Education/learning Resistance in the Foreign –Language Classroom: a Case Study

by

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Abstract

This paper explores the phenomenon of education/learning resistance in the foreign-language classroom at one university, particularly in the form of students' disruptive behaviour. 239 students from three different faculties were surveyed to assess their perception of their own disruptive behaviour and how generalised the phenomenon is in their classrooms with the purpose of determining causes and possible solutions, especially at the pedagogical and curricular levels. To that end a method of assessment based on the theoretical works of Bourdieu (1990) was developed and validated, which can be further used to assess instructional/pedagogy dissonance in cross-cultural and international education settings. The results confirm that *resistance* is widespread and suggest that: (a) it is required to resocialise students to enable them to cope better with constructivist approaches to learning, on which contemporary ideas and practice on foreign-language teaching/learning are widely based, (b) instructivist approaches to teaching and mass education (e.g., large classes, deficient teacher-student ratios) seem no longer adequate and should be re-evaluated as well as a curriculum that overvalues mandatory attendance rather than learning and academic output, (c) long-term reform efforts should reconsider the university's role within the education system, and (d) there is a large segment of the student population whose academic achievement is being abducted by their peers' disruptive behaviour and by teachers' attempt to counter resistance. That segment should be better taken care of.

Introduction

Around the world university lecturers have often experienced frustration when encountering students who appear to be very resistant to the teaching and learning process. As a lecturer teaching Spanish as a Foreign Language at several Japanese universities *(daigaku)* for over eight years, the ever-increasing and permanent level of lesson disruption caused by students, especially at faculties not specialised in foreign language teaching, has profoundly intrigued me. Disruption at this education level is not characterised by students' violent behaviour but by their apathy, neglect and lack of interest, instead. In more than a few cases, lesson disruption amounts to almost the entire collapse of a class (the class objectives cannot be achieved because most of the students avoid learning/acquiring knowledge and skills related to the class objectives and/or keep other fellow students from engaging into learning practices, teachers lose control over the teaching process and have to commit themselves to disciplining students instead), or at least contributes to a dramatic decrease of academic performance. In fact, drawing from McVeigh (2002), it seems more appropriate to refer to this phenomenon as education *resistance* rather than lesson or class disruption. Thus, lesson disruption and the subsequent collapse of a class are manifestations of resistance.

Informal observation suggests that the goal of a class which encounters high and permanent levels of disruption, that is education resistance, shifts, for most of the students' part, from learning a foreign language to learning how to *resist* learning a foreign language, and for the teachers' part, from plain teaching to countering resistance. In between these two forces there are students committed to learning a foreign language caught in the crossfire. They are not serviced either by peers or teachers. The former are more interested in disrupting lessons, and the latter are extremely busy trying to govern the class within the rather constricted limits of the *daigaku's* mandate and teachers' authority.

This paper reflects on the research I have carried out during the last three years in an attempt to find the reasons which contribute to make teaching and learning foreign languages increasingly unbearable for all parties involved in certain (unfortunately very generalised) circumstances. The results of the study are not just of interest to those involved in modern Japanese education but are also of interest to all higher education academics who have encountered difficulties with student resistance.

Although I started the research looking for pedagogical and curricular answers with the purpose of giving new guidance to my own and other peers' practice, I soon realised that pedagogical and curricular approaches had serious limitations. Education resistance is more of a structural problem embedded in education politics, which calls for the use of more sociological research approaches, and the

implementation of political solutions. Having asserted that, the reality is that foreign-language teachers have very limited means of solving problems of a political nature and therefore the main goal of this study is to assess which areas of the problem can be addressed in the short-term or medium-term by encouraging pedagogical and curricular tuning or change, and which ones presumably require a long-term political fix. To this end, the paper is divided into three parts. First, it examines the theoretical frame used in elaborating a questionnaire on disruptive behaviours, which was administered to 239 students of a *daigaku* who did not take part in a foreign-language undergraduate programme. The purpose of the questionnaire was to assess (a) which behaviours are considered disruptive by students and which are not, (b) how generalised they perceive the situation to be, and (c) the reasons and solutions they may give to the problem. Second, details of the data collection and results are given. Finally, the implications for short-term and medium-term curriculum development and long-term educational policy review are discussed.

Theoretical Frame

From *Classroom Collapse* To *Education resistance*

The 'collapse of homeroom classes' *(gakkyû hôkai),* i.e., the deterioration or total collapse of a class in the hands of undisciplined students who commit violent acts, undermining the school authority (teacher control), emerged during the last half of the last decade as one of the most important problems of the Japanese educational system at the primary and secondary levels. This problem, however, is not limited exclusively to those levels. At the tertiary level, its occurrence is widespread, but it generally does not assume a violent form. The result, though, is exactly the same: the school authority is undermined, any atmosphere conducive to learning is subverted (counterdisciplining) and, consequently, the classroom collapses.

Whilst there is a rich Japanese scholastic literature that opts for the use of the Japanese term *gakkyû hôkai* to refer to this problem at the primary and secondary levels, in this paper I intend to elaborate on McVeigh's (2002) rather wider notion of (education or learning) *resistance,* that is, a more subtle and temporary form of defiance which is not characterised by physical violence but is rather grounded on studied ignorance and inattention:

By 'resistance' I do not mean a conscious, organized, and systematic insurrection against the sociopolitical order. Rather, I employ this term to designate actions and attitudes that do *not directly challenge* but *scorn* the system. This form of subtle resistance ignores rather than threatens and is a type of diversion (if only temporary) from, rather than a subversion of, the dominant structures. (p. 185-186). (Emphasis in original.)

Causes of Resistance

It is possible to establish a continuum from more and less violent ways of class disruption under *gakkyû hôkai* and the particular forms that disruptions adopt at the tertiary level. In fact, resistance is a theme that surfaces longitudinally across the whole educational system. This is in part a reaction to the severe disciplining employed at the school system, especially the one deployed to control learners' bodies. Sugimoto, drawing from Imazu coincides with this assessment:

> The sudden increase in school-refusal cases since the mid 1970s appears to coincide with the rise of the authoritarian style of education and to show the growth of "corporal resistance" among some students against corporal control in schools. Cases of school refusal are in a sense children's body language or body messages in response to school attempts to control their bodies. (Sugimoto, 1997, p.128)

Paradoxically, at tertiary level, resistance is embedded in a particular time frame (i.e., in-between the periods of secondary schooling and the world of work) when the gaze of the educational system has been averted (McVeigh, 2002):

> Time passed in Japanese higher education can be characterized as a period of counterdisciplining. Higher education is a period in which a sort of passive resistance is permitted. This is evident in how students use their time at *daigaku* –killing time between exams and employment–to "resist". Such resistance (most noticeable being absent, not responding to questions, and not doing assignments) is not an explicit attempt to subvert "the system", but rather a sign of generalized dissatisfaction with the education system. (McVeigh, 2002, p. 213)

According to McVeigh, added to this lack of institutional gaze at the tertiary level is a lack of internal mechanism on the students' part to guide their behaviour adds in. The result is that "they come to associate 'freedom' […] with a lack of responsibility and no reason to study" (p. 181). Furthermore, features of group socialisation already acquired (e.g., self-censorship and self-monitoring as mechanisms employed by individuals to fit in the group) still play an important role in the fostering of subtle or silent forms of resistance:

> even such innocuous practices as participating in class, answering a question, volunteering an answer, listening to the opinions of others […], or demonstrating interest in a lecture are self-inhibited. (McVeigh, 2002, p.181)

Even though the gaze of the education system is almost completely averted during tertiary education, the control of students' bodies is still in place. This is done in part to counterbalance the fact that the system does not reward students' learning

or independent reflection on the issues related to their subjects but class attendance, instead. The lack of records that measure students' real academic achievement, the excessive weight given to class attendance, and the policy of not failing students are all evidences that independent reflection and learning are not rewarded.

