

**MODERN CONCEPTIONS OF CREATIVITY
AND COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING
IN AN EAL SETTING**

by

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ABSTRACT

This research aims to explore the relationship between the behaviour of English as an Additional Language (EAL) learners and teacher expectations in the Communicative classroom. Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) is a theoretical model being used in EAL classrooms and requires a high level of active participation from the learner. A “creative” individual; from a modern perspective, would adapt comfortably to the Communicative classroom. Due to the international nature and cultural diversity of EAL learners, the term “creative” must be considered in modern and traditional contexts. The implications of a teaching methodology that accommodates a specific concept of learner participation must also be explored. This impacts all levels of classroom culture: evaluation, the teacher-learner relationship, and teacher-learner expectations.

The goal of this study is not to discount the instructional methodology of the communicative classroom, but to highlight the various modern and traditional conceptions of the term “creative”, to explore the role of creativity as a learner trait, and to suggest culturally aware techniques for using the communicative method with EAL learners. This will be done by surveying the literature on Communicative Language Teaching, and the literature relating to creativity with a focus on modern and traditional understanding, or misunderstanding, of the term. In addition, interviews with experienced EAL instructors will be undertaken to highlight the practical activities, implications, and expectations of the communicative classroom.

Dedication

To my parents and my son Jakob; the generational bookends who support me.

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I would like to acknowledge my mentors; the master teachers who I have been fortunate to work with during my twelve years of teaching: Margaret Froese, Marylin Lowe, Carol St. Jean, Patricia Holborn, and Ian Andrews; also, my first grade teacher, Marilyn Arnold, who is the reason I chose this profession.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

If a lion could talk, we could not understand him.

Wittgenstein (2001, p.109)

Background

Educators bring many tools to the classroom in the form of theoretical background and methodology. In addition, educators bring their personal experiences, values, and culture. In traditional western classrooms, like the ones I was in as a child and adolescent, there was a high degree of cultural homogeneity. As a result, students had a common understanding about the behaviours that were expected, and the ways and means to be successful in an academic setting. Even though theories and methodologies may shift as a reflection of current philosophical, psychological, or sociological trends, students living within that specific cultural milieu are generally receptive to those changes. For example, the introduction of computer assisted learning as early as kindergarten is neither intrusive nor incongruent with the experiences of most western children today.

What, then, is the result when a significant cross-cultural component is added to the western classroom, or when the entire classroom is composed of students from diverse cultural backgrounds, as is the case in English as an Additional Language (EAL) classes? How confused, frustrated, and disadvantaged are students from non-western cultures when they “land” in the EAL classroom? The confusion works both ways. Often teachers are equally confounded when their teaching methods are met with blank stares or an apparent lack of cooperation. This is happening more and

more at the elementary and high school levels where most teachers have not received specific training for working with EAL students.

Currently the method of choice in most EAL classrooms is Communicative Language Teaching, which requires a high degree of “creative” activity on the part of the learner. Students are expected to “work cooperatively”, to “brainstorm” and “to role play” in “student-centred” classrooms. Articles that emphasize creative activities that practice and develop lateral and divergent thinking abound in the literature on Communicative Language Teaching (Brown, 1994, 2000; Savignon & Berns, 1983, 1984; Savignon, 1991; Nunan, 1987). These are a direct reflection of the value put on innovation in modern societies today. Following a brief historical overview of EAL teaching theories and methodologies, Communicative Language Teaching and the emphasis on creativity will be fully discussed in Chapter 2.

This leads to other questions, such as what exactly is meant by the term “creativity”? Is the current interpretation of “creativity” universally accepted or bound by modernity? How, when, and why has creativity become such a valued learner trait in EAL classrooms? How is the modern notion of creativity understood, defined, and valued in traditional societies? And, how is the modern notion of creativity valued in the EAL classroom? These questions will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Finally, there are implications for EAL students and teachers. How can teachers give students the language and culture they require for academic and social success, in a western context, without diminishing the student’s sense of self? The recognition that language learning goes far beyond the notion of substituting one

word for another in a direct translation method leads into a philosophical and practical discussion of what EAL teachers are really teaching. I will address these issues in Chapter 4. In addition, practical suggestions for “leveling the playing field” in the EAL classroom will be discussed.

Language is inextricably tied to culture and culture is inextricably tied to values. EAL instructors may have as much difficulty understanding a student who has acquired the English language via rote memorization in a situation devoid of western culture, as we would Wittgenstein’s lion.

