the guitar instead of going to a university, but she eventually decided to study a field for which she had prepared for two years in high school: literature.

In her third year, Fumiko started thinking that English should not be a mandatory subject at school. Fumiko reflected on her learning of English for six years and thought that students should not be required to study English at school: They should have choices of foreign languages. She said: いっぱいの選択肢を与えてもいいんじゃないかな。みんな外国人っていったら、白人、金髪、で青い目っていうニュアンスがあるじゃないですか。 [I think students should have many choices of foreign languages. People tend to picture white people with blond hair and blue eyes when they think of *gaikokujin* (foreign people). (I3-4, 2008)]

Fumiko studied English because she happened to find it interesting, not because English skills would help her find a good job (a motive often suggested by her teachers).

She said:

私は好きだからやっているだけだから、社会的に必要なだからやってるわけではな いんですよ。たまたま、それがちょっと必要とされているって、入試とかで考えられている科目だっただけで、私は、社会に有利だとか、あの、就職に有利だとか、そういうので好んでやってるわけじゃなくて、ただ単に好きだから。

I study English because I like it, not because it is necessary in society. English happens to be needed, for example, for entrance exams. I study English not because it has advantages or is beneficial for getting a job but because I like it. (I3-2, 2008)

Fumiko liked English and thought that she had a “sense” to understand English, but she did not think that English was superior to other foreign languages. Because she had started studying English at junior high school where teachers spoke positively about studying English, saying that learners can broaden their mind by learning English and now she felt she did not have any other choice. Fumiko started thinking that “broadening one’s view” by learning English was not always positive. She thought that broadening one’s view might also hinder concentration on something more important than learning English.

Despite those critical thoughts, Fumiko found learning English interesting. Through her participation in the exchange programs to Korea and England, she found that individuals were more important than countries; meeting people from different countries fascinated her. Especially when she understood those people’s feelings and

expressions and felt the atmosphere in foreign countries, Fumiko was tremendously moved and happy.

In her third year, Fumiko felt that studying English had been a form of support that had helped her get through the difficulties she had experienced at school. She believed that studying would never betray her: As long as she studied, she would be rewarded for her efforts with a sense of satisfaction. She studied English because she liked it, not because English would bring her advantages when looking for employment, and she was sure that she would continue studying English for a long time.

The Development of Fumiko's Ideas

As a child Fumiko felt that foreign things were “scary,” but as she grew older and suffered setbacks in her efforts to socialize with other Japanese students, she adopted the view that English is a safe haven. She substituted intellectual development for social adjustment and found rewards and satisfaction from using her considerable mental skills. She eventually decided to study English literature in college, not for the instrumental reasons commonly suggested in Japan, but for the sheer intellectual pleasure of such study.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS: SYSTEMATIC SUMMARY OF BELIEFS

In Chapter 4 I summarized the stories of the seven participants with respect to learning English, paying particular attention to the events before and during their studies at Rokkaku High School, and ending when the participants' selected a university. During the course of telling their stories, the participants offered informal explanations of how they developed and changed their beliefs. In this chapter, I extract general patterns from the stories they related. In doing so, I seek to avoid the ever-present danger of distorting the "truth" as the participants see it, or lessening the force of their stories.

Constructing a typology of the participants' beliefs and belief changes is the first phase of explanation-building (Yin, 2009, p. 141). The second phase, undertaken in Chapter 6, is to describe general patterns that fit the individual cases.

A Typology of Beliefs

In the review of the literature on learner beliefs in Chapter 2, I concluded that there is little consensus regarding categorizing learner beliefs, although different authors have described the efficacy of beliefs and traced changes in beliefs over time. In order to proceed, therefore, it is first useful to posit a typology of beliefs.

Because human beliefs are subtle and varied, any typology must be a simplification. This fact requires the researcher to explain the reasons for reducing

complex reality to a particular set of categories. In the present study, categories are intended to serve two purposes. The first purpose is to relate particular beliefs to different degrees of success in learning English, and the second purpose is to permit an analysis of changes in beliefs over time. Three categories of beliefs were identified in this study: beneficial beliefs, interfering beliefs, and indeterminate beliefs.

Beneficial beliefs induce learners both to expend effort to learn English and psychologically, as van Lier (1996) expressed it, to “engage with” the materials and activities deemed helpful to learning (pp. 48-56). Stevick (1989) observed that successful language learners have insight into their learning styles (p. 19), and contrive to spend time with people who are speaking the target language (p. 41). Beneficial beliefs, thus, lead learners to engage in beneficial behaviors, such as reflecting on their learning styles and interacting with speakers of the target language. Examples of beneficial beliefs in the present study are (a) English is a useful tool for communicating with foreign people and (b) learnable skills are important for improving English proficiency.

Interfering beliefs inhibit learners’ effort and depth of processing (Craik & Lockhart, 1972). Because adolescents worry about how they look to their peers (Horwitz, 2008, p. 9), their anxieties tend to inhibit their active participation in language classes. Reluctance to participate can be rationalized by beliefs that are consistent with the behavior. Examples of interfering beliefs are (a) making mistakes is embarrassing, (b) I have no talent for learning English, and (c) the only way to develop English fluency is to study abroad.

Indeterminate beliefs are beliefs whose effect the learners' success at learning English is unclear, or they can be either positive or negative. Indeterminate beliefs tend to be beliefs about oneself, and they often begin with "I." An example of an indeterminate belief is "I have a weak will."

Beliefs and Changes

The above typology is used in the present study to relate beliefs to levels of successful language acquisition, and in tracing changes in beliefs over time. An evaluation of the use of this typology is offered in Chapter 7. The following sections cover the same material presented in Chapter 4, identifying beliefs explicitly and assigning them places in the typology.

Beneficial Beliefs

A summary of beneficial beliefs is offered in Table 3. The table is organized by time period for each participant.

Natsuko's beneficial beliefs. A strong and stable belief that Natsuko had held since childhood was that foreign cultures and going overseas were interesting. Natsuko attributed those beliefs to her mother, who frequently took her to Asian countries. This belief eventually led Natsuko to the Philippines, Korea, and the United States and

Table 3. *Beneficial Beliefs*

Name	Time Period	Beliefs
Natsuko	Childhood	Foreign cultures and going overseas are interesting.
	Elementary school	Doing whatever I like is best.
	First year of high school	The goal of studying is not getting good grades and going to a famous university. There is another way of learning English.
	Second year of high school	A different context would be good for me. English is spoken with different accents (Inaccurate pronunciation is accepted). English is a tool for communication. It is important to speak without being afraid of what other people think. Being an only child has advantages. My English is not yet good enough to communicate with people. Studying for entrance examinations is important. I should know a lot about Japan.
Rumiko	Childhood, junior high school, and high school	English is interesting. Teaching is rewarding. Learning something through English is important. There is a different way of learning words.
Kazuo	Childhood	I have a sociable character.
	Junior high school	People have different and interesting cultures and thoughts. Speaking English is fun.
	High school	Language is important to communicate with people. Studying grammar is also important.
Maiko	Junior high school	Languages should be used to communicate with people.
	High school	Speaking English is most important. It is important to have a learning environment that has a foreign atmosphere. I can learn from others. Japanese should see the world to expand their knowledge about foreign cultures. I should not be satisfied with my English. I do not accept defeat. I can make a decision in my context.
Honey	Childhood	Speaking is the most important skill.
	High school	I am good at speaking English.

		English brought me a new world. English gives me power to be sociable. Using what one learns in real situations is the best strategy to acquire a language. English is a master key to communicate with people in the world.
Satsuki	Junior high school	English is a useful tool for communication. English helps me to expand my knowledge. Overseas experiences cultivate interest in English and motivation to study it.
Fumiko	Junior high school high school	English is not always the world language. Studying English protected me from the outside world. The four skills of English are important for learning English. I like English. Studying English gives me satisfaction.

motivated her to get involved with English-related activities such as being a member of ESS club, teaching English at elementary schools, and taking part in exchange program.

Doing what she likes is best is a beneficial belief that Natsuko held. In her first high school, Natsuko felt as though she was trapped in a cage. As a result, she began looking for alternatives. Through studying acting at an acting school, she became confident because she worked with older people and learned from them that a good life consists of doing what you like. Natsuko attributed her decision to do what she really wanted to the acting school and the people she met there. They encouraged her to take the opportunity to go to the Philippines. Her adherence to this belief later led Natsuko to decide to go to the university in Okinawa. She also began to believe that the goal of studying was not to get good grades and attend a prestigious university.

Thus, instead of tolerating a school environment where students compete, Natsuko's decision to quit her first high school was based on her belief that a different educational context would be good for her. Natsuko had already experienced a change

of context when she went to the Philippines for three weeks and benefited from the experience. She said that she did not hesitate to leave her first high school, and after doing so, she felt that her decision to change was the correct one. She tried hard to fit into the new school and to identify meaningful future goals.

Through her experiences of going abroad (especially to non-English speaking countries) and meeting foreign people, Natsuko had opportunities to speak with people face-to-face in English and to sense the diversity of the English language. The conception of multiple Englishes is rarely mentioned in English classrooms, but Natsuko understood that English was spoken with different accents, a belief that promoted her tolerance for understanding different languages and that freed her from the fear that inaccurate pronunciation would hinder her efforts to speak English.

Through her experiences in the Philippines, Natsuko learned that English is a tool for communication. This belief then led to the belief that it was important to speak without being afraid of what other people think. This belief helped her reduce the sense of anxiety that is experienced by many ESL learners (Young, 1991, 1992), including many Japanese students (Ohata, 2005).

For Natsuko, a beneficial belief was that being an only child was advantageous. When she became a high school student, her friends were inadvertent facilitators in Natsuko's development of this belief. After noticing this belief, Natsuko appreciated both the financial support she received from her father and the psychological and practical support from her mother. Natsuko attributed her opportunities to take private lessons and to change high schools, to her parents and to being an only child. This

might not have been a beneficial belief until she became aware of it, but in Natsuko's case the belief spurred her to make an effort to study English.

In Rokkaku High School, Natsuko focused on speaking English because she believed that speaking was more important than writing. While speaking English, however, Natsuko faced a lexical block that all learners face. As a result, she felt that she needed to expand her English vocabulary. This led her to begin thinking about more effective strategies to learn English.

A beneficial belief that Natsuko had at that time was that her English was not yet good enough to communicate with people. This belief enhanced her motivation to learn English and encouraged her to start a project to improve her listening proficiency by watching English movies. Through the project, Natsuko began to think that it was important to continue studying. She said, "Perhaps *juken*-style study is also important." By this she signaled that she was re-evaluating a formerly rejected learning strategy.

Through meeting people when she traveled overseas, Natsuko was aware of her identity as a Japanese and of her lack of knowledge about Japan. This thought led her to go to a university in Japan. She could have chosen to go overseas to study, but she chose Okinawa where she would study English as well as the history of Okinawa. The belief that knowing Japan well is crucial was a beneficial belief that led Natsuko to the decision to go to Okinawa.

As for learning style, Natsuko realized in her first year in Rokkaku High School (her second high school) that her belief that studying English meant sitting at a desk and doing exercises was wrong. This belief was developed by her experiences in a private

junior and senior high school was wrong. Doing presentations in Rokkaku High School gave Natsuko a chance to reflect on her own learning style. The awareness of her learning style she gained at this time led to a beneficial belief that there are alternative ways of learning English.

Rumiko's beneficial beliefs. Rumiko's belief that English was interesting was a beneficial one that endured even after encountering obstacles. Because of this belief, Rumiko kept studying English by herself. Her curiosity about English, which was aroused when she was a child, continued for a long time and in fact helped her develop the autonomous ability to take charge of her own approach to studying.

Rumiko's belief that teaching is rewarding was beneficial because this belief encouraged her to continue teaching English in various contexts. She found that she liked teaching her friends English and felt happy when they understood English because of her help. By doing so, Rumiko became interested in teaching and decided to investigate English education in Japan for her final project study.

Rumiko's awareness of learning style was inspired by her teachers. A teacher in her high school told the students that learning something through English is important; this idea made sense to Rumiko. Also, a professor at a university helped her realize that there is an alternative approach to learn foreign language vocabulary instead of just memorizing the words. An awareness of these ideas led Rumiko to reflect on her own learning. Thus, those emerged beliefs inspired by teachers were beneficial.

Kazuo's beneficial beliefs. Kazuo's belief that there are different and interesting cultures and ideas was beneficial because it led him to communicate with people from various countries. During Kazuo's life in Peru, he met not only Peruvians but also people from many different backgrounds. In Rokkaku High School, he met foreign students, Japanese students who had lived in foreign countries, and teachers from various countries. Kazuo's interest in the differences among cultures and people's ideas helped him be more tolerant of differences among people and to try to avoid conflicts.

Kazuo also believed that speaking English was fun, which was a beneficial belief. He had held this belief since experiencing the pleasure of making himself understood in English by talking with a Korean woman and with flight attendants during a flight. This belief prompted him to seek opportunities to speak English. Kazuo's experience of speaking with the Korean woman in English also helped him develop a belief that language is an important tool to communicate with people. With this belief, Kazuo actively sought out opportunities to speak English.

Kazuo's belief that he needed to study English formally to understand a variety of functional and grammatical structures was beneficial. This belief came to Kazuo after becoming aware of deficiencies in his grammatical and lexical knowledge when talking with exchange students in English. Being aware of the deficiencies in his own English ability promoted his growth as a learner.

Kazuo's self-image of being sociable was a beneficial belief that encouraged him to meet and talk with new people. He was interested in people and liked talking with them; he said that it was his nature to take a close interest in them. Kazuo's

sociable character led him to engage in many activities with Japanese and foreign students using English.

Maiko's beneficial beliefs. Maiko's belief that languages should be used to communicate with people was beneficial. Through communicating with others in English, Maiko became interested in learning from them. Thus, exposure to conversational English was Maiko's major strategy for learning English. During elementary school and junior high school she did not have opportunities to act on this belief, but she held the belief none the less. Maiko's choice of Rokkaku High School was based on her belief that it was important to have a learning environment that had a foreign atmosphere.

Maiko's beliefs that she could learn from others and that Japanese should see the world to expand their knowledge about foreign cultures were beneficial, as they led her to increase her interest in foreign languages and cultures. Since her childhood, Maiko had met many people who were not Japanese. Her father invited his foreign friends to their house and the family visited families in foreign countries. Maiko's encounters with foreign people were unusual for her age. At Rokkaku High School, Maiko met and talked with foreign students in English; this was inspirational for her.

Maiko's belief that she should not be satisfied with her current level of English proficiency was beneficial. She acquired this belief from older students in Rokkaku High School who were her mentors. This belief encouraged her to be involved with activities, such as setting up an English club and joining a speech contest. Maiko said

that she had changed into a more active student. For example, during the summer vacation in her first year, Maiko joined an English program at Temple University's Japan Campus where she met people from different countries. She enjoyed meeting them, talking with them in English, and learning from them. She also liked being in foreign contexts and having experiences unavailable in Japan.

Maiko's belief that she would not accept defeat and the accompanying feeling of mortification when she could not accomplish a task was a beneficial one. This belief helped her overcome problems and improve her English proficiency. Thus, this belief helped push her forward and avoid giving up easily in many situations. Her determination helped her achieve her English-related goals.

When Maiko was a junior high school student, she did what her teachers told her to do and did not doubt their suggestions. However, three years later, Maiko was finally able to decide what she would do independently, which is evidence of her growth. Maiko's belief that she could make her own decision about a university was beneficial for her and was part of her process of becoming an independent learner. She ultimately made the decision by herself, against the advice of her teachers.

Honey's beneficial beliefs. Honey's belief that she was good at speaking English was a beneficial belief because it helped her study another new language, Japanese. In Honey's case, language was a survival tool and a weapon she used to compete with others. Going to an international school and studying English became a source of pride for her. Her confidence in her ability to speak English was a shelter that

helped her to live in Japan and learn Japanese, which was a completely new language for her. Honey's English was superior to that of her fellow Japanese junior high school students. She stated that her persistence in learning Japanese was due to the confidence she had gained by learning English.

Honey developed a beneficial belief that English gave her access to a new world and the ability to be social. Before studying English at the international school, Honey said that was a shy girl from a country village, but after studying English for two years, she became more confident and socially active, which was beneficial because she trusted that she had the ability to meet and interact with people successfully.

Honey developed the beneficial belief that learning a language by engaging in communicative and real situations is the best strategy because she learned English using this strategy. Her belief encouraged her to be sociable and communicate with people using the target language.

Honey shaped a belief that speaking was the most important language skill because of her experiences in the international school and in junior high school. This was a beneficial belief in that it encouraged her to join speaking-oriented activities such as the English Day Camp, English speech contest, and English drama contest.

Satsuki's beneficial beliefs. Satsuki had believed that English was a master key as a world language that would allow her to communicate with people everywhere and that she could make herself understood in English anywhere. In Mexico, however, she found that people did not understand even simple English words. This experience

changed Satsuki's belief about English. She came to believe that there are still many people in the world who do not understand English. It did not cause her to lose motivation to study English, but she thought that she should continue learning Spanish in college in order to be better prepared to work in the global market. Thus, this belief encouraged Satsuki to acquire multiple foreign languages.

The basis of Satsuki's second beneficial belief was based on her extensive overseas experiences in Hawaii and Guam, places she had visited for a month almost every year since childhood. These experiences inspired Satsuki to learn English, and led to her beliefs that English is a useful tool for communication and that studying English is interesting. As a result of these beliefs, Satsuki found opportunities to go overseas, to take elective English classes in high school, and talk with people in English. By doing so, she felt that English expanded her knowledge.

Satsuki also developed a belief that overseas experiences cultivated her interest in studying English. It was a beneficial belief that motivated her to go abroad, join English activities, and become interested in foreign people and cultures. Through overseas experiences, Satsuki was, for example, aware that English was not the only tool for communication and that she should study another foreign language to communicate with more people in the world. She also found it interesting to share thoughts and feelings with American students while she was in Chicago, which motivated her to study English more.

Fumiko's beneficial beliefs. Fumiko had experiences such as joining English Day Camp, presentation at university, two-week exchange program in the United Kingdom and taking various English classes at high school including Global Issues, Presentation, Creative Writing, and Media and the World. Those experiences required her to listen, speak, read and write English. This led Fumiko to develop a beneficial belief that the four skills of English were important for acquiring the language. Because of this belief, Fumiko engaged in a variety of learning experiences. She read English books, went overseas, spoke English with many people, wrote journals in English, and exchanged e-mails in English.

Fumiko believed that studying English protected her from the outside world. When she had difficulties at school, for example being bullied at junior high school and feeling that she did not fit in at high school, studying English always gave her a sense of relief that she had her own English world. English was an escape from the real world for Fumiko, but it was a beneficial belief that helped her study English single-mindedly and receive good grades in junior and senior high school. She liked English and believed that studying it helped her be herself. Even when she was not able to make close friends at school, Fumiko believed herself that she could succeed because she could study English, an activity she could put her heart into. These thoughts about learning English encouraged her to study English more. As a consequence, Fumiko developed the belief that she had a good sense of understanding English. In her first year in junior high school, when she was bullied for a year, she could not trust anyone but herself. Thus, she studied English hard because studying was one thing she could do

to be herself. Through all these difficult experiences, Fumiko found that studying English gave her a sense of satisfaction. This feeling helped her decide which university she should go to and what she should study.

Interim Summary of Beneficial Beliefs

The beneficial beliefs that the adolescents in this study formed are statements about reality including the nature of the world, the nature of oneself, and the relationship between the two. The common features can be summarized as follows.

First, curiosity and interest toward foreign cultures and people bring about beneficial beliefs and they lead learners to participate actively in foreign communities and to take advantage of learning opportunities. In short, beneficial beliefs lead to active learning.

Second, learners' confidence in their English ability leads to beneficial beliefs concerning their ability to control their progress, thus supporting their sense of self-efficacy and helping them make autonomous decisions.

Third, beneficial beliefs have a reflective nature. When learners review their attitudes, actions and learning styles, they develop beneficial beliefs that lead to progress.