According to McVeigh, "Resisting and regimented bodies are both produced from constant observation, monitoring, and guidance; they are different sides of the same coin" (p. 233). These causes align with the emphasis given by the educational system to socialise students "to focus on a closed-knowledge style and to excessively self-monitor their behaviour" (p.104) with the goal of producing a docile workforce of diligent workers who can fit in Japanese industrial cells, not independent thinkers, expert practitioners or masters of a given subject. Furthermore, achieving expert practice through formal learning seems to run against the education system's reinforcement of *groupism*, i.e., it is more desirable to socialise students to fit in a variety of groups (*daigaku* clubs or circles, according to established membership hierarchies, or class groups and subgroups) rather than having them acquire disciplinary knowledge (Escandon, 2003).

Forms of Resistance

Resistance is manifested in many students' disruptive behaviour or practices. Below there is a list of them drawn from McVeigh's (quoted respectively) and from my own personal observations. Whilst classifications 2 to 7 are those of McVeigh's, the taxonomy introduced below has not been used systematically throughout all of his works. Moreover, I added Classification 1, Bodily dispositions, to refer to both a set of patterns of behaviour (most of them widely referred to in McVeigh's) which corresponds to dispositions acquired by Japanese students at earlier schooling periods as part of their general socialisation process and, it can be argued, may not be consciously acknowledged as such by them.

I. BODILY DISPOSITIONS
Sitting in the back of the classroom. "…[M]ost sit in the back…, with many, as if playing musical chairs, scrambling for the seats furthest from the front as soon as they enter the classroom." (McVeigh, 2002, p. 187)
Sitting in a place far from other students (avoiding interpersonal communication with peers).
Gender segregation. "Students will often segregate by sex, males on one side and females on the other." (p. 187)
Overworked bodies. "'Many illness' *(gogatsu-byô)* afflicts new students… who, after starting school, …become tired and lose their motivation to study, …they tend to become sleepy and lose motivation." (p. 187)

Not maintaining eye contact with the instructor. "Many do not maintain eye contact with the instructor and look away if they think they are to be called on." (McVeigh, 1997, p. 179)

Lack of voice. "Many students speak in an inaudible voice, effecting a sort of noncommunicative verbalization; sounds are emitted but nothing is said." (McVeigh, 2002, p. 186)

II. ABSENCE. "Perhaps the most obvious positioning of bodies –as a way to express resistance– is to simply not show up for class." (McVeigh, p. 187)
- o Repeated absence.
- o Not attending class during important evaluation periods.

III. NOT RESPONDING & PRETENDING NOT TO KNOW

Unresponsiveness. "…[T]hey are 'unresponsive' and make a conscious effort to ignore what is being asked of them... [and] display all the signs of burnt-out apathy." (McVeigh, 2002, p. 197) Due to "'consensus checking': when called on and asked to take center stage, students will turn to their neighbors and discuss the response before attempting an answer." (McVeigh, 1997, p.179)

Pretending not to know. "…[S]ome will simply ignore the teacher, or pretend they do not understand the question or instructions…, this is *tobokeru*." (McVeigh, 2002, p. 197)

IV. NEGLECT & FORGETFULNESS "…[W]illful inattention, a studied neglect of what is happening in the classroom that in practical terms readily becomes forgetfulness (of pens, notes, paper, texts, assignment deadlines, last week's lecture)…" (McVeigh, 2002, p. 198)

Studied neglect, overt inattentiveness.

Forgetting materials (pens, notebooks, textbooks, dictionaries).

Forgetting important personal belongings (not wearing glasses).

Forgetting assignment deadlines, evaluation days.

V. INDIFFERENCE "…[I]ndifference (sleeping in class, daydreaming, not taking notes, not completing assignments)…" (McVeigh, 2002, p. 198)

Sleeping in class.

Daydreaming.

Not taking notes.

Not completing assignments.

Plagiarism. (McVeigh, 1997, p. 178)

VI. INACCURACY "…[I]naccuracy (disregarding lecture points, failing exams, appalling term papers)." (McVeigh, 2002, p. 198)

Disregarding lecture points.

Failing exams.

Appalling term papers and assignments.

VII. RUDENESS "…[R]udeness (incessantly arriving to class late, making noise, chattering, snickering at lecturers, ignoring simple requests)…" (McVeigh, 2002, p. 198)

Excessive lateness.
Making noise.
Chattering.
Snickering at lecturers.
Operating pagers, beepers or mobile telephones.
Ignoring simple requests.
Frequent exits from class (including long and non authorised exits).
Eating or drinking.
Personal grooming (applying makeup, shaving legs, fixing their own or others' hair, cutting nails, placing contact lenses on their eyes).
Ignoring requests to be quiet.

Resistance and *Habitus*

One way to determine the areas of resistance that can be addressed in the short or medium-term by pedagogical or curricular means is by assessing students' level of awareness on determined behaviours (whose occurrence has been established by external observation, such as the different forms of resistance noted above). Drawing from Bourdieu (1990), it can be argued that those behaviours that escape students' awareness are part of their *habitus*, i.e., they are systems of dispositions which cannot be altered just by directing students to change patterns of behaviour.

More precisely, Bourdieu defines *habitus* as:

> …[S]ystems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor. (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 53)

Consequently, *habitus* is not a reflected form of organisation of behaviour. Its importance in this analysis comes from the fact that it is the organising principle which holds together social practices such as learning. But as such, it is not easily addressed by critical reflection.

Since all *pedagogic action* is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by means of symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, p. 5), the introduction of new

(sometimes competing) pedagogies at late stages of socialisation can only be achieved ultimately through new socialisation processes which override earlier dispositions (Escandon, 2003). In fact, Bourdieu believes these dispositions are not easily 'combated' by ideas:

> This submission [to symbolic violence], which the body can moreover reproduce by miming it, is not an act of consciousness aiming at a mental correlate, a simple mental representation (the ideas that one 'forms') capable of being combated by the sheer 'intrinsic force' of true ideas, or even what is ordinarily put under the heading of 'ideology', but a tacit and practical belief made possible by the habituation which arises from the training of the body. (Bourdieu, 2000, pp. 171-172)

As it happens with all learning, acquiring even the lowest levels of foreign-language proficiency requires newcomers to go through a complex socialisation process. In the case of Japanese learners, this process may be particularly difficult since their *habitus* may not be of help to face instructional approaches based on contemporary ideas about foreign-language education. This is particularly the case when Japanese learners have to face constructivist approaches to foreign-language instruction (e.g., the communicative approach, learner-centred methods, problem-based instructional techniques), which demand collaboration and dialogic engagement with peers and instructors, something unfamiliar or almost completely unknown to them.

Consequently, instructional shift is a complex exercise which cannot be simply solved by explaining to learners the philosophical insights of a given learning approach or the aims and procedures of a given instructional technique. Learners' *habitus* will inform the repertoire of possible (and socially correct) exchanges for a given situation where the alien pedagogical action will take place, overriding any conscious commitment or effort to adopt foreign teaching or instructional approaches, methods and techniques alike. To counteract undesirable forms of social engagement new ones have to be acquired (not learned) through actual practice.

