Coping Styles Among
Native English Speaking Instructors Toward
Japanese University Classroom Culture

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Research Note

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Abstract

This paper began with the premise that each (sub)culture contains both verbal and nonverbal communication norms that are commonly adopted specifically for the foreign language classroom. Consequently, in classroom contexts when the instructor and students have different cultural backgrounds, there is potential for friction based upon diverging culturally-constructed expectations between teacher and students for "appropriate" student role behavior. Based on previous research that identified the communication norms among Japanese students that are most commonly the focus of misunderstandings between native English speaking (NES) instructors and their Japanese students, an interview was administered to twenty NES teachers at Japanese universities to determine how they tend to respond to these classroom behaviors that are typically interpreted negatively in their native cultures, but that may not engender such meanings in Japan.

A model was inductively constructed from the data, consisting of four different coping styles employed by NES instructors: Malaise, Accommodation, Coercion, and Conscious Intercultural Change Agentry (CICA). The features of each coping style were described, particularly in terms of the attitudes, attribution styles, and types of teaching methodologies that educators utilizing them took toward students and their divergent communicative norms for the classroom. Furthermore, the principles and instructional techniques were detailed that underlie CICA, an innovative means of teaching classroom communicative norms that are compatible with those commonly found in the instructor's native culture.

As this model is nonhierarchical, each coping style has its own contextual appropriateness. Consequently, instructors can view these styles as teaching methods that they consciously, selectively, and strategically utilize in order to reach their educational objectives. In order to aid teachers in making decisions about which coping style to employ in different contexts, a summary was provided of the factors recommended in the intercultural education literature for deciding if and how to teach one's native classroom culture in foreign language classes.

Introduction

Culture can be a powerful influence upon communication between teachers and students in the classroom. Jin and Cortazzi (1998) framed this relationship, utilizing "culture" to refer to "socially transmitted patterns of behavior and interaction" which engender an interpretative aspect, or "the frameworks of expectations and norms of interpretation through which cultures mediate learning and classroom communication" (p. 98). Moreover, such norms for behavior and interpretation form essential components of "cultures of learning," which exist in (sub)cultures specifically for the foreign language classroom (Anderson, 1993; Jin & Cortazzi). These norms regulate nonverbal and verbal communication between students and the instructor, for example, whether or not students express their opinions, ask questions during class, or maintain prolonged eye contact with the teacher (Brooks, 1997; Galloway, 1984; Hofstede, 1986; Jin & Cortazzi; Skow & Stephan, 2000).

Consequently, when students and their instructor have been enculturated in divergent foreign language classroom cultures, students may enact communication norms that inadvertently violate the teacher's notions of how the archetypical role of student "should" be enacted. Previously Komisarof & Komisarof (2001) identified through a literature review the behaviors that native-English-speaking (NES) instructors tend to find most challenging among their Japanese students due to culturally divergent concepts of appropriate student norms for verbal and nonverbal communication in the classroom. According to the literature, Japanese students generally: (a) hesitate to speak English in front of large groups (Brislin, 1993; Doyon, 2000; Hofstede, 1986; McConnell, 2000), (b) do not challenge the instructor's statements (Anderson, 1993; Brislin; Feiler, 1991; Hofstede; McConnell; Nozaki, 1993; Rohlen & LeTendre, 1996; Skow & Stephan, 2000; Ting-Toomey, 1988; Wurzel & Fischman, 1994), (c) hesitate to initiate discussions or ask questions about topics of interest (Anderson; Hofstede; McConnell; Nozaki; Ting-Toomey; Wurzel & Fischman), (d) do not volunteer responses to questions posed to the class (Anderson; Hofstede; McConnell; Muro, 2000; Skow & Stephan), (e) are reluctant to demonstrate extraordinary ability or knowledge (Hofstede; McConnell; Skow & Stephan; Ting-Toomey), (f) are loathe to disagree with or correct each other (Barnlund, 1989; Brislin; Hofstede; Ting-Toomey; Wurzel & Fischman), (g) are reluctant to ask questions for clarification (Anderson; Nozaki), (h) feel uncomfortable in unstructured learning situations (Doyon; Hofstede; Skow & Stephan), (i) make infrequent eye contact with the professor (Capper, 2000; Nozaki), (j) engage in prolonged periods of silence when called upon (Feiler; McConnell; Ministry of Science, Sports, and Culture, 1994; Muro; Nozaki; Wurzel & Fischman), and (k) have less demonstrative facial expressions than students in many NES teachers' countries (Muro; Feiler).