Definitions and Details

Modern or Western

Robert Paul Weiner’s definition of “west” or “western” refers to both a geographic term and a cultural-political-economic one, referring particularly to western Europe, Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand. In Weiner’s terms, the “west” refers to a wide range of phenomena, including Christianity, capitalism, the scientific method, representative democracy, and historical change in the realms of art, economics, religion, politics, technology, philosophy, psychology, science, and society (Weiner, 2000, p. 18-19).

The term “modern” will be used here in most cases rather than the term “west”. The term “modern” will incorporate the same ideology in Weiner’s definition of “west” with an emphasis on the ideas of the late 19th to mid 20th century that involve a movement towards, and application of, the scientific method with a greater stress on the humanistic. The assumption is that modernism was not strictly a

phenomenon of the west, but was taking place to some degree in many parts of the world. Therefore, the geographical constraints of Weiner's definition do not apply. The rationale for this choice of terminology reflects the reality that there are dominant and minority cultures within every society, and the term "west" is constraining the arguments here rather than providing a useful descriptor.

EAL

The term English as an Additional Language (EAL) will be used rather than the traditional English as a Second Language (ESL). The term EAL acknowledges the varied backgrounds and experiences of the learners, when English may in fact be their third, fourth, or fifth language.

Creativity

In our society today, almost any activity might be considered creative (Weiner, 2000, p. 103).

The term "creativity" is one that constantly shifts in understanding as it reflects the socio-cultural values of the time. Creativity was once seen as due to divine intervention, especially in the case of prodigies such as Mozart. Mozart explains:

All this inventing, this producing, takes place in a pleasing lively dream. Still the actual hearing of the tout ensemble is after all the best. What has been thus produced I do not easily forget, and this is perhaps the best gift I have my Divine Maker to thank for (Mozart, 1970, p. 55).

In the 1930s, creativity was regarded as a special province of the gifted (Cho & Kim, 1999). Freud found similarities between creativity and mental illness, and

believed that “(t)he artist is an incipient introvert who is not far from being a neurotic” (Freud, 1970, p.135). In the 1950s, Carl Rogers defined creativity as “the emergence in action of a novel relational product, growing out of the uniqueness of the individual on one hand, and the materials, events, people, or circumstances of his life on the other” (Rogers, 1970, p. 139). Cognitive psychologists at this time saw creativity as parallel to intelligence, considering creativity a trait that individuals possess to a greater or lesser extent, which can be applied equally, to any content, and which can be assessed reliably with short paper-and-pencil tests (Gardner, 1989). Torrance (1984) and Guilford (1984) more recently have challenged the fixed idea of creativity, arguing that everyone possesses creative potential (Cho & Kim, 1999). It is this underlying assumption of a universal creative potential that leads to the current modern conception and understanding of the term.

Today the definition of creativity gaining popularity in modern societies involves the components of producer, process, and product. Every individual is believed to possess the innate ability to be a creative producer when given the proper motivation, support, and education. Each producer engages in a creative process of “bringing forth something new” (Weiner, 2000, p. 99), which results in a creative product that displays a “zeal for the new...and to some degree, the determined rejection of tradition” (Weiner, 2000, p. 170). The components of creativity (producer, process, and product) and the subcomponents of each will be described and discussed in Chapter 3. In addition, the creative process no longer belongs to the domain of the arts, but can be found in all disciplines, as Weiner (2000) states:

Today creativity generally refers to the phenomenon of bringing forth something new in virtually any realm of

human endeavor. This interdisciplinary perspective is new. Also new is the egalitarian attitude that almost anyone, from any walk of life can be creative, the multicultural attitude that creativity can be found anywhere on Earth, and the overwhelmingly positive value we attach to the word (p.99).

This supports the view that creativity is something desirable, accessible, and necessary for success in modern societies. It is believed that people can be trained to be creative – or at least, more creative (Weiner, 2000, p.106) and that this is a goal to strive for as educators. “Many believe that certain techniques can be used to reduce socially conditioned and self-imposed blocks to creativity and to develop the habits of divergent and associative thinking, and imagination, which are fundamental to creativity” (Weiner, 2000, p.106). According to Weiner (2000):

...the American understanding of creativity fits perfectly with the rest of our society’s belief system. We believe in individuality, but we’re democratic about it. This is the New World, the “land of the free and the home of the brave.” We believe in equal opportunity – with the proper training, everyone can be original, independent, creative, and self-actualized – in one realm or another. And, what’s more, everyone should be creative, because creativity is good, it is American (p. 139).

This “interdisciplinary” and “democratic” understanding of creativity will be used in this paper when referring to the “modern” notion of the term.