Method

Participants

239 undergraduate students from the Faculties of Law, Social Sciences and International Relations of Ritsumeikan University took part in this study. Details of the numbers, gender and faculty membership of the students are given in Table 1. Students enrolled in the Spanish-language programme of their respective faculties. It must be stressed that the appointment to their respective courses did not depend upon any academic placement criteria, i.e., they were not selected

through placement tests or class standing. Ten intact classes were involved in this study, five from the Social Sciences faculty (three classes were part of a 4-credit programme, which requires the completion of five classes over the period of two semesters, starting the second semester; and two pertained to an 8-credit programme, which requires the completion of eight classes also during the period of two semesters starting the second semester), three from the Law faculty (two classes were part of an 8-credit programme and one pertained to a 4-credit programme, both programmes being similar to the ones described above), and two from the International Relations faculty (one class was part of the mandatory Second Foreign Language programme, which comprises six classes during a period of three semesters, starting the first semester, and one from the optional programme, which also comprises six classes during a period of three semesters starting the fourth semester). With the exception of one optional class for sophomores at the International Relations faculty (eight participants), all the classes were for freshers.

Table 1: Participants

	Law	Social Sciences	International Relations	
Male	58	57	10	
Female	34	59	21	
Totals	92	116	31	239

Evaluation Instrument

A self-administered questionnaire divided in three sections was prepared first in English and then translated into Japanese. The first section comprises respondents' demographics. Students' anonymity is kept. The second section consists of 31 items on class disruption drawn from the list elaborated in the theoretical frame and ordered accordingly. A few items were worded emphasising the subjects of the behaviours instead of the behaviours themselves, e.g., "students who often fail evaluation and exams", to have participants focusing on a *situation* rather than on an *action*. This section employs a three-point Likert scale: not disruptive (0), disruptive (1), and very disruptive (2). The third section comprises two open-ended questions concerning the number of foreign-language and general classes students have per week; a question about the existence or level of class disruption using a four-point Likert scale: non-existent (a), uncommon (b), common practice (c), and very generalised (d); two open-ended questions requesting to comment on the reasons of and solutions to the problem of class disruption in case they consider disruption behaviour to be either common

practice or very generalised above; and a closed-ended question requesting to evaluate the existence of class disruption practices according to class type (classes directly related to their majors, grammar classes and conversation classes) through a three-point Likert scale: they don't occur at all, they occur sometimes, and they occur often.

Administration

The questionnaire, along with the periodic class-evaluation survey conducted every semester by each faculty, was administered late in the second semester of the 2003/2004 academic year by the researcher. The participants were given 20 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

Results

With the purpose of expediting further analysis and discussion of the results, the responses to all section 2 items of the questionnaire are grouped by their respective category. Tabulated data for that section are depicted in Table 1 for reference. Besides percentages, the mean for the three-point Likert scale is given along with the respective standard variation. Furthermore, to illustrate the overall range of responses and to be able to compare them graphically, the results are shown by item also by their respective category (horizontal axis) in Figure 1. Mean values are considered (vertical axis) so as to depict them at the 3 point scale continuum range. Tabulated responses to the statement of section III of the questionnaire are depicted in Table 2. Figure 2 is a chart which illustrates those responses (percentage). Also, responses to the statement in section 3 (percentage) grouped by respondents' faculties are depicted in Figure 3. Coded responses to open-ended questions are given in Tables 3 and 4. Some excerpts from the raw data collected are given in the section 'Perceived reasons and solutions' of this paper. Tabulated responses to the question posed in section 3 of the questionnaire are given in Table 5. Figure 4 is a chart which illustrates those responses at scale range (mean).

Validation of the bodily disposition items

Statistical analysis showed that bodily dispositions items behaved as a construct. A factor analysis (varimax rotated, two-factor extraction) grouped all bodily dispositions items in the first factor, supporting the notion of an independent construct. A reliability analysis was done on these items (S1 to S7, S12, S14 & S15) resulting in a 0.80_ coefficient. The analysis prompted the inclusion of S12, S14 & S15 as bodily dispositions due to their functioning as sub-categories or paraphrases of bodily disposition items.

Perception of Disruptive Behaviours

Category I. Bodily dispositions (statements 1-5): This category's behaviours are considered the least disruptive of all confirming the idea that bodily dispositions are not easily acknowledged as disruptive since they are an important part of students' socialisation principles and may be out of their conscious grasp. To compare this category with others, see Figure 1.

Category II. Absence (statements 6-7): Absence from class, which McVeigh considers flagrant bodily resistance (and a dramatic case of bodily disposition), arguably not inculcated in early socialisation but acquired at tertiary education, is considered not disruptive by a large number of participants. "Students repeatedly do not attend class" (statement 6) is considered disruptive by only 23% of participants, and very disruptive by 8% (percentages have been rounded hereafter). "Students do not attend class during key periods such as evaluation or examination days" (statement 7) is considered disruptive by 22% of participants, and very disruptive by 11%.

Category III. Not responding & pretending not to know (statements 8-9): Participants acknowledge the behaviours covered in both statements from this category as considerably disrupting. "Students constantly do not respond to teachers' questions and look apathetic" (statement 8) is a behaviour considered disruptive by 57% of participants, and very disruptive by 24%. "Students who know what the teacher is asking or instructing pretend not to know *(tobokeru)*" (statement 9) is considered disruptive by 53% of participants, and very disruptive by 20%.

Category IV. Neglect & forgetfulness (statements 10-13): The behaviour covered only in one statement of this category is found to be considerably disruptive. "Students who often forget class materials (pens, notebooks, textbooks, dictionaries)" (statement 11) is considered disruptive by 45% of participants, and very disruptive by 9%.

Category V. Indifference (statements 14-18): The only behaviour considered relatively disruptive is covered by statement 17. "Students often do not complete assignments" (statement 17) is considered disruptive by 40% of participants, and very disruptive by 10%.

Category VI. Inaccuracy (statements 19-21): Only one type of behaviour from this category is considered disruptive. "Students often do not pay attention to what is said during class" is considered disruptive by 54% of participants, and very disruptive by 19%.

Category VII. Rudeness (statements 22-31): This category's behaviours are considered the most disruptive of all. "Students often come excessively late to class" (statement 22) is considered disruptive by 62% of participants, and very

disruptive by 8%. "Students make noise in class" (statement 23) is considered disruptive by 37% of participants, and very disruptive by 54%. "Students chatter in class" (statement 24) is considered disruptive by 43% of participants, and very disruptive by 45%. "Students snicker at lecturers" (statement 25) is considered disruptive by 62% of participants, and very disruptive by 16%. "Students use pagers, beepers or mobile telephones in class" (statement 26) is considered disruptive by 51% of participants, and very disruptive by 14%. "Students ignore simple requests from teachers (e.g., coming to sit at the front of the class or to do pair-work)" (statement 27) is considered disruptive by 53% of participants, and very disruptive by 25%. "Students eat or drink in class" (statement 29) is considered disruptive by 46% of participants, and very disruptive by 13%. "Students groom themselves in class (e.g., applying makeup, shaving legs, fixing their own or others' hair, cutting their fingernails)" (statement 30) is considered disruptive by 54% of participants, and very disruptive by 21%. "Students ignore requests to be quiet" (statement 31) is considered disruptive by 47% of participants, and very disruptive by 43%.

For an overall comparison of items and their respective original category blocks at scale-range (mean), see Figure 1.

Table 1: Perception of Disruptive Behaviours Per Item (n=239)

Statement Section II No % n=239		Not disruptive (0)	Disruptive (1)	Very disruptive (2)	Totals	Mean (scale 0-2)	Sd
1	Students sit most of the time in the back of the classroom, leaving front seats empty.	208	30	1	239	0.13	0.35
		87.0	12.6	0.4	100.0		
2	Students sit alone in a place far away from other students.	226	12	1	239	0.06	0.25
		94.6	5.0	0.4	100.0		
3	Female students frequently sit close to female students and male students sit close to male students.	216	19	4	239	0.11	0.37
		90.4	7.9	1.7	100.0		
4	Students come often to class over exhausted, tired or sleepy.	174	59	3	236	0.28	0.45
		72.8	24.7	1.3	98.7		
5	Students often avoid making eye contact with teachers, especially when they think they are going to be called on.	181	50	7	238	0.27	0.50
		75.7	20.9	2.9	99.6		
6	Students repeatedly do not attend class.	167	54	18	239	0.38	0.62
		69.9	22.6	7.5	100.0		
7	Students do not attend class during key periods such as evaluation or examination days.	159	53	27	239	0.45	0.69
		66.5	22.2	11.3	100.0		
8	Students constantly do not respond to teachers' questions and look apathetic.	44	136	57	237	0.97	0.65
		18.4	56.9	23.8	99.2		
9	Students who know what the teacher is asking or instructing pretend not to know (tobokeru).	64	126	48	238	0.93	0.68
		26.9	52.7	20.1	99.6		
10	Students who make teachers believe they are paying attention to the class but actually they are doing something else (e.g., checking or writing e-mail on the mobile telephone; preparing assignments for another class)	142	83	13	238	0.40	0.52
		59.4	34.7	5.4	99.6		
11	Students who often forget class materials (pens, notebooks, textbooks, dictionaries).	109	107	21	237	0.51	0.58
		45.6	44.8	8.8	99.2		
12	Students who often forget to bring their glasses and therefore cannot read adequately what is written in textbooks, on blackboard or screens.	146	78	15	239	0.45	0.61
		61.1	32.6	6.3	100.0		
13	Students who forget assignment deadlines or evaluation days.	140	81	17	238	0.48	0.63
		58.6	33.9	7.1	99.6		
14	Students who continuously sleep in class.	162	66	11	239	0.37	0.57
		67.8	27.6	4.6	100.0		
15	Students who are often daydreaming (e.g., looking through the windows, with their minds focused on nothing in particular).	200	33	6	239	0.19	0.45
		83.7	13.8	2.5	100.0		
16	Students normally do not take notes.	195	35	9	239	0.22	0.50
		81.6	14.6	3.8	100.0		
17	Students often do not complete assignments.	119	96	23	238	0.53	0.60
		49.8	40.2	9.6	99.6		
18	Students resort to partially or totally copying other fellow students' assignments or class work.	139	79	20	238	0.44	0.61
		58.2	33.1	8.4	99.6		
19	Students often do not pay attention to what is said during a class.	65	128	45	238	0.89	0.65
		27.2	53.6	18.8	99.6		

20	Students who often fail evaluations and exams.	202	28	9	239	0.19	0.48
		84.5	11.7	3.8	100.0		
21	Students who produce second-rate papers and assignments.	197	33	6	236	0.14	0.35
		82.4	13.8	2.5	98.7		
22	Students often come excessively late to class.	70	147	19	236	0.80	0.58
		29.3	61.5	7.9	98.7		
23	Students make noise in class.	15	89	130	234	1.42	0.65
		6.3	37.2	54.4	97.9		
24	Students chatter in class.	22	102	107	231	1.27	0.70
		9.2	42.7	44.8	96.7		
25	Students snicker at lecturers.	47	148	39	234	0.90	0.64
		19.7	61.9	16.3	97.9		
26	Students use pagers, beepers or mobile telephones in class.	78	123	34	235	0.82	0.72
		32.6	51.5	14.2	98.3		
27	Students ignore simple requests from teachers (e.g., coming to sit at the front of the class or to do pair-work).	45	127	60	232	1.00	0.68
		18.8	53.1	25.1	97.1		
28	Students frequently exiting from class, including long and non-authorised exits.	124	91	20	235	0.53	0.61
		51.9	38.1	8.4	98.3		
29	Students eat or drink in class.	92	110	32	234	0.74	0.67
		38.5	46.0	13.4	97.9		
30	Students groom themselves in class (e.g., applying makeup, shaving legs, fixing their own or others' hair, cutting their fingernails).	53	130	51	234	1.01	0.69
		22.2	54.4	21.3	97.9		
31	Students ignore requests to be quiet.	22	109	103	234	1.27	0.68
		9.2	45.6	43.1	97.9		

Figure 1: Perception of Disruptive Behaviours Per Item (in their respective categories) over a 3-point Likert scale (0-2) continuous (mean). Grey bars depict 'Bodily dispositions.'

Perception of disruptive behaviours per item over a 3-point Likert scale (mean)
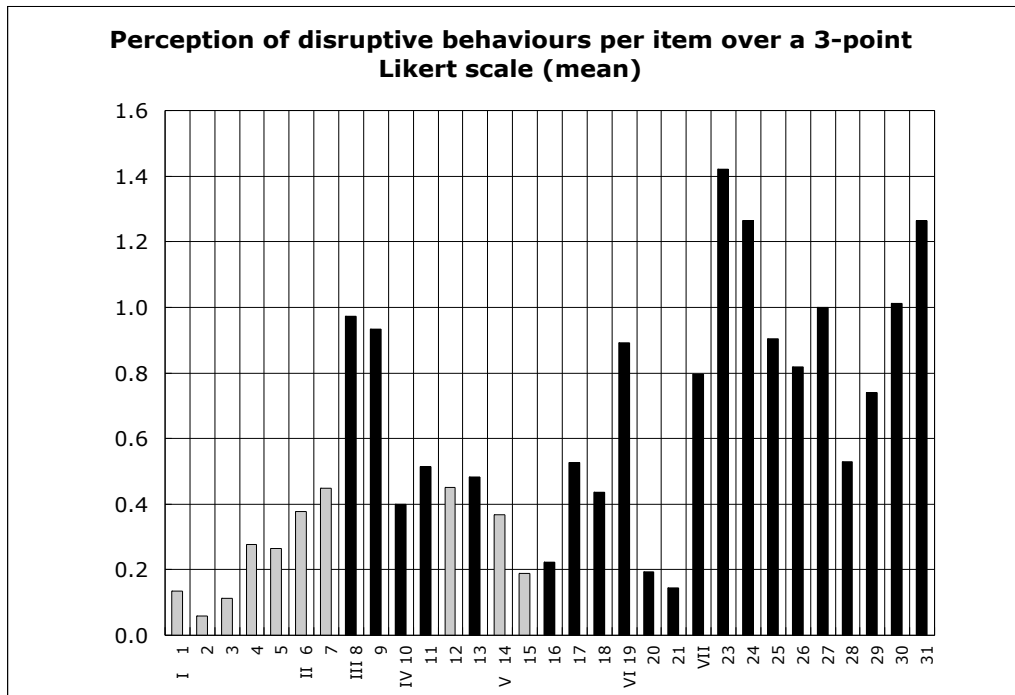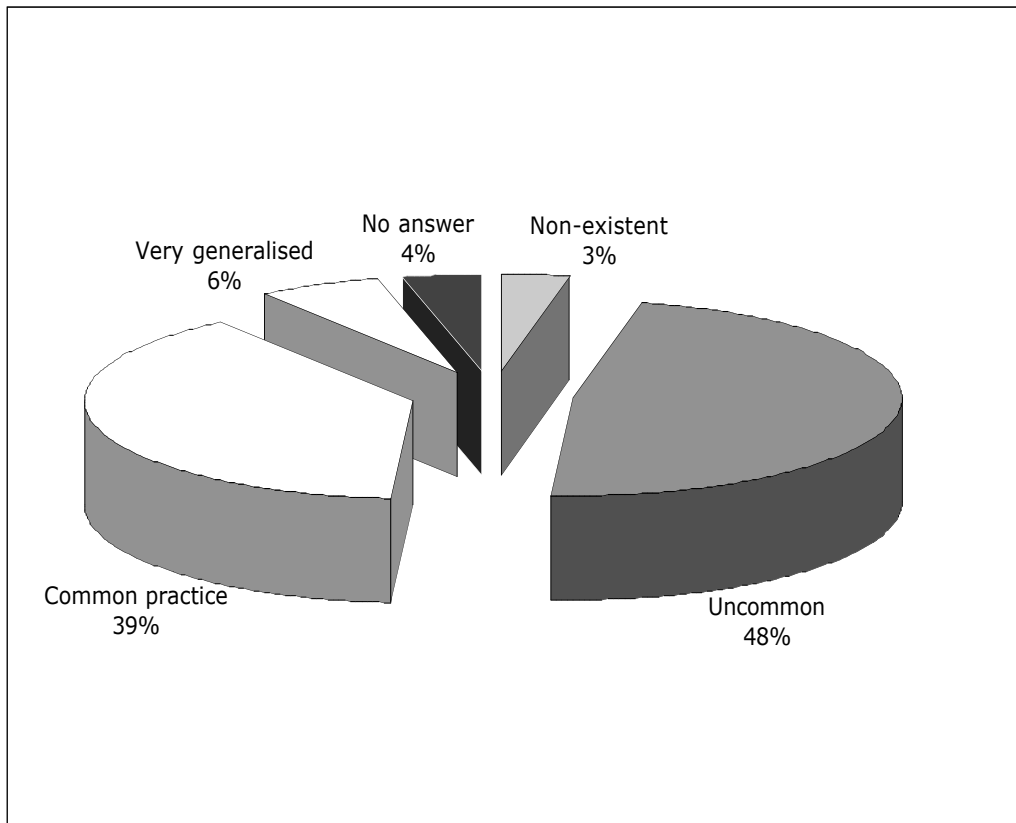

Perception of Disruption Level

The perceived level of disruption is considerably high (see Table 2 and Figure 2). Although 48% of participants believe that a great number of behaviours covered in Section 2 statements are uncommon, 39% and 6% of participants consider that those behaviours are "common practice" and "very generalised", respectively. Thus, a combined 45% of participants believe that disruptive behaviours take place on a common basis during *daigaku* classes. The perceived level of disruption per faculty (shown in Figure 3) varied significantly in both "uncommon" (39%) and "common practice" (48%) for the Social Sciences faculty. The participants from the Social Sciences faculty perceive a higher level of disruption taking place in their classrooms. A combined 54% of participants from that faculty believe that disruptive behaviours take place on a common basis during their classes.

Table 2: Perception of Disruption Level

	Statement Section III No % Mean sd n=239	Non-existent	Uncommon (experienced in few occasions)	Common practice	Very generalised	Totals
3	Considering the classes you have had in this university so far, do you think that a considerable number of the practices mentioned above are	8	114	93	15	230
		3.3	47.7	38.9	6.3	96.23
		0.03	0.65	0.26	0.06	
		0.16	0.48	0.44	0.23	

Figure 2: Perception of Disruption Level (percentage)

No answer 4%
Non-existent 3%
Very generalised 6%
Common practice 39%
Uncommon 48%

Figure 3: Perception of Disruption Level Per Faculty (percentage)
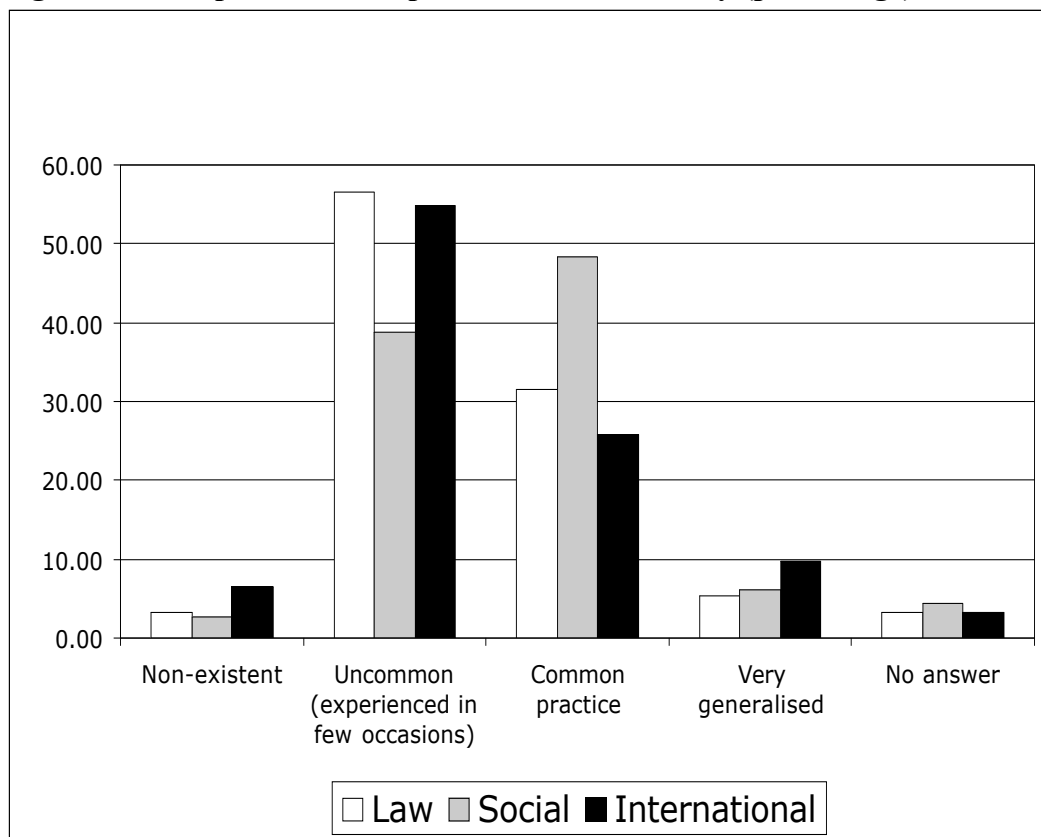
Perceived Reasons and Solutions

Answers to open-ended questions were coded. 111 participants from a total of 239 cast some kind of comment to either question, which corresponds more or less to the percentage of participants who believe disruption takes place on a common or very generalised basis. Participants sometimes cast more than one comment.

Perceived reasons: Answers given to "what are the reasons" for disruption were grouped in three categories: (a) students are at fault, (b) teachers are at fault, and (c) the *daigaku* system is at fault (see Table 3).

(a) Students are at fault: The greatest number of comments in this category asserts that "students are not willing to study," "do not think seriously about classes," "are not interested in the classes" and "easily fall into playing games and entertaining themselves" (39 comments). This may be related to the next category, which qualifies classes as "boring" and "not interesting." They also assert that students "lack morals/awareness/commonsense," "do not understand they are doing wrong," are subject to "immaturity" and "have been overprotected" (20 comments). These comments reinforce the idea that students are at odds with Japanese social mores regardless of the quality and attractiveness of

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the classes. One 19 year-old male student from the Law faculty stresses the fact that disruptive behaviour is generalised commenting: "These are the scenes that are seen frequently at the *daigaku*. There are not many students who realise they are doing wrong." Another 19 year-old female student from the Social Sciences faculty comments: "They are not thinking of the rest of the students who are seriously studying. They only think of themselves." One 20 year-old female student from the Social Sciences faculty coincides with McVeigh's views of *daigaku* as a time when the institutional gaze is averted pointing out that "it is thought [for students] to be normal to entertain themselves rather than studying once they have entered the *daigaku*." Another 21 year-old female student from the same faculty thinks disruptive behaviour occurs "because students have not entered *daigaku* to study." And yet another 19 year-old female student from the International Relations faculty comments: "Students are not interested much in *daigaku* classes. They prefer to have fun while in the *daigaku*." Finally, they show some level of open rebellion: "they hate/disregard teachers" and "are not afraid of teachers" (2 comments).