Conversely, according to Anderson (1993), Doyon (2000), Hofstede (1986), McConnell (2000), Skow and Stephan (2000), and Wurzel and Fischman (1994), NES teachers tend to prefer that students behave contrary to these eleven norms, e.g., to speak English in front of large groups without hesitation, challenge the instructor's statements, initiate discussions, ask questions of interest, etc. While the research of Komisarof and Komisarof (2001) indicated that such cultural expectations may be

more fluid and complex, one can generalize that as a result of these divergent communicative norms, NES teachers *may* expect students to behave and communicate in manners which the students find incomprehensible, unreasonable, and ultimately difficult to perform.

In this paper, the eleven norms identified in the literature review serve as the framework for characterizing the archetypical role of Japanese students in the foreign language classroom. However, this is not to say that Japanese classroom culture is uniform or static. According to the educators interviewed for this study, students more frequently acted contrary to these norms if they were confident in their English speaking skills, had positive previous experiences being taught by NES teachers, knew the current instructor well, and shared a "chemistry" with the teacher which facilitated enjoyable, relaxed interactions. Small class size had the same effects (Komisarof & Komisarof, 2001). Therefore, while patterns of student behavior could be observed and described by the NES teachers interviewed for this study, exceptions are reportedly common, as Japanese classroom culture is dynamic, fluid, and defies simplistic descriptions.

The literature review also revealed that scholars investigating intercultural communication in classroom contexts tended to describe common misunderstandings between students and teachers of divergent cultural backgrounds, as well as the cultural differences at the roots of such conflicts, such as Hofstede's original four dimensions of culture (Hofstede, 1986; Skow & Stephan, 2000; Wurzel & Fischman, 1994), high and low context communication styles (Ting-Toomey, 1988; Wurzel & Fischman), and in the specific case of Japan, student shyness resulting from a culture of shame prevalent in oral English classes (Anderson, 1993; Doyon, 2000; McConnell, 2000; Muro, 2000; Nozaki, 1993). However, few writers addressed with the same degree of thoroughness the critical issue of how teachers adapt, both psychologically and behaviorally, to the intercultural differences in their students' classroom culture, and in some cases go beyond a potential culture clash to engender intercultural learning, rather than resentment, on both sides. Therefore, the goal of this heuristic paper is to examine how NES instructors at universities responded when they were faced with classroom behavior that is typically interpreted negatively in their native cultures, but that may not engender such meanings in Japan. Specifically, common points among teacher responses will be identified, and then general coping styles defined according to discernible patterns in NES teachers' attitudes, attributions, and types of teaching methodologies adopted toward their students and their divergent communicative norms in the oral English classroom.

Methodology

Interview Construction and Implementation
A questionnaire was administered to a network sample of twenty NES instructors currently employed at Japanese universities. Participants were asked if they observed among their students the eleven behavioral patterns identified in the literature review, and then to describe how they typically responded to at least five norms that they

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commonly perceived. Since some educators described their reactions to more than five norms, the total number of responses for each instructor varied (see Table A1 in the Appendix).

Population Demographics

Teachers interviewed originated from the United States (eleven participants), Great Britain (seven), Canada (one), and South Africa (one). Their university teaching experience in Japan ranged from four months to twenty-one years, with a mean of seven years, eleven months, and a median of seven years.

Data Analysis

The interviews were transcribed, and the participants' coping responses to the student norms were examined for underlying patterns in behavior (in terms of the teaching methodologies adopted) and perceptions of their students' classroom norms. Two behavioral patterns were identified: instructors either tried to change their students' behavior, or they refrained from doing so. Perceptually, participants either accepted student norms as appropriate for classes in oral English, or they deemed them undesirable. Whether or not teachers accepted such norms as appropriate in students' daily lives was not the point. Rather, the focus was whether they accepted them in the context of the oral English classroom. For example, during his interview, one instructor criticized his students' silence in class, but went on to extol the aesthetics of silence in the Japanese tea ceremony. For the purpose of this study, he was categorized as not accepting student silence, since he disparaged its existence in classroom contexts. From these variations observed in participants' behavioral and perceptual patterns, a model of teacher coping styles was inductively constructed (see Table 1 below). After creating these categories, the educators' responses were coded according to coping style. The number of responses for each participant that fit each coping style was also tabulated—the results of which are displayed in Table A1 (see Appendix).
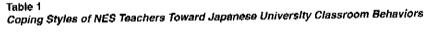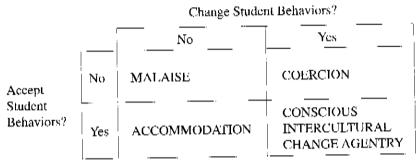
Results and Discussion

Model of Four Coping Styles

Four coping styles describing how teachers tended to respond to students' classroom communication norms in the classroom were inductively conceptualized from the data. These styles may be visualized utilizing two overlapping axes (see Table 1 below). The horizontal axis characterizes the instructor's propensity to change students' culturally conditioned classroom norms, while the vertical axis classifies teachers' tendencies to accept or not accept these behaviors as appropriate for classes in oral English.

Descriptions of Each Coping Style

In the following subsections, several points about each coping style are discussed: first, the teachers' attitudes and attribution patterns regarding students' classroom norms are outlined, including the common teaching strategies adopted. Then, since this model

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Table 1
Coping Styles of NES Teachers Toward Japanese University Classroom Behaviors

Change Student Behaviors?

		No	Yes
Accept Student Behaviors?	No	MALAISE	COERCION
	Yes	ACCOMMODATION	CONSCIOUS INTERCULTURAL CHANGE AGENTRY

is nonhierarchical, the advantages and disadvantages of each coping style are described. These are utilized to illustrate the contextual appropriateness of each coping strategy.

Malaise: Frustration or Confusion

When non-acceptance of students' classroom norms converged with an inertia that precluded change, participants in this study typically felt malaise, hence the terminology chosen for this coping style. Malaise took two forms: frustration or confusion. Instructors in Malaise did not usually realize that their expectations for behavior were in conflict with Japanese classroom norms and that they were experiencing a clash of deep culture. As a result, they became angry or confused because of the gap between their expectations for student behavior and reality. For example, when asked about his students' hesitation to answer questions posed to the whole class, a frustrated participant explained, "I usually just answer my own questions, because I know that none of them will do it. They are too passive to do otherwise." A confused educator, when asked about what the silences he endured in class meant and what he could do about them, mumbled helplessly, "I really have no idea what they mean. I haven't really thought about how to change them." Instructors in Malaise usually continued to utilize the same teaching techniques, suspicious that something was askew, yet unsure as to what was wrong or how to fix it. Such teachers were stuck in patterns of frustrating or confusing encounters with students, yet had little insight as to how these cycles could be escaped or even that a change was possible.

The attributions that NES teachers in Malaise made about their students were strikingly different from instructors employing other coping styles. They either made negative personal attributions (e.g., "Students don't raise their hands because they are passive") or were so confused about the meaning of their classroom dynamics that they could only express diffuse negative affect toward students (e.g., "I have no idea why my students don't raise their hands, but I feel very uncomfortable at those times").

Most of the participants in this study experienced Malaise at some point, most frequently at the beginning of their careers as educators in Japan. However, Malaise periodically resurfaced when they began new learning cycles about the meanings be-

hind their students' communication norms. Malaise typically decreased with time if educators continued to learn about Japanese culture, yet a few teachers did not appear to be gaining such insight and expressed a profound sense of helplessness and/or anger about their students' behavioral patterns that had built up over years. Considerable stress and negativity resulted from such unresolved, perpetual Malaise.

Contrary to those stuck perennially in Malaise, some of the instructors learned from the discomfort that they felt in this state, using it as a self-prompting indicator that something was awry and needed fixing. In other words, when the teachers interviewed became conscious of their confusion or anger, they could begin to discern which student behaviors were causing them stress, which of their associated expectations about student communicative norms were being disconfirmed, and in some cases, what were the meanings of the students' behavior to the students themselves. Participants often discovered that the students attributed different meanings to their behaviors than the teacher, as detailed in Komisarof and Komisarof (2001). Only upon making these realizations could instructors take action in the form of one of the other three coping styles. In this sense, Malaise can be educational for the educator, as intercultural learning occurs. Viewed from this perspective, Malaise, as all of the coping styles, has both functional strengths and weaknesses.

Accommodation
Instructors employing Accommodation, the next coping style, chose not to attempt change in student norms either out of respect for maintaining Japanese cultural traditions, or because they assumed that their students would be uncomfortable and possibly unable to behave any differently. As a result, these educators tried to work around such norms. For example, if students felt nervous speaking in front of large groups, then they were simply never asked to do so. Accommodative teachers typically made situational, rather than personal attributions about their students such as, "Students don't raise their hands because they have not been trained to do so in the Japanese educational system." However, they tended to view such externally imposed cultural characteristics as either immutable and/or undesirable to change. As one participant explained, "I don't try to make my students debate with me because they usually don't have any experience doing that with their other teachers, and I want to respect that aspect of Japanese culture."

Utilizing Accommodation was advantageous in that with it, teachers could avoid conflict and often build harmonious and comfortable classroom atmospheres. Furthermore, some participants preferred Accommodation because they could demonstrate respect for Japanese culture by preserving students' communication norms and avoiding the imposition of their own. Conversely, some educators also criticized this style, as it does not commonly force students to engage in intercultural adaptation. They worried that overaccommodation to Japanese behavioral norms could sacrifice the teacher-student communication style that provides cultural context for English language use. As Jin and Cortazzi (1998) argued:

> If the teacher uses the students' own culture of communication . . . this
> makes it easy for the students, but it risks the fact that the medium may

deny the message: the culture of communication may be dissonant with that of the target language. This would deprive students of the opportunity of learning intercultural skills. (p. 100)

Therefore, if teachers exclusively employ Accommodation, then their students may never learn to raise their hands and volunteer responses to questions, challenge the instructor's opinions, or engage in other behaviors that could help them to thrive in classes if they studied abroad.

Coercion

Teachers who did not accept students' communication norms, and tried to change them into culturally familiar forms, engaged in the coping style of Coercion. To paraphrase, these instructors commonly assumed, "Students must adapt to my educational style and act how students do in my country." They also tended to view Japanese classroom norms as barriers to be overcome and ultimately replaced. For example, when one teacher wanted reluctant students to correct each other, she presumed that they merely lacked the linguistic knowledge to do so. She provided them with a list of expressions for disagreeing, and after a quiz the next day, expected students to use these expressions appropriately. Another teacher felt frustrated when students were silent for long periods in response to his questions. Therefore, he taught them conversational fillers, such as a protracted "Hum" or "Please wait a moment while I think." Students practiced these expressions in a role play and were strongly encouraged to use them from then on.

Among participants who employed this coping style, two patterns of attribution emerged. Some educators made negative personal attributions about their students, such as, "My students don't understand leadership, so I try to teach them to be leaders by raising their hands." There were few participants who made such pointedly negative comments, but those who did so tried to replace student communicative norms, which were viewed as somehow lacking, with their native cultural norms, which were thought to overcome the perceived student "deficiencies."

Other instructors made situational attributions like those made in Accommodation, for example, "Students don't raise their hands because they have not been trained to do so in the Japanese educational system." However, they chose to change student behavior for pedagogical reasons—of which two types were cited. First, in order to improve oral language proficiency, some participants reasoned that students need to speak English as much as possible. Many of the behaviors discussed during the interviews (e.g., hesitation to volunteer responses, initiate conversations about topics of interest, etc.) were viewed as causing lost opportunities to use English and hence bolster oral proficiency. Therefore, educators employed Coercion to replace these norms with those that would encourage more speaking time in class.

Other teachers assumed a fundamentally symbiotic relationship between their native culture of communication, of which classroom communicative norms are one example, and English language proficiency. They subscribed to the definition of communicative competence offered by Briere (1980), who wrote, "Communicative competence ... includes not only the concept of grammaticality but also the concept of appropriateness. In other words, communicative competence includes considerations of who is

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saying what to whom in what circumstances and under what conditions" (p. 89). Consequently, these instructors believed it was their duty to teach communicative competence through inculcating their own classroom communication norms, which would in turn promote students' English proficiencies.

When Coercion was successfully employed, students learned new behavioral repertoires and hence engaged in a form of intercultural adaptation. Such an immediate, thorough immersion can provide students with a realistic environment for extended sojourns abroad, where one often experiences societal pressure to adapt to mainstream cultural norms. Such cultural immersion can be of great benefit, and also well received, among highly motivated students with plans to study or work abroad. Conversely, Coercion also has drawbacks, as teachers who make negative judgments about the ultimate utility of their students' classroom norms risk falling into ethnocentrism. Also, Coercers may push students too far and too fast in cultural adaptation; subsequently, they may altogether reject the instructor's expectations, especially if they have not reached a level of comfort with their teacher and classmates in which a supportive atmosphere toward risk-taking exists.

Conscious Intercultural Change Agentry

Educators who combined an accepting attitude toward students' behavior, along with a method for incremental change of common Japanese classroom norms based on a deep understanding of prevalent values, unconscious assumptions, and communicative norms in Japanese culture, engaged in the fourth coping style: Conscious Intercultural Change Agentry (CICA). Such teachers utilized their knowledge of Japanese culture to enable students to adapt to the instructor's culture of learning and teaching. These instructors also made situational attributions about students, assuming that their classroom norms had been inculcated through the Japanese educational system, but that such norms were ultimately modifiable.

When employing CICA, teachers created contexts for students to practice and gradually adopt a verbal and nonverbal communication style in the classroom that is compatible with English as it is spoken in the instructor's native culture. These situations were consciously created for students to reach attainable goals in a comfortable atmosphere; this attainability and comfort were the results of educators structuring learning environments in manners that were compatible with Japanese values (e.g., stronger collectivism and higher power distance compared to the participants' native cultures) and communication styles (e.g., face maintenance strategies), yet at the same time stretched and transformed them.

CICA is characterized by the acceptance of students' communicative classroom norms, despite the seeming paradox that the instructor wants students ultimately to enact different ones. This desire for change differs from Coercion in that Coercion involves the *immediate, imposed replacement* of the students' previous communicative norms with those of the teacher. CICA is usually a gradual process where students are seen as willing partners in change. Therefore, patience is critical for the instructor. While Coercers typically view students' communication norms as barriers to be overcome, such norms are an essential starting point of the CICA process; without fully understanding them, CICA would not be possible. Only by *working with* Japanese

norms can a teacher facilitate their transformation. Also, some Coercers, albeit not all, make ethnocentric judgments about their students' classroom behavior. When teachers employ CICA, such value judgments are not made. Therefore, CICA involves a level of acceptance not evident in Coercion.

Underlying principles and dynamics of CICA. When analyzing CICA and how it operates, three underlying dynamics were identified. Each one is based on assumptions about change agentry, which were described by Stewart and Bennett (1991) when the change agent is foreign to the affected culture. Such change agentry involves:

> . . . the consciousness and control of cultural differences, the use of empathy, and the comprehensiveness of the understanding of both deep and procedural culture. With this conscious understanding, . . . change agents [are] able to communicate in an appropriate style, their message congruent with the perception and understanding of [the other cultural group]. (p. 173)

Watzlawick, Weakland, and Fisch (1974) concurred– positing that change is motivated by reframing the change itself in a manner "congenial to the person's way of thinking and of categorizing reality" (p. 103). Similarly, educators engaged in CICA work with the students' culture of learning and communication in order to affect change, i.e., teach the instructor's native communication norms for the classroom. This is facilitated through introducing familiar communication norms (i.e., procedural culture) and values (i.e., deep culture) from other Japanese cultural contexts into the oral English classroom. The rationale and effectiveness of such educational methodology is supported by Kramsch's (1997) constructivist theory of learning:

> [A] person's thinking is not completely fluid, it is *channelized* [author's italics]. It follows the channels the person has laid out for himself or herself, and only by recombining old channels can one create new ones. These channels rotate the axes of one's thinking and limit one's access to the ideas and culture of others. (p. 463)

Therefore, by comprehending and utilizing as a point of departure the students' repertoire of norms and values that they have learned through socialization in Japan, educators can teach novel ways of behaving and thinking in the classroom.

The first of the three means of employing CICA is to transfer common Japanese communication norms that students have typically enacted in non-academic contexts into oral English classes. These norms approximate those in the instructor's native classroom culture. For example, in extracurricular club activities, Japanese university students tend to readily volunteer opinions and speak before large groups (Anderson, 1993). Therefore, teachers create opportunities for students to transfer these behavioral patterns into the classroom, thus leveraging Japanese norms to create novel forms of interaction that more closely resemble the native classroom culture of the instructor—in this case, one in which students readily volunteer opinions and speak before large groups.

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The effectiveness of this method rests upon the crucial recognition of the diversity of cultural characteristics and communication norms within any given culture. As Stewart and Bennett (1991) asserted:

> A cultural characteristic represents only one of a number of possible assumptions, values, or norms of behavior. Alternative characteristics will be found in the same culture, options that can be found in other cultures, but the emphasis on particular characteristics will differ from culture to culture. (p. 175)

Therefore, a norm in the NES teacher's classroom culture may diverge from the equivalent pattern typically observed in Japan, but actually resemble a norm found in other Japanese social contexts.

Haslett's (1989) research on "universal communicative needs" complements and elaborates upon this idea. She reasoned that such needs exist in every culture, yet are satisfied through different communication norms in different contexts. For example, the universal need to exchange information was frustrated among many of the instructors interviewed in this study when Japanese students did not volunteer opinions or debate with them in class. This does not mean that the same students never volunteer opinions or debate in other contexts; on the contrary, they may do so with more intimate relations such as family or friends. What diverges is the appropriateness of attempting to fulfill these needs within the teacher-student relationship in a classroom context. Since the communicative practices associated with this need are not typically sanctioned in English lessons in Japan, NES teachers are challenged to create classroom environments in which students understand that it is desirable to fulfill the need to exchange information.

Awareness of both the multiplicity and contextual appropriateness of communication norms in a culture also informs a second technique, similar to the first, which was utilized by some teachers engaged in CICA: transferring common communication rituals from other *school* contexts into the oral English classroom. For example, group work, in which students monitor and assist with each other's practice, is a form of cooperative learning commonly employed in Japanese elementary schools. One participant encouraged students to use this technique to teach each other how to use new grammar forms in conversation, correct fellow group members' mistakes, and disagree with each other when required to build a group consensus through sharing opinions. This instructor averred that her students were comfortable with correcting each other's work through cooperative learning, and when required to discuss issues, the relative privacy of a small group reduced inhibitions common among Japanese toward expressing disagreement publicly.

Whether teachers enabled students to transfer norms from educational or other social contexts, all instances of CICA shared a common denominator (which is the third feature of CICA): they included activities which required students to engage in classroom norms common to the instructor's culture, yet were congruent enough with common Japanese values that the students were comfortable engaging in risk-taking behaviors. By working with students' habituated communication norms, or proce-

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dural culture, as well as their assumptions and values, or deep culture, instructors engaging in CICA were engineering change at both levels. Consequently, these educators created successful bridge activities that, in the words of Anderson (1993), "ease the transition from the students' interactional norms to those of the teacher" (p. 109).

These dynamics can be seen at work in the following example of CICA given by a participant in this study. He played a game with his students, patterned after a television game show, in which students were organized in small teams that competed with one another. The teacher asked a trivia question, and the first person to raise his or her hand and answer correctly received a predetermined number of points based on the question's difficulty. Before responding, the students were encouraged to confer with each other to formulate their answer.

This game is simple in design, yet includes all three components of CICA previously discussed. Intergroup competition, which virtually all Japanese students have experienced in annual sports festivals in primary and secondary school (as well as many other contexts), provided the interactional norms associated with team competition. These norms were transferred from outside the classroom context, as English classes in universities do not commonly utilize these norms on a daily basis. Intergroup competition, which could have been perceived as a threat to group harmony and individual face, was accepted by the students. This is because it was counterbalanced with intragroup cooperation, which allowed students to enact a repertoire of harmony- and face-promoting communicative norms that are observable in contexts both inside and outside of schools in Japan. Another interactional norm appropriated from school contexts was the opportunity to engage in consensus checks with group members, which is commonly practiced in Japanese university classes (Anderson, 1993).

Also, the students' primary collective was reframed from the class to their team in the competition. This feature, as opposed to a competition between individuals, preserved the integrity of the students' collectivistic value orientation —also widespread among Japanese students (Hofstede, 1986; Skow & Stephan, 2000). Therefore, through attentiveness to the students' deep culture (i.e., concerns about face maintenance and establishing strong social bonds within a collective), as well as procedural culture (i.e., working toward common goals in groups- -in this case to win– through a consensus-oriented decision making style), the instructor was able to co-create an atmosphere in which students were willing to engage in novel behaviors that are endemic to his classroom culture, such as volunteering answers, speaking English in front of large groups, and demonstrating extraordinary knowledge in response to difficult questions.

Furthermore, as illustrated in this example, CICA operates by creating a dynamic tension between two sets of seemingly conflicting values and norms, i.e., those of the students and their instructor. However, in order to successfully complete the CICA activity, students must adopt the role behavior common to the teacher's culture. Through this paradoxical process, students' habituated communicative norms are recognized and to a certain extent enacted, but also transformed.

Managing value orientation shifts and perceived threats to identity with CICA: The importance of challenge and support. Some of the participants believed that when they engaged in CICA, they initiated not only a process of behavioral changes in

students, but also shifts in values, especially if such behavioral modifications were engaged in frequently over an extended period of time. This notion was supported by Haslett (1989) and Hofstede (1986). According to Hofstede, "Differences in mutual role expectations between teacher and student . . . are determined by the way the archetypical roles of teacher and student tend to be played in the actors' (sub)cultures, and they are guided by values rooted in these cultures" (p. 305). Therefore, conversely, if such roles are altered, the values that underlie them might also change.

Similarly, as assumptions about appropriate classroom behavior and their supporting values are questioned, students may feel that their identity is being threatened (Jin & Cortazzi, 1998; Morgan, 1998; Ortuno, 2000). Chapman (2000) proposed that students have different "identity statuses," which constitute their degree of security in their values, commitment to actively search for a personal identity, and willingness to explore other world views and value systems. In this sense, each student's comfort and motivation to engage in CICA will vary, and the risk of losing some participants during a course must be safeguarded against.

In order to do so, a proper balance of challenge and support, in terms of the educational program's content and process, is key (J. Bennett, 1993). If students are overly challenged by CICA, they might not return to the class or permanently withdraw psychologically. However, challenge and support cannot be balanced until their sources are properly identified. When teachers engage in CICA, some prominent challenges to the students are performing behaviors novel to the classroom, absorbing new information, discussing issues to which they have negative emotional reactions, and developing new attitudes. Sources of support include engaging in familiar forms of communication and activities that are at least partially congruous with students' values, as well as the creation of a positive socio-emotional classroom climate. In fact, several of the participants who utilized CICA emphasized that establishing and maintaining an atmosphere that supported risk-taking behavior was a primary objective of their classes throughout the term. If students did not trust the teacher and/or each other, CICA was much riskier and more difficult to implement.

In sum, instructors who employ CICA are constantly balancing the culturally familiar (i.e., support) and unfamiliar (i.e., challenge) in terms of both content and process. When this process is effective, teachers are able to create a safe forum for identity negotiation, rather than identity assault, which some students fear if they participate in the process of learning to identify with others' cultural meanings and norms. Therefore, equilibrium between challenge and support is critical when attempting to manage changes and perceived threats to students' values and identities.

Advantages and disadvantages of CICA. One advantage of CICA is that the instructor ideally acts as a patient guide for students to learn new behaviors in the foreign language classroom. Students can receive intercultural education through carefully planned activities which, when enacted within a positive socio-emotional environment, often result in a pleasant process of enculturation to the instructor's classroom culture. Furthermore, CICA promotes students' communicative competence. As a result, students can grow more interculturally competent, which Jin and Cortazzi (1998) defined as "social and educational effectiveness across cultures" (p. 117).

CICA also engenders a dynamic underlying notion of culture. Culture was por-

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trayed by some participants in this study as a static entity that wields deterministic effects on students, for example, "Japanese students are collectivistic, so they won't demonstrate exceptional knowledge because they don't want to stick out." While such statements might be true about some students, teachers who utilize CICA treat culture as a vibrant construct that transforms when introduced to new norms — as long as those behaviors are introduced in a conscious, strategic manner.

CICA also has limitations. Participants described it as a time-consuming process; those who employed CICA usually did so in classes that met at least once a week for a full academic year (about forty-five contact hours). This does not entirely preclude using CICA in classes that meet less frequently, but attests to the lengthy time required to establish bonds of trust and then facilitate the enacting of novel classroom norms. Furthermore, utilizing CICA can create an idealized environment that is limited by its artificiality. Many intercultural interactions do not unfold smoothly; with a classroom environment that is filled with CICA activities, a teacher could create an over-reliance among students upon a safe, comfortable atmosphere for intercultural learning. When living abroad, such learning can be emotionally taxing and displays of competence abruptly demanded. To prepare students for such challenges, teachers might more appropriately use Coercion, the dynamics of which resemble the expected conformity to cultural norms that is often experienced when living abroad.

Caveats of the Model

Two caveats are necessary about this coping styles model. First, participants in this study did not typically describe teaching strategies characterized exclusively by one coping style. While some participants appeared to employ a predominant mode along with ancillary ones, others drew regularly from various styles. Therefore, these styles often seem to coexist within an individual's pedagogy, thus reflecting an eclecticism within language teaching. However, the exact range and frequency of styles employed by each participant cannot be precisely analyzed from the data. As explained previously, instructors were required to recount in depth their strategies for any of the Japanese classroom norms identified by Komisarof and Komisarof (2001), with at least five descriptions required. Since participants explained their responses to different sets of classroom norms (both in terms of the number of norms and which items were discussed), the data for each participant is not entirely equivalent. Consequently, the data in this experiment is not conclusive, but can suggest that an interesting line of inquiry for future research would be to determine the range and frequency of styles chosen by study participants, and also to discern patterns of which coping styles tend to be utilized in combination by individuals.

The second caveat is that this model is nonhierarchical. The aim of this study has not been to compare the effectiveness of each coping style, which would be necessary in order to make claims that one style is superior to the others. Rather, both advantages and disadvantages of each coping style have been delineated in order to illustrate each style's contextual, rather than absolute appropriateness. Consequently, instructors can view this matrix of coping styles, particularly Accommodation, Coercion, and CICA, as providing a potential repertoire of teaching methods which they consciously

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and strategically utilize in order to reach their educational objectives. By identifying their preferred coping style(s), educators can evaluate how their habitual choice(s) compare(s) with the alternatives, and then decide upon the most appropriate style in a deliberate manner, rather than a haphazard one. Therefore, each coping style has its own specific utility. Similarly, in order to be used constructively, Malaise is not so much a voluntary choice of action as a state in which many educators periodically find themselves. Once made conscious, it can serve as an essential component of the learning cycle about the form and meaning of another culture's classroom norms.

While a large portion of this paper has been devoted to analyzing the assumptions and dynamics of CICA, this does not imply that CICA is always superior to the other styles. Such a lengthy explanation has been partially undertaken due to the complexity of CICA. The dynamics of Malaise, Accommodation, and Coercion are relatively easy to conceptualize. However, CICA requires not only knowledge about Japanese communicative norms and values, but also the design of lessons that are based on this understanding and carefully structured to transition students into another classroom culture. Therefore, it is more abstruse than the other styles and its analysis necessitates more space. Moreover, once understood, CICA offers exciting opportunities for intercultural learning on the parts of both students and teachers. While CICA might not always be the best option in a particular educational context, its promise as a culturally sensitive means of engaging in change agentry is clear, and therefore worthy of thorough discussion.

Criteria for Choosing a Coping Style

Given that this model is nonhierarchical, upon what basis do instructors choose one coping style over another? This is an important topic for future research, as the data yielded in this study did not directly address this issue. However, the literature on intercultural education is extensive which questions when and how culture should be taught. While a detailed review of this literature is beyond the scope of this paper, a summary of the primary factors recommended when teachers are deciding if and how to teach their native classroom culture is provided to aid educators in making decisions about which coping style to employ in different contexts.

When choosing a coping style, teachers need first to determine which one is most appropriate, or fit, for each class and situation. Such appropriateness is determined by a coping style's potential to be educationally effective, which is a function of the teacher's goals, environment (Byram, Morgan, and colleagues, 1994; Chapman, 2000; Garrett, Giles, & Coupland, 1989; Mantle-Bromley, 1997), and the limits of his or her personal capacity to successfully engage in different coping styles (Wasilewski & Seelye, 1997). By carefully considering each of these factors, educators can gauge sources of challenge and support for their students, as well as themselves, and then determine the most appropriate coping style for their unique set of circumstances.

First, educators need to clearly define goals for which aspects of their native classroom culture that they want students to learn. Goals should be attainable based on considerations of logistics such as the course time frame, number of students, and physical layout of the classroom. Then, teachers should consider their environment, which consists primarily of the students and their reactions to lessons. Such reactions

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are shaped by the students' educational goals, feelings about the target language and culture, and developmental capacity for enculturation. By thoroughly assessing student readiness to learn about foreign classroom cultures, instructors can make conscious decisions about whether and how to engage in this process. Such needs assessment is an important first step -- for in change agentry, before initiating change (or consciously deciding against it), it is essential first to determine a group's capacity for change, as well as the type of change that the members desire and/or are willing to participate in (Adler, 1997; Moss Kanter, Stein, & Jick, 1992; Rogers, 1995; Watzlawick, Weakland, & Fisch, 1974).

Students' educational goals can be clarified by considering such questions as: "Do students just want to learn enough English to pass out of a required course so they can joyfully end their coerced study of a foreign language?" "Or do they sincerely want to master the language and adapt behaviorally so as to improve their communicative competence?" In classes that primarily fit the former profile, teachers would be more inclined to utilize Accommodation or a gradual, mild form of CICA, while in the latter case, Coercion or CICA would likely be more appropriate.

Students' feelings about the target language and culture are influenced by a complex array of factors. For example, if they have strongly negative perceptions of the group whose tongue they are learning due to historical, ideological, and/or political reasons, they might resist learning the language and its associated communicative norms (Garrett, Giles, & Coupland, 1989). Feelings about the target language and culture are also tied to students' developmental capacity for enculturation. Many models have been proposed to conceptualize such student readiness. Some focus upon identity salience factors, i.e., students' security in questioning their identity and exploring those commonly found in other cultures (Chapman, 2000; Mantle-Bromley, 1997; Ting-Toomey, 1989). Other models are based upon motivational factors, such as students' desires to participate in enculturation (Mantle-Bromley, 1997). Also, some developmental models categorize learners' readiness to empathize with other perspectives and accept cultural differences (M. Bennett, 1993; Byram, Morgan, and colleagues, 1994).

Finally, the capacity of educators to strategically employ intercultural coping styles will vary according to the extent of their previous experience using different styles and their flexibility to experiment with new ones (Wasilewski & Seelye, 1997). A teacher's willingness and ability to utilize a diversity of styles may also related to the complexity of the style itself (Wasilewski & Seelye), with complex styles being utilized less frequently.

In sum, the factors that teachers could potentially consider when choosing a coping strategy are abundant and their interplay complex. This underscores the need for future research into instructors' decision-making processes about how and when to train students in performing new classroom norms, and also the reaction to these pedagogical choices among students. Such research should generate insight into which coping styles are advisable, as well as the desirability of affecting change, in various educational contexts.

Conclusion

NES teachers of Japanese students face many challenges arising from intercultural differences in classroom norms for both verbal and nonverbal communication. When responding to such challenges, a conscious, strategic approach, employing a variety of coping styles, is recommended in order to facilitate student learning, as well as positive intercultural contact between the students and instructor. Furthermore, CICA merits attention as a promising means of culturally sensitive education with a concurrent emphasis upon student adaptation to foreign classroom norms.

Appendix

In Table A1, the total number of responses to Japanese classroom norms that fit each coping style is tabulated for every participant. When interviewed, teachers were asked to address at least five norms, and some discussed up to eleven. Therefore, the total number of responses for each instructor varied. In a few cases, participants recounted two responses to the same student behavior that fit two different coping styles. When this occurred, two different coping styles were recorded for the same behavior.

Table A1
Frequency of Coping Style Utilization Among Participants

Participant #	Malaise	Accommodation	Coercion	CICA	Total Responses
1	0	3	0	2	5
2	4	2	1	1	8
3	3	2	6	0	11
4	1	2	0	2	5
5	0	3	0	2	5
6	0	0	0	6	6
7	3	5	1	1	10
8	0	4	1	2	7
9	1	4	0	1	6
10	0	3	0	8	11
11	0	3	0	2	5
12	0	0	0	6	6
13	3	2	0	1	6
14	0	4	0	1	5
15	2	2	0	1	5
16	0	4	0	1	5
17	0	2	1	4	7
18	1	4	0	2	7
19	1	5	0	1	7
20	4	1	1	1	7
Total Tallies	23	55	11	45	134

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