Non-Participation in Language Classroom

三村 千恵子 MIMURA, Chieko

"Non-", "de-", "lack of"—such negative features have received some attention in the current study and literature of language learning. Whether it is motivation, participation, interest, passion, energy, or other factors, the relevance of looking at negativity is that it sheds light on some "danger zones" (Dornyei, 2001, p. 142) and gives some implications for teaching as well as learning, particularly in a context where teachers should always be aware of the individual qualities of learners. Further, these negative factors give an opportunity to think about larger contexts surrounding learners, which might be affecting the learners' motivation to learn and participate.

On the other hand, non-participation could be considered as potential towards full-participation (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998), while in some cases of young learners, showing resistance is just considered "cool" (Chambers, 1993, in Dornyei, 2001, p. 155). For this paper, I will be using Etienne Wenger (1998)'s notion of "non-participation" in his framework of "community of practice" (1), to analyze the language learners' resistance to participation. Bonny Norton (2) (2001) examines some of her participants' non-participation through the Wenger's framework. I will follow her, and extend the analysis to other cases in my literature review.

I would like to focus on another point, which is not clear from Norton's study; that is, gender as a negative force pulling a learner from participating in language learning. Norton (1997, 2000; Norton Peirce, 1995) reconceptualizes the notion of identity from fixed and static to multiple and subject to change at any moment. Consequently, a learner's motivational state is not unitary but changing situationally and over time, affected by the power relations with the target language speakers, and the kaleidoscopic identities. Although she uses the word "women" as if connoting a gender issue, she does not fully explain motivation/de-motivation factors that are

specific to women. I would like to add gender factors to her discussion of identity, power, motivation and second language acquisition.

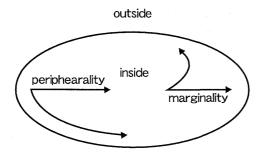
My present discussion of the literature begins with the introduction of Wenger (1998)'s notion of non-participation, which is conceptualized as an ambiguous stage leading into either participation or dropout. Then, I will discuss the inbound trajectory towards full-participation, and then, the outbound into non-membership or the all-time marginal state. This latter process involves demotivation, amotivation (Deci & Ryan, 1985), or simply lack of motivation. Lastly, I will discuss gender factors: that is, women's non-participation in both academia and in the workplace.

Non-participation

Wenger (1998) explains our identities in terms of both what we are and what we are not. He states, "We not only produce our identities through the practices we engage in, but we also define ourselves through practices we do not engage in", and that "our relations to communities of practice involve both participation and non-participation, and our identities are shaped by combinations of the two" (p. 164). There are two cases of interaction between participation and non-participation: "peripherality" and "marginality" (pp. 165-166) (see Figure 1). Peripherality is a degree of non-participation that enables a kind of participation that is "less than full" (p. 165), and "leads to full participation or remains on the peripheral trajectory" (p. 167). Marginality, on the other hand, is a form of non-participation that "prevents full participation" (p. 165), and "leads to non-membership or to a marginal position" (p. 167). For example, a newcomer is a non-participant in a peripheral state. If she masters knowledge and skill, she will move toward full participation in the socio-cultural practices of a

community. If she is disenchanted by certain elements of the community, if she loses interent for any other reasons, or if she is unsuccessful in the process toward full-participation, then she may drop out or remain in a marginal position. This pending state is called "legitimate peripheral participation" (Lave and Wenger, 1991). In order to be on "an inbound trajectory, newcomers must be granted enough legitimacy to be treated as potential members" (Wenger, 1998, p. 101).

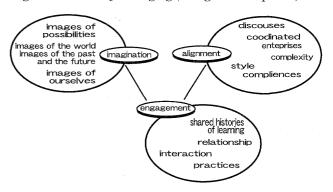
Figure 1: Relation of participation and non-participation (Wenger, 1998, p. 167)



A school or private classroom is one of various communities where an individual learner participates (or not). The process of entering or dropping out of a classroom, or that of legitimate peripherality or remaining in marginality, can be applied to a language learner. The inbound trajectory may involve positive motivation of the learner (newcomer), a good relation with the teacher or other target-language speakers (old-timers), whereas the outbound trajectory involves demotivation of the learner or unfavorable relations with target-language speakers.