(b) Teachers are at fault: The greatest number of comments in this category show the belief that "classes are boring, not interesting" (38 comments), which stresses the idea that there is no harmony between current instruction and students' expectations of what classes should be like. Furthermore, they reveal that there is a "lack of interest" on the teachers' part, and they "are only interested on their own research" (5 comments), expressing the belief among students that instruction is teacher-centred. One 19 year-old female student from the Social Sciences faculty comments: "Classes are not interesting. The teachers must make efforts as well in some things. In the class of a teacher who teaches well everyone listens." Another 19 year-old female student from the same faculty believes "teachers have problems on how to teach."

(c) The *daigaku* system is at fault: The greatest number of comments in this category asserts that there are "too many students per class", "classes are large" and take place in "large classrooms", and "teachers cannot pay attention to every single student" (15 comments), all conveying the idea that teacher-student ratios are inadequate at *daigaku* level. The comments from these two last categories reveal that students doubt about the effectiveness of industrial-type of education models which may well reinforce teacher-centredness. This is clearly seen in the proposed solution to the problem posed by one 19 year-old male student from the Law faculty. He believes the solution lies in "not just by having the teacher speaking" but "by asking sometimes to the students." And finally recommends: "Teach paying attention to students, telling interesting stories." They also assert that disruption is caused by the system of "mandatory attendance," that is, "disruptive students attend classes

because is mandatory" and the subject credit system, i.e., "students attend classes not to learn but to get credits," (14 comments) both stressing the idea that learning is not encouraged by the actual *daigaku* system. One 19 year-old female student from the Social Sciences faculty comments: "[Students] get credits if they attend but it doesn't matter their attitude." Another 19 year-old male student from the same faculty asserts: "There are mandatory classes to attend to get credits." The entrance system also was questioned: "Some students are not qualified to be in the *daigaku*" and the "selection process is flawed" (3 comments). Finally, they address indirectly the issue of study burden by commenting that students "are tired/sleepy for having studied all night long" (2 comments).

Perceived solutions: Answers given to "what could be done to solve the situation" were grouped in four categories: (a) pedagogical change, (b) reinforcing discipline, i.e., tightening the current system, (c) changing students' attitudes, and (d) system and curricular change (see Table 4).

(a) Pedagogical change: The greatest number of comments in this category assert that disruption can be solved by "delivering classes that develop students' interest" (20 comments), indicating the need for a pedagogical/instructional shift. One 18 year-old female student from the Law faculty suggests: "Teachers must teach classes that raise students' interest." Another 20 year-old male student from the Social Sciences faculty points out that "teachers only make effort in their own research and study," and suggests "teachers should be willing to teach." "Reducing the number of students in one class" (14 comments) is another way of solving disruption in the opinion of participants. Although its implementation depends upon administrative criteria, it has the pedagogical dimension of an instructional shift from an industrialised/modern education model based on teacher-centredness (mass education) to a postmodern education model that integrates the satisfaction of students' needs and perhaps curriculum negotiation. Participants also believe that the problem can be solved by "improving teachers' efforts" (4 comments) and by "negotiating students and teachers" through dialogue (3 comments). Finally, one participant believes in a more dramatic solution: "replacing teachers" (1 comment).

(b) Reinforcing discipline: The greatest number of comments in this category indicates that disruptive behaviour can be solved by "not letting disruptive students attend class; making them leave the classroom by force if necessary," (13 comments) that is, by tightening discipline. They also assert that the problem can be solved by having teachers "demanding students' attention; getting angry with students" (11 comments). Both types of comments above indicate the current relaxation of discipline or general neglect of the situation. To this precise regard, one 19 year-old male

student from the Social Sciences faculty comments: "Neither teachers nor teacher assistants ask [students] to be quiet. They almost never get angry due to students' behaviour." One 20 year-old female student from the Social Sciences faculty expresses her frustration with her peers' disruptive behaviour: "Make noisy students leave the classroom. I do not want them to be in class. It is impossible to solve it. Stop teaching in large classrooms," summarising the Catch 22 between large classes, large classrooms and lack of discipline. Another 19 year-old female student from the same faculty also believes the problem can be solved "by not letting students attend if they are not willing to study or they disrupt the classes." Another 19 year-old female student from the same faculty comments: "Make troublesome students leave the classroom. Teach classes with fewer amounts of students." On a perhaps more frustrated or decisive tone, one 19 year-old female student from the International Relations faculty demands: "take [disruptive students] out of the class by force." On the same line, participants comment that "tightening the system" (7 comments) is one way to solve the problem. Finally, there are participants who call for "making examinations more frequently" (2 comments) and for "giving students bad marks" (2 comments).

(c) Changing students' attitudes: The greatest number of comments in this category is closely related to the next sub-group. Participants assert that the solution "depends on individual awareness" (10 comments) but "it's not possible to change it only by telling them to do so" (9 comments). Furthermore, some participants believe the solution lies in "changing students' attitudes", but do not say exactly how. Nevertheless, the opinions above reflect the holding of a popular notion of Bourdieu's *habitus*, i.e., attitudes are not easily changed by only addressing the issue with words. One 19 year-old female student from the International Relations faculty believes that the solution "depends on each student's disposition. Their behaviour cannot be changed easily by only asking them to be quiet." Another 19 year-old female student from the same faculty comments: "They only have to improve their consciousness. It all depends on the individual's consciousness." One 20 year-old male student from the Law faculty indicates that "it's a matter related to the way of thinking of each one; it isn't a matter that others can remedy by telling them." One 19 year-old female student from the Law faculty believes that the reason for disruption is "the adolescence" and the solution lies in "making students become aware". Another participant is more pessimistic. One 18 year-old male student from the Social Sciences faculty believes: "There is no way to improve. Individual's awareness must be changed, however, because there are too many students it's almost impossible to better them all."

(d) System and curriculum change: The greatest number of comments in this category indicates that disruptive behaviour can be solved by "suppressing

the system of mandatory subjects and mandatory attendance" (12 comments). One 18 year-old male student from the Law faculty asserts: The classes are boring. The *daigaku* has to reflect on this. Although I don't want to attend, I have to because of the attendance system. The system based on attendance is the problem. If a student understands what is taught in the class and learns, that is what it is important. The problem is that students attend the class only with the purpose of attending it." Another 19 year-old female student from the same faculty comments: "Classes are boring. Attendance requirements are important and, therefore, I have to attend. Students have a bad disposition. [The problem can be solved by] delivering classes that develop students' interest. Knock off the system of *only attending class*." One 21 year-old female student from the Social Sciences faculty suggests: "Do not take the attendance for evaluating purposes", putting in evidence the too common practice at the Japanese *daigaku* of confusing attendance with participation and using attendance as an evaluation tool. In many cases academic performance is not examined but only attendance even without active participation. Another 18 year-old male student from the same faculty proposes a solution aligned with the eradication of the attendance system: "Not doing the roll call the students not willing [to study] will not attend." One 19 year-old female student from the Social Sciences faculty proposes to "eliminate or diminish the number of mandatory courses", and yet another 19 year-old female student from the same faculty indicates students "should choose only the classes they are interested in." She also believes the current system should be abolished and the solution lies in "cancelling the system of mandatory classes." Participants also offer other solutions such as making "stricter entrance examinations and reducing the number of admitted students," (2 comments) "making more difficult to graduate than to enter *daigaku*," (1 comment) "reducing the number of subjects," (1 comment) and "linking subjects to diplomas."