Fourth, for adolescents, part of their growth involves developing a sense of agency that encourages them to make their own decisions. Thus, one type of beneficial belief is a belief that they can make their own choices successfully. Two examples that emerged in this study were choosing a school and selecting learning strategies.

Interfering Beliefs

Interfering beliefs inhibit language learning or allow learners to rationalize failures to expend effort to learn. Interfering beliefs are summarized in Table 4.

Natsuko's interfering beliefs. Natsuko expressed two interfering beliefs. First, she had a belief that studying for entrance examinations was stressful. This belief involved many negative feelings such as hatred, rejection, and stress, one of which caused her to be unable to concentrate. As a result, she escaped from studying by going shopping or to movies with her friends. This interfering belief emerged out of her multiple experiences of studying for entrance examinations.

Natsuko's second interfering belief concerned her feelings toward students who had lived overseas. Like many Japanese students who feel inferior to students who speak English relatively fluently, Natsuko also thought that she could never achieve the same level of oral proficiency. This was an interfering belief that led her to expect to fail at learning English.

Rumiko's interfering beliefs. Rumiko had a belief in junior high school that being good at English meant getting good grades on English tests, something she was able to accomplish. In high school, however, her grades were no better than many of the other students, a fact that was not demotivating Rumiko. As a consequence of receiving

Table 4. *Interfering Beliefs*

Name	Time period	Belief
Natsuko	First high school Second high school	Studying for entrance examinations is stressful. I will never be like returnee students.
Rumiko	Junior high school High school	Being good at English means getting good grades on tests. Living in an English-speaking country is necessary to speak good English. Being good at English means speaking good English. I will never catch up with returnee students. Studying abroad is the only way to speak like returnee students. Limited speaking ability is because of Japanese English education. I have to speak good English to be an English teacher. It is strange to speak English in Japan.
Kazuo	Junior high school	Speaking English is most important. Studying grammar is less important than speaking.
Maiko	Junior high school High school	Being good at English means getting good grades on tests. I am good at English because of my good grades on tests. I should listen to the teachers. I have to give up many things when studying for the entrance examinations. Kokusai-kei students are shallow, not deep thinkers.
Honey	International school Junior high school High school	I should study the vernacular language first. Speaking is most important.
Satsuki	High school	I can not speak English well. An English-speaking context is necessary for me to improve my English speaking ability. I am not a good speaker of English. Studying for entrance examinations is demanding and does not help me improve my speaking ability.
Fumiko	High school	There is distance between me and native speakers of English.

receiving average grades in English, Rumiko no longer believed that she excelled, and she became less engaged in learning English.

Rumiko's belief that living in an English-speaking country was necessary to speak good English hindered her from trying to speak English in Japan. She thought that it is strange to speak English in Japan. She attributed her lack of speaking proficiency and knowledge of English to the Japanese educational system and to her lack of experience living overseas. In response to this situation, she developed a belief that staying in English speaking countries for a while would be the only way to make her a good speaker of English and that she could communicate with people in English without any problems.

Rumiko also developed a belief that being good at English meant speaking well, a belief that interfered with her learning. Rumiko was intimidated by students who spoke English fluently at high school; by comparing herself to them, she no longer thought that she was good at English and felt that she would never catch up with those students and that studying abroad was the only way to speak like them. Her feelings of shame regarding her English pronunciation were one basis of her sense of inferiority. This belief came into play when she compared her English unfavorably to that of the students who had lived overseas, and it had the unfortunate consequence of making her abandon her goal of being an English teacher.

Rumiko's belief that the English educational system in Japan caused her poor speaking ability was an interfering belief. She claimed that she was a "product of Japanese English education." Attributing her performance to external factors hindered Rumiko's progress toward becoming an autonomous learner.

Kazuo's interfering beliefs. Kazuo's strong belief in the primacy of speaking English was accompanied initially by a series of negative beliefs about studying grammar and vocabulary. In junior high school, he believed that he did not need grammar and in his first year in Rokkaku High School, he did not like studying grammar because he felt he did not understand it. In his second year, although Kazuo gradually started to notice that he was not good at grammar, his belief that speaking was more important than grammar continued for almost three years and it hindered him from trying to develop both grammatical and lexical knowledge.

Maiko's interfering beliefs. Maiko developed a belief that she was good at English when she was a junior high school student because she got good grades on tests. Her beliefs that she was already good at English and that her grades were good enough were not beneficial beliefs because they did not encourage her to take part in various English-related activities, such as applying for English related contests and actively speaking English in English classes.

Maiko's belief that she should listen to her teachers later led her to what she thought of as a wrong decision to attend a cram school. Her belief interfered with her ability to follow her intuitive sense about the best way to proceed such as taking part in as many English related experiences as possible, for example, teaching English to elementary school students, taking part in a speech contest and a drama contest, and talking with exchange students from sister schools in the United States, England, and France.

Maiko also believed that she had to give up doing many activities she wanted to do to study because of the university entrance examinations. This belief haunted her and caused her stress. The belief was not based on her own experience; it was based on a “common sense” view of Japanese high school students who aspire to go to a university.

Another interfering belief for Maiko was the belief that students who wanted to go to universities with an international student body were shallow thinkers. Maiko thought that those students did not study very hard for the entrance examinations. For a long time, she did not allow herself to take what she thought of as the easy path. She did not know how she developed this belief, but it influenced her choice of university; thus, the belief affected her choice negatively by limiting it.

Honey’s interfering beliefs. Honey’s belief that she had to study the vernacular language first was an interfering belief in terms of her language identity. She experienced three learning contexts: a local elementary school in Myanmar, an international junior high school in Myanmar, and junior and senior high schools in Japan. It was natural for a teenage student thrown into different linguistic contexts to believe that a priority should go to studying the vernacular language; thus, she made an effort to learn to speak English at the international school and to learn to speak Japanese after arriving in Japan. As a consequence, she felt that she no longer had a first language. Her proficiency in the Myanmar language, which was ostensibly her native language, was not highly developed and English and Japanese were not her first

languages, so Honey felt that she had not established a language identity.

Because of her experiences in the international school in Myanmar and in junior high school in Japan, Honey developed the belief that speaking was the most important language skill. By making friends, Honey could get a sense of being part of the new context. Her belief about the superiority of speaking it encouraged her to join speaking-oriented activities, but it was interfering in that it led to her to neglect English classes that were focused on grammar, reading, and writing.

Satsuki's interfering beliefs. Satsuki did not think that she could speak English well and had an inferiority complex about speaking the language. She thought that an English-speaking context was necessary for her to improve her English speaking ability. Thus, she wanted to study in an English-speaking country in the future. Satsuki's belief in the importance of context sometimes interfered with her active participation in English classes at school. She did not join English-related activities, such as participating in the speech contest, working hard in English classes, and taking English proficiency tests.

After meeting students who had lived overseas, Satsuki did not believe that she was a good speaker of English. This interfering belief prevented her from joining activities aimed at enhancing her speaking ability, such as English Day Camp in the third year, or preparing speeches for class presentations.

In her third year, Satsuki started studying for the university entrance examinations. Through going to prep school and studying only for examinations,

Satsuki developed a belief that studying for entrance examinations was a demanding task that did not help her to improve speaking ability. This was an interfering belief that discouraged her from engaging in English-related activities and taking an active part in English classes.

Fumiko's interfering beliefs. Fumiko developed a belief that there was distance between her and native speakers of English. This belief brought her tension every time she met native speakers of English. In trying to speak with an Assistant Language Teacher who was a native speaker of English, Fumiko felt that she could not talk freely or behave naturally when communicating with him. Thus, this belief reduced her opportunities for meaningful interaction with native speakers.

Interim Summary of Interfering Beliefs

The interfering beliefs held by the adolescents in this study concerned their interpretations of the relationship between themselves and their environments that caused them not to make an effort to improve their English or to do so inefficiently. Interfering beliefs seem to have four characteristics.

First, they are related to loss of confidence, in which students believe that they are unable to achieve their goals. For instance, Rumiko lost her confidence when she met returnee students.

Second, interfering beliefs seem to be the result of a fixed mindset or stereotypical ideas. For instance, Rumiko believed that she would never speak English

well without going overseas. She also believed that speaking English in Japan is strange. Maiko held a critical belief about Kokusai-kei students saying that they are not deep thinkers. Overestimating speaking ability led Kazuo to a belief that grammar is less important than speaking. Also, Rumiko and Maiko believed that getting good grades on tests meant that they were good at English. Such beliefs often provide learners with an excuse not to make an effort and limit their choices in a sub-optimal way.

Third, an overdependence on the opinions of others causes interfering beliefs. For adolescents, a failure to think the facts through or to organize their options rationally leaves them at the mercy of the opinions of others or their own half-baked ideas. For example, Maiko believed that she had to give up what she wanted do when she started studying for entrance examinations to university because she had been informed it by other students, and perhaps some teachers.

Fourth, attributing their deficiency to outside factors such as English education in Japan or schools cause interfering beliefs. Rumiko's criticism on Japanese English education system and Satsuki's belief on an importance of English-speaking context were interfering beliefs that hindered them to be active learners in their current learning contexts.

Indeterminate Beliefs

Indeterminate beliefs govern individuals' learning efforts, but their effects are not clear or they can be beneficial or interfering depending on the learner's feelings and

perceptions of the context. Table 5 summarizes the indeterminate beliefs found in the present study.

Table 5. *Indeterminate Beliefs*

Name	Time period	Beliefs
Natsuko	Childhood	I like fun things.
	High school	I want to do something enjoyable. Choosing by myself leads to motivation to learn. I tend to choose an easy course. I have a weak will. Making mistakes is OK. (Speaking English without fear of making mistakes is important.)
Rumiko	Junior high school	I am good at English. I can prepare for entrance examinations by myself.
	High school	I can study English without taking English classes. I can be a good speaker of English in the Kokusai-bunka course. I can be a good speaker of English in English-speaking countries. I have a protective wall against English inside me.
Kazuo	Junior high school	I am good at English.
Fumiko	High school	I can not do many things at the same time.

Natsuko's indeterminate beliefs. Natsuko's self-analysis indicated that she liked to do activities she found interesting. What was enjoyable differed slightly in different contexts, but Natsuko was motivated to learn as long as she could perceive learning as fun. When she first studied English as a school subject in junior high school, she liked English and did well because the teacher made the class enjoyable by using music and games. It seemed that as long as Natsuko had a teacher who made classes fun, she would make an effort to learn English, but when Natsuko encountered a teacher who believed that classes should include a lot of discipline, she emotionally rejected the

teacher and this hindered her learning.

Natsuko's belief that she wanted to do something enjoyable originated when she took private dancing and acting lessons while studying at Sakura High School. This was a belief counter to her mother's belief and to the school policy of Sakura High School that students should follow the teachers' directives and study hard; thus, this belief was in conflict with the beliefs of the people around her. At that time, Natsuko lost her motivation to learn at school, and she strongly resisted adopting beliefs from supposedly influential persons such as her mother and teachers. Thus, this belief was interfering while Natsuko studied at Sakura High School. Later experiences Natsuko had at Rokkaku High School, however, indicated that changing her learning context allowed her to change her belief. At Rokkaku High School, Natsuko found what she considered meaningful learning, which was enjoyable.

Natsuko's experiences of forced learning at Sakura High School shaped her belief that being able to make her own decision motivated her to learn. She also believed that she tended to choose relatively easy courses that posed no serious challenges. If those two beliefs had conflicted, she might have become an unsuccessful learner. However, as Natsuko chose to go to a university in Okinawa to escape from the distractions she might have encountered in Tokyo, she was able to act on her belief that she had a weak will; thus, the belief itself was beneficial. Her belief about the importance of making decisions herself was also a beneficial belief in choosing a university or a job; it led Natsuko to become an autonomous and independent learner.

A belief that making mistakes was acceptable and that exposure to speaking English was more important than fearing mistakes was beneficial in terms of her fluency development. My observations indicated that Natsuko had a positive attitude toward meeting people and talking with them in English. She did not hesitate to speak English even though she could not find the words to express exactly what she wanted to say. It seemed that Natsuko prioritized finding opportunities to speak English over to a desire to speak accurately; thus, she believed that exposure to English was beneficial in terms of developing fluency, but not (in the short term at least) in terms of developing accuracy.

Rumiko's indeterminate beliefs. Rumiko's belief that she was good at English was an indeterminate belief that exerted both good and bad effects depending on the learning context. This belief was a beneficial belief as long as the criterion was getting good grades, but it led to demotivation once she found herself "invisible" in class by getting average grades. Until she became a high school student, Rumiko believed that she was good at English: She received good grades and her peers asked her to teach them English. She said, "I sensed that the teacher thought that I knew the answers" (interview, May, 2008). Therefore, she was a confident student, and her confidence that she belonged to the "good grades student group" (interview, May, 2008) led her to make a sustained effort to study English.

Rumiko's belief that she could study by herself was beneficial in terms of helping her become a more autonomous learner, but on the other hand, it led her to shut

the door on some learning opportunities. Thus, her belief that she could study English by herself for the university entrance examinations was an indeterminate belief. Older students in the tennis club told Rumiko that she did not need to take English classes and she listened to them. It was not pressure from the older students but Rumiko's adoption of their idea that confirmed her belief that she could study English without taking English classes. Rumiko readily accepted the other students' beliefs while rejecting the advice from her teachers.

Meeting with foreign students and returnees gave Rumiko a chance to develop the idea that she needed an inspiring environment to become a good speaker of English. She believed that she could have been a good speaker of English after she had begun the International Culture course at Rokkaku High School and that she would be a good speaker of English if she had a chance to live in an English-speaking country. Such beliefs, founded on imagination, are indeterminate beliefs. To the extent that they are theoretical and do not lead to action, the beliefs are not beneficial, but when the beliefs help the learners take action, the beliefs are beneficial.

Rumiko's belief that she had a protective wall against English in front of her was both beneficial and interfering. When she took the belief as a challenge and succeeded in learning, it was beneficial; on the other hand, when she surrendered to the belief and gave up studying, it was interfering. In her third year, Rumiko felt that there was, and still is, a wall preventing her from speaking English. The wall she described was a metaphor for an obstacle she could not overcome. The wall seemed to

symbolize a lack of overseas experience and perceived inability to speak English fluently.

Kazuo's indeterminate beliefs. Kazuo had dual learning experiences in Peru. He went to a Japanese junior high school and a private cram school. At the Japanese junior high school, Kazuo was taught by Japanese teachers who taught English through the medium of Japanese, while at cram school, he learned English through English.

The belief that “I am good at English” was an indeterminate belief for Kazuo, with both interfering and beneficial consequences. His confidence in his English ability was developed in Japanese junior high school where he could get good grades even though he neglected the grammar the teacher focused on. His neglect of grammar impaired his development of higher proficiency in English; thus, the belief was interfering at that time. This same belief, however, encouraged Kazuo to enhance his speaking ability by taking opportunities to speak English. In this sense, the belief was beneficial.

Fumiko's indeterminate beliefs. Fumiko knew what kind of learner she was and had a belief that she could not do many things at the same time. This belief discouraged her from trying to learn a second foreign language. On the other hand, because of this belief, Fumiko concentrated on acquiring only English and achieved good results.

Interim Summary of Indeterminate Beliefs

Indeterminate beliefs include the characteristics of both beneficial and interfering beliefs. They become beneficial or interfering depending on the learner and learning context. Indeterminate beliefs become beneficial when they lead to confidence and autonomy and they become interfering when they lead to avoidance or rejection of challenges, advice from adults and experiencing new contexts.

Indeterminate beliefs found in the present study have the common characteristic that they start with “I” and that thus, they mostly concern learners’ perceptions on their ability, intension, and expectation. Subjective characteristics of indeterminate beliefs could help the learners develop beneficial beliefs if the learners change their perceptions of themselves.

Belief Changes

The participants’ stories indicated that their beliefs changed as they experienced personal growth and changes in their learning contexts. The belief changes found in the present study are summarized in Table 6.

Natsuko’s belief changes. Natsuko underwent three major belief changes concerning her goals for learning English, her perceptions of learning English, priority of English skills, learning strategy and making decisions.

Natsuko’s first major belief change concerns her goals for learning English. When she was a passive student at her first high school, Natsuko’s English-related goals

were getting good grades at school and attending a prestigious university. Visiting the Philippines and meeting foreign people and attending an acting school led her to change her goals. She became to believe that studying English is for communicating with people and sharing culture and that finding what she likes to do is the goal of studying.

The second belief change concerns changes in Natsuko's perceptions of learning English. She had believed that making mistakes was embarrassing and that speaking like a native speaker of English was good until she visited the Philippines and met foreign students from different countries. Natsuko came to believe that English spoken with different accents is acceptable as long as meaning is conveyed clearly and that in order to communicate with people in English, both studying for examinations and knowing one's own culture are important.

The third belief change concerns in Natsuko's priority of English skills. Natsuko's foreign experiences and meeting foreign people had led her to develop the belief that speaking was more important than writing. This belief was altered because of meeting people from foreign countries, which led her to realize that her English was not developed enough. She came to believe that *juken*-type study was important for developing her English abilities.

The fourth belief change concerns in Natsuko's learning strategy. Natsuko's learning experiences in junior high school led her to believe that studying English meant sitting at a desk and doing exercises. This belief was modified through her learning experiences in high school, which led her to understand that exposure to English and doing presentations are alternative ways of learning English.

Table 6. *Summary of Belief Changes*

From	To	Impetus for change
Natsuko		
Getting good grades and going to a prestigious university are the goals of study.	Doing whatever you like is best.	Studying for entrance examinations. Attending acting school/visiting the Philippines
Speaking like a native speaker of English is good.	English is spoken with different accents.	Experiences in non-English speaking countries
Studying English for tests is a goal of study.	English is a tool for communication.	Experiences in the Philippines
Sitting at a desk and doing exercises is learning English.	There is another way of learning English.	Class presentations
Making mistakes is shameful.	It is important to speak up without being afraid of what other people think.	Meeting people from different countries
Speaking is more important than writing.	My English is not good enough to communicate with people. <i>Juken</i> -type study might be important.	Speaking English with foreign people
Foreign cultures and going overseas are interesting.	Lack of knowledge of Japan.	Staying in Chicago as part of an exchange program
Going to a university in a foreign country is the best choice for study.	Going to a university in Japan to learn English and Japanese history is best.	Staying in Chicago as part of an exchange program
Decisions are made by someone else.	I must make decisions myself.	Forced learning at Sakura High School
Rumiko		
I am good at English because I get good grades on English tests.	I am not good at English anymore.	Experiences in high school/returnee students
Getting good grades means being good at English.	Being good at English means speaking English well.	Meeting with returnee students
Studying English is studying language.	Learning something through English is important.	An English teacher
Memorization is the only way to learn words.	There is another way of learning words.	Workshop by a professor.
I have to take English classes to learn English.	I can study English by myself.	Older students' advice
I want to be an English teacher like Mr. Oshima.	Maybe I do not want to be a teacher. My pronunciation is not good and I can not speak English well.	Meeting with returnees who spoke fluent English

Kazuo		
English is not fun. I don't like English.	Speaking English is fun.	Speaking English with a Korean woman on an airplane
Speaking English is more important than studying grammar.	Grammar is also important.	Talking with foreign students
Maiko		
Getting good grades means being good at English.	Being satisfied only with good grades is shameful. It is important to improve oneself constantly.	Inspiration from older students
I should not criticize what a teacher does. I have to listen to my teachers. I have to do <i>juken benkyo</i> to pass the entrance examination.	I can negotiate with a teacher. I can make decisions myself. Studying for entrance examinations is meaningless.	OCI class with an American teacher Studying for entrance examinations Prep school experiences
Honey		
I am shy.	I am active.	Studying at an international school and learning English
Language is one of subjects at school.	Language is a weapon for survival.	Studying in an international school/Living in Japan
English is the most powerful language.	Japanese is currently more important than English.	Living in Japan
Satsuki		
English is useful everywhere.	English is not used everywhere, so I have to learn another foreign language.	Traveling in Mexico
Fumiko		
English is an important school subject. I cannot speak English naturally with native speakers of English.	English should not be a compulsory subject. I can speak in English about topics I like (music).	Learning experiences and observation Staying in England and talking with British students

The fifth belief change concerns decision making. Through her experiences at the acting school and overseas, and studying in Rokkaku High School, Natsuko developed a feeling of self-efficacy and made a decision about her future by herself. Thus, her belief that decisions should be made by someone else was modified to the belief that it was crucial for her to make her own decisions.

Rumiko's belief changes. Rumiko's major change in her beliefs about learning English concerned her perception of being good at English, her agency of studying, and the criterion for being an English teacher, and perceptions of learning strategies.

Rumiko's perception of being good at English in junior high school was based on the good grades she received on examinations. In high school, however, Rumiko's confidence was shattered when she met returnees who had lived abroad and spoke fluent English. Meeting them changed her perceptions of learning English and being good at English. She came to believe that without greater speaking proficiency, she could not consider herself good at English.

The second change concerns her approach to studying English. Rumiko had believed that she had to take English classes to study English in junior high school. In high school, however, she accepted older students' advice that she could study English by herself for preparing for entrance examinations to university. Her learning context, the Rokkaku High School curriculum, allowed Rumiko to avoid English classes that were not required for students in the Individual Characteristics Course.

Third, Rumiko's criterion for being a good English teacher changed. When she was in junior high school, Rumiko went to a cram school where she met Mr. Oshima, an enthusiastic and caring teacher who became her mentor. Because of him, Rumiko wanted to become a teacher. In high school, however, Rumiko met returnees and foreign students whose higher speaking proficiency made her acutely aware of her limited speaking ability and this destroyed her hope to be an English teacher. She believed then that speaking English well was a prerequisite for becoming an English teacher.

The fourth change concerns Rumiko's perceptions of learning strategies. She believed in junior high school that learning English was to study grammatical structures or vocabulary of English. In high school, however, this belief was modified through English classes into the belief that learning something through English is important. Also, in junior high school, memorization was the only strategy to study English. In high school, Rumiko learned through attending English Day Camp and became to believe that there were several strategies to learn English.

Kazuo's belief changes. Kazuo had two belief changes. The first change occurred when he came to believe that speaking English was fun because he could communicate with people. Before then, Kazuo did not think that studying English was enjoyable, and he had no clear idea of why he was studying English. His experience of speaking English with a Korean woman on a plane changed his attitude toward English. by triggering a greater interest in speaking and communicating in English. He came to

believe that English was a tool for communication and that speaking the language was fun.

The second change concerned Kazuo's conception of what he should do to learn English. Since his chance meeting with the Korean woman on the airplane, Kazuo believed that speaking was important and studying grammar was not. This belief was reinforced because, Kazuo got good grades on English tests without studying grammar. In his third year of high school, however, Kazuo's belief that speaking the only was important skill was challenged when talking with foreign students: He came to believe that studying grammar was also an important part of becoming a good speaker of English.

Kazuo's belief changes were embedded in his experiences. Neither his teachers nor other adults played a key role in changing his beliefs. Kazuo assessed his English ability by himself and discovered what he needed to do in order to be better at English.

Maiko's belief changes. Maiko's belief changes concerned her perception of being good at English, her role as a student, and making decisions.

First, Maiko's perception of being good at English in junior high school was based on getting good grades on tests. In high school, inspired by working with older students, she came to believe that learning English was not only for passing examinations but also for communicative interactions. She also developed the belief that it is important to improve herself constantly.

Second, Maiko's attitude toward teachers changed in high school. In junior high school, she believed that not being noticed was a strategy that would allow her to get along with her peers and teachers, so she was a passive student. She also believed that she had to listen to the teachers and that she should not criticize what they did. Slowly, however, Maiko came to believe that teachers should hear her voice and that she could assert her opinions. Thus, she came to believe that she could negotiate with teachers.

Third, because of her developing sense of self-efficacy on believing in herself, Maiko came to believe that she should make decisions about her future herself. In making her decisions, Maiko's beliefs about studying for entrance examinations changed. She had believed that she had to study for the examinations to pass them, but her prep school experiences led her to believe that studying for entrance examinations was far from what she wanted to do.

Honey's belief changes. Honey's belief changes occurred over the long term along with changes in her schooling and living contexts both in Myanmar and Japan. The changes concern her personality and her belief about the role of language.

First, Honey's personality changed after she started learning in English at the international school. Before going to the international school, she had viewed herself as a quiet and passive person who could not speak in front of people. Studying in English in the international school gave her confidence that she could speak two languages. With that confidence, Honey became more sociable and acquired many friends. Honey attributed her changed character to her learning English.

Second, Honey's perception of English changed from being just another school subject to being a weapon that helped her survive in a new linguistic environment. Honey attributed her changes to both her experiences studying at an international school and living in Japan. Honey's belief that English is a weapon to survive was reapplied in Japan with respect to Japanese. Thus, in choosing a Japanese university, she decided to study Japanese more intensively than English.

Satsuki's belief change. Satsuki's major belief change concerned the universality of English. She had believed that English was like a MasterCard that would allow her to communicate anywhere in the world. As she discovered in Mexico, however, English is not spoken by everyone and knowledge of more languages than English is necessary in order to communicate with as many people as possible.

Fumiko's belief changes. Fumiko experienced belief changes concerning English-learning policy and her own English-speaking ability.

First, since she started learning English at age 13, English had been a major part of Fumiko's life: She took as many English classes as possible in high school, took part in a two-week exchange program in England, and seized opportunities to develop her English skills. Fumiko devoted her energy to learning English because she believed that studying English was an important way for her to gain greater confidence. During most of her adolescence she did not doubt that everyone should learn English. In her third year at high school, however, that belief changed. She thought that only those students

who are interested in learning the language should study it.

Second, Fumiko did not initially have confidence speaking English with native speakers of English: She felt intimidated and awkward when speaking with them. However, speaking in English about her favorite topic, music, gave her confidence and this led to a change in her beliefs. When Fumiko went to England as part of an exchange program in her third year of high school, she discovered that when she talked about music, she could speak naturally without stopping. At that time, her belief that she could not speak naturally with native speakers of English was amended and she gained confidence that she could speak English when speaking about what she liked.

Interim Summary of Belief Changes

In this chapter we have seen that by the time the participants arrived in high school, they had already been strongly influenced by what they had experienced to that point in their lives. Their beliefs about learning English were shaped by various experiences, including overseas experiences, experiences at cram schools, chance meetings with strangers, and various learning experiences. In high school, these students struggled toward physical, emotional, and mental maturity in a complex world that offered conflicting advice. Their beliefs about learning English were modified, reconfirmed, reversed, and sometimes totally changed. Their beliefs about language learning became an essential part of their life-determining decisions.

This chapter is the foundation for Chapter 6, in which I organize and summarize the participants' beliefs (sources, changes, and the effects) in light of attribution theory and self-efficacy theory, and report the key findings of the study.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION: CROSS-CASE ANALYSIS

In Chapter 4, I described the participants' stories of learning English, dividing each story into three phases, childhood, junior high school, and high school, and constructed an account of how each learner developed beliefs. In Chapter 5, I placed the beliefs elicited from the stories of the seven learners into three categories: beneficial, interfering and indeterminate beliefs, and I described the belief changes experienced by the participants.

In the present chapter, I reshape the raw material of Chapter 5 into explanations (Yin, 2003, p. 120). By doing so, I attempt to offer answers to the four research questions by discussing beneficial, interfering, and indeterminate learners' beliefs and building a general explanation of the characteristics of learners' beliefs. This is done through a cross-case analysis of the empirical and theoretical findings related to the seven participants of the study.

Research Question 1: Development and Change of Learners' Beliefs

The first research question concerned how learners develop beliefs and what factors influence changes in their beliefs. For children and adolescents, beliefs about language learning typically result from their experiences and the degree of mental maturity specific to their ages. Thus, in the present discussion, findings concerning developing and changing beliefs are organized by age.

Age-Specific Influences on Learners' Beliefs

The Origins of Learners' Beliefs. Attempts to answer the riddle of the origins of beliefs have produced a number of explanations. Some explanations are based on empirical research, although many others are based on inferences, anecdotal evidence, or generalized assumptions. Researchers assumed that learning beliefs are acquired consciously as well as unconsciously (Larsen-Freeman, 2001) and that they are derived from a number of experiences at various stages in an individual's life. Some research has shown that beliefs about learning are fairly stable (Arnold, 1999; Dweck, 1999; Nespor, 1987), that they develop in elementary or early secondary school (Chin & Brewer, 1993; Paris & Byrnes, 1989), or in mid-to-late adolescence (Cantwell, 1998; Schommer, 1994), or by the time a student gets to college (Weinstein, 1989). Those studies suggested that beliefs are determined at a certain time. The data in the present study, however, suggest that beliefs held by adolescents can change frequently. Below I discuss influences on affective development and changes in learner beliefs.

Parent(s)' Influence. While listening to the participants talk about school and learning, I often perceived their parents' influences and found that they affected the learners' beliefs and actions, especially when they were young.

Rumiko's mother put an English poster in the bathroom, hoping that Rumiko would come to like English. Maiko's father insisted that she read Japanese books so that Maiko could maintain Japanese, her first language. Natsuko and Satsuki's mothers strongly desired to help their daughters learn English by taking them to foreign

countries. Fumiko's father introduced her to English through foreign music. Honey's father transferred her to an international school where students were taught through the medium of English. Kazuo's parents sent him to a cram school where he studied through the medium of English.

Although young children tend to accept their parents' views uncritically, adolescents, who are in the process of changing their role models from parents to others, broaden their receptivity to ideas beyond parents, and in some cases are negative about parental guidance. In the present study, however, only a few typical teenagers' negative reactions to parents' guidance were observed. For example, Natsuko was sent to private piano lessons by her mother, but she did not like the lessons at all. She said that she had a stomach ache before lessons. Kazuo went to a cram school in Peru because his parents worried about his grades in English class. He said that going to a cram school was not his wish but that of his parents'.

Some of the above examples show that parents' beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions of education and learning significantly impact young learners. Some young learners are influenced easily by their parents' views and decisions, but as they grow older and develop their agency, they do not always follow what their parents say.

Overseas experiences at early age. Living and staying in a foreign country even for a short time when learners are young can influence their beliefs. An influence observed among the participants in the present study is that overseas experiences can enhance learners' interest in foreign cultures and languages. Natsuko and Satsuki had

been abroad frequently since they were very young. They were familiar with foreign cultures and were interested in different cultures and languages. Those interests and the motivation to learn English were further cultivated at elementary school in International Understanding classes, and in junior high school when their formal education in English as a school subject began. Because of these foreign experiences, they were looking forward to learning English at school.

Another influence is that learners with overseas experiences tend to develop a belief that speaking is the most important skill. For example, Maiko and Kazuo who acquired languages (Spanish for Kazuo and English for Maiko) through listening and speaking when they were abroad; they developed a belief that speaking is very important, and they brought that belief to the schools in Japan.

Junior High School and Senior High School.

Cram school: learning outside of school. Barcelos (2008) studied students' narratives in Brazil and found that their beliefs were strongly influenced by private English courses outside of public schools and that students attributed their proficiency in English to private English courses. The situation is slightly different in Japan, but the participants' stories suggest that cram schools and prep schools in Japan also affect learners' beliefs, although no studies have provided evidence of their effects.

Some of the participants in this study were influenced by experiences at cram schools and prep schools. Rumiko, Fumiko, and Kazuo had positive learning experiences at cram schools when they were junior high school students. Natsuko went

to a cram school when she was an elementary school student and she enjoyed it. All of them liked the atmosphere of the cram schools with their friendly teachers and students. Perhaps thirteen- and fourteen-year-old students, particularly, need peers and teachers who listen to them. School teachers often assume that students go to cram school only for intellectual purposes, to help them get good grades at school, but the participants' narratives show that they enjoyed not only studying but also socializing with their peers and teachers. Natsuko, for example, said:

塾は楽しかった。先生がすごくよかったのを覚えている。めちゃ面白く、授業、授業っていうかなんだろ、あれは授業だけどすごく面白くやってくれて、点数は真ん中だったけれど、なんか、目指すものが一緒だったから気もみんなと合ったし、やってることも一緒だったから、学校の子とは違った友達ができ、塾の方が楽しかった。

Cram school was really fun. I remember that the teachers were good. They made the lessons interesting and enjoyable. My grades were not so good, but I got along well with my friends at the cram school. We were doing the same thing, so we could share many things. I preferred cram school to school at that time. (I-16, 2008)

Kazuo went to a cram school in Peru where he was required to use English. He said that he did not like going to cram school because the teachers gave the students placement tests often and divided them into upper and lower levels. At that time, Kazuo did not want to be separated from his friends, who were very important to him. Kazuo's narrative suggests that he attributes his developing interest in English and finding reasons to learn English to his experiences in cram school, not those in Japanese schools.

Studying for examinations. Students who have experienced foreign learning contexts in which English was used as a tool for communication sometimes have

difficulties adjusting to studying for entrance examinations, which demands rote memorization in Japan. The approach is based on a “banking” concept of education, “in which the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits” (Freire, 2003, p. 72). In studying for entrance examinations, many students feel that “preparing for entrance exams is not real learning” (Kanno, 2003, p. 118).

As Satsuki and Maiko said, many students had stereotypical ideas about studying for entrance examinations, including the belief that they had to give up everything, such as hobbies, friends, and extracurricular activities, in order to do so and thus, they felt stress. For them, studying for entrance examinations demanded endurance over a long period of time. Maiko could not put up with it, and quit; Natsuko choose not to study for entrance examinations; Satsuki, Rumiko, and Fumiko accepted the examinations as a necessary step in the process of going to university. When the learners had a strong desire to pass the examinations, they were reconciled to studying for them.

Influence shift from parents to peers. On their journey to find themselves, young learners listen to influential figures such as their parents, teachers, and peers. However, during adolescence, peers begin to take on a more central role (Walsh, 2004; Williams & Burden, 1997) and significant relationships are observed among peers (Butler & McManus, 2000). Teenagers have many peer groups in settings such as home rooms at school, sports teams, musical groups, and school clubs. Typically, there is at

least one salient peer group for each individual (Howard, 2006, p. 103). As they grow older, learners tend to withdraw from their parents and listen more carefully to peers (Walsh, 2004, p. 220); thus, the peer group is often a source of peer pressure. Satsuki, for instance, became reluctant to go overseas with her parents, although she had been doing so since she was a child. Rumiko took only one English class in her second year and did not take any in her third year because she listened to older students in her tennis club who suggested that she did not have to take English classes because she could easily study English by herself.

Influences from returnee students. A common belief that participants held is that speaking fluent English equals being “good at” English. In many cases they developed that belief encountering Japanese returnee students who spoke fluent English.

Encounters with returnee students can impact learners in two ways. One is that learners adore them and adopt them as a role model. Another is that learners are overwhelmed by them and develop an inferiority complex toward them. This latter tendency was observed in Rumiko and Satsuki. They believed that they were “good at” English in junior high school because they got good grades on English examinations, which was their criterion of being good at English at that time, but they lost confidence in high school because of meeting returnee students at Rokkaku High School who spoke fluent English. Because speaking ability is overt, it is often mistaken for the whole of language skill, including accuracy, coherence and cohesion, and the fledgling speakers

observed in the present study seemed easily intimidated by returnee students' displays of oral fluency.

Factors Leading to Belief Changes

Sources of belief change. What factors contribute to belief changes? Under what circumstances do adolescents resist change even though well-meaning adults try to promote belief change? The results of the present study indicate that adolescents' beliefs are rather fluid mental constructs.

The participants in this study changed their beliefs in different contexts. Some of their belief changes are consistent with the results described in earlier studies in which beliefs are regarded as relatively permanent, existing before and after their elicitation by a research instrument and unaffected by the instrument itself. In the present study, however, beliefs seemed to exist most strongly at the moment of elicitation, and could be observed to undergo change; although the changes were not always acknowledged by the learners. In the present study, three factors leading to belief change were identified: experiential factors, interpersonal factors, and self-generated factors.

Experiential factors. The stories of the learners in the present study indicate that overseas experiences give them chances to communicate in authentic ways in foreign languages and enhance their interest in foreign cultures and people. Through those experiences, the participants become aware of the various roles of language, and the purposes and benefits of learning foreign languages. Overseas experiences were a

trigger for some students to change their values and beliefs. Natsuko went to the Philippines and changed her beliefs about school, learning, her values, and her choice of university. One of Kazuo's belief changes occurred when he met a Korean woman and talked with her in English on an international flight. The experience led him to believe that speaking is the most important element in language study. Satsuki believed that English was spoken everywhere in the world because of experiences speaking and listening to English in foreign countries before starting high school. However, in Mexico, she found that English was not understood. She changed her belief and thought that it is important to learn other foreign languages in addition to English. Maiko believed that she had to be able to speak both English and French because she was born in Canada and had lived there for a few years when she was a child. Her experiences living in Canada caused Maiko to believe that she should speak English and French.

Facing difficulties, problems, or crises that shake their identities and confidence can also cause learners to modify their beliefs or develop new ones. Natsuko's journey to the Philippines induced her to modify her beliefs about school and studying. Fumiko, who was bullied in junior high school, came to believe that studying would provide her with a stable identity and sustain her confidence. For them, hardships led to new experiences, which played a role in overcoming the hardships. In this, new beliefs emerged.

Interpersonal factors. People are sources of belief change. Previous studies of learners' beliefs suggest that they change their beliefs because of teachers and

educators' use of a number of strategic means, or by input given by teachers (Woods, 2006, p. 218). In this study, however, the agents of change were often persons other than teachers and educators. For example, Maiko was influenced by older students in her high school who were her role models. Her "fixed mindset" (Dweck, 2006), a belief that getting good grades in school meant being good at English, was challenged by those older students. After listening to them, Maiko felt ashamed that she had thought that good grades at school were evidence of adequate learning. She then developed a "growth mindset" (Dweck, 2006) that she should not be satisfied with her current English proficiency and should constantly strive to improve. In this case, the older students were near peer role models (Murphy & Arao, 2001) who allowed the younger learners to identify with them, become inspired, and themselves become more effective learners (p. 9).

A developmental trait of adolescents is that they question adult authority. In the present study, Maiko at first accepted the advice of well-meaning teachers that she should study for examinations in order to gain entrance to a prestigious university. She later rejected this idea as stereotypical and not applicable to her personally. She experienced stress in disregarding the strong advice of a teacher, but she did it. Parents as well as teachers also experience rejection by their adolescent children, as in the case of Satsuki, who no longer wanted to accompany her parents on overseas trips.

In spite of an inclination to question the conventional wisdom of many adults, the students in the present study readily accepted the advice of a few highly trusted adults. Rumiko was influenced by her cram school teacher, who was a good teacher

who showed that he cared about his students. By observing what he did and being impressed with his attitude as a teacher, Rumiko developed a belief that teaching can influence students positively and thus teaching is rewarding. Natsuko's curiosity toward foreign cultures and English was enhanced by a private teacher she had when she was a junior high school student. For a student to trust an adult seemed to require two perceptions: The adult sees the student as an individual rather than a stereotype, and the adult is pursuing no personal agenda but has only the student's best interests at heart.

Influence by others sometimes led to a loss of confidence. For example, Rumiko had never been abroad. She had studied in EFL contexts in Japan and described herself as a product of Japanese English education. She attributed her lack of speaking ability to her lack of overseas experience. Meeting with students who had lived in foreign countries and spoke English fluently reinforced her belief that studying abroad was the only way to improve her speaking ability. This belief was not shaped by her own experience but by a second-hand belief. Such beliefs can be changed by more experience. Rumiko was just one of many Japanese learners who believe that only going abroad will make them fluent speakers of English. Maiko's belief that students majoring in international studies are shallow was developed through Maiko's observations on students at Rokkaku High School.

Contextual factors. This study also shows that the context in which learners are living can cause beliefs to develop and change. This notion is in accord with sociocultural theory, which states that ideas begin as an external social activity and

eventually become internalized (Lightbown & Spada, 2006, p. 48). Students such as Honey, who are put into foreign language communities without sufficient preparation, tend to look for survival skills by themselves, through involvement with the target language. Honey acquired English and Japanese by collaborating and interacting with other speakers. Her strategy for learning foreign languages was based on her personal beliefs of learning, which was very much a response to the situation she found herself in. Natsuko, changed schools, and in doing so changed her beliefs about learning. All of the participants changed their beliefs because of the environment at Rokkaku High School, where they met many returnee students and foreign students. Those students were inspirations for Maiko, Kazuo, and Natsuko, who themselves had lived overseas. On the other hand, Rumiko, who did not have foreign experiences at all, felt intimidated in front of returnee students. The school context was certainly one of the factors that caused Rumiko to overestimate the importance of speaking English while observing returnee students who could speak: Rumiko developed a belief that she would be able to speak fluently if she went overseas. Rumiko's low sense of speaking self-efficacy caused her to develop a stereotypical fixed mindset, a belief, that people who speak English fluently are superior.

Direction of belief change. According to Walsh (2004), high school students in general have not developed concrete beliefs about self or identity. They are easily influenced by peers and external factors, such as the media. Thus, they often develop second-hand beliefs (beliefs not developed through their own experiences), and are

easily swayed. Beliefs that emerge from their own experiences are stronger and resist modification. For example, Natsuko, Kazuo, Maiko and Satsuki's belief that English is interesting was shaped by their foreign experiences. This belief remained unchanged throughout the study. Being a teenager is typically a process of finding one's own identity in a particular social context. Teenagers often listen to older students, not to their parents, as Rumiko did when she decided not to take English classes because of the advice she received from older students. She later changed this belief about the unimportance of English classes. In general, as Walsh suggested, adolescents change from holding vaguely formed beliefs about self to more mature beliefs.

While high school students are developing cognitively, they change their beliefs and their perceptions. Kazuo's decision that knowledge of grammar is important is an example. Such decision-making, according to Howard (2006) is one sign of maturity.

In the present study, many belief changes were in the direction of greater maturity in terms of decision-making. For example, Maiko decided not to take an entrance exam to a national university recommended by her teachers and Natsuko decided to go to a university in Okinawa even though her friends did not agree with her decision. Honey changed her belief when she faced the reality that she could not be a doctor. At that time, Honey made a decision about her future by herself.

The results of this study show that well-meaning teachers and other adults are not always influential in changing students' beliefs. It is, however, encouraging to find that students themselves, taking charge of their own assessments, usually change their beliefs in the direction of beneficial beliefs. Sometimes they make inappropriate

decisions; for example, Honey had decided to be a doctor and Maiko had decided to apply to a national university, but they often benefit from their own inappropriate decisions and correct them. Autonomy is something many adults encourage at least in theory; however, adults are not always comfortable when they find that their influence over adolescents is diminished as they pursue greater autonomy. This finding does not suggest that teachers should retreat from implementing their teaching beliefs. On the contrary, as Kazuo's story suggests, teachers' belief are a springboard for some learners to become aware of their deficiencies in learning and to become more independent learners.

This section on belief changes can be summarized with three observations. First, adolescents often resist deliberate attempts by adults to change their beliefs. They seem to suspect adults of trying to impose ideal or stereotypical beliefs when their own desire is to establish beliefs valid for their unique personalities and situations. Second, even while resisting the efforts of adults to influence their beliefs and behaviors, adolescents seem to be on the alert for circumstances, experiences, and interpersonal encounters they can regard as valid and significant sources of beliefs. Often these are chance encounters, because people encountered outside of one's circle of friends and acquaintances can be expected not to desire to change one's intentional states. Third, in general, beliefs about learning English change positively, that is, in the direction of greater effectiveness in governing language-learning activities. This is good news in view of the widespread failure of well-meaning adults' deliberate attempts to cause belief changes.

Research Question 2: General Characteristics of Learners' Beliefs about Learning

English

The second research question concerned the characteristics of the learner beliefs identified in the present study. The characteristics of learners' beliefs can be grouped under five headings.

First, this study shows that some stable beliefs have a common origin: They arise from experiences that the learners had when young. Rumiko, Natsuko, and Satsuki's interest in English was stimulated at an early age; thus, they shared the belief that English is interesting. Even when they faced difficulties, they did not abandon this belief.

Second, learners develop beliefs about themselves by analyzing their experiences in their particular learning context. For instance, Rumiko, who had believed that she was good at English in junior high school, changed her belief at Rokkaku High School when she met returnee students and foreign students who could speak English more fluently than she. If she had gone to an ordinary high school where speaking the foreign language was not so important, she might have continued to believe that she was good at English. Thus, the context in which she was learning English affected her beliefs about her own learning and degree of development. Another example concerns Natsuko, whose belief that exposure to English was most important was developed in the Philippines. If she had not had that experience, she might have continued to be too conscious about her mistakes when speaking English. In these ways, the experiences the participants had in particular learning contexts shaped their beliefs. Many researchers

have employed the contextual approach (e.g., Bernet & Gvozdenko, 2005) in which beliefs are viewed as embedded in learners' contexts. In the present study, too, learners were seen to construct their beliefs within particular learning contexts.

Third, learners' beliefs are not determined wholly by the social context; beliefs are the product of an interaction between learner-specific factors and the context. Thus beliefs learners hold can differ even though they are in the same context. Although the seven participants in the present study studied at the same high school, as the results of the study indicated, they developed different beliefs: they are examples of the inseparability of context from personal factors in the creation of beliefs.

Fourth, second-hand beliefs constructed from the narratives of others, such as parents, teachers, senior students and media, do not consist of personal experiences; thus, they are relatively easily modified by learners' personal experiences. If learners do not have direct experience with a particular belief, however, second-hand beliefs might be their only option. An example of a second-hand belief is that English skills will help learners when they start working. Learners face conflicts between the beliefs of others and their own beliefs. However, if learners develop beliefs from their own experiences, they are less affected by the narratives of others. Two cases in the present study illustrate this process. Among the seven participants, only Fumiko, decided to study English at a university. The other students did not want to study English as a subject but wanted to continue studying it as a tool for communication. Fumiko believed that she found what she wished to study, English satire, at high school by herself. This led her to choose a literature department, not a language department, at her university. For her, the

choice of her major was closely related to her identity. Natsuko decided to go to Okinawa International University even though her friends advised her to reconsider her choice. Her experiences in junior high school, where most of the students were studying to go to prestigious universities, shaped her strong belief that making her own decisions based on her own values would lead to a meaningful life. Thus, she did not change her decision. The examples of Fumiko and Natsuko, demonstrate that resistance to advice, even the advice of close friends, can be strong and healthy. This is a positive function of adolescents' notorious resistance to advice.

Fifth, some beliefs exist only when elicited. Many researchers have discussed the dynamism of beliefs. Dufva (2006), for example, asserted that beliefs are always anchored to something factual (p. 143), and that a belief emerges or becomes articulated at the very moment of the precipitating fact (p. 144). This dynamism is related to the implicit nature of learners' beliefs: Unless asked to articulate their beliefs, learners are generally not aware of their beliefs and perhaps they are unaware of why they are engaging in activities even when they seem to enjoy them (Burden, 2005, p. 3). Beliefs become explicit in response to some eliciting event, such as responding to a questionnaire, taking part in an interview, or engaging in social interactions. Past events and experiences are evoked and reflected on by research participants. As William James (1890/1983) said of sensations, we have to recognize that:

...however we might in ordinary conversation speak of getting the same sensation again, we never in strict theoretic accuracy could do so; ... that whatever was true of the river of life, of the river of elementary feeling, it would certainly be true to say, like Heraclitus, that we never descend twice into the same stream. (p. 227)

The reflective nature of beliefs was observed in the present study, as illustrated by an interview with Natsuko (See Chapter 4). The extract illustrates that Natsuko's belief that being an only child helped her was triggered by my question about that issue. Through talking with her friends, Natsuko confirmed this belief. Thus beliefs, especially implicit beliefs, emerge by reflecting on past events, interactions, and reflective thinking.

Research Question 3: Beneficial and Interfering Beliefs About Language Learning

The third research question concerned what learner beliefs promote or hinder learning. Many beliefs found in the present study are individual beliefs of the seven participants, however some of the beliefs are likely shared with many young Japanese learners such as Satsuki's idiosyncratic belief that was later abandoned, that English is spoken everywhere in the world. Other beliefs are more widespread and of greater permanence. Those more general beliefs are discussed here, under three headings: beneficial beliefs, interfering beliefs, and indeterminate beliefs.

Beneficial Beliefs

Learners' beliefs can be beneficial if they lead to an awareness of effective learning strategies and are therefore facilitative of learning (Bernat & Gvozdenko, 2005, p. 8). There can never be an absolute list of beneficial beliefs because people and situations differ from each other in complex ways. In the present study, however, the

following eight beliefs emerged as effective in helping the participants develop more effective learning strategies and sustain deep learning.

1. Interest in English

One of beneficial beliefs is the belief that English is interesting. Kazuo and Maiko who were born in foreign countries, and Natsuko and Satsuki who traveled to foreign countries when they were young believed that English is interesting. They were put into contexts of knowing and learning English, where they developed an interest in the language. Fumiko's interest in English was cultivated by her father who introduced English music to her. Honey was born in Myanmar and put into an international school by her father. By improving her English, Honey developed practical interest toward English. Rumiko, who had never been abroad, first became interested in English because of an English poster that her mother posted in the bathroom. The seven learners' initial encounters with English differ, but as their stories show, they all have in common that they believed that English is interesting.

2. Interest in foreign people and culture

Natsuko, Kazuo, Satsuki, and Maiko's stories suggest that firsthand experiences of meeting foreign people and cultures impact learners, helping them cultivate the belief that meeting foreign people and knowing their cultures is interesting. Natsuko enjoyed staying with a host family in the Philippines by knowing how people lived and what they ate. Maiko was always fascinated by foreign cultures and meeting people from other countries such as an African teacher, the Slovenian ambassador, and exchange students. Satsuki's experiences in Chicago enriched her knowledge of American

students. Those interests lead to learners' understanding that English is a tool for communication that enhances learners' active interactions with English speakers.

3. English as a language weapon

When the participants were put into contexts where their first language was not an acceptable means of communication, they struggled to acquire the language skills needed in order to survive in the new context. It was not an easy task: They experienced uneasiness, anxiety, and conflict. Among the seven participants, Maiko spent her pre-school days in Canada, Honey was sent to an international school when she was ten years old and Kazuo lived in Peru for 15 years. All of them had "language homes" where they could communicate in their first languages but outside the home they struggled with new languages: Maiko in a local preschool in Canada, Honey in an international school in Myanmar, and Kazuo in a cram school in Peru. Those who experienced language struggle outside the home developed a belief that English is a tool they can use to make themselves understood. A belief that English is a lifesaver or an anchor was shared by Fumiko, who was bullied in junior high school and Honey, who was brought to Japan by her father. Both learners had constraints and difficulties in their daily lives, and English helped them deal with those difficulties and keep moving forward. Fumiko explained that she survived hardships by studying, and especially studying English, which she liked most. No one suggested that she study English to get over the bullying she experienced; she found that strategy by herself. Thus, for Fumiko, English was a life saver or an anchor that helped her become more confident.

Foreign students living in Japan have to compete academically with Japanese students. Not having grown up in Japan, they need to improve their Japanese language ability in order to do so. Developing this ability takes time. A student like Honey, however, who knew English well before coming to Japan, was able to use English as a linguistic weapon to compete academically with Japanese students. She became confident after learning English because she felt that she had been empowered.

4. Positive attitude toward change

A belief that change is helpful, for example, changing schools or changing goals, is a beneficial belief for many young learners when they face difficulties and constraints from authorities. This is because in many cases, learners' learning context is chosen by their parents and not themselves. The parents' choices in selecting their children's education from a range of options is based on their perceptions of cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1977), and they can exert "a strong impact on their children's language and identity" (Okada, pp. 247- 249). As Natsuko's case showed, the physical and emotional pain of learners that is caused by a mismatch between school and learner is a signal for changing the context. Natsuko wrote:

桜高校の2年生になって、ダンスばかりしていた。あまり学校に行かなくなると、先生にもいろいろ言われ、校則もいやになり、学校に行くことがストレスになった。

In the second year at Sakura High School, I spent a lot of time dancing. Then, I became reluctant to go to school. The teachers told me things, I hated school rules, and eventually going to school became stressful for me. (Questionnaire-5, 2008).

Natsuko was happy at her new school, Rokkaku High School, where she was not forced by teachers to study hard to get into a prestigious university.

5. Reflective thoughts on their own learning

As Natsuko and Kazuo judged their own English ability, they developed the belief that they have correctable deficiencies; this was a beneficial belief that encouraged them to study more. At first, Kazuo did not believe that grammar was an important aspect of speaking English. Thus, he did not listen to a junior high school teacher in Peru who told him that he had to pay more attention to spelling and grammar. In high school, however, he demonstrated a reevaluated belief that he needed grammatical knowledge to become a better speaker. Natsuko, too, said that at her second high school she needed to change her approach to studying to better prepare for the entrance examinations. This meant focusing on developing vocabulary and grammatical knowledge to understand complex English. Kazuo and Natsuko both identified the need for an analytic approach (Ellis, 2008) in which they would study grammar to express themselves effectively. Their reflection on their specific learning deficiencies helped them concentrate on and move forward in their studies (see Chamot 1987 for further examples of good language learners reflect on their own learning processes.)

6. Intentions and ambitions: A feeling of competitiveness

Kazuo and Natsuko were aware of their insufficient English proficiency caused by their lack of knowledge about English grammar. Their intention to be better learners led them to awareness of their lack of grammatical knowledge. On the other hand, Maiko became to believe that she should not be satisfied with her English inspired by older students:

She had the ambition to become highly proficient in English. Those intentions and ambitions led to positive attitudes regarding further study as being rewarded.

7. Commitment toward learning

A belief that one does not accept defeat was beneficial for some learners as it drove them to study hard. Maiko and Natsuko described this belief as part of their personalities. A belief that one does not accept defeat works as a beneficial belief when there are chances or experiences to develop affordances and reap rewards from the effort. “Commitment, passion and a solid block of dedicated time” (Childs, 2005, p. 14) led to success in helping learners make use of experiences and affordances. Maiko’s narratives explained her belief in herself. She wrote, “in the fifth grade of elementary school, I began to want to get 100% on tests.” [小学校の5年生の時に、私はテストで100点を取りたいと思うようになりました。]

In high school, she joined the English Day Camp where students were required to discuss issues in English. At that point, she wrote: 英語で話し合ったりしている時に自分の言いたいことが英語で言えないと、恥ずかしく思って。何度ももっと努力しないと、と思った。 [When I could not make myself understood in English during discussions, I felt ashamed and thought many times that I had to make more effort. (J-1, 2006).]

Natsuko wrote the following in a questionnaire: もと建築家の中川さんの授業を受けました。個人レッスンを受けようと決めたのは、外国に住んでいた帰国子女に負けたくなかったからです。 [I had English lessons with Ms. Nakagawa,

who used to be an architect. I decide...decided to take private lessons because I didn't want to be defeated by the students who had lived overseas. (Q-6, 2008)]

8. Self-image of speaking English

The belief that a fluent speaker of English is cool is beneficial when it helps the learner make efforts to develop greater speaking proficiency. A questionnaire study (Suzuki, 2006) indicated that Japanese high school students think that someone who speaks English is cool. They admire people who speak English fluently with native-like pronunciation, perhaps because speaking is the most obvious of the four language skills of speaking, listening, reading, and writing.

Interfering Beliefs

Interfering beliefs concern learners' negative thoughts and feelings such as low self-efficacy, hatred, rejection, stress, and anger, that hinder them from learning.

Learners can have mistaken, uninformed, or negative beliefs that can lead to ineffective strategies, a negative attitude towards learning and autonomy (Bernet & Gvozdenko, 2005, p. 8), and avoidance. Natsuko's negative belief that studying for entrance examinations causes stress emerged in her experiences of studying for the tests. This negative belief became embedded, and made her reject any study of that kind. Perhaps interfering beliefs, or inhibitive beliefs (Bernet & Gvozdenko, 2005, p. 8) generate negative thinking that leads to further interfering beliefs. In the present study, four interfering beliefs were identified.

1. Negative attribution to external factors

Beliefs about potentiality that are based on attribution to social or environmental factors can hinder learners' active participation in learning. Rumiko believed that her poor English speaking ability was due to English education in Japan and her lack of overseas experience. This belief decreased her motivation to learn English. Language learners who have never lived in English-speaking countries often believe that living there will make them fluent speakers of English. This is also a common belief among educators (Tanaka & Ellis, 2003, p. 64). This second-hand belief is interfering when it invites excuses. Rumiko and Satsuki postponed their efforts to develop speaking ability; they said that they would go abroad and study at university.

2. Skewed perception of being good at English

This study also showed that many students had a belief that being good at English means getting good grades on English tests. Rumiko, Satsuki, Maiko, and Kazuo all held this belief before going to Rokkaku High School. Their grades in junior high school were good enough for them to consider themselves as being good at English. In high school, however, they found that the status of being good at English was not easily attained because many students had higher English proficiency than they did.

3. Low self-efficacy

Beliefs that create low self-efficacy are interfering beliefs. Some of the participants talked about their belief that they would never be as fluent as returnee students; they feel intimidated by them. This belief led to other interfering beliefs such as a sense of shame regarding pronunciation, and that they should not speak English in front of returnee students. Those beliefs interfere with learners' need to gain access to linguistic

input, interaction with others, and opportunities for production, which can lead to demotivation for studying English.

4. Overestimation of the importance of speaking English

Kazuo, Natsuko, Rumiko believed that being good at English meant being good at speaking English. This belief hindered them from being fully engaged in learning in classrooms focused on grammar or test-taking. Peacock (1999) studied learners in Hong Kong and found that 62% of them believed that learning a foreign language is mostly a matter of learning a large number of grammar rules and concluded that learners had an “incorrect” belief about foreign language learning and that this incorrect belief could cause dissatisfaction if teachers emphasize communicative tasks rather than grammatical practices. The participants in this study, however, developed a belief that being good at English meant speaking English fluently.

Indeterminate Beliefs

Indeterminate beliefs are beliefs whose effect is not clear or which change according to context. They can be beneficial in some combinations of learner awareness and environmental affordances (Churchill, 2007), and can be interfering in other conditions. In the present study, four indeterminate beliefs were identified.

1. Underestimated self-evaluation

Fumiko’s belief that she cannot do many things at the same time caused her not to study multiple foreign languages. For learning other languages, it was an interfering belief,

but it was a beneficial belief in terms of learning English, as it helped Fumiko narrow her goals to concentrate on learning English.

2. Tolerance for making mistakes

Exposure to English in the Philippines helped Natsuko develop a belief that exposure in English is more important than trying not to make mistakes; thus, the belief was beneficial because her exposure to English increased. This belief, however, can be interfering in a context that demands accuracy such as in many formal English classrooms, examinations, and when making formal speeches.

3. Overestimation of oral English skills

The belief that speaking is most important is an indeterminate belief. Kazuo and Natsuko, because they had strongly wished to speak English well, sought out opportunities to speak it, but they eventually realized that they reached a plateau in their speaking abilities Kazuo said:

日本に来てからは、最初はしゃべればいいのかと思っていたけど、知識がもっと必要だと思ってきた。もっと上のレベルでしゃべるには知識とか法則とかを理解してないとしゃべれないとわかって、そういう勉強も大切だとわかった。

Since I came to Japan, first I thought that speaking English was everything, but I began to think that I need knowledge. To speak in a sophisticated manner, I realized that I have to understand grammatical rules and that studying them is also important. (Q8-1, 2008)

Their belief that speaking is the most important skill is, thus, an indeterminate belief.

When a learner's awareness of their linguistic weaknesses is coupled with learning experiences, the belief becomes beneficial because it leads to greater skill development.

On the other hand, if they keep believing it and do not develop other skills, they might limit their own development. For example, Natsuko said:

中学校の時には英語を一生懸命勉強した。練習帳の問題をやって学校の授業の予習、復習もした。でも、高校では、英語を話す方が好きになってあまり英語を書かなくなった。英語を話す方が書くよりももっと楽しいとわかったから。

When I was in junior high school, I studied English hard. I did exercises in the exercise books and prepared for English lessons and reviewed them afterward. But in high school I came to like speaking, so I didn't write much because I found that speaking English was more enjoyable than writing. (I-4, 2007)

Natsuko's interest in learning English was focused inordinately on speaking, but in her third year in high school, she began to think that she needed entrance-examination-style study to develop her writing and reading skills.

4. Self-evaluation

A belief about one's confidence in or abilities to speak English is indeterminate because it changes depending on the situation. Natsuko studied English intensively in junior high school and got good grades. As a result, she believed that her English was good enough. However, in the Philippines where Natsuko had to communicate in English, she believed she had deficiencies in her speaking skills. This self-perception of being a failure at speaking English, which leads many students to devote less effort to speaking, led Natsuko to a speaking-oriented learning strategy.

Research Question 4: Confirmation or Modification of Theory

The fourth research question concerned how the learner beliefs identified in the present study agree with theory or add new interpretation to current theories.

Theoretical Findings About Beneficial Beliefs

As the data suggest, beneficial beliefs are stimuli that can encourage learners to develop the motivation to learn and to undertake new tasks. This finding is partially consistent with Bandura's (1993) concept of self-efficacy and Dweck's (2006) arguments about a growth mindset. Dweck explained that people develop feelings of self-efficacy to take on challenges, which applies to a positive attitude toward learning. Thus, I argue that self-efficacy can lead to beneficial beliefs. I next discuss how self-efficacy applies to my data and the consequences of self-efficacy for the participants. The purpose is to demonstrate the empirical application of self-efficacy theory and the concept of attribution in the Japanese context.

Bandura's self-efficacy and beneficial beliefs. In the present study, self-efficacy was not investigated purposely. The participants' stories, however, provided indications that the emergence of self-efficacy occurred when they were motivated to learn by experiences in and outside of school and people they met. Self-efficacy then led to the development of beneficial beliefs. Bandura (1995) identified four sources of self-efficacy; mastery experience, vicarious experience, social persuasion, and physiological and emotional states in judging capabilities (p. 3). Below I describe how the data in the present study apply or do not apply to those four sources.

First, Bandura stated that mastery experience is the most important factor in enhancing a person's feeling of self-efficacy. In other words, success raises self-efficacy; failure lowers it. An example of this effect is found in the present data. Kazuo's experience talking in English with a Korean woman, which he referred to several times during the interviews, was a mastery experience for him. Through the experience, he had a feeling that he had "made it in English," which fostered a beneficial belief that the purpose of learning English is for communication.

Second, vicarious experiences are "seeing others perform threatening activities without adverse consequences" (Bandura, 1977, p. 81). Such experiences "can create expectations in observers that they too will eventually succeed if they intensify and persist in their efforts" (p. 81). This starts with the observation that "we are similar" and then the realization that what the "other" can do should be possible for me (Murphey & Arao, 2001, p. 1). Maiko's story is evidence of this; by participating in an older students' group and observing their performances and positive attitudes, she was inspired to become an active learner herself. As Rumiko's story suggests, however, if others' performances seem overwhelmingly difficult to perform, observers might lose confidence rather than feel encouraged. Rumiko felt that she could not compete with the students who had lived in English-speaking countries and that she simply did not belong in their category. Maiko and Rumiko's stories suggest that vicarious experiences enhance self-efficacy and confidence only when the observers sense that they are ultimately capable of such high-level performance. If observers do not have confidence, vicarious experiences will not inspire them to make adequate efforts to improve.

Social persuasion is the third way of strengthening people's beliefs that they have what it takes to succeed (Bandura, 1995, p. 4). Coaching and giving evaluative verbal feedback on performance verbally are common types of social persuasion. Bandura indicated that self-efficacy expectations induced by verbal persuasion are likely to be weak and shortlived (Bandura, 1977, p. 82). Adolescents, who hold emerging and unsettled beliefs might not accept verbal persuasion from authority figures such as teachers and parents blindly. Some of the participants, however, took advice from adults. Maiko listened to her uncle's advice about quitting going to the cram school and Rumiko was encouraged by Mr. Oshima, a cram school teacher, who gave her a letter before the Eiken test with listening materials so that she could prepare for the test. Two cases indicate that social persuasion works for adolescents when they feel trust toward the persons giving the advice.

Fourth, according to Bandura (1977), physiological and emotional states in judging capabilities are sources of self-efficacy. In other words, people develop self-efficacy when they have feelings of success or overcome of setbacks or problems. As Honey and Fumiko's cases showed, English as a self-defense tool was a source of self-efficacy. Honey and Fumiko developed feelings of self-efficacy by using the power of English as cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Honey's feeling of self-efficacy grew from the English-speaking ability she gained in an international school in Myanmar. Fumiko was saved by English when she faced a lack of self-confidence caused by being bullied by classmates in junior high school. Adolescents are in the process of finding their "self" thus, they are often fragile when facing an identity crisis of losing their self. In

the case of Honey, a stranger in a new land, a linguistic weapon, such as oral English proficiency, helped her develop self-efficacy. Also, as Fumiko's case indicated, an adolescent whose identity is threatened can make use of a linguistic weapon to defend it. Thus, for them a feeling of victory over peers was a source of their self-efficacy.

Dweck's growth mindset and beneficial beliefs. Dweck's (2006) "growth mindset," derived from Bandura's concept of self-efficacy, is consistent with the concept of beneficial beliefs. A growth mindset can exist when individuals believe that their basic qualities can be cultivated through their own efforts; everyone can change and grow through application and experience (p. 7). According to Dweck (2006), people who hold a growth mindset believe that a person's true potential is unknown because it is impossible to foresee what can be accomplished with years of passion, toil, and training. They do not label themselves as unable or as failures and throw up their hands, and even though they might feel distressed, they are ready to take risks, confront challenges, and keep working at them. For them, the bigger challenges provide greater opportunities for growth and they value what they are doing regardless of the outcome. Thus, a growth mindset is based on the belief that one can change. Those positive attitudes lead to beneficial beliefs that enhance people's learning.

What Dweck called a growth mindset was observed among the participants in the present study. Dweck did not describe what helps people develop the growth mindset, but the present study offers examples that flesh out this developmental question. According to the data gathered in this study, aids to developing a growth

mindset include inspiration from others, learned attitudes shaped by experiences, and an awareness of correctable deficiencies in oneself that is cultivated by an intention to improve. These aids to development are demonstrated, respectively by the cases of Maiko, who was inspired by older students, and Natsuko and Kazuo, who became aware of their lack of grammatical knowledge.

Theoretical Findings about Interfering Beliefs

Self-efficacy and interfering beliefs. As Bandura (1977) suggested, a person with low self-efficacy develops feelings of hopelessness, avoids tasks, and quickly gives up (Bandura, 2006, p. 4). Dweck's (2006) related concept of a fixed mindset explains interfering beliefs and the consequences of holding them. For people with a fixed mindset, the outcome is everything. Thus, if they fail once, they believe they will fail all the time. Dweck (2006) reported that students with a fixed mindset experienced higher levels of depression (p. 38) because they are always in danger of being measured by a failure (p. 39); they are filled with limiting thoughts and eventually, they develop negative stereotypes of themselves (p. 75) saying, for example, "I am permanently inferior because I failed before".

Growth mindset and interfering beliefs. In the present study, some interfering beliefs are suggestive of what Dweck (2006) termed a fixed mindset, a state of mind that can lead to low self-efficacy. In addition, students who hold interfering beliefs develop feelings of hopelessness and avoid engaging in tasks. Rumiko is an example of

a student who, because of her low evaluation of her speaking ability, avoided taking part in English classes and in speaking activities. Rumiko's negative feelings about herself, her lack of overseas experience, and bad English pronunciation, are typical of many Japanese learners of English (Allen, 1996).

Summary of Beliefs and Self-Efficacy

As the participants in this study demonstrate, beneficial and interfering beliefs are relevant to the development of self-efficacy. Self-efficacy can, to some extent, however, explain how some learners develop beneficial and interfering beliefs.

This study indicated that adolescents' beliefs are more influenced by their low self-efficacy. The beneficial beliefs adolescents hold are developed within experiences they enjoy, feel excited about and inspire by. And self-efficacy is one of the sources of positive beliefs. Low self-efficacy, however, can explain the degree to which learners develop interfering beliefs, as this study showed that learners give up easily when they do not have confidence in themselves. It seems that adolescents often compare themselves with others, make judgments about themselves, and are susceptible to developing feelings of low self-efficacy concerning their abilities and chances of success.

Theoretical Findings about Attribution Theory

The data in the present study indicated that changes in learners' perceptions of success and failure affect their demotivation and intentions to learn. Learners' beliefs

shape their motivation and individual learners develop unique beliefs about learning English. Thus, attribution theory needs to allow a diverse range of definitions of success and failure.

In the present study, the participants scores on examinations, which might have contributed to perceptions of academic success and failure were not investigated. Learners' perceptions of success and failure, however, emerged via interviews. Below I first discuss perceptions of success and second perceptions of failure I observed among participants. I then will discuss how three characteristics of causal elements of attribution Weiner argued apply to those perceptions.

First, examples of perceptions of success regarding changing learning context emerged. Natsuko's case in which she quit Sakura High School and entered Rokkaku High School indicates that changing the learning context can provide learners with a chance to feel more motivated and less anxious. In her new high school, she joined activities that enhanced her speaking ability and she ultimately enrolled in a university in Okinawa. Thus, Natsuko found new meanings of learning English and achieved her goal to find a university she wanted to attend. Her case shows that context change and the agency to decide the change are elements that affect attributions for success. Honey's case also indicated that changing context from a local school to an international school gave her confidence because of English she learned at the international school. Satsuki attributed her interest in English for her several overseas experiences. For her, a strong interest toward English was the key to becoming a

persistent learner of English. Fumiko's feeling of success was developed when she overcame bullying by studying English.

Second, examples of perceptions of failure were observed in Rumiko and Honey's cases. Rumiko lost confidence in her English ability, and especially in her speaking by meeting returnee students. Losing confidence in her own ability was an experience of failure for Rumiko. Honey, who had wanted to become a doctor, had to change her goal because she realized that her parents could not provide enough financial support. Giving up a dream to be a doctor was a failure for Honey.

According to Weiner (1974), causal elements of attribution are made up of three characteristics: internal and external, stable and unstable, and controllable and uncontrollable. Next I discuss how those characteristics apply to attributional factors of the participants.

Natsuko's changing learning context, which she later described as a good decision, was led by Natsuko's agency to make a decision herself. This was an internal factor whose origin was within her. On the other hand, Honey's changing schools was not her decision but her father's. Thus, the causal element of Honey's attribution was external. Satsuki's causal element of attribution was also external: her trips overseas were her parents' decision. Fumiko attributed her developing feelings of success and overcoming hardship to studying English. This was an internal element that involved making an effort to study English.

Rumiko's attributional element of her failure, lack of oral English ability, was external because she believed that her relatively low ability was caused by her lack of

overseas experiences. This belief is, however, unstable because Rumiko believes that she will be able to speak English well if she goes overseas in the future. Honey's attributional element of her failure, giving up her dream to become a doctor, was external and controllable because it stemmed from a lack of financial support from her parents.

This study suggests that attribution theory should consider a diversity of learners' perceptions and their changes and that it should include diverse definitions of success and failure in the cases of foreign language learners. The data in this study can add new layers to Weiner's (1974) original formation of attribution theory concerning learning English.

Pedagogical Implications

As this study suggests, teachers can learn a great deal from students' stories about themselves. In this sense, learners themselves contribute to the development of the field (Breen, 2001). Teachers should consider students' backgrounds and how they came to be where they are. Larsen-Freeman and Cameron described "learner factors" (p. 151) that each learner holds such as previous learning experience, aptitude, and gender. By doing so, teachers are able to avoid making hasty judgments (Kanno, 2003, p. 141) about students and to thereby avoid narrowing their potential. The present study suggests that students have a great deal to teach us if we chose to learn (Bailey, 2001).

One consequence of a longitudinal study is that the researcher has sufficient time to reflect on the relationship between the emerging findings and the nature of the

learning context. In the present study, such reflection has led to twelve implications for teachers and schools.

First, it is important that teachers get to know their students' skills, preferences, and experiences, particularly the changes they have experienced in different learning contexts. Quite a few Japanese students quit one school and reenter another. They bring their learning backgrounds and beliefs about learning with them when they arrive at the new school. They do not often talk openly about the reason(s) why they quit a school. If I had not had chances to talk with Natsuko, I would have never known why she quit the previous private high school, and this knowledge was beneficial for me as a teacher responsible for providing Natsuko's career guidance. As doctors need to know detailed information about their patients, such as their habits, occupation, age, gender, and previous illnesses, teachers should know about their students to better understand their situations and facilitate their becoming good learners. In order to know more about learners' backgrounds, language learning histories (LLH) (Murphey & Li-Chi, 2004, p. 83; Murphy & Carpenter, 2008) are helpful. Teachers can also encourage learners to write journals or reflections about the class and their learning. It is beneficial for teachers to have students record their experiences, as this allows the teachers to see how learners develop and change their beliefs about language learning. These days teachers are not always allowed to know students' personal backgrounds because of a concern for student privacy. Teachers do not always know where students have lived, what their family is like, how many brothers and sisters they have, or what their parents do. I

believe that teachers should know what stories students bring to the class in order to enhance learning.

Second, teachers should know about students' overseas experiences, as such experiences can strongly impact young learners. The beliefs they develop during their stays in foreign countries are strong and often resist modification. Students with and without overseas experiences differ in terms of their beliefs about foreign language and cultures; thus, teachers and school administrators should consider what programs and classes can best enhance their curiosity and motivation to learn English. Students who have lived overseas are often more comfortable in communicative classrooms and they typically do not find memorization-oriented study meaningful. Thus, teachers should, as far as possible, offer varied classroom experiences. The students' narratives show that Japanese schools do not function to maintain students' foreign heritage experiences. Teachers and schools might well develop methodologies to do so. Students like Kazuo and Honey, who acquired English by using English, arrived at junior high schools in Japan far ahead of their fellow students in terms of their speaking proficiency of English. Japanese schools were prepared to accept those students only if they conformed to what other students did. School administrators might consider the higher proficiency levels of returnee students and develop curricula for them.

Third, this study offers knowledge of students' change over years for novice teachers so that they can predict what is going to happen in their teaching context and how their students will change. Novice teachers often experience burnout because of not receiving the expected responses from students. They need to know that students are

able to change and will change, but that the teachers should not expect to see immediate changes as a result of their teaching. They should be patient and keep moving ahead.

Fourth, teachers should introduce various activities and learning strategies in foreign language classrooms so that learners with different characteristics (Sternberg, 1996) can try them and find their own preferred strategies, as this can help empower the learners and allow them to find meaning in studying English. Otherwise, learners, especially high school students, have little interest in English aside from its being a graduation requirement (Teweles, 1996). Teachers should keep in mind that small events can sometimes generate a chain of reactions that produce a significant change. By implementing various teachings and offering various experiences and learning opportunities for students, teachers can hope that learners will find aspects of English that engage them. It is a teacher's responsibility to provide as many learning opportunities as possible (Shimoyama, Isoda, & Yamamori, 2002).

Fifth, it is beneficial for teachers to know parents' beliefs about learning English because parents can choose and change learners' learning contexts, which affects learners' beliefs about learning. Parents' pedagogical beliefs merge with learners' stories implicitly and explicitly, and with various effects.

Sixth, considering the centrality of university entrance examination in the educational culture in Japan (Gorsuch, 2000, p. 699), teachers and educators who are involved with English education should consider meaningful goals of learning English and implement teaching that inspires learners to enjoy learning and helps them find meaning in learning English. The students in the present study felt considerable stress

when studying for entrance examinations as they were required to memorize a great deal of information. Students with foreign backgrounds seem especially to dislike studying for entrance examinations. Studying for entrance examinations should not be the only goal of studying English. Teachers and educators can implement exchange programs, for example, so that students can learn to use English as a tool for communication. In classrooms, teachers can include communicative activities such as journal writing, discussions, and presentations. Through those activities, students can better understand how English is used and what they should do to convey their thoughts in English.

Seventh, students need experiences that enhance their curiosity to learn English and find meaning in learning English. The present study demonstrates that no one can tell a child's future potential from his or her current behavior. Adolescent learners, especially, can change their beliefs, goals, and dreams. As Dweck (2000) wrote, "we do not know exactly what someone is capable of with the right support from the environment and with the right degree of personal motivation or commitment" (p. 155). Thus, I think teachers need to offer learners as many opportunities as possible to interact with the global community via English. They can create classroom conditions for learners to engage in communities of practice (Menezes, Barcelos & Kalaja, 2008, p. 228) so that the learners can exchange their ideas via group work or cooperative learning. Examples include exchanging e-mail in English with foreign students attending sister schools overseas, editing English news (introducing school events in English) in English classes and English Day Camp, visiting local international schools

and inviting their students to take part in extra-curricular activities. Those opportunities are “educational experiences” (van Lier, 2004, p. 5). In order to identify experiences that are educational for certain learners, teachers can listen to stories of their past and the present and find out what experiences they need. This study also suggests that teachers should be tolerant of young learners’ confused behavior and support them in their efforts to change their interfering beliefs.

Eighth, teachers should create an encouraging atmosphere in the classroom so that learners can enhance their self-efficacy. First, the teachers’ role in a classroom with returnee students is to build a cooperative atmosphere so that both returnees and regular students can ask questions of each other and returnee students become mentors to the other students. Second, many foreign language learners harbor anxiety (Horwitz, 2008, p. 9; Cheng, 2001; Liu, 2006; Wei, 2007), and Japanese students, especially, tend to be afraid of making mistakes in front of peers (Murphy, 1996; Ohata, 2005), and this fear often hinders their willingness to produce English. In order to help students realize that it is important for them to overcome feelings of debilitating anxiety, teachers can give them opportunities to meet other learners, such as Asian exchange students, who learned English as a foreign language. So and Dominguez (2004, p. 47) recommended that local students communicate in English with foreign students who “don’t pay attention only to their mistakes or their errors but try to understand their English.” Eventually, they might conclude that are mistakes inevitable and they should not be ashamed of them” (So & Dominguez, 2004, p. 47).

Ninth, teachers' input about beliefs is crucial for learners. Teachers can influence learners' motivation by making the classroom a supportive environment appropriate to their backgrounds (Lightbown & Spada, 2006, p. 185) so that learners pick up clues to understand English (Gibson, 1989) that help them to make meaning of their learning contexts. Teachers should also be aware of how students view the causes of their own success and failures. Teachers can talk about successes and failures with students, learn about their attributions, and monitor inaccurate and harmful beliefs.

Tenth, this study suggests that learners' decisions should be respected. Young learners are often hindered from following their inner voices. They negotiate their tentative ideas with parents, teachers, and others in their lives; however, this process causes frustration and uneasiness among some learners. Learners find their best learning paths when their motivation has an internal locus (Taylor, 1992). In the present study, if Natsuko and Maiko had been allowed to be themselves, they might not have wasted so much time and effort before finding their destinations. Thus, teachers should pay attention to learners' voices and provide them with opportunities to make their own decisions. Teachers can help students foster a sense of personal identity by encouraging them to make decisions for themselves and by helping them express their individuality in constructive ways.

Eleventh, as attribution theory suggests, it is better for students to believe that it is their own effort or behavior rather than external circumstances that leads to success or failure in learning. Thus, students should be evaluated not only based on test results, but also on the basis of their effort, as this can enhance students' internal locus

of control. Thus, teachers should include a variety of evaluation criteria in class so that students can recognize that the results of the tests are not the only evaluation of their improvement. Students' improvement should be evaluated through, for example, portfolio, essay, presentation, journal, group work, quizzes and term examinations.

Twelfth, listening to students' voices is important, as it can be an effective form of psychotherapy that leads to empowering individual agency (Murphy & Carpenter, 2008, p. 17). In this study, interviews with the participants over three years might have had an impact on the participants. As the interviews went on, rapport between us was established, we became close, and we felt like we were co-constructing stories.

Methodological Implications

The first methodological implication of the present study is that that eliciting learners' stories is a fruitful method of studying learner beliefs. This study and other studies (Alanen, 2006; Dufva, 2006; Hosenfeld, 2006; Kramsch, 2006; Sakui & Gaies, 2006) have elicited valuable information about learning and teaching. Because beliefs are complex, often implicit, and changing, they are best viewed not just as linguistic products but also as ascription processes (Kramsch, 2006, p. 111). Qualitative studies such as the present study are able to capture learners' processes of belief construction. As Benson and Nunan (2004) concluded, the complexity of learner differences is brought out through the investigation of learners stories of their experiences. Narratives, interviews, and diary studies that illuminate learners' inner voices are effective instruments for belief studies. In light of the time-consuming nature of this kind of

qualitative study, however, a key factor is the selection of participants. If participants can be induced to talk freely, perhaps as few as three or four participants might be sufficient for in-depth studies.

Second, the present study found that the use of a questionnaire such as BALLI (Horwitz, 1987) can provide background knowledge for forming interview questions. Questionnaires can elicit the general beliefs of a large number of participants, and offer hints for investigating sources of and changes in learners' beliefs. Conversely, the results of interviews such as those employed in the present study can be used for developing items for an inventory such as the BALLI.

Third, it is crucial to establish trust with participants, but this takes time. In this study, for example, it took Fumiko about a year and half to talk about being bullied. The researcher should be a sympathetic and patient listener over a long period of time. In this sense, the teacher's beliefs might have partly shaped the students' beliefs (Murphey, 1996, p. 77).

Theoretical Implications

The most important finding of the present study is that beliefs are not stable constructs that can be expected to remain the same through the learner's academic life. Instead, beliefs change, and some seem to exist only when elicited by a researcher. The fact that beliefs change means that the conceptualization of beliefs, as well as attempts by adults to control them, must be adapted to their fluid nature.

In the field of TESOL, in which researchers investigate human struggles and the complexity of learning, there is no widely accepted theory of teaching and learning. Language learning is acknowledged to be a highly complex and dynamic process, driven by affective variables such as confidence, motivation, attitudes, anxiety, and teacher/student(s) perceptions (Finch, 2004, p. 29). As the present study showed, learners are diverse, they live in different contexts, and they do not follow observable rules of belief development. Instead, they follow different paths that ultimately lead toward maturity and autonomy. In this environment, it behooves teachers to accept diversity, as this helps teachers understand individual students and their learning histories as they strive to help them find their own path to becoming a good learner of English.

In this chapter, I have offered answers to the four research questions and a general explanation of learners' beliefs in relation to theoretical findings. I also have discussed the educational implications, pedagogical implications, methodological implications, and theoretical implications for studies of learners. In Chapter 7 I discuss what I have learned about high school students, and offer final conclusions.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. (Marx, 1859/2000, p. 425)

In this study I investigated learners' beliefs as elicited from their stories of their experiences. The study showed that learners develop their beliefs about learning English through their social and personal experiences. The seven learners showed that they are social beings whose beliefs and experiences are not limited to the foreign language classroom; their learning and social contexts influence their beliefs. In this chapter, I first summarize the main findings of this study. I then describe the limitations of the study and provide suggestions for further study. Finally, I close by providing final remarks about this study.

Summary of the Findings

Some researchers (e.g., Alanen, 2006; Kalaja, 2006; Sakui & Gaies, 2006) have pointed out the dynamic and diverse nature of learners' beliefs, suggesting that qualitative approaches such as in-depth case studies of individual learners are needed to gain a deeper understanding into how learner beliefs emerge and how they might interact with the language learning process (Tanaka & Ellis, 2003, p. 69). Following those suggestions, I conducted a qualitative, longitudinal study of learners' beliefs,

using repeated interviews during the students' high-school years. This study produced five key findings.

First, as Barcelos (2006) suggested, beliefs exist within and as a result of one's personal and social experiences (Dewey, 1938). As the present study showed, learners are influenced by learning experiences and modify their beliefs accordingly.

Experiences that influence the participants' beliefs in the present study are varied: some are personal, such as Rumiko's first encounter with English in the bathroom, Fumiko's suffering experience in junior high school and others are social such as Kazuo's encountering a Korean woman in the airplane, Fumiko's meeting British students, and Natsuko's meeting a host family in the Philippines.

Second, some beliefs are reflective and retrospective because learners develop beliefs in the process of thinking or engaging in action. This idea corresponds with Dewey (1997), who stated that thoughts that result in belief have an importance attached to them that leads to reflective thought (p. 5). Beliefs that are shaped within experiences are contextual and personal. Learners are not always aware of their beliefs, and some beliefs exist only when they are elicited.

Third, beliefs can be placed in three categories relative to their roles in promoting language learning: beneficial beliefs, interfering beliefs, and indeterminate beliefs. Previous researchers have discussed two dimensions of beliefs, positive and negative beliefs (Horwitz, 1987; Horwitz, 1999) and facilitative and inhibitive beliefs (Bernat & Gvozdenko, 2005).

Fourth, this study indicated that adolescent learners' beliefs change over time, and this change appears to be a natural and healthy tendency of teenage minds. Many beliefs change as learners become older and change learning contexts. Some beliefs change rapidly, and others begin when learners initiate learning English and remain stable for many years.

Fifth, learners develop personal theories about learning English within which beliefs are idiosyncratic rather than predictably patterned. Individual differences and changes of beliefs are consistent with a dynamic systems view within developmental psychology (Thornton, 2008, p. 566), which allows that different children follow subtly different paths, even if they all end up at a similar destination.

Limitations

Three limitations of the present study deserve comment. First, a primary limitation is the representativeness of the participants of this study. They were high school students in Japan who were motivated and who succeeded at learning English. Six of the seven participants were girls, and six of them had overseas experiences before coming to the research site. While the findings can not be generalized to other students and other sites, it is my belief that the findings can help teachers plan treatments for discouraged and disaffected students, primarily by widening their acceptance of nonstandard beliefs and means.

Second, I chose the participants from within my teaching context, Rokkaku High School. It is possible that a study of participants from other educational

institutions might have produced different conclusions given the characteristics defining those institutions.

Third, considering data collection, the concentration in the present study was on the students themselves. Data were not systematically collected from parents, siblings, peers, or cram school teachers. Doing so would have permitted an investigation of students' beliefs from different perspectives and triangulation would have been possible. This would have provided corroborating evidence for the findings (Creswell, 1998, p. 202) and greater breadth to the results.

Suggestions for Further Research

There are eleven suggestions for future research.

First, because beliefs are complex, a wider variety of participants and data would produce more generalizable results. Thus, participants' genders, backgrounds, age, learning histories, and parents' beliefs should be considered when selecting participants. Interviewees might also include relevant adults such as teachers and parents.

Second, in future studies, a smaller number of participants might allow researchers to produce more detailed insights into belief development and change. To do so, choosing participants should be conducted carefully by considering the knowledge to be gained from each.

Third, studies of students attending private institutions, such as cram schools or prep schools, are needed. The participants in this study mentioned the influences of

cram school teachers when they were junior high school students. Researchers might focus on what beliefs teachers at private institutions have about teaching and how their beliefs influence learners' beliefs. Although many Japanese students spend a great deal of time and money at those institutions, researchers have not investigated the consequences of attending them. The participants in this study suggested that they might have been more influenced by cram school teachers than teachers at schools, and that learners' beliefs can be constructed and modified by them.

Fourth, longitudinal studies in which students' beliefs are investigated throughout the six years of junior high school and high school would shed light on the beliefs adolescents develop, changes in those beliefs, and on the consequences of belief changes.

Fifth, complementary studies outside Japan could be conducted to investigate the extent to which the current findings are unique to Japan. Another country, where university entrance examinations do not strongly feature a foreign language, might well provide a different picture of learner beliefs.

Sixth, the categories of beliefs employed in the present study need to be refined and verified. The first refinement might be to distinguish beliefs about self from beliefs about the setting. Such a refinement would be useful in adding to the literature of attribution theory. The second refinement might be the use of an open-coding approach to categories via a qualitative investigation of a few learners. The step might yield more complex and detailed categories, which would further develop our understanding of the complex nature of learner beliefs.

Seventh, empirical evidence of the causal relationship between learner beliefs and language learning must be established. The present study suffered from the limitation that it assumed, rather than demonstrated, that beneficial beliefs influence learning positively, interfering beliefs exert a negative influence and indeterminate beliefs have no influence on language learning outcomes. Such evidence would necessitate an operational definition of language learning success, presumably in contrast to the kind of learning that is measured by university entrance exams or proficiency tests such as the TOEIC or STEP TEST.

Eighth, at several points in the present study it was helpful to refer to findings from developmental psychology about theoretical expectations concerning mental development and maturity of the adolescents under study. In this case, cross-disciplinary research is called for. Although such research is relatively rare in the field of SLA research, more of it, and a more explicit application of psychological theory to the development of adolescent beliefs, would be useful.

Ninth, the participants in this study became successful and self-motivated learners. However, as it is unknown how many students like these exist, a follow-up study investigating what percentage of high school students graduate with this high degree of success is warranted.

Tenth, considering that there are a great number of unsuccessful learners, a study of the beliefs of such learners would help teachers and researchers better understand what hinders students from learning and what they attribute their failures to.

Eleventh, this study indicated the importance of knowing learners' beliefs. It seems that relatively few teachers are aware of the importance of knowing their students' beliefs about learning. Thus, future researchers can investigate teachers' beliefs about learning and learners.

Concluding Comments

During this longitudinal study, I constructed stories by listening to students' voices and observing what students did in and outside of school for almost three years. The frequent contact eventually helped build a strong bond between my students and me. The study also gave me opportunities to rethink English education in Japan and led me to the conclusion that learning English is not only about accumulating linguistic knowledge, but also concerns finding one's place in an English-speaking context.

The knowledge I gained from conducting this study helped me develop curricula at school and design my classes. In this way, the learners' contribution to my teaching and understanding of the field is significant. I now confidently agree with Bailey (2001) that our students have a great deal to teach us, if we but choose to learn (p. 29).

I also found that learners' beliefs are shaped by their experiences, the voices of others, and their own thinking; they learn both in and outside of classrooms. As van Lier (2004, p. 5) said, language learning is not gradual, linear acquisition, but a kind of emergence. In this sense, I believe that teachers and researchers should take account of the ecological linguists' focus on language as a process that modifies relations among

people and the world, and that sees language learning as finding ways of relating more effectively to people and the world (van Lier, 2004, p. 4).

Working with my participants to write their stories gave me a chance to know them well. Without this project, they might have seemed like the 200 or so other students whom I teach every year, and I would not have known them except through their test results and essays. I found that it is important for teachers to know what journeys students have made to arrive where they are and what prospects they see ahead. After knowing them well, I could guess what would attract their attention and how they would react to certain class activities. I wished that I could know all my students as well as I knew my participants, and I realized that every year I miss rich opportunities. Listening to the voices of my participants and talking with them confirmed that education requires a context in which learners and teachers can construct meaningful knowledge together. The seven participants in this study taught me that I, as a teacher and learner, can share thoughts and feelings about learning with them: They became a part of me.

Finally, I am pleased to know that the participants ultimately found meaning in learning English and departed in search of their goals. In this sense, all seven participants are successful learners. I hope they continue learning English along with other subjects and continue to develop their own voices (Yashima & Nishide, 2009, p. 173) and to speak out in international contexts.

POSTSCRIPT

Departure for the Future

After I finished writing the final comment of the dissertation, I contacted some of participants who were available at that time for the final interview. Natsuko had gone to Okinawa, Kazuo to Akita, and Honey to Tochigi, far from Yokohama. Only Maiko and Fumiko were available, although Fumiko and I communicated via e-mail. In the final interviews in March, 2009, they reflected on their learning of English and exposed how their thoughts and beliefs about learning English had changed and what they thought about their future. They also talked about what learning English meant to them. I introduce Maiko's reflection through the interview and Fumiko's reflection through her speech for the graduation ceremony and an e-mail message. Also, I introduce mail from Kazuo, Natsuko and Rumiko.

Maiko's Reflection and Thoughts

In the end of her final high school year, Maiko enjoyed studying English and French by reading books. She did not study focused on test preparation.

Looking back to her high school days, Maiko recognized that her attitudes had changed in three years at high school. Confidence that Maiko was good at English with good pronunciation, attributed to her living in Canada, was challenged in high school where she encountered senior students who had strong intentions and purposes to study

English. Maiko was inspired by those students and came to believe that the important thing was what she could convey through English.

In the first year at high school, Maiko was fascinated by speaking English with ALTs, and exchange students: she thought that speaking English was *kakkoi* (cool). In those days, her persona was not what she really was: she tried to be aggressive or to be cheerful. She said: ALTの先生たちや留学生と英語を話すのは楽しかったです。あかるく振舞おうとして笑ったり自分の意見をどんどん言ったりしました。ある意味では外人になろうとしていました。外国の文化の中に自分を押し込もうとしていました。[Speaking English with ALTs and exchange students was so fun. I tried to be cheerful, laugh, and tell my opinions directly. In a way I tried to be a *gaizin* (foreigner). I tried to merge myself into foreign culture. (Final Interview, FI-1, 2009)

In her third year, however, Maiko thought that she had not been true to herself. Through experiences of working with senior students and a short stay in the UK as part of an exchange program, Maiko realized that speaking English fluently like a native speaker did not mean anything until speaking included some messages, and that native speakers did not always speak meaningful things. She also observed some students at Rokkaku High School who tried to speak and behave like Americans. She said:

私は何人かの生徒が外国の人たちといい発音で話しているのを見ました。なんか失礼かもしれませんが、意味のないうわべだけの会話をしているようでした。そういう人たちをいいとは思わないしあんな風になりたいとも思いません。

I saw some students who spoke English with good pronunciation and could communicate with foreign people. I do not want to be rude, but they do meaningless conversation. I do not think they are cool and I do not want to be like them at all. (Final Interview, FI-2, 2009)

Maiko attributed her awareness of those changes to her proficiency in English and to studying English. Understanding English utterances of British students helped her to see what British students were like and to compare their attitudes with those of Japanese students. As a result, Maiko found out that Japanese students had better attitudes in class even though they were quiet and reserved: they listened to teachers.

Her goals are to speak her own English, to be herself even when she speaks English, to utilize English as a tool to convey messages, and to have confidence as a Japanese person and as an individual.

Maiko's theme of study was to investigate why Japanese people adore Western cultures and try to imitate them. She said:

六角高校では、アメリカの文化をマネしている生徒がたくさんいました。そういう人たちはアメリカの音楽が大好きですけど、私はむしろ西洋文化には腹が立ちます。日本人に影響を与えて日本文化を壊したと思います。

若い日本人は自分の国の文化よりアメリカ文化が好きです。私は、日本にはすばらしい文化があるのに大切にしていません。残念なことです。

At Rokkaku High School, I saw many students who wanted to imitate American culture. They love American music. I am almost angry about Western cultures. They influenced Japanese people and destroyed Japanese culture. Young Japanese preferred American culture to that of Japan. I believe that Japan has rich culture but they do not appreciate it. That is a shame. (Final Interview, FI-4, 2009)

Maiko's choice of university was based on her beliefs about learning and on experiences she had at high school where she met students and teachers with different

nationalities and backgrounds. She wanted the same environment for studying at university. She wrote in the statement to university:

私は文化というものがアイデンティティーであって、もし、日本人が日本や地元の文化を誇りに思っているなら、もっと自分に自信を持ってもいいと思うんです。私自身も矛盾があって。西洋文化に憧れますけど日本がいつもいいとは思っていません。だから、もっと西洋文化を勉強して、そうすればもっと日本文化を考えるようになると思います。そうすれば多文化社会が実現できるのではないかと思います。

I believe that culture is a basis of identity and that if Japanese people are proud of Japan or local culture, they become confident about themselves. I have a contradiction that I adore Western culture but I am not always proud of Japanese culture. Thus, I want to study deeply Western culture hoping that it would make me think what Japanese culture I can be proud of. To do so, I hope I can implicate an idea of multicultural society. (S-4, 2009)

At university, Maiko wants to study English and French as tools for communication and study culture, including movies, as an anthropological framework to become an intellectual. Also, she wants to get involved with activities aiming at world peace and environmental activities. Her imagined college life (Murphey & Li-Chi, 2004, p. 83) is full of activities and studying.

After all, for Maiko, learning English gave her a chance to be conscious about the influence of English on Japanese culture and attitudes, to be aware of Japanese cultural identity, and to believe that message is crucial for communication: for Maiko, English is an analytical lens. She also learned that being oneself is very important when she speaks English or French.

In summer of 2009, Maiko went to France to study French and learn French culture for two months. As she mentioned in the interview, French is the language she

“has to learn” next to English because she was born in Montreal where people spoke two languages, English and French.

Fumiko’s Reflection and Thoughts

Fumiko was selected to be a speaker at Graduation ceremony in March, 2008 as a representative of the International cultural course students in Rokkaku High School. She explored her thoughts about the meaning of learning English and foreign culture.

Fumiko said:

春風にのってほのかに花の香りが漂うころとなりました。卒業という門出を迎え、私たちは限らない可能性を抱き、新たな大空へと飛び立ちます。

六角高校での日々は、それぞれの胸に変えがたい歴史を刻んだことと思います。それは、一人一人の血となり、一生の肥やしとしてこれらも互いの人生に脈々と波打つことでしょう。

さて、皆さんの六角高校での歴史を振り返ってみてください。それは、どんな色、どんな表情をしているのでしょうか。誰にも負けないくらい泣いた日もあるでしょう。世界で一番怒っていた日もあるでしょう。思わず叫び出したくなるほど嬉しかった日もあるでしょう。また、生ぬるい展望や虚無感にさいなまれ消えてしまいたいと悩んだ日もあるでしょう。

私は、苦悩の表情というものに六角高校で何度も向き合いました。振り返ってみると、これらの表情の一つ一つは、一人一人が真剣に他者と、自己と、そして未来と向き合っていた証拠だったように感じられます。毎日と戦っていた自身の姿の隣には、それらのどの瞬間にも思い出される友人や先生方の姿があるでしょう。

私は、自分の道へと日々、切磋琢磨を続ける六角高校生に幾度となく励まされました。この学校は、多彩な才能、多様な価値観に溢れています。六角高校での人々との出会いが、一人一人の広大な宇宙をのぞかせてくれました。

しかし、それらに触れることで、自分自身を見失ったこともありました。たくさんの人々のそれぞれ異なった経験や考えを目の当たりにすることで、今までの自分自身の概念を疑うようになりました。価値観

と価値観のぶつかり合い。歯がゆさ、そして葛藤。今まで正しいとされてきたことは本当に正しいのだろうか、あるいは、今まで間違っているとされてきたことは本当に間違っているのだろうか、もはや物事に是非もつけることはできないのではないだろうか、という懐疑の連続。

私自身にとって、六角高校での日々は、規制の概念を顧み、打ち壊したり、あるいは論破したりすることで、何度も躓きながら“自分”というものを(新たに)刷新するかのようでした。それは、今までの自分自身を一度裏切り、切り離すことです。それにはもちろん痛みが伴いました。しかし、それ自体がこの上ない収穫だったように思います。私が六角高校で学んだことは、既成の概念に捉われずに、真剣に向き合うということです。“真剣に向き合うからこそ、疑わざるを得ない”。このような姿勢の在り方や重要性を学びました。

このことは、様々な場面に置き換えて考えることができます。私は、韓国、中国、イギリスパートナー校交流に参加しました。「国際交流」という名目ですが、一体、国とは何でしょうか。国と国との交流とは何でしょうか。個人以上に国を意識する瞬間とはどこにあるのでしょうか。私は、それらの疑問を消化できるほどの器量はありません。しかし、六角高校の日常から学んだ「既成の概念に捉われずに、真剣に向き合う」ということが最も重要なのではないかと感じます。私は、国を越えた部分、例えば、異なる母語を持つ人々の繊細な感情や表情を垣間見る、異なる地を踏み、異なる風を感じる、そのような瞬間に、自然と胸が震え、交流することの意義を見出します。それらはまるで、遠い存在であった何百年も前の物語に感動を覚えた時の様です。

この世界には、国境も、時代さえも越える、言葉では表せない、「何か」があります。その力強く一人一人を引き付ける、一人一人に違う「何か」を、心の中で育てることで、テーマ研究をはじめ、様々な事柄に懸命に取り組み大切なものを得たように、私たちの明日は開けていくことと思います。

最後に、想いや疑問を受け止め、様々なきっかけを与えてくださった皆さん、そして一人一人に不思議な力を宿す、この六角高校に心から感謝を申し上げます。ありがとうございました。

We feel the spring breeze in the air. Today, on the graduation day, we fly in the sky holding limitless possibilities within us. Every day, and minute at Rokkaku High School was embedded inside us as history. It will become our blood and stay with us forever as our legacy.

Just look back at your history at Rokkaku High School now. What color and what expression does it have? You may have cried sometimes, and perhaps,

you may get angry one day. Or you may have been so happy one day. Also you may have some days on which you felt small and wished to disappear.

I have faced many agonies here at Rokkaku High School. Looking back, I now believe that each agony expressed your serious and genuine attitude of your thinking about yourself and others. Your struggle must be reflected on faces of your friends and teachers.

I have been encouraged and inspired by Rokkaku students who always had tried to do their best. Here, at Rokkaku High School, there are many talented students and we meet different values. Through meeting them, I sensed the wide universe around me.

Although I was immensely inspired by my peers, I sometimes felt lost at the same time. Because of my internal conflict with different values of other students, I even doubted whether established discourse was right. I struggled to find the truth.

My days at Rokkaku High School were occupied with those struggles of doubting the established values, looking for “myself” or creating a new “me”. Through those, I learned that I should not be obsessed with the ordinary rules and values but be strong enough to challenge them if necessary.

I found this in various experiences. I joined exchange programs with Korea, China, and England. I was supposed to do international exchange called *kokusai koryu*. What is country? What is an exchange between countries? Why not an individual but a country? Why is a country more important to an individual? I can not answer those questions yet but my attitude of questioning the ordinary is what I learned at Rokkaku High School. I believe that this is the most important thing.

I looked at expressions on people’s face who spoke different languages. I stood in foreign countries and felt foreign breezes. At these moments, I felt myself deeply touched and sensed the meaning of exchange. It was like deep emotion when I encountered old stories which were inherited over many years.

In this world, I believe that there is “something” that surpasses borders, languages and ages. Each of us cherishes “something” inside us, then eventually, I think we will have future.

Lastly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all of you and Rokkaku High School which has special magic to empower all of us.

I sent Fumiko questions about her learning English at high school; what she found, and what she thought about learning English. It took a while before I received an answer from her. The mail started with an apology that it took a couple of months for her to try

to find answers to my questions, which she had not finished yet, and then she wrote what she had been doing. Fumiko wrote:

先生お元気ですか。私はオックスフォードに1か月いました。ハーフォードカレッジで勉強していました。休みの日には好きな詩人の故郷やお墓に行きました。夏はとても充実した毎日でした。先生が以前くれた質問をずっと考えていました。簡単には答えられませんが、たぶん、英語を勉強すること自体は今や私の体の1部なのでしょう。言い換えると、英語は私のまわりにあるものに関係しています。ある意味では、英語を勉強するのは今は特別なことではありません。ほとんどの時間を、私は、自分がなぜ存在するのか、文学とは何か、大学で文学を勉強するのは私にとってどういうことかを考えています。考えるべきことがたくさんあります。今はそれが問題です。上智では、毎日英語に触れることができます。ですから、以前持っていたような英語に対する壁は感じません。そんなところです。

How have you been? I stayed for a month in Oxford, where I studied English at Hertford College of Oxford University. On off days, I visited my favorite poets' home towns and places where they died. I had full days during the summer vacation. I have thought about how I could answer the questions you gave me. It is not easy for me to answer those questions. Perhaps, learning English itself is now part of my body. In other words, it exists associated with other things around me. In a way, I think, learning English is not a special occasion now. I have spent most of my time on thinking of reasons of my existence, what literature is, and what learning literature at university means to me and so on. I have so many things I have to think about. This is my problem now. At Sophia, where I am studying, I feel English every day, so I do not have the "wall" to English I used to feel. This is what I have been thinking.

Best regards, Fumiko

Kazuo's Reflection and Thoughts

Kazuo went to a university in Akita, far from Yokohama. He sent me a mail in June, 2009:

大学、すごく楽しいです。雰囲気は六角高校に似ています。留学生たちとも友達になりました。毎日、英語漬けです！勉強は大変です。以前と同じで文法に悩まされています。でも、ここにいることは楽しいし、ここでの生活は充実しています。実際、1日、24時間以上ほしいです。とにかくここに来てよかったと思っています。8月に横浜に戻りますのでその時に会えるといいですね。

I have enjoyed very much life at university. The atmosphere of this university is very similar to that of Rokkaku High School. I became good friends with exchange students. Every day, I am soaked in English! Studying is not easy. As always, I have been struggling with grammar. However, I am thoroughly enjoying being here and have a full life here. I need more than 24 hours a day actually. Anyway, I am really glad that I came here. I will go back to Yokohama in August, so I hope I see you then.

Kazuo seems to have had a good life at university in Akita. Although he still feels that he needs to improve his grammatical knowledge, he enjoys the atmosphere of the university and is content with his decision.

I met Kazuo in August, 2009 with some students. He told me about his life in Akita International University: the student body is not large, only 600 students in campus, thus, students and teachers have close relationships, which Kazuo likes. There are quite a few exchange students and Kazuo enjoys talking with them in English. He is considering applying for an exchange program either in the United Kingdom or in the United States. Living in a dormitory gives him a feeling of being independent (he really enjoys being apart from his parents and being close to other students (sometimes, they talk all night)). He feels the atmosphere of the university is very similar to that of Rokkaku High School, and most of all, he enjoys studying English. He said that he missed speaking English since he had not spoken English since the summer break started. I sensed that Kazuo made the right decision in choosing Akita International

University and was glad to know that he is pursuing studying English and enjoying socialization with students and teachers.

Natsuko's Reflection and Thoughts

Natsuko, who went to a university in Okinawa, sent me a letter in June, 2009.

She seems to enjoy her life and studying in Okinawa. She wrote:

栄先生、
おひさしぶりです。メールを送ろうとずっと思っていたのですがとうとうできませんでした。沖縄に来てから2か月がたちます。ここでの独り暮らしに慣れてきて友達もできました。えいさクラブに入って、1週間に3日、練習しています。三味線も始めようかと思っています。9月に横浜に戻りますので、その時には会いに行きますね！！両親が5月のゴールデンウィークに来ました。

Dear Sakae sensei,

It's been a while. I have thought about sending you mail and I did it at last. It's been two months since I came to Okinawa. I am getting used to living alone here and I have friends now. At university, I joined a *Eisa* (traditional Okinawa dance) club and practice dancing three days a week. I am thinking about starting to practice Shamisen (traditional musical instrument) soon. I will go back to Yokohama in September. Then I will go to see you!! My parents came to visit me during the Golden Week in May.

Natsuko

Reading Natsuko's mail brought me back to the days when I talked with her, and listened to her story; Natsuko quit another high school and entered Rokkaku High School, where she had a full life and found her future. I am amazed how Natsuko went through difficulties and found what she wanted. It was a journey for Natsuko to go to Okinawa. Without going to the Philippines or coming to Rokkaku High School, Natsuko's life would have been very different. Her parents', especially her mother's support, her

learning context, her personality, and her friends and teachers, altogether wove Natsuko's beliefs and what she is now. Natsuko said that her unyielding personality motivated her to continue studying English. Her story shows again that learners' personalities affect their beliefs and motivation.

Rumiko's Reflection and Thoughts

Rumiko went to a national university and has been studying in a department of education. She sent me a letter in June, 2009.

六角高校を卒業してからご無沙汰しています。大学での生活は楽しいです。5月病は切り抜けました(笑)。今のところ、基礎科目と必修科目をとっています。後期には専門科目の教育関係の科目を取ります。外国に行くまでは絶対に英語ができるようにならないと思っていましたが、最近、自分で英語の勉強を始めました！大学では、英語コミュニケーションを取るようになってるんですけど私は英検2級合格したので取らなくてもいいんです。就職は難しいようなので、TOEICで高得点を取っておくと有利かと思っています。実を言うと、自分で英語を勉強し始めたのは日本語が全くできないアメリカ人と話したことがきっかけです。彼と英語を話すのは大変でしたし、できなくて恥ずかしかったです。だから英語を勉強しようと思いました。

It's been a while since I graduated from Rokkaku High School. I have enjoyed my college life. I survived so-called May disease (laugh). So far, I have taken basic subjects and mandatory subjects. In the second semester, though, I will take classes with specific contents of my major, education. I believed that I would never be good at English until I studied abroad, but recently I have started studying English by myself! At university, I am supposed to take "English communication" but I do not have to take it because I passed *Eiken* 2nd grade. It seems that getting a job is not easy, so I think it would be beneficial to get a high TOEIC score. To tell the truth, I started studying English by myself because of my experience of talking with an American who did not speak Japanese at all. I had difficulties speaking English with him and I was mortified at the incident. That experience was a trigger for me to start studying English.

As she said, Rumiko had a belief that she would never be satisfied with her English, especially speaking English, until she goes to English speaking countries and stays there for a while. However, her mail indicated Rumiko changed her belief and hoped to get good at it even without going abroad.

I met Rumiko in August, 2009. She enjoyed her life at university: she belonged to a tennis club and practiced it almost every day. She told me an interesting anecdote about her mother. She said, “My mother sees a beautiful foreign woman every morning when going to work. She says that the woman is so beautiful that she wants to become friends with her. Well, my mother can not speak English at all, so it will not happen.” I assumed that Rumiko’s mother (who put an English poster in a toilet hoping that her daughter became interested in English) has the dream of communicating with foreign people in English. Her mother’s episode of seeing a foreign woman every day might have acted as a form of implicit encouragement for Rumiko to study English to communicate in English. Rumiko, who has still never been abroad, said to me, “I definitely should go abroad and see how I change.”

I am glad to know that Rumiko started studying English by herself. Studying by herself has been Rumiko’s style of learning and I know that she is comfortable doing it. Each learner has his or her own strategy of learning, or a learning style, and I believe that it would be better for teachers not to try to modify them but to listen to students and help them. Learners are often more independent than teachers think. Now I believe that a teacher’s role is to put seeds on the ground. It is students that make them grow into fine trees. In order to know what seeds are beneficial for students, teachers themselves

need to be learners sometimes and explore themselves to find new knowledge. In this process, beliefs about teaching and learning can be constructed and modified.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A AN OVERVIEW OF ENGLISH EDUCATION IN JAPAN

The participants in the present study shared common knowledge about English education in Japan. Background information is offered here to avoid explaining practices such as university entrance exams and *juken benkyo* repeatedly. Accordingly, here I describe the background factors in this study.

Japanese students begin studying English as a required subject in junior high school. Most complete three years of English classes in junior high school, followed by three years of study in high school. Thus, most Japanese students study English for six years before graduating from senior high school at around the age of eighteen. The length of learning English often invites criticism from educators, foreign teachers, and the public. Writers such as Cotterall (2008), for example, have stated that although a great deal of time and money is devoted to language learning in Japan, Japanese students study English for six years without much success (p. 114). This criticism is not entirely valid, however. In public junior high school, students have at most three 50-minute classes per week. In high school also, they do not have more than four classes per week. Once students graduate from high school, they usually do not often use English. Some parents who are concerned about their children's achievement have their children study English at private cram schools (*juku*). Also some elementary schools have included English lessons as an experiment, offering classes twice a month (45 minutes per class).

The Course of Study

The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT hereafter) issued new guidelines in 1998 called *Shidoyoryo* (the New Course of Study). This document describes the overall objectives for foreign language education for junior and senior high schools as follows:

Junior High School: To develop students' basic *jissenteki* (practical) communication abilities such as listening and speaking, deepening the understanding of language and culture, and fostering a positive attitude toward communication through foreign languages. (p. 88)

Senior High School: To develop students' practical communication abilities such as understanding information and the speaker's or writer's intentions, and expressing their own ideas, deepening the understanding of language and culture, and fostering a positive attitude toward communication through foreign languages. (p. 124)

The most prominent change in this latest version is that it suggests that English should be a required subject. These Courses of Study have been modified every ten years or so. The previous version (1989) was as follows:

Junior High School: To develop a basic ability to understand and express oneself in a foreign language [usually understood as English] and a willingness to communicate in it; to instill an interest in language and culture, thus laying the foundation for international understanding. (p. 88)

Senior High School: To develop an ability to understand and express oneself in a foreign language [read as English here too] and a willingness to communicate in it; to heighten an interest in language and culture, thus increasing international understanding (p. 379).

Following influential theorists such as Hymes (1974) and Savignon (1983), the latest version emphasizes practical communication, such as listening and speaking, rather than General English (Integrated English). This change affects textbooks, teaching methodologies, and the school curriculum. The Oral Communication course has been emphasized. These classes have brought many changes to schools, teachers, and students. Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) coming to Japan via the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) program play an important role at schools. At junior and senior high schools, at least once a week, an ALT comes to school and team-teaches with a Japanese teacher of English. This creates an opportunity for all students to encounter a native speaker of English.

The Course of Study does not directly affect students' beliefs. However, if the school curriculum, official teachers' training, and textbooks are based on it, then, it has at least an indirect effect on students' learning and beliefs about learning.

Oral Communication

MEXT initiated reforms at the secondary school level to change the system of English education that has been dominated by the grammar-translation (*yakudoku*) method, into one with an emphasis on communication. Prominent reforms including the JET (Japan Exchange and Teaching) Program and the Oral Communication classes are aimed at changing English education in the direction of teaching English for communicative purposes.

This shift toward communicative English classes was not welcomed by all teachers. Some teachers were not trained to teach conversation, and as a result, they did not change their teaching styles; they continued applying the grammar-translation method, which is primarily focused on training students to translate English into Japanese. Those teachers tend to believe that "analytical approaches are more useful and productive than communicative approaches" (Honma, 2001, p. 203).

There are at least three obstacles to implementing communicative language teaching (CLT hereafter): (a) college entrance examinations, (b) teachers' beliefs about the efficacy of the grammar translation method, and (c) the difficulties of teaching oral communication. Although many Japanese university entrance examinations have been modified to include a listening comprehension section, they primarily assess reading, grammar, and translation. Students want to utilize their study time at school to prepare

for the entrance examinations, and even if they want to develop oral skills, limited English classes at school do not allow them to practice speaking or listening sufficiently. There is significant washback on high school English teaching from grammar and translation-oriented university entrance examinations (Gorsuch, 1998); thus, six years of compulsory English study seldom produce competent users of English (Cotterall, 2008, p. 114).

Suzuki (2004) investigated three high school teachers' beliefs about teaching and learning English. One of the participants, Ms. S, works at an academic high school in which students are determined to go to prestigious universities. They consider classes at school as preparation for entrance examinations. Ms. S faces a dilemma as she is caught between a desire to teach communicative English and her students' need to focus on preparation for entrance examinations. In her classes, Ms. S uses a college-preparation grammar exercise book that was not her first choice. She wants materials that include poems and literature. Her compromise is to speak English as much as possible in class, using English for giving instructions, calling students' names, and praising students, while using exercise books for preparing the students for entrance examinations. Ms. S wants to implement CLT; however, many English teachers still believe that the grammar-translation method is crucial for Japanese students (Gorsuch, 2001; Hino, 1998).

A recent change in English education at the elementary school level was advocated by The Central Council for Education, an influential advisory panel for MEXT. In a report titled *21 Seiki Nihon no Koso* (Japan's Education in the Perspective of the 21st Century), they wrote:

It will not be easy to ride the waves of the information technology revolution and globalization. The only way to cope will be to expand domestic use of the Internet and of English as the international lingua franca. People should be familiarized with both on a mass level in childhood.

This report emphasizes the importance of English education based on the idea that English has become the international lingua franca. It also states that "we should give it (English) the status of a second working language and use it routinely alongside Japanese" (p. 21). The Curriculum Council, another advisory body of MEXT, formulated the plans to implement English classes in public elementary schools. MEXT started an experimental program in 1992 at several elementary schools to investigate how English could be taught at elementary schools. In 2003, 24,000 public elementary schools in Japan included English-language instruction as part of *kokusai-rikai kyoiku* (education for international understanding). However, when school administrators set up education for international understanding courses, they do not have to select English classes. It is up to each local school to develop its own curriculum of education for international understanding. Schools can invite foreign people living in Japan as guest speakers, have cooking classes to introduce foreign foods, or have art or music classes to introduce foreign cultures.

In 2006, the *Chuo Shingikai* (Central Council) announced that all elementary schools in Japan will include English classes officially. Some researchers and educators (Otsu, 2005; Yamada, 2005) objected publicly to English education at the elementary school level. Otsu, along with other educators in 2005, submitted a proposal objecting to English education at the elementary school level to the Minister of Education. Their criticisms are categorized under six headings: (a) lack of theories to support English education at elementary school level, (b) lack of teachers with sufficient knowledge and experience to teach English at the elementary school level, (c) insufficient official explanation to the Japanese public, (d) the inconsistency of MEXT policies, (e) lack of a clear vision of the relationship between English education and Japanese education, and (f) a long-term decline of students' proficiency in every subject.

In spite of these objections, English education at the elementary school level was implemented in elementary schools in Japan, in 2009.

The EFL Situation in Japan

English has achieved the status of world language and it is used as the official language and the second language in many countries. In Japan, English has long been considered an important tool for business and communication. English education has both officially and privately been perceived as an important subject at schools and for personal development. Yet English is neither the official nor the second language in Japan.

Many Japanese can live without using English. They can buy food in Japanese, work using Japanese, and communicate with their peers or colleagues in Japanese as long as they work and live in a Japanese discourse community. Even though many Japanese realize that English can broaden their views and give them chances to communicate with people around the world, they do not feel that English is a necessary tool. Many students, even though they study English at school, do not often use English outside of school. Thus, learners of English in Japan usually do not have "social practices in a context in which individual learner L2s develop" (Norton & Toohey, 2001, p. 318). Many do not study unless they have to take examinations in English or they expect to go overseas for sightseeing, study, or work. As Yashima, Nishide and Shimizu (2004) observed,

many Japanese adolescents, preoccupied with preparing for entrance exams to higher education, concentrate on raising test scores by memorizing vocabulary / idiomatic expressions and practicing sentence translation. These activities are of some value for improving L2 proficiency, but under these circumstances, "communicating with people in the world" as a goal of EFL might seem somewhat unrealistic. (p. 121)

A Pathway to University

When Japanese students enter the second year in high school (11th grade), the students start preparing for university entrance examinations. Preparing for examinations (*juken*) requires a lot of work for high school students. Many students who want to go to a university, especially to a prestigious one, go to a private cram school that offers enrichment or remedial help to those who want and need it. *Yobiko*, a preparation school is a large-scale cram school that specializes in preparation for university entrance examinations. Students who fail to get in a university often take a year or more to prepare for entrance examinations the following year and they might go to *yobiko* after graduating from high school.

There are four ways to be accepted by a university: *ippan-nyushi* (taking a university entrance examination), *shiteiko-suisen* (nominative enrollment), *ippan-koubo suisen* (general recommendation), and A.O. examination (taking an Admission Office examination). In the recommendation system, students are admitted into colleges and universities on the recommendations of their high school principals. *Shiteiko-suisen*, is a system in which universities offer some high schools a quota of students who can enroll without taking an examination, and high schools select a student or some students according to their grades. Universities announce the cut point for average grades for applicants. Each participating high school selects a student or students who meet the criteria, and the student(s) who are selected by the committee can go to university of their choice without taking the entrance examination. *Ippan-koubo* is also a recommendation system in which students can apply to a university by writing an essay and taking a written examination, but students are not always accepted by this route. The A. O. examination evaluates applicants' achievement in a variety of area, such as sports, arts and culture, international experience, student council activities, and volunteer activities, as well as motivation to engage in extra-curricular activities and academic pursuits after enrollment. The A. O. examinations were welcomed by students because they were judged by activities they engaged in in high school, not by a one-time examination score. Although the A.O. examinations require preparation in terms of doing activities, writing essays, and completing documents, many high school students prefer the A. O. examination to paper examinations. Some universities, however, have decided to abolish the A. O. examination because they claimed that students who enrolled by A. O. examination had poor academic performance after entering the university and that they needed students with higher academic skills.

APPENDIX B
QUESTIONNAIRE (JAPANESE VERSION)

六角高校 外国語科
鈴木 栄

このアンケート用紙は、高校生の英語学習に関する学習観を調査するために作成されたものです。アンケートは、正しい答え、間違った答えはありませんので、考えた通りに答えてください。

質問に入る前に次の質問にお答えください。

1. 生徒番号 () 氏名 () (男・女)
個性化コース・国際文化コース (○で囲みコースを選んだ理由をお書きください。)
理由 ()
2. 出身地：神奈川県 () 市 その他 ()
3. 海外滞在： () 年間 場所 ()
通学していた学校： 現地校 日本人学校 その他 ()
4. 小学校：公立・私立 前籍高校： 公立・私立
中学校：公立・私立
5. 英語学習を始めた時：
小学校前 (具体的に) 小学校 (具体的に) 中学校
学校での授業以外での英語学習の経験 ()
6. 海外旅行：場所・期間 ()
7. 母語： 日本語 英語 中国語 その他 ()
8. あなたの英語学習観に影響を与えた事・人があれば○をつけて具体的に内容を書いてください。
学校での勉強 () 教師・親・友人・兄弟のアドバイス ()
成績 () 勉強以外の経験 ()
学校以外で得た知識 (本など) () 自分の性格 ()
9. 英語学習・英語教育について考えていることを書いてください。
10. あなたにとって教師はどのようにあってほしいですか。
11. 英語を勉強する上でこだわっていることは何ですか (例：発音)
12. 外国語を一つ選択するとしたらどの言語を選びますか。その理由はなぜですか。

APPENDIX C
QUESTIONNAIRE (ENGLISH VERSION)

Rokkaku High School, Foreign Language Department
Sakae Suzuki

This survey has been developed to serve as a tool for helping students explore their own beliefs about learning English. There are no correct or incorrect answers. Before answering the questionnaire, please answer the following questions.

1. Student number: _____ Name: _____ male • female
Koseika Course • International Understanding Course (Circle one and write reasons why you chose the course)
2. Birth Place: Kanagawa (_____) city Others: _____
3. Overseas experience: (_____) years Place (_____)
School: Local school Japanese school Others (_____)
4. Elementary school : Public • Private
Former high school: Public • Private
Junior high school : Public • Private
5. I started studying English:
Before elementary school (_____)
in elementary school (_____)
in junior high school (_____)
outside of school (_____)
6. Overseas Travel: Place/Period (_____)
7. Native language: Japanese English Chinese Others (_____)
8. What affects your beliefs about learning English? Tick and write details.
Studying at school (_____)
Advice from teachers / parents / brothers / sisters (_____)
Grades (_____)
Experience outside of school (_____)
Knowledge outside of school (_____)
Personality (_____)
9. What you think about learning English/English education?
10. What do you expect from teachers ?
11. What are your beliefs about learning English? (e.g., accurate pronunciation is important)
12. What foreign language did you choose to study and why?

APPENDIX E
INTERVIEW PROROCOL (JAPANESE VERSION)

テーマ: 英語を学ぶことについての考え方 (ビリーフ)

インタビューした日時:

日付:

場所:

インタビューされた人:

1. 英語を学ぶことに関係する経験をどのように述べますか。

2. それらの経験は、あなたの英語を学ぶことについての考え方にどのように影響を与えましたか。

3. 英語を学ぶ事に関するあなたの考えに影響を及ぼした人は誰ですか。

4. 英語を学ぶ事に関して、うまくいった例と失敗した例はなんですか。

5. どのような時に、あなたは英語を勉強したいと思いましたか (思いますか)。

ご協力ありがとうございました。 .

APPENDIX F
Coding (Natsuko)

Natsuko Coding / Categorizing
 Primary school to Sakura High school Preschool ● Elementary school ▲ Sakura
 Junior high school ■ Sakura High
 School ◎

Open coding	Focus coding (category)	Theme
Private lessons ▲ Okeiko ▲ ● I like making things ▲ Praise ● Origami ● Piano ● Dancing (stress) ◎ Drama school ◎ Squash ◎ Dance · Drama ◎ Geinoujin ◎ Demonstration in public ◎ Doing what you like ◎ Way of life ◎	Naraigoto-private lessons (Okeiko)	Private lessons help Natsuko develop her beliefs about life.
Mother's advice ▲ ◎ Mother and daughter ◎ Talk with mother ◎	Relationship with mother	Natsuko listens to her mother's advice on making decisions.
Hopes for junior high school ▲ Good grades ■ I am good at English ■ Academic school ■ Studying hard ■ Class- in a fast pace ■ Sense of value on evaluation ■ Top grade ■ Homework ■	School/Studying	Meanings of studying at school. How does school grades affect student's beliefs?
Rokkaku High school ◎ Changing schools (mother) ◎ Upper class ◎ Changing schools ◎ Studying and life ◎ Change of purposes of study ◎ I hate school (teachers' impression) ◎	Change	What made Natsuko decide to change school?
Exam to another school (mother's wish) ▲ Juken (sacrifice) ▲ Superiority ▲ Stress◎	Juken	Consequences of jukenbenkyo

APPENDIX G MATRIX (KAZUO)

Kazuo 's experiences and beliefs

Phase 1	Born in Peru Family (father, mother, an older sister, an older brother) Peruvian maids	Japanese Spanish	
Phase 2	Primary school Nihonjingakko	Local primary school (Spanish) Spanish class (once a week) Speaking Spanish with mother's Peruvian friends English conversation class at cram school (taught in English)	Learning language English (speaking) is fun.
Phase 3	Junior high school Nihonjingakko	Meeting a Korean woman on the airplane and talking with her in English English classes taught by Japanese teachers (grammar-translation method) Meeting people	Chance encounter Learning language Multicultural society Speaking is fun English is important for communication English is fun Grammar is not important.
Phase 4	High school 1st year	English I Oral Communication I Setting up the ESS club (English Speaking Society)	Maybe I have to study grammar. Speaking English Speaking is most important in language learning. Using intuition is important in language learning. English will be a useful tool in foreign countries.
2nd year	English II Teaching English at an elementary school as a volunteer English Day Camp for elementary school students during summer, on Halloween, and on Christmas Doing games and activities for elementary school students Talking with an exchange student from Malaysia.	Using English Learning strategy Awareness of own English Socialization	Being an observer is meaningless. Learning foreign languages should be fun. Liking English and enjoying learning are important. My speaking is not good enough. I am not good at grammar. Speaking English is fun.

	Conversation school (NOVA) Working for a school festival.		Exchanging and negotiating ideas is interesting.
3rd year	Reading (English) Global Studies (English) Presentation (English) Spanish III (advanced) Supplementary lesson with a Japanese teacher and an ALT <i>Yobiko</i> Meeting people from different countries	Speaking English Making a decision Preparing for entrance examinations Learning language Self-analysis	Continuity (of speaking English) is important. English is a tool for communication with people from other countries. Communication should be done with others in their native language. For good communication, grammatical knowledge and general knowledge about the world are necessary. I like talking with people.

APPENDIX H
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARENTS (NATSUKO)
(JAPANESE VERSION)

1. 5歳からピアノを習っていますが、本人の希望ですか？
2. 小学校の時に、インドネシア楽器のガムランを習い始めましたが、どのような経緯で習うことになったのですか？本人の希望ですか？
3. オーストラリア人の生徒と、アメリカ人の生徒のホストになっていますが、なぜ、ホストファミリーをしようと思ったのですか？
4. なぜ、洗足学園を受験することにしたのですか？
5. 中学生の時に、知り合いの建築家の人に英語を習いましたが、どのような経緯で習うことになったのですか？その人に習うことで何を期待していましたか？
6. 洗足学園を辞めたいと聞いたときにはどのように感じましたか？

ご協力ありがとうございました。

APPENDIX I
QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARENTS (NATSUKO)
(ENGLISH VERSION)

1. Natsuko has been taking piano lessons. Did Natsuko want to learn to play the piano?
2. When she was in the fifth grade, Natsuko started learning to play an Indonesian musical instrument. How did this happen? Did Natsuko want to learn it?
3. You had a student from Australia and a student from the United States stay at your home. What made you decide to be a host family?
4. Why did you let Natsuko apply for Sakura Junior High School?
5. When Natsuko was a junior high school student, she took private English lessons from Ms. Nakagawa. How did this occur? What did you expect?
6. How did you feel when Natsuko said that she wanted to quit Sakura High School?

Thank you for your cooperation.

APPENDIX J
CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEWS (ENGLISH VERSION)

I agree to participate in this research on the study of high school students' beliefs about learning English conducted by Sakae Suzuki. I understand the information given to me and agree to the conditions of this study.

I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary, and that I may withdraw from this study by telling Sakae Suzuki. I also understand that I will receive a signed copy of this consent form.

Signature:

Date:

This informed consent procedures have been followed and I have answered my questions from the participant as fully as possible.

Signature:

Date:

APPENDIX K
CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEWS
(JAPANESE VERSION)

インタビュー参加同意書

調査テーマ：高校生の英語学習に関する考え方の研究

私は、この研究について説明を受け、この調査のインタビューに参加することを合意しました。音声テープやメモが、公開されたいことを条件とし、研究者の分析の目的のみに使用され、個人名などは公表されることが無いことを認めます。

署名：

日付：2007年 月 日（ ）

私は、研究の目的を説明し、上記の参加者にインタビュー参加の依頼をしました。参加するかしないかは自由であり、参加しないことで成績に影響を与えるということはありません。上記の参加者が提供したデータは、教育研究の分析のみに使用するものであり、このデータが第三者に渡ることはありません。研究分析のために資料を文字化したり、論文に使用する場合は、学校名、個人名、性別などプライバシーに関する部分は、すべて架空名に変更するなどの処理をします。

署名：

日付：2007年 月 日（ ）

この研究、およびインタビューに関する問い合わせ先：

鈴木 栄（すずき さかえ） Sakae Suzuki :テンプル大学ジャパン

TEL: 045-491-2000

Email: sakaes@hotmail.com

APPENDIX L
CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVEIWS FOR PARENTS
(ENGLISH VERSION)

Dear

I am writing to ask you to let your daughter/son participate in research I am conducting on high school students' beliefs about learning English.

Explanation of this study

The aim of this study is to investigate high school students' beliefs about learning English in Japan and to contribute to English education. I am conducting this research for the purpose of my doctoral dissertation at an American university. This study will give me experience in conducting research an in completing a doctoral dissertation. Some portion of findings in this study may eventually be published, without revealing names of students or schools.

Your rights as parent(s) of a research participant

The information I use in this study will be kept confidential. I will keep all of this information in a safe place and ensure that I am the only one to know who wrote or said the information that I use in this study. All the names (names of people, places, etc.) used in this study will be changed and only I will have access to real identities. In any publications or presentations resulting from this study, no identifying information will be disclosed.

Your daughter's/son's participation is voluntary. He or she may decide not to participate and she or he is free to stop participating in the research at any time without penalty.

Consent to daughter's/son's participation in this study

I agree to let my daughter/son participate in this research on the study of high school students' beliefs about learning English conducted by Sakae Suzuki. I understand the information given to me and agree to the condition of this study. I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary, and that my daughter or son may withdraw from this study at any time by telling Sakae Suzuki. I also understand that I will receive a signed copy of this consent form.

Signature:

Date:

This informed consent procedures have been followed and I have answered any questions from parent(s) of the participant as fully as possible.

Signature:

Date:

APPENDIX M
CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEWS FOR PARENTS
(JAPANESE VERSION)

様

本状は、高校生の英語学習に関する学習観（ビリーフ）に関する調査研究へのご協力をお願いするものです。

研究の概要

本研究のねらいは、日本の高校で学ぶ高校生の英語学習に関する学習観（ビリーフ）を調査し、英語教育に貢献することです。また、本研究は、アメリカの大学における博士号取得を目的としています。研究結果は、将来的に、学会などで発表する可能性があります。

協力者の権利

本研修で使用されるすべての情報を安全に保管し、私以外の者が知る可能性が無いことを保証します。本研究で使用される人名、学校名などの固有名詞は、変更されており、私以外の者が本人を特定することはできません。研究結果に関するすべての論文・発表において、本人を特定する情報は一切公開しません。

協力は任意です。協力を拒否することもできます。また、いつでも、無条件で、協力の意志を撤回することができます。

研究協力に関する同意書

私は、鈴木 栄がおこなう、高校生の英語学習観（ビリーフ）に関する研究に、娘（息子）が協力することに同意します。

私は、本状の記載内容と本研究の実施条件を理解し、同意します。

私は、本研究協力が任意であること、および、鈴木 栄に伝えることで、研究協力を撤回できることを理解しています。

また、私は、本同意書の署名済みコピーを受け取ることを了解しています。

署名_____ 日付

以上の同意確認は、正式な手順でおこなわれ、協力者の質問には可能な限り答えました。

署名_____ 日付

APPENDIX N
CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVEIWS FOR PRINCIPAL
(ENGLISH VERSION)

Dear Principal of Rokkaku High School

I am writing to ask you to let your daughter/son participate in research I am conducting on high school students' beliefs about learning English.

Explanation of this study

The aim of this study is to investigate high school students' beliefs about learning English in Japan and to contribute to English education. I am conducting this research for the purpose of my doctoral dissertation at an American university. This study will give me experience in conducting research an in completing a doctoral dissertation. Some portion of findings in this study may eventually be published, without revealing names of students or schools.

Your rights as parent(s) of a research participant

The information I use in this study will be kept confidential. I will keep all of this information in a safe place and ensure that I am the only one to know who wrote or said the information that I use in this study. All the names (names of people, places, etc.) used in this study will be changed and only I will have access to real identities. In any publications or presentations resulting from this study, no identifying information will be disclosed.

Consent to daughter's/son's participation in this study

I agree to let Sakae Suzuki pursue this research on the study of high school students' beliefs about learning English. I understand the information given to me and agree to the condition of this study. I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary, and that students may withdraw from this study at any time by telling Sakae Suzuki. I also understand that I will receive a signed copy of this consent form.

Signature:

Date:

This informed consent procedures have been followed and I have answered any questions from parent(s) of the participant as fully as possible.

Signature:

Date:

APPENDIX O
CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVEIWS FOR PRINCIPAL
(JAPANESE VERSION)

六角高校 学校長 様

本状は、高校生の英語学習に関する学習観（ビリーフ）に関する調査研究へのご協力をお願いするものです。

研究の概要

本研究のねらいは、日本の高校で学ぶ高校生の英語学習に関する学習観（ビリーフ）を調査し、英語教育に貢献することです。また、本研究は、アメリカの大学における博士号取得を目的としています。研究結果は、将来的に、学会などで発表する可能性があります。

協力者の権利

本研修で使用されるすべての情報を安全に保管し、私以外の者が知る可能性が無いことを保証します。本研究で使用される人名、学校名などの固有名詞は、変更されており、私以外の者が本人を特定することはできません。研究結果に関するすべての論文・発表において、本人を特定する情報は一切公開しません。協力は任意です。協力を拒否することもできます。また、いつでも、無条件で、協力の意志を撤回することができます。

研究協力に関する同意書

私は、鈴木 栄がおこなう、高校生の英語学習観（ビリーフ）に関する研究を行うことに同意します。

私は、本状の記載内容と本研究の実施条件を理解し、同意します。

私は、本研究協力が任意であること、および、鈴木 栄に伝えることで、研究協力を撤回できることを理解しています。

また、私は、本同意書の署名済みコピーを受け取ることを了解しています。

署名_____ 日付

以上の同意確認は、正式な手順でおこなわれ、協力者の質問には可能な限り答えました。

署名_____ 日付

APPENDIX P
DATA COLLECTION

Data Collection for Natsuko

Interview	Questionnaire	Journal	Report
I-1~I-4 2007.5.19	1 April 2007		1-20 July 2008
I-4~I-7 2007. 11.12	2 May 2007		1-10 July 8, 2008
I-8~I-12 2008.4.23	4 (Journal) November 6-11, 2007		
I-12 2008.5.15	5 (Self-history) January 7, 2008		
I-13 2008.4.23	6 May 2008		
I-22 2007.10.29	7 May 2008		
I-25 2008. 7.14I-23 2007.11.5	8 June 25, 2008		
I-24 2007.11.12			
I-14~I-21 2008.6.10			

Note. Data were also gathered from a self-history (Q-3) on May 30, 2007 and from a diary (1-7) December 19, 2007-January 1, 2008.

Data Collection for Rumiko

Interview	Questionnaire	Journal	Report
I-1~I-2 February 2007	1-1 Q1-3 July 5, 2007		1 (1-17) 2007
I-2~I-4 November 2007	2 (1-2) January 7, 2008		2 May 28, 2008
I-6 I-7 May 26, 2008	3 May 14, 2008		3 July 8, 2008
	4 May 26, 2008		4 July 2008

Note. Data were also gathered from a memo on November 13, 2007 and a diary (1-3) in October 2006.

Data Collection for Maiko

Interview	Questionnaire	Journal	Report
1 (1-2) May 2007	1(1-3) May 2006	1 (EDC) (1-3) 2006	1 (TUJ) (1-8) March 2007
2 (1-5) August 2008	2(1-3) May 2007	2 (Hiroshima/Costa Rica) (1-36)	2 (English II) (1-3) July-August
	3 May 2007	2007	2007
	4 (1-2) November 2007	3 (UK) (1-13) March 2008	3 (Presentation) (1-16) 2007
	5 (1-2) January 2008		4 (Project) July 2008

Data Collection for Kazuo

Interview	Questionnaire	Journal	Report
1 (1-2) March 2007	1 (1)-(3) April 2006		2007
2 (1-6) January 2008	2 (1)-(3) April 2007		2007
3 (1-5) May 2008	3 April 2007		
	4 October 2007		
	5 (1-2) November 2007		
	6 (1-2) December 2007		
	7 May 2008		
	8 (1-2) July 2008		

Note. Data were also gathered from an essay in March 2007 and a diary in 2007.

Data Collection for Honey

Interview	Questionnaire	Journal	Report
1 (1-4) March 2007	1 (1-3) April 2006	November 2006	(1-30) October 2008
2 (1-3) October 2007	2 (1-3) May 2007		
3 (1-6) July 2008			

Data Collection for Satsuki

Interview	Questionnaire	Journal	Report
1 (1, 3, 4) January 2007	1 (1-3) April 2006	November 2006	
2 (1-10) July 23, 2008	2 (1-3) April 2007		
	3 July 2007		
	4 (1-2) November 2007		
	5 2007		
	6 (1-2) January 2008		

Note. Data were also gathered from a diary (Canada, 1-2) in 2007.

Data Collection for Fumiko

Interview	Questionnaire	Journal	Report
1 (1-2) February 2007	1 (1-3) May 2006	1 (1-3) October-November 2007	
2 (1-7) February 2008	2 September 2007	2 (England) (1-5) March 2008	
3 (1-7) March 2008			

Note. Data were also gathered from a speech S(1)-(2) in March 2008, email communication on September 28, 2008, and an essay (1)-(5) in July 2007.