Language & Creativity

I am proposing that the production of an additional language is a creative act, according to Weiner’s definition of “the phenomenon of bringing forth something new in virtually any realm of human endeavor.” The creative production and use of

language is different from the act of translation. Translation involves skills such as the ability to use a bilingual dictionary, as well as knowledge of the writing system and grammar of the target language. Translation activities were a staple of my past experience with studying Latin. Today many of my students are proficient at translating quickly enough that they are able to grasp meaning in a receptive situation (reading) without entering into a creative process in the western sense. Achieving communicative competence, rather than grammatical mastery, requires the creative use of language, which, as Wittgenstein (1994) states, involves much more than the mere translation of components:

...(t)he translation of one language into another is not a process of translating each proposition of the one into a proposition of the other, but only the constituent parts of propositions are translated...(p. 12).

What these students are doing is different from the “art” of translation, which is most definitely creative. The skilled translator has a high degree of knowledge of the languages being translated from and into, and the ability to accurately convey equivalent meaning by way of non-equivalent systems.

The creating done in the language classroom is done on three levels: the first involving pure manipulation of the components of the language, the second involving cultural and situational appropriateness of the domain (communicative competence), and the third involving use of the language as metaphor for production of a unique, novel product. All of these levels of language production involve creativity to some degree. Psychologist Steven Pinker (2000) describes human language as

intrinsically creative – in principle, an infinite number of different sentences could be produced...A human head is not big enough to store an infinite number of sentences, or even a hundred million trillion sentences. So what we know when we know a language is a program, or recipe, or set of rules, that can string words together in an unlimited number of systematic combinations
([www.bcp.psych.ualberta.ca/~ike/Pearl Street/Margin/OS HERSON/Voll/Pinker](http://www.bcp.psych.ualberta.ca/~ike/Pearl_Street/Margin/OS_HERSON/Voll/Pinker)).

Learning grammar rules, developing vocabulary, and imitating pronunciation patterns for EAL learners are no different from learning the technical skills to paint for the artist, to read musical notations for the musician, or to recite Shakespeare for the actor. These are the tools that are a foundation for later experimentation. The development of a strong foundation of specific knowledge in the domain is necessary, and without it the resulting product would have no recognizable context.

The first level of creativity in additional language production assumes little in the use of metaphor. It involves functional language created by mixing vocabulary and grammar in structured, predictable ways in order to communicate an idea, make a request, or express an opinion in an English-speaking environment. What is produced is not necessarily novel or original but is more than a memorized response. This kind of creating is similar to experimenting with musical scales after one masters the fingering sequences, or choosing new colors to complete a picture in a coloring book; there is an element of choice, but strict adherence to the conventionality of the form. Viewing learning an additional language in only this way can lead to becoming a “fluent fool”, who is someone who speaks a foreign language well but doesn’t understand the social or philosophical content of that language (Bennett, 1997).

In the second level of additional language production the creative use of language goes beyond pure manipulation of the components. To learn a new language is not just to learn the grammar of that language. It is not a special case of data processing, as some linguist might claim (Di Pietro, 1976). We are not translation machines. Most of my students have electronic translators that usually display multiple definitions for English words. It is the cultural and contextual knowledge that will give the students the ability to choose the appropriate translation. In addition, understanding and being able to utilize the cultural context of language on an interpersonal level, which takes into consideration gestures, tone, stress, eye contact, context, and register, is the difference between learning the technical aspects of a language and learning communicative competence.

In addition to manipulating components, linguistics has yet to incorporate into its study the fact that language use is dramatic (Di Pietro, 1976). Engaging in conversation using the target language is dramatically creative, yet there is no script and no director. Therefore, one must improvise one's lines; and improvisation is by nature a spontaneous creative process (Sawyer, 2001). "As we go through our days we take part in a drama in which we attempt to write our own scripts and cast others in roles which are pleasing to us" (Di Pietro, 1976, p. 18). Thus, having a "shared knowledge of scripts" is necessary in order to give the language learner the knowledge of the situational appropriateness required to apply the discreet skills that they have learned (Sawyer, 2001). This may be similar to the musician who is proficient at reading music and using a keyboard, and one who can do these things as well as communicate the mood, or the intent of the composer into the performance.

There are many students who study in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) settings who score very highly on standardized tests, yet are unable to carry on a simple spontaneous conversation; or students who are unable to interpret contextual clues in order to decipher meaning. For example, when my sister-in-law, a recent immigrant from Brazil, completed her U.S. visa application and confidently wrote the word "short" in the box asking for height, the misunderstanding was not one of vocabulary comprehension, but of a misunderstanding of the correct "script" required for the situation. These students, while able to manipulate the target language in a controlled situation, are unable to use the language creatively within a culturally appropriate context; the language is shared but the scripts are different.