Table 3: Perceived Reasons for Disruption (111 participants)

(a) STUDENTS ARE AT FAULT	61
Students are not willing (do not want) to study. Do not think seriously about classes. They are not interested in the classes. They easily fall into playing games and entertaining themselves.	39
They lack morals/awareness/commonsense. They do not understand they are doing wrong. Immaturity. They have been overprotected.	20
They hate/disregard teachers. They are not afraid of teachers.	2

(b) TEACHERS ARE AT FAULT	43
Classes are boring, not interesting.	38
Lack of interest from teachers' part. Teachers are only interested in their own research.	5

(c) THE *DAIGAKU* SYSTEM IS AT FAULT	34
Too many students per class. Large classes/classrooms. Teachers cannot pay attention to every single student.	15
Mandatory attendance (disruptive students attend classes because is mandatory). Credit system (students attend classes not to learn but to get credits).	14
Some students are not qualified to be in the *daigaku*. Selection process is flawed.	3
They are tired/sleepy for having studied all night long.	2

Table 4: Perceived Solutions to Disruptive Behaviour (111 participants)

(a) PEDAGOGICAL CHANGE	42
Delivering classes that develop students' interest.	20
Reducing the number of students in one class.	14
Improving teachers' efforts.	4
Negotiating students and teachers (dialogue).	3
Replacing teachers.	1

(b) REINFORCING DISCIPLINE	35
Not letting disruptive students attend class; making them leave the classroom by force if necessary.	13
Demanding students' attention; getting angry with students.	11
Tightening the system.	7
Making examinations more frequently.	2
Giving students bad marks.	2

(c) CHANGING STUDENTS' ATTITUDES	24
It all depends on individual awareness.	10
It is not possible to change it only by telling them to do so.	9
Changing students' attitudes.	5

(d) SYSTEM AND CURRICULAR CHANGE	17
Suppressing the system of mandatory subjects and mandatory attendance.	12
Stricter entrance examinations. Reducing the number of admitted students	2
Making it more difficult to graduate than to enter university.	1
Reducing the number of subjects.	1
Linking subjects to diplomas.	1

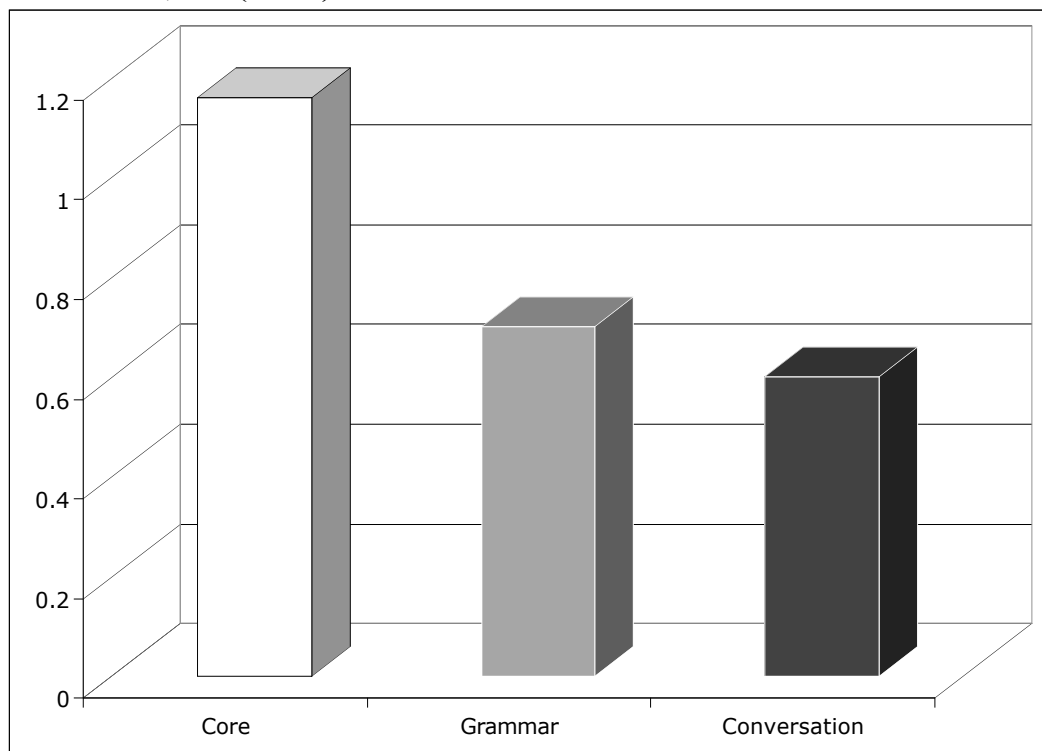## Perception of Disruption Level per Class Type

The perceived level of disruption varied considerably according to class type (see Table 5 and Figure 4). In lectures on subject matters directly linked to their majors, 12% of participants believe disruptive behaviours "don't occur at all", 46% of participants believe "they occur sometimes", and 30% believe "they occur often". In foreign-language grammar-like type of classes, 40% of participants believe disruptive behaviours "don't occur at all", 39% of participants believe "they occur sometimes", and 6% believe "they occur often". In foreign-language conversation-type of classes, 33% of participants believe disruptive behaviours "don't occur at all", 46% of participants believe "they occur sometimes", and 7% believe "they occur often". In conclusion, participants believe that disruptive behaviours occur more often and in a sustained fashion in those classes directly linked to the core studies of their undergraduate programme.

Table 5: Perception of Disruption Level Per Class Type

Question Section III No % n=239		They don't occur at all (0)	They occur sometimes (1)	They occur often (2)	Totals	Mean (scale 0-2)	sd
6	In which type of classes have you noticed the occurrence of the practices mentioned above?						
6a	Lectures on subject matters directly linked to your major.	28	110	72	210	1.16	0.68
		11.7	46.0	30.1	87.9		
6b	Foreign-language grammar-like type of classes.	96	93	14	203	0.70	0.65
		40.2	38.9	5.9	84.9		
6c	Foreign-language conversation-like type of classes.	79	109	17	205	0.60	0.56
		33.1	45.6	7.1	85.8		

Figure 4: Perception of Disruption Level Per Class Type over a 3-point Likert scale, 0-2 (mean)

Discussion

The complete concentration of students from only one *daigaku* involved in this study limits the generalisation of the results. Furthermore, the results show that the perception of disruptive behaviour levels varies significantly from faculty to faculty, which may indicate that the most generalised levels of class disruption can be rooted in each faculty's culture. Disruptive behaviours may well be reproduced along/within the culture of a determined faculty (also according to the kind of official language/communication style used in its research and pedagogical approaches, e.g., according to the application of more or less mass education approaches). Nevertheless, the results still question the viability of the tertiary education system since (from informal observation and review of the corresponding literature) most of the factors acknowledged as causes of disruption by the participants of this study are also present in other institutions. Furthermore, the results corroborate the existence of education/learning resistance in McVeigh's (2002) terms at least in the faculties involved in this study.

Socialisation Issues

Participants consider the behaviours grouped under the bodily dispositions category as the least disruptive of all. Whilst these behaviours can be considered not disruptive under an instructivist approach to teaching, they certainly are under a constructivist one, especially when contemporary ideas and practices on foreign-language education are profoundly based on it (see Table 6). Issues such as gender segregation in the classroom, avoiding eye contact with teachers, sitting far away from other students and repeatedly not showing for class are important in classes which depend or are based almost entirely on students' active participation and commitment. The findings of the quantitative part of the study on students' bodily dispositions and on students' acceptance of other behaviours which show flagrant neglect and indifference such as forgetting class materials, sleeping or daydreaming in class, not taking notes, and not completing assignments stress the idea that we are dealing with an education model rooted in learning notions which value students' passive role as receivers of knowledge. The results of the qualitative part of the study also corroborate this view. One 18 year-old male student from the Law faculty remarks: "Sleeping does not disrupt the class." Another 19 year-old male student from the same faculty comments: "I don't mind if students want to sleep in class, but they should not bother others." One 19 year-old male student from the Social Science faculty comments: "There are many students who sleep in class. They behave better than those who speak in class." Another 19 year-old male student from the same faculty asserts: "Students have the freedom to study or not at the university." In sum, behaviours that do not compromise instructivist methods of teaching are widely accepted by students.

To address this issue in the short-term in the classroom, it is recommended to spend a considerable amount of time cultivating group dynamics beneficial to a

constructivist culture prior to embarking into the central activities of a given subject. The importance of resocialising students cannot be stressed enough since students actually are not aware that those behaviours grouped under bodily dispositions, neglect & forgetfulness, indifference and inaccuracy categories are disruptive and therefore, they absolutely ignore what are the expected, required or desired practices under a new instructional model.

Table 6: Instructivist and Constructivist Approaches compared. From Brooks and Brooks (1993), quoted in French et al (1999).

INSTRUCTIVIST		CONSTRUCTIVIST	
1.	Teacher writes the objectives.	1.	Objectives are written with student collaboration based on the learner's need.
2.	Objectives are written for all in hierarchical form and sequenced from simple to complex.	2.	Stresses the importance of divergence based on the uniqueness of the learner.
3.	Learners are seen as passive or as holes to be filled with static data.	3.	Problems are solved that have personal relevance to learners.
4.	Knowledge is separate from knowing.	4.	Knowledge is individual and socially constructed, based on personal experiences.
5.	Learning consists of acquiring "truth" or the ability to mimic and can be measured with tests.	5.	Learning can only be measured through direct observation and dialogue.

Pedagogical and Curricular Issues

Participants consider the behaviours grouped under the not responding & pretending not to know, and rudeness categories as the most disruptive of all. Arguably, because participants acknowledge those behaviours as disruptive they can be addressed through pedagogical and curricular changes. In fact, although participants at large acknowledge students are at fault, they also convey the idea that there are a number of pedagogical and curricular issues that contribute to create and reproduce the problem. The two most important are classes' lack of appeal, and the fact that there are too many students per class, many of whom only attend because of the system of mandatory attendance is in place. It is significant that participants believe that those classes directly related to their major and presumably better tuned to more familiar instructional forms have higher levels of disruption than foreign-language grammar and conversation classes. The results suggest that core subject classes are larger than foreign-language classes as well, that is, they are more structured along instructivist approaches to teaching and mass education. Moreover, it is remarkable that they believe that conversation classes register the lowest levels of disruption, bearing in mind that they are presumably the most challenging in terms of learning strategies since they are based on constructivist instructional approaches to teaching/learning.

To address these issues, the results suggest that it is necessary to explore the possibility of suppressing the mandatory attendance system, that is, not using attendance as an evaluation tool but only academic output instead, along with a shift to a more constructivist approach to teaching, including curriculum negotiation between teachers and students so that teaching responds to students' needs, takes into account their life experiences, encourages dialogue, and secures their personal involvement. It is obvious that a constructivist shift will require the dismantling of large classes and mass education, a measure that would amount to *daigaku* reform. But perhaps a warning is required: half-measures would not produce results. If the mandatory attendance system and *attendance as evaluation* method are lifted without introducing changes in class size and instructional approaches, resistance may continue to take place. Furthermore, the reach of these pedagogical and curricular changes can be severely limited without a long-term overall system reform, whose boundaries and political dimensions are better covered by McVeigh (2002). But that, of course, will require rethinking the role of the *daigaku* within the schooling system and its contribution to Japanese education.

Students Abducted by the System

Finally, the results cast a light on a segment of students who are regularly abducted by their peers' resistance, unable to reach higher academic standards and whose needs the *daigaku* does not seem able to satisfy, even though they are quite aware of the situation they are in and seem keen to learn. In fact, these students' academic achievement is being sacrificed in order to keep the *status quo*: the current balance between resistance and system workability; students' resistance or counterdisciplining, on the one hand, and teachers' countering resistance (sometimes by way of being apathetic or reinforcing self-protecting teacher-centred instruction methods), on the other. "Make noisy students leave the classroom. I do not want them to be in class. It is impossible to solve it. Stop teaching in large classrooms" is only one of many desperate attention calls cast by this segment of the student population. For those students, the *daigaku* system is failing them and it shows it does not have a heart.

Conclusions

The method of assesing behaviour awareness differential seems adequate to assess instructional/pedagogic dissonance in cross-culture and international education contexts, having in mind that learners bring their own set of dispositions, some of them not easily transferable to constructivist pedagogies on which contemporary ideas and approaches to language teaching/learning are based. The behaviours learners acknowledge as disruptive can be addressed in the short and medium-term by curricular and pedagogic means, whilst those which are not recognised as such but are considered disruptive only by practitioners need to be addressed by more

profound resocialisation processes. A further step ahead would be to produce an inventory of dispositions and behaviours which support constructivist practices with the purpose of assessing dissonance in multicultural education settings. Education/learning resistance is acknowledged as a problem by an important segment of the *daigaku* students involved in this study. The results suggest at first glance that even though education/learning resistance may be rooted in national education politics (and therefore solutions to the problems may be of a political nature) foreign-language (and other non-language) classes curriculum could start shifting more vigorously from current instructivist approaches to teaching and learning toward more constructivist ones as a way to partially cope with the problem in the short-term and within the pedagogic scope, where institutions and practitioners still have some level of control and could implement changes. This includes, fundamentally, improving student-teacher ratios, adopting real curricula objectives (according to social and economic needs) and, at a sub-level, adopting curriculum negotiation to satisfy students's real demands (student-centred curricula), that is, moving away from the mass education model which is so omnipresent in Japan. At a different level, it is recommended putting into practice an evaluation system that measures academic performance instead of overvaluing passive attendance, which is the trademark of the current system. Moreover, the current evaluation system only contributes to enforce body control (arguably one of the causes for resistance to manifest in the first place) since it overvalues passive attendance and does not help students to find or negotiatiate their identity within learning groups or communities. Special attention should be given to the fact that disruptive behaviours vary profoundly from faculty to faculty, suggesting that each faculty entrance standards, curriculum, social milieu and careers' objectives may play an important role in determining resistance levels. At the classroom level, practitioners should engage into creating social dynamics that override some of the learners' early socialisation features that hold them back from communicating and participating in contemporary language classes or tacitly accepting passive roles as the receivers of knowledge. Practitioners should include social-dynamic activities that build more cohesive (learning) groups and give some sense of identity to individual learners from the very beginning. At theoretical and research levels, this may include the use of approaches which incorporate sociocultural elements to analyse classroom activity, teaching and learning in general with the purpose of achieving more active participation from the part of students. Overall, however, the results reveal that, paradoxically, students are coping better with the challenges of a constructivist culture (inherent to a contemporary foreign-language curriculum) than with the values and practices of the instructivist approach they presumably inherited, since they perceive more disruptive behaviour takes place in non-foreign language classrooms, that is, in the classrooms where the core disciplines of their majors are taught and learned. It could be concluded at least that students' behaviour in foreign-language classes is more suited to the one needed to foster a rich learning environment. Further research should focus on the dissonance between inherited education/instruction models and new education/instruction trends and students' needs, which may be

the result of Japanese society moving to post-industrial economic and social settings. More attention should be given to education systems which may have faced similar challenges in countries which have already undergone post-industrial shifts with the purpose of confirming similar education malaise trends and possible solutions at all levels. Also, instructivist and constructivist approaches to teaching/learning should be further tested to the light of the results. Finally, there is an important segment of the student population that is caught between peers' resistance and the system status quo (represented by teachers who arguably try to counter-resist their own learners' resistance, sometimes recurring to apathy, simply giving up, or stressing teacher-centredness, thus perpetuating the problem, such as it is suggested by the responses to open-ended questions), with the result that their own advancement is being sacrificed. The most willing and perhaps more qualified learners are dissatisfied with the system.

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