In her analysis of the immigrant participants, Norton (2001) also uses the Wenger (1998)'s three "modes of belonging": "engagement," "imagination," and "alignment" (pp. 173-181) (see Figure 2). Norton uses the "imagination" mode in her reference to the "imagined communities" (pp. 162-167). According to Wenger (1998), the concept of imagination refers to a "process of expanding our self by transcending our time and space and creating new images of the world and ourselves" (p. 176). It is the imagined communities that Norton's immigrant participants belong in the mode of imagination, long for, and put their investment in. Norton does not clarify other modes of belonging: engagement and alignment.

Figure 2: Modes of belonging (Wenger, 1998, p. 174)



According to Wenger, engagement refers to active involvement in mutual processes of negotiation of meaning, and it has a bounded character in time and space. Wenger explains:

...there are obvious physical limits in time and space: we can be only in one place at a time and dispose of only a finite number of hours per day. In addition, there are physiological limits to the complexity that each of us can handle, to the scope of activities we can be directly involved in, and to the number of people and artifacts with which we can sustain substantial relationship of engagement. (p. 175)

I think that this is the picture of a classroom where learners are expected to be engaged, and the extent of distance between their ideal practice in the imagined community and that of the real community (classroom), and the possibility of the contribution of the classroom to the imagined community are the keys to either the learners taking an inbound trajectory towards full-participation or an outbound trajectory leading to dropout.

Alignment is a process that "bridges time and space to form broader enterprises so that participants become connected through the coordination of their energies, actions, and practices" (Wenger, 1998, pp. 178-179). The notion of alignment is central, because "it is through alignment that learners do what they have to do to take part in a larger community" (p. 164), and the mode of alignment might lead language teachers to help learners connect classroom practice with that of the outside world.

As I have just discussed, Wenger's framework of non-participation and its subdivisions of peripherality and marginality, as well as the three modes of belonging are all useful when thinking about language learners from socio-cultural perspectives. In the following sections, I

would like to review some studies of resistance, nonparticipation, demotivation, and other negative tendencies of language learners in the light of the Wenger's framework.

Inbound Trajectory Toward Full-participation

In the framework of learning as participation in communities of practice, the inbound trajectory is the process of a learner moving from non-participation to full-participation, including "legitimate peripheral participation", in which participants have varying degrees of familiarity with the practices of the community. The process occurs in a good relationship between a newcomer and old-timers (teacher, target language speakers, etc.). The "social structure of the community of practice, its power relations and its conditions for legitimacy define possibilities for learning" (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 98). Toohey (1998) uses this framework in her longitudinal research in a Grade One classroom enrolling both second language learners and Anglophones. She observes that the practices of classrooms "contribute to instantiating the notion that the individuality of the children must be established, reinforced, and protected" (p. 80), and this individuality causes "stratification that leads to the exclusion of some students from certain activities, practices, identities, and affiliations" (p. 80). The second language learners become systematically excluded from conversations with experts: i.e., English-speaking old-timer students as well as teachers. Thus, the second language learners are legitimately peripheral participants in such conversations, and gradually they begin to acquire "school identities as persons whose inventory is smaller than the inventories of others" and that "require normalizing" (p. 81). The awareness of the identity that needs to be "normalizing" is one motive for the inbound trajectory.

The language socialization framework by Schieffelin and Ochs (1986) with its novice-expert interaction can be also looked at as a process of non-participation to full-participation, where the interactions between newcomers and old-timers are crucial. In her research of language socialization in a beginning level ESL class at a private American university, Poole (1992) observes that experts (teachers) constantly accommodate novices (students) in problem solving and other activities, and that teachers avoid the overt display of asymmetry that exerts power over students. This classroom feature,

where experts guide novices, represents a positive inbound trajectory.

I have taken only two examples here, but the cases of successful leading of the students into full-participation of learning as well as the suspending of peripherality where learners construct an identity to be "normalized", are exhaustive.

Outbound Trajectory: Marginality and Nonmembership

A learner may not always be on the inbound track toward full-participation in the classroom or the learner community. The learner's participation may become problematic and the learner may stay in a marginal position, or in some cases drop out. The causes for this outbound movement vary. As I have introduced in the previous sections, a learner may have his/her own imagined community, which he/she makes investment in. However, the everyday contact for the learner is the surrounding classroom where students are expected to engage. If the classroom helps each learner to connect him/herself with the imagined group, the learner may be motivated; on the other hand, though, if there is a gap between them, the learner may lose interest, become demotivated, or disappointed. In a different model, a learner may not have an imagined community first of all, and may not have interest or motivation in the classroom and become marginal or choose non-membership.

Two of the immigrant participants in Norton (2000)'s study, Katarina and Felicia, exemplify the former case: that is, there is a gap between the classroom and the imagined community, as Norton (2001) analyzes. Katarina's imagined community was a community of professionals. When she felt that her ESL teacher failed to acknowledge her professional history in her home country, and positioned her as a newcomer, she was angry, and she was discouraged by the teacher to take a computer course that would give her great access to her imagined community, and then she refused to continue her participation in the ESL class. In the case of Felicia, the other immigrant from Peru, on the other hand, her imagined community was that of Peruvians. When her ESL teacher did not take seriously what Felicia commented about Peru and made a derogatory remark about the country, Felicia was angry and never returned to class. In both cases, Norton analyzes, the learners' imagined communities were "not accessible to the ESL

teachers, who focused their energy on practices of engagement, rather than practices of imagination" (p. 165), only which the learners are motivated for.

Dornyei (2001) defines demotivation as "concerning specific external forces that reduce or diminish the motivational beliefs of a behavioral intention or an ongoing action" (p. 143). One of the crucial external forces is teacher, as in Norton (2001)'s case. Christphel and Gorham (1992, in 1995, 1995) investigated student-perceived sources of demotivation. The data from their 1992 study shows:

Context factors accounted for only 29 % of student-perceived sources of demotivation, when teacher-related factors accounting for 71 % of sources of demotivation (34% teacher behavior factors and 37% structure/format factors [reflecting instructional, planning, and classroom management]. (in 1995, p. 294)

They conclude that students perceive teacher behavior as only one factor "contributing to their overall motivation to do their best in college courses, and that negative teacher behaviors are perceived as more central to students' de-motivation than positive behaviors are perceived as central to their motivation" (p. 301).

Canagarajah (1993) also examines nonparticipation of students in Sri Lankan ESL/EFL (English as a Second Language/English as a Foreign Language) classroom. In the political turmoil in the Tamil region, the students were highly motivated for studies, including English. For these students, speaking English is a privilege that they associate with "development, progress, learning, civilization, literacy, culture, social respect, and personality" (p. 612). The educated, English speaking society, rather than their rural community serves as an imagined community, where the aspiring students may make a great investment. However, in the middle of the English course, the attendance fell to 50 %, mainly because of the discrepancy of expectation between the students' focus on grammar and the teacher's focus on cultural-topical based instruction. In addition, stress came from their Tamil identity, making them feel insulted when their English was considered "nonstandard". Here we can see the students' "confused and contradicting themselves " (p. 621), in their investment in the status quo English society and at the same time in their effort to maintain their local identity.

Students' aspirations for the mainstream and their

contradictory resistance to accepting a new identity is also observed by Thesen (1997) in her study of first-year students in a South African university. The students in her study experienced transition as they entered the new literacy practices of the university. Being aware of the limitations of rural schooling and the attitudes of those with a "downward look", the students might distance themselves from rural experience, so they "perpetuate the ideology that informs the rural-urban divide" (p. 497). In other words, the students might be in an enabling nonparticipation, which is the transition from peripherality to full-participation or in a legitimate peripheral nonparticipation. This process seems favorable; however, there was some resistance on the students' part, such as distancing themselves from being labeled as "disadvantaged", since such labeling was an institutional discourse to framing them into a category. Although this resistance did not become a crucial force for marginality nor non-participation in the Thesen (1997)'s study, labeling is considered as a potential source of students' non-participation.

In another non-participation study, Norton Peirce, Harper, and Burnaby (1991) investigated how the students in a workplace ESL did not participate in the class, linking the issue to larger socioeconomic framework. The non-Canadian born ESL employees of Levi Strauss & Co. needed to speak English to defend themselves from various unfair treatment; in other words, their imagined community must be where they could live and work equally with Anglophone workers without discrimination from the English-speaking employers. However, participation rates in the ESL class were very low, especially in rural areas. The causes for the low participation rates varied, but the main problem was, like Norton (2001)'s participants, the gap between their engaged community, this time a workplace, rather than classroom, and the imagined, ideal community. Their everyday workplace, which they were engaged in, forced them to believe that it was of the utmost concern for them to survive, so the immigrant workers worked incessantly, and even felt guilty about wasting time on ESL classes. In this case, the ESL program itself remained marginal to mainstream even in the plants, and the immigrant employees continued to non-participate in the ESL programs, and consequently, could not participate in the equal socioeconomic status in Canada.

The above example of immigrant workers might be

the case of amotivation, compared to demotivation, although the categorization is not necessarily meaningful. Amotivation is a constituent of Deci and Ryan (1985)'s self-determination theory. In their concept, amotivation refers to "personal helplessness." It is experienced at the "external boundary," resulting from environmental forces that are neither predicted nor controllable" (p. 150). Amotivation is also experienced with respect to the "internal boundary," which Deci and Ryan explain:

Amotivation at the internal boundary means that a person does not have adequate structures to regulate the drives or emotions, whether they be structures of the integrated self that regulate self-determined functioning, or internally controlling structures that regulate control-determined functioning. Thus, the drives or emotions overwhelm the structure leaving the person amotivated and helpless with respect to those forces. (p. 150)

In addition to the amotivation with respect to internal boundary, there might be other rather internal factors that might cause non-participation, such as personality, anxiety, inhibition, extroversion-introversion, and other affective consideration. I would look at those internal factors with relation to a larger social framework which inevitably affects each individual learner. As Norton (1997, 2000; Norton Pierce, 1995) conceptualizes identity as changing situationally and over time, I would like to see those personality traits as state specific, not fixed or unitary.

Gender and Non-participation

Although Norton (2001) does not clarify genderspecific causes of her immigrant participants' nonparticipation, I believe that there are several genderspecific demotivating/amotivating factors surrounding them and some discouraging environments for women in learning in general as well as in language learning.

The only episode that I can find in Norton (2000)'s participants, which relates to gender, is in the case of the demotivation presented by Mai, an immigrant from Vietnam. For her, English represented a means towards "gender emancipation at home as well as economic independence in the private and public world" (p. 121). So, the imagined world she had pictured was one where she could command English at home as well as at work. She wanted to be freed of her gendered identity as a

domestic woman at home, and instead, become a "language broker" that could connect her family with the outside world. She also wanted to be an independent worker in her career. She made a great investment into such an imagined community for her. However, Norton writes, her new position as a wife in a patriarchal marriage may undermine her opportunities to speak and practice English; thus she may eventually drop out of the ESL classroom.

The issue of women's domestication and its constraints for their career-oriented life has been often discussed, not only in case of participation in ESL classroom, but also their participation in workplace. As for Japanese women, according to Tanaka (1995), many Japanese married women try to work full time, only to find that their dual role as housewife and employee is too exhausting, and they conclude that full time employment or equality with men is unrealistic. Consequently, they recede from participation in the career oriented world.

The awareness of women has changed gradually. Inoue (1999a, 1999b) surveyed Japanese university students about their job aspirations in 1991 and 1998. The result shows that in 1991, 85% of the female students surveyed answered that they were willing to quit their full-time jobs to stay at home when they were married or had a first child. The rate decreased in 1998, when 47.3% of them surveyed answered that they would not give up their full-time job. The results indicate the increase of women who would like to pursue occupational careers, even though there is still great pressure to marry and fulfill social obligation as a wife and mother. Considering studies of Inoue (1999a, 1999b) and Tanaka (1995), Japanese women's imagined community of practice used to be the home, so the school or classroom and their engagement in there did not relate to their ideal community; on the other hand, their imagined community has changed from home to workplace, so school and classroom has a possibility to be linked there. Thus, there is hope for the future.

The tendency of women's non-participation in education as well as career society and their orientation for home and family is not only seen in Japan. Holland and Eisenhart (1990) state in their study of college female students in the U.S. that "most had ended up with intense involvements in heterosexual romantic relationships, marginalized career identities, and inferior preparation for their likely roles as future breadwinners" (pp. 3-4). In

terms of communities of practice, before those female students entered colleges, Holland and Eisenhart say, they had an idea about future careers, which was considered to be their imagined community where they could have made investment; however, in college, they could "remain on track, change tracks, or be derailed" (p. 14). One of the causes of the derailment was "competing demands on time from boyfriends/girlfriends," in addition to low grades and boredom. Holland and Eisenhart concluded:

For a majority of the women, their developing interpretations of schoolwork, together with their unrewarding and disappointing academic experiences and the availability—not to mention the pressure—of the peer culture, led to a marginalization of or a failure to develop their ideas of themselves as having careers in the future. They either were content for a career to be marginal or non-existent in their lives or did not notice what was happening. (p. 200)

Holland and Eisenhart mention the role of schools in reproducing gender hierarchies. Inequities in academe, which has been an inhospitable place for women, will remain, and the need for "scientists and professionals who can generate and apply new knowledge with wisdom and a global vision" will not be achieved "until the culture of academe is changed and the barriers to the full participation of women and ethnic minorities at all levels of academe are eradicated" (Kite et al, 2001).

In addition to home-orientation of women, the image of femininity encourages as well as discourages participation. An example of such encouragement is provided by Pajares and Valiante (2001). In their study of gender differences in the writing motivation and achievement of middle school students, they found that the gender orientation rather than gender itself functions differences, and that in the area of writing, feminine orientation is adaptive in part because writing is viewed by most students as being primarily within the female domain. On the other hand, masculine orientation is associated with task goal orientation, and boys show desire to succeed in writing so as to display their competence.

Three consecutive studies by Lips et al (1985) provide good examples of femininity discouraging participation. The studies examined cognitive correlations of two gender-related behaviors that are

more characteristic of and problematic for women: i.e., the avoidance of math and science, and non-participation in athletics. The results show that the participation of those subjects is relevant to self-perceived images of femininity and masculinity. The list of "less-feminine" images include "being physically strong," "doing strenuous/physical exercise," "spending a lot of time studying," "getting the best marks in class," "doing well in a physics course," and "enjoying math and science," in addition to the association of less family-oriented image as less-feminine ("putting your own need ahead of family needs") (p. 32).

As shown in those studies, domesticity and the feminine image are among the causes of gender-related non-participation. I have not fully explored other factors, such as age differences, and the historical change of the trend. Besides, I have not collected enough literature discussing specifically language learning. I would like to further examine these gender-related features in my future research.

Summary, Implication for Teaching, and Future Study

In the first section of the paper, I summarized the Wenger (1998)'s framework of non-participation, including the two sub-features of peripherality and marginality, and, following the Norton (2001)'s analysis of immigrant women's non-participation, I reviewed some past studies of students' participation/nonparticipation in connection with the inbound trajectory to full-participation and the outbound trajectory to nonmembership within Wenger's framework. In addition, in the last section, I reviewed some studies that examined some gender-related causes leading learners into nonparticipation. How is the examination of the students' resistance, demotivation, amotivation, and those negative features important in the area of TESOL (Teaching English for the Speakers of Other Languages) and SLA (second language acquisition) theories and practices? First, it is important to look at all different motivational factors that are different from leaner to learner. Norton (2001) puts it:

...different learners have different imagined communities, and ...these imagined communities are best understood in the context of a learner's unique investment in the target language and the conditions under which he or she speaks and practices it. (p. 165)

Being aware of each learner's imagined community, the teacher should do his/her best to help the learner make an effective alignment from the classroom engagement to the practices of the imagined community.

Secondly, it is important to understand the transitional process, in which students' identities are shaped, and in which students decide whether or not to register. At this stage, the students should be given enough legitimacy even within their peripherality of participation, and should not be criticized for not fully participating.

Lastly, as I concluded in the gender section, I would like to further explore gender-related factors of women's tendency of participation/non-participation with the prospect of the realization of women's more enthusiastic participation in academia as well as in the workplace of the future.

Notes

(1) By "community of practice," Etienne Wenger (1998) associates practice and community, in which he characterizes it as 1) yielding "a more tractable characterization of the concept of practice---in particular, by distinguishing it from less tractable terms like culture, activity, or structure," and 2) defining "a special type of community---a community of practice" (p. 72). In other words, the property of community of practice holds the following three dimensions of the relation by which practice is the source of the coherence of a community: that is, "1) mutual engagement, 2) a joint enterprise, and 3) a shared repertoire" (p. 73). We all belong to communities of practice on various occasions---more than one community---such as at home, at school, at work, in our hobbies, and so on, and the communities of practice to which we belong change over the course of our lives. Communities of practice are everywhere, and are an integral part of our daily lives. "They are so informal and so pervasive that they rarely come into explicit focus, but for the same reasons they are also quite familiar" (p. 7). As for participation, Wenger explains that "our relations to communities of practice involve both participation and non-participation, and our identities are shaped by combinations of the two" (p. 164).

(2) Bonny Norton (formerly named Bonny Norton Peirce) studies SLA (second language acquisition) from the perspective of postconstructuralist as well as sociocultural framework. She collected her data in Canada from January to December in 1991 from diaries, questionnaires, individual and group interviews, and home visits of five immigrant women. She examined how and what conditions the immigrant women in her study created, responded to, and sometimes resisted opportunities to speak English. Based on her data examination, she has developed her theories of identity and motivation. She also criticizes the mainstream SLA theories and practices as they have not addressed how relations of power affect interaction between language learners and target language speakers. Norton's definition of identity is "how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (Norton, 2000, p. 5). Regarding motivation, she conceptualizes her own notion of "investment," rather than motivation, to describe a learner's state-specific, nonunitary, changing desire to learn. Norton's explanation of investment follows:

The notion of investment, on the other hand, conceives of the language learner as having a complex social history and multiple desires. The notion presupposes that when language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with target language speakers, but they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. Thus an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own identity, and identity which is constantly changing across time and space. (pp. 10-11)

* This paper follows the writing conventions of the American Psychological Association (American Psychological Association, 1999).

References

American Psychological Association. (1999). Publication

Manual of the American Psychological Association.

Washington, D. C.: American Psychological
Association.

Canagarajah, A. S. (1993). Critical ethnography of a Sri Lankanclassroom: Ambiguities in student opposition to reproduction through ESOL. *TESOL Quarterly*, 27, 601-624.

Christphel, D. M., & Gorham, J. (1995). A test-retest analys is of student motivation: Teacher immediacy and perceived sources of motivation and demotivation in college classes. *Communication Education* 44, 292-306.

Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (1985). *Intrinsic motivation and self-determination in human behavior*. New York:

Plenum.

- Dornyei, Z. (2001). *Teaching and researching motivation*. New York: Longman.
- Holland, D. C., & Eisenhart, M. A. (1990). Educated in romance: Women, achievement, and college culture. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Inoue, Y. (1999a). Will Japanese women ever achieve equality? Sex-role differentiations related to education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 431 631)
- Inoue, Y. (1999b). Undergraduate women's gender awarenessand statue aspirations. Paper presented at the 1999 Mid-South Educational Research Association Annual Meeting. Point Clear, Alabama, November 17-19, 1999. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 438 223)
- Kite, M. E., Russo, N. F., Brehm, S. S., Fouad, N. A., Hall, CC. I., Hyde, J. S., & Keita, G. P. (2001). Women psychologists in academe: Mixed progress, unwarranted complacency. *American Psychologist*, *December 2001*, vol. 56(12), 1080-1098.
- Lave, J. & Wenger, E. (1991). Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation. New York: Cambridge.
- Lips, H. M. et al. (1985). Self-schema theory and genderrelated behaviors: Research on some correlates of university women's participation in mathematics, science and athletic activities. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 263 517)
- Norton Peirce, B. (1995). Social identity, investment, and language learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 29, 9-31.
- Norton, B. (1997). Language identity, and the ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly*, 31, 409-429.
- Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and language learning:*Gender ethnicity and educational change. Edinburgh:
 Pearson Education Limited.
- Norton, B. (2001). Non-participation, imagined communities and the language classroom. In M. P. Breen (Ed.). *Learner contributions to language learning*. New York: Longman (pp. 159-171).
- Norton Peirce, B., Harper, H., & Burnaby, B. (1993) Workplace ESL at Levi Strauss: 'Dropouts' speak out. *TESL Canada Journal*, 10(2), 9-30.
- Pajares, F., & Valiante, G. (2001). Gender difference in writing motivation and achievement of middle school students: A function of gender orientation? Contemporary Educational Psychology, 26, 366-381.
- Poole, D. (1992). Language socialization in the second language classroom. Language Learning, 42(4), 593-616.
- Shieffelin, B. B., & Ochs, E. (Eds.). (1986) Language socialization across cultures. New York: Cambridge

- University Press.
- Stephan, G., Rees, G., & Fevre, R. (1998). Two dimensions of time: The changing social context of lifelong learning.

 Patterns of participation in Adult education and training. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 442 951)
- Tanaka, Y. (1995). Contemporary portraits of Japanese women. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Thesen, L. (1997). Voices, discourse, and transition: In search of new categories in EAP. *TESOL Quarterly*, 31, 487-512.
- Toohey, K. (1998). 'Breaking them and up and taking them away': ESL students in grade 1. *TESOL Quarterly 32*, 61-84.
- Wenger, E. (1998). Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity. New York: Cambridge.

語学教室における不参加(要約)

近年の英語教育の分野では、学習者の個人差及び学習環境への配慮から、不参加、意欲喪失、参加拒否等のネガティブな側面に関心が向けられている。本論文は、社会学者Wengerによるコミュニティー(community of practice)とその参加形態の枠組みを言語教育の分野に応用し、コミュニティーの一形態である学校、教室における学習者の参加、周辺的参加、境界的参加、不参加のプロセスとその諸原因について、近年の調査・研究から分析する。併せて、不参加におけるジェンダーの要因についても議論する。

不参加(Non-participation)

Wengerによると、我々のアイデンティティーはコミュニティーへの参加と不参加の両側面から形成される。その両極をつなぐ2つのプロセスが周辺性(peripherality)と境界性(marginality)であり、コミュニティーへの参加はまず周辺(peripherality)期から入り、そこで必要とされる社会的ルールや知識を習得した上で完全な参加へと移行する場合、うまくゆかずに不参加となる場合、あるいはmarginalityにとどまる場合のいずれかになる。参加に向かうためには正当な周辺期(legitimate peripheral participation)が個人に与えられる必要がある。学校や教室にこれを応用すると、参加への移行は、学習者のモチベーションや教師及び他の学生との良好な関係によって可能となる。

またWengerによると、所属には契約(engagement)、想像(imagination)、連合(alignment)の三つの形態がある。学生は、クラスとは現実的なengagementの関係にあり、そこへの参加を当然期待されるが、学生個人が参加の意欲をもつのは理想として描く世界つまりimaginationの関係で属する世界である。学習者がクラスへ参加するか否かは、engagementの教室とimaginationの理想界とのつながりの密接さにより、そのつながりを導くのが教師の役目ともいえる。Imaginationのコミュニティーがengagementのコミュニティーの延長線上に位置付けられるとき、学習者個人の所属は最も望ましいalignmentとなる。

内側への移行 (inbound trajectory)

peripheralityから完全な参加へと移行するプロセスが内側への移行(inbound trajectory)である。 Tooheyは、英語を母国語とする生徒としない生徒が混在する教室において、生徒間に階層化が自然発生し、非母国語の生徒が様々な活動から除外されてゆく現象 を観察した。非母国語の生徒はそれを認知し、英語を 話すという「正常化」への欲求がinbound trajectory への動機づけとなった。

Shieffelin & Ochsが提唱する言語社会化の過程においては、expert (ネイティブスピーカー、大人、教師など)からnovice(ノンネイティブスピーカー、子どもなど)への恒常的働きかけがinbound trajectoryを促進する。

外側への移行 (outbound trajectory)

日常のコミュニティーである教室と理想とする imaginationのコミュニティーとのギャップを持つ学習 者、あるいは理想界を全く持たない学習者は、marginalityにとどまるかあるいは不参加に移行する。これが外側への移行(outbound trajectory)であり、Norton、Dornyei、Canagarajah、Thesen、Norton Pierce/Harper/Burnabyの各研究において例証されている。言語教室におけるoutbonud trajectoryの要因としては、教室と目標とするコミュニティー(英語を使用しプロフェッショナルとして働く世界など)とのギャップ、教師及び教材に起因する意欲喪失、いわゆる英語絶対主義と他文化蔑視に対する抵抗などがある。

ジェンダーと不参加

女性特有の学習及び仕事への不参加の要因には、伝統的な家庭への義務役割への意識がある。Tanaka及びInoueの調査によると、日本人女子学生は職業に対する野心が弱く、家庭を理想コミュニティーと認識する傾向がある。そのため、engagementとして関わる教室と理想界の家庭との間にギャップが生じ、不参加へと向かう。もうひとつのジェンダー要因には女らしさ(femininity)の固定観念がある。Lipsらの調査は、女らしさのイメージが、それにそぐわないある特定の教科の学習への不参加を招くという結果を提示した。

英語教育への示唆

以上の文献考察から、①学習者の個々人が imaginationでかかわる理想界を理解すること、②参加 への準備段階であるperiphralityの時期に十分な正当性 を認めること、③女性のさらなる学術的、社会的進出 をめざし、女性特有の参加・不参加の要因について一 層研究を深めること、の3点の示唆をしたい。