The third level of creativity in additional language production involves using the target language to produce original work such as poetry, drama, narrative, or debate. This level of creativity is derived "...from a universal human need to use language to capture thought and discharge emotional tensions" (Di Pietro, 1976). The ability to use language to create at this level requires a certain mastery of the technical skills of the first level, and the knowledge of the culture (domain) of the second level. Each individual has the capabilities to take the paint and canvas of vocabulary, syntax, and grammar and express something novel, valuable, and unique by using the language figuratively or metaphorically; and "metaphor is a greater creative force than grammatical innovation" (Di Pietro, 1976, p. 34). This is illustrated in the poetry of ee cummings, who is known for his rule-breaking in terms of grammar, punctuation, and poetic form:

who pays attention
to the syntax of things
will never wholly kiss you
the best gesture of my brain is less than your eyelids flutter which says
we are for each other...
for lifes not a paragraph
and death...is no parenthesis
ee cummings

This example shows how "...poets employ many communicational devices and not just the rules of grammar...and gives language learners the appreciation that...literary texts are more than a number of sentences strung together in an extended corpus..." (Di Pietro, 1976, p. 23). The reception and production of literary texts as well as academic rhetorical forms are a challenge for language learners, but necessary to reach the third level of creativity with a new language.

All three levels of creating are expected in the communicative language classroom. It appears from the above descriptions that there is a developmental nature to the three levels of creativity. At no point in the Communicative Language Classroom is one not participating creatively at one level or another (see figure 1.1). Therefore, the language classroom has become a place where the term "creative" is used freely as an expectation for communication and expression of the target language in a variety of situations.

Table 1.1

An example of a developmental language lesson designed to teach and practice the language related to eating in a restaurant

Level of Creativity	Description of Activity
I	Language Manipulation: Students are asked to form and practice questions for requesting a variety of items from a menu. ex. "Can I have _____?" "I would like _____."
II	Culture Teaching: students are asked to compare restaurants in their country with restaurants in Canada. Comparisons can include types of restaurants, behaviour expectations from waiters and guests, tipping, etc.
III	Language for Creating: students are asked to write and perform their own drama that will be set in a restaurant.

Learning vs. Acquisition

The proposition that additional language learning is similar to the learning of any set of skills differs dramatically from the beliefs of Noam Chomsky and Stephen Krashen. Chomsky refers to language "acquisition" rather than language "learning". For him, there are two different means of gaining ability in an additional language; "acquisition" is the unconscious competence one gains after exposure to the target language, while "learning" is the conscious gaining of knowledge about the language (grammar or rules). Acquisition is what Chomsky refers to as "tacit competence" or a "feel" for language. Most of Chomsky's work relates to first language learning,

while Krashen has taken the premise and applied it to additional language learning.

Krashen supports the notion that languages are “acquired” rather than “learned”:

Language acquisition is very similar to the process children use in acquiring first and second languages. It requires meaningful interaction in the target language – natural communication – in which speakers are concerned not with the form of their utterances but with the messages they are conveying and understanding. Error correction and explicit teaching of rules are not relevant to language acquisition. (Krashen, 1988, p. 1)

According to Krashen, “we acquire when we obtain comprehensible input in a low-anxiety situation, when we are presented with interesting messages, and when we understand these messages”(Krashen, 1989, p. 10). Conscious language learning, on the other hand, is thought to be helped a great deal by error correction and the presentation of explicit rules (Krashen, 1988). Krashen’s “Natural Approach” to second language learning will be discussed briefly in Chapter 2.

Communicative Language Teaching

Communicative language teaching (CLT) emphasizes learning of the target language rather than acquisition. CLT does not emphasize the need for a low-anxiety environment or comprehensible input which are both features of Krashen’s acquisition theory. In fact it may produce the opposite for many learners. The emphasis is on risk-taking, rule-breaking and correcting, learning through direct authentic interactive task-based experience, and reflection on the learning process. “Comprehensible input” is replaced with the “I + 1” philosophy of taking the information (I) the students already possess and designing activities that are “+1” above their current level. Finally, there is no place for the “silent” period required of

the acquisition process referred to by Chomsky and Krashen. In the Communicative Classroom, students are expected to speak and participate actively on the first day. The teaching methodology, materials, and assessment tools used in Communicative Language Teaching reflect this significant difference between learning and acquisition and will be discussed thoroughly in Chapter 2.

Instructor Interviews

The argument in this paper is primarily philosophical in nature, but anecdotes from EAL instructors will be used primarily in Chapter 4 to support, illustrate, and highlight various points. The four instructors who were interviewed have various levels of teaching experience (from five to twenty-five years in the classroom). Ethical Approval was granted for the interviews (See Appendix I), and each interviewee completed an "Informed Consent" for (See Appendix II). Each instructor was asked the same questions relating to Communicative Language Teaching and their personal teaching practices (see Appendix III). The interviews were recorded and transcribed. The identity of the interviewees will be kept confidential when quoted directly.

Chapter 2

Communicative Language Teaching

Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) is the currently accepted methodology among EAL professionals. To understand the context of this methodology, it is important to view CLT historically. Teaching methodology is a reflection of the social, political and cultural atmosphere from which it springs. By looking back at some of the various methods used in the language classroom over the past two hundred years, one can see CLT objectively, highlighting the cultural bias and the role and value, within the methodology, put on creativity.

Historical Perspective

The Grammar Translation Method

Over the past 100 years language was taught in the same manner as most academic subjects; there were concrete rules and codes to be learned, and success was based on accuracy. This method was applied to the study of languages such as Latin, where there was no practical setting for original oral production. The focus of language teachers was to have students learn the code in order to read, write, and translate. This methodology was generalized to the teaching of all languages. The purpose of learning a new language was not to communicate orally, but to broaden one's scholarly background.

The main features of the Grammar Translation Method are:

- Classes are taught in the mother tongue, with little active use of the target language.
 - Much vocabulary is taught in the form of lists of isolated words.
 - Long elaborate explanations of the intricacies of grammar are given.
 - Grammar provides the rules for putting words together, and instruction often focuses on the form and inflection of words.
 - Reading of difficult classical texts is begun early.
 - Little attention is paid to the content of texts, which are treated as exercises in grammatical analysis.
 - Often the only drills are exercises in translating disconnected sentences from the target language into the mother tongue.
 - Little or no attention is given to pronunciation.
- (Brown, 1994, p. 53)

This method reflects quite accurately the practices of some language classrooms today, particularly in an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) setting. It is also prevalent in classrooms where the instructor is not a native speaker of the target language and the emphasis is on academic mastery rather than communicative competence.

The Direct Method

The Direct Method, which attempts to simulate the natural way that children first learn language, came into practice at the turn of the century. The name most commonly associated with the Direct Method is Charles Berlitz. The emphasis of this method is on “oral interaction, spontaneous use of the language, no translation between first and second languages, and little or no analysis of grammatical rules” (Brown, 1994, p.55). Classroom instruction is given in the target language, grammar is taught inductively (if at all), exchanges are based on question and answer sessions, and the focus is on listening and speaking with correct pronunciation. The Direct Method is

effective with small classes where a competent native-speaking teacher can provide immediate and individual feedback, stimulation, and correction. This methodology is difficult/impossible to implement in public education, where class sizes regularly exceed thirty, and is a reflection of the growing business of language instruction where students can afford to pay high prices for small classes. The Direct Method gained and then lost popularity, with language teaching reverting back to the Grammar Translation Method by the middle of the century. Many of the principles of this method were revived and renamed with the Audiolingual Method at the beginning of World War II.

The Audiolingual Method

When the Americans entered World War II, they had an immediate need to become orally fluent in the languages of their allies and their enemies. The military-funded language programs emphasized oral/aural proficiency. These programs, known as the "Army Method", involved pronunciation work, pattern drills, and conversation practice. The Method was grounded by, and reflected, the work of the behaviorist psychologists and the structural linguists of the 1940s and 1950s. Language was seen as a series of structural patterns that should be learned in sequence by way of repetitive drills with correct responses being immediately reinforced. The grammar and translation activities of most language classrooms were nowhere to be found. The Method was successful in terms of grammatically correct pattern production and accurate pronunciation, although learners had difficulty using the target language spontaneously and generalizing their learning to new situations.

Designer Methods – Summary

During the seventies a variety of methods for language instruction appeared. It was at this time that second language acquisition was becoming a field of its own and branching off from the confines of linguistics. “The age of audiolingualism...began to wane when the Chomskyan revolution in linguistics turned linguistics and language teachers toward the ‘deep structure’ of language and when psychologists began to recognize the fundamentally affective and interpersonal nature of all learning” (Brown, 1994, p. 59). These new methods reflect the work of psychologist Carl Rogers and the move towards humanistic education, as well as the work of educators such as A.S. Neill and the Summerhill school. The emphasis in education was moved away from the teacher as sole purveyor of knowledge with the learner taking more responsibility for determining what is to be learned and becoming more self-directing and independent (Gage & Berliner, 1979, p. 559). The seventies was also a time when there was increased emphasis on creativity. There was a strong belief that students have a self-actualizing tendency and “the creativity of the self-actualized person, inherent in everyone, supposedly requires no special talents or abilities” (Gage and Berliner, 1979, p. 560). Some examples of these designer methods are “Community Language Learning”, “The Silent Way”, “Suggestopedia”, “Total Physical Response” and “The Natural Approach”.

Community Language Learning reflects the work of psychologist Carl Rogers. The teacher takes on the role of “counselor” and the learners act as “clients”. The counselor takes the clients from dependence and helplessness to independence and self-assurance. Much time is spent establishing the relationship between group members

(classmates) and developing trust. Communication takes place in the first language with the counselor acting as translator and modeling the responses in the target language for the learners to imitate. Eventually learners are able to produce words and phrases without the aid of the counselor.

The *Silent Way* reflects trends in cognitive psychology and the trend toward “discovery learning” and inductive processes. Learning occurs through manipulation of various physical objects with learners problem solving. The “silent” refers to the role of the teacher. Teachers were to offer minimal interference and let learners problem solve through cooperative work.

Total Physical Response is a method developed by James Asher in the 1960s. Asher incorporated psychological theories of memory, child language acquisition, and right brain-left brain learning. “According to Asher, motor activity is a right-brain function that should precede left-brain language processing” (Brown, 1994, p.64). The teacher gives students a series of instructions which they will physically perform. “The instructor is the director of a stage play in which the students are the actors.” (Brown, 1994, p.64). Elements of Total Physical Response have been incorporated into other methodologies, particularly at the beginner level.

The Natural Approach, which was based on first language acquisition theory, reflects the work of Stephen Krashen and his theories of second language acquisition. There were presumably three stages for learners to move through: preproduction, early production, and extending production. In this method “learners would benefit from delaying production until speech ‘emerges’ ” (Brown, 1994, p.65). Students were not pushed to participate orally until they felt ready. At the early production stage, teachers

focus on meaning rather than accuracy and therefore provide very little correction. At the extending production stage, students are encouraged to take part in “games, role-plays, open-ended dialogues, discussions and extended small-group work” (Brown, 1994, p.66). At this final stage the emphasis is on fluency, and again the teacher is to limit the number of grammatical corrections. The Natural Approach was aimed at the acquisition of functional language: the language necessary for carrying out everyday functions such as shopping, watching t.v., etc. In these situations meaning is more significant than accuracy.

Once again, the experimental nature of these methods reflects the values and trends at the time. All of these methods have some components that have been adapted, renamed, and repackaged into the communicative, interactive methods that are popular today.

Communicative Language Teaching

Learning the grammar is a joke compared with learning the language. The grammar is one thing, and the language another...How fortunate the Romans were that they had not to learn the Latin language, because if they had done so they would never have had time to conquer the world (Kelly, 1969, p. 311).

As a new millenium unfolds, the English language continues to be one of the biggest growth industries. Currently more than 300 million people in the world speak English (Bryson, 1990) with more and more companies using English as a common tongue between various non-English speaking countries. “There are now more students of English in China than there are people in the United States” (Bryson, 1990,

p.13). English language instruction continues to react to the needs and volumes of non-English speaking cultures to “conquer the world”. Today communicative competence is the goal. Students want to be able to communicate quickly and accurately in order to fulfill personal agendas of completing degrees at English speaking institutions or competing successfully in the global economy.

Communicative Language Teaching is where additional language learning has arrived. “...CLT ,... though never claiming universality, has been the most widely applied of any method since Grammar Translation” (Bell, 2002, p. 3). CLT is a broad term and encompasses a variety of theories, methods and activities derived from the methods discussed previously. CLT advocates have come to value above all else a comprehensive, communicative approach that values fluency over accuracy, that keeps learners meaningfully engaged in using the target language in the classroom, and that enables learners to take responsibility for their own learning process (Wyss, 2002). What is unique about CLT is the role that creativity and creative acts play. In fact, the willingness to participate in a creative way appears to be a prerequisite for success in the CLT classroom. This can be seen in the descriptions of the theory and methodology that follow.

Theory

The theoretical framework for CLT is derived from a multidisciplinary perspective that includes linguistics, psychology, philosophy, sociology, and educational research. “With the communicative activities syllabus we change perspective and adopt an entirely different view of the target language” (Stern,1992).

“Beyond grammatical and discourse elements in communication, we are probing the nature of social, cultural, and pragmatic features of language. We are exploring pedagogical means for ‘real life’ communication in the classroom. We are trying to get our learners to develop linguistic fluency, not just the accuracy that has so consumed our historical journey” (Brown, 1994, p.77). The goal is production and reception of authentic discourse in the target language. Therefore, there is a move from imitation of grammatical patterns and functional dialogue to spontaneous use of the language in original contexts.

David Nunan (1991, cited in Brown, 1994) defines the five features of Communicative Language Teaching as:

1. An emphasis on learning to communicate through interaction in the target language.
2. The introduction of authentic texts into the learning situation.
3. The provision of opportunities for learners to focus, not only on language but also on the learning process itself.
4. An enhancement of the learner’s own personal experiences as important contributing elements to classroom learning.
5. An attempt to link classroom language learning with language activation outside the classroom. (p.78)

The integral role of Experiential Learning in CLT can be seen from Nunan’s features of Communicative Language Teaching. The classroom is seen as preparation for, not simulation of, the natural English-speaking environment. “We are equipping our students with tools for generating unrehearsed language performance ‘out there’ when they leave the womb of our classrooms” (Brown, 1994, p.77). Curriculum and instruction are designed to bridge the classroom experience with the real world

experience of the learner where risk-taking and spontaneity are a necessity for communicative survival. In addition, learners are expected to reflect on their learning both in, and outside, the classroom. The language class is to be viewed as one source of learning, but not the definitive one.

Methodology

The Communicative Language Teaching approach requires that the learning be cooperative, self-directed, interactive, and task-based; the teaching be learner-centred; and the curriculum be meaningful and content-based. "The focus has been the elaboration and implementation of programs and methodologies that promote the development of functional language ability through learner participation in communicative events" (Savignon, 1991, cited in Sato & Kleinsasser, 1999, p. 495). In addition, the Communicative classroom does not isolate skills such as reading, writing, listening, and speaking, but uses an integrated skills approach. This is accomplished through specific types of curriculum and activities, and specific expectations of the teacher and learner.

Curriculum & Activities

The Communicative curriculum may look quite different from that of previous theoretical models. The focus does not reflect a developmental model of language learning where grammar is taught sequentially, generally beginning with simple sentences in the present tense and moving towards more complicated verb tenses and structures with very little concern with content. In the Communicative curriculum,

specific grammatical instruction is intended to occur incidentally to support the accomplishment of the communicative task. Fluency in the communicative process can only develop within a “task-orientated teaching” – one which provides “actual meaning” by focusing on tasks to be mediated through language, and where success or failure is seen to be judged in terms of whether or not these tasks are performed (Brumfit & Johnson, 1979). For example, if the task involves reporting on one’s activities during the past weekend, the past tense would be taught or reviewed for the purpose of communicating successfully and accurately.

In addition to looking at the formal teaching of language from a different perspective, the Communicative curriculum may be composed of activities that traditionally were not part of a language curriculum. This can be seen in Savignon’s (1983, 1997) five components of a Communicative curriculum: language arts, language for a purpose, personal second language use, theatre arts, and beyond the classroom (cited in Sato & Kleinsasser, 1999, p. 495). Savignon’s components highlight the emphasis put on communicative competence (language for a purpose, personal second language use, and beyond the classroom) rather than grammatical accuracy, and the “creative” means to achieve or simulate the real language environment through language arts and theatre arts activities.

“Communicative activities are believed to encourage subconscious learning of the second language” (Stern, 1992, p. 179) and involve motivating topics and themes which involve the learner in authentic communication (Stern, 1992). Much of the motivation comes from the nature of the communicative activities which are similar to activities used in creativity training for promotion of critical thinking skills. The learner

takes the role of investigator or problem-solver during these activities. The situations that arise during these activities contain an element of doubt for the students which Brumfit and Johnson (1979) believe is an important prerequisite for fluency practice. Most of these techniques operate by providing information to some and withholding it from others, thus creating an information gap. Some examples of communicative activities are giving and following instructions, information transfer, information gap, jigsaw, problem solving, informal talk tasks, role-play, drama techniques and scenarios (Stern, 1992). Other examples involve showing out of focus slides which the students attempt to identify; providing incomplete plans and diagrams which students have to complete by asking for information; "jig-saw" listening in which students listen to different taped materials and then communicate their contents to others in the class (Brumfit & Johnson, 1979). Personally, I have had students engage in various "creative" projects in the Communicative classroom. Some examples of these projects include the following: creating and performing an extended drama such as a mock trial; making collages which highlight a social issue of personal concern; and role-playing a particular political position in a discussion/debate.

All of these activities result in a high degree of "real" communication occurring inside and outside of the classroom. These techniques permit a degree of choice for the student; the concepts of selection and doubt are closely linked (Brumfit & Johnson, 1979) and lead to higher level of motivation.

The following table lists activities commonly encountered in the CLT classroom and the corresponding "creative behaviour" required to carry out the activities.

Table 2.1

CLT activities and the corresponding creative behaviour

<u>Activities</u>		<u>Creative Behaviour</u>
brainstorming	=	invention
guessing		associative thinking
predicting		ideational fluency
role playing	=	imagination
public speaking	=	risk-taking
problem-solving	=	divergent thinking discovery invention
“jigsaw”/group work	=	collaborative innovation “research & development” teams

These expected behaviours, which primarily involve the third level of creativity described in Chapter 1, (see figure 1.1, p. 10) may feel incongruent for many second language learners. For example, collaboration and cooperation may not be a common experience for all students, since some cultures focus on the competitive nature of learning, or on the passive learner who can be academically successful via memorization and recall. As a result, there is a greater emphasis on the role the teacher plays in the Communicative Classroom in terms of introducing and evaluating new activities and methodology.

The Role of the Teacher

The role of the teacher becomes critical in order for students to adopt the communicative style of learning. Teachers need to know: who their students are, what their strengths and weaknesses as learners are, what cultural barriers they may have, and what environment is most conducive to their language development. The teacher needs to be able to analyze the learners' emotional reaction to learning tasks as well as having a solid understanding of the language skills being taught. The teacher acts as dramatist and should be expected to address the potential "strategic worth" (the correlation between context and role) of sentences first and their grammatical structure second (Di Pietro, 1976). "Teachers are information-gatherers, decision-makers, motivators, facilitators, input providers, counselors, friends, providers of feedback, and promoters of multiculturalism" (Scarcella & Oxford, 1992, p. 4).

In addition, "(t)he teacher has to exercise skill in overcoming resistance among the students..." (Stern, 1992, p.188). The teacher helps learners, who may be used to being passive recipients of information, to understand why they must be active participants. How this is done will play a significant role in the comfort level of students and the level of resistance. Knowledge of, and respect for, learners' prior educational experiences is paramount. The significant role of the teacher and some of the cultural factors leading to "resistance" will be discussed fully in Chapter 4.

The Role of the Learner

The Communicative classroom takes the self-directed, learner-centred approach from the seventies but loses the humanitarian emphasis. Students are expected to produce everything from artwork to drama in the language classroom, and find the intrinsic motivation and self-directedness to do so. Not participating is not an option for success. "(C)ommunicative activities (are) participatory in character...they invite the personal involvement of the students...It is ultimately up to the learner whether they participate willingly, reluctantly, or not at all" (Stern, 1992, p. 187).

While participation on the part of the learner is voluntary, choosing to not participate will usually have disastrous consequences in terms of evaluation. Most EAL course outlines include a grade for "participation", and often exactly what is meant by "participation" is, at best, loosely defined. Many students are initially confused by the expectations of their teachers because they are being asked to participate in ways that are different from their prior learning experiences. Evaluation of participation in Communicative activities will be discussed more fully in Chapter 4 using anecdotes from EAL professionals.

It is clear that the theory, methodology and activities that combine to form Communicative Language Teaching require initiative on the part of the student for establishing communication. "Whether or not an activity is experienced communicatively by the students depends largely on the attitudes they adopt as learners" (Stern, 1992, p.187) even though their academic success may be dependent on it. This reflects current pedagogical trends in education that put the impetus on learners to be responsible for their own learning, and put the instructor in the role of facilitator.

Conclusion

There is talk in the field of EAL of post-methods that go beyond CLT. One of these alternatives to method is the notion of macrostrategy which is defined by Kumaravadivelu (1994 cited in Bell, 2002) as: “a broad guideline, based on which teachers can generate their own situation-specific, need-based microstrategies or classroom techniques... (M)acrostrategies are theory neutral as well as method neutral” (p. 4). Many of Kumaravadivelu’s macrostrategies – negotiated interaction, integrated language skills, and learner autonomy look remarkably like CLT (Bell, 2002). As a result of these similarities, CLT continues to be the dominant method introduced to students who are studying to achieve TESL certification, and in my experience, is the dominant method used in EAL classrooms at the adult level. As a result, the emphasis on creativity in CLT becomes a significant issue in classroom practice.

Communicative Language Teaching has a theoretical base that does not overtly require students to be “creative”. However, it is clear from the description of the methodology and activities that students are expected to participate in creative ways. This educational trend reflects the current value that innovation, novel ideas, creative problem-solving, teamwork etc. hold in our society.

So what happens when the EAL student enters the Communicative classroom? Not only is the language a mystery, but the cultural expectations of the classroom may be as well. Necessarily, from the previous discussion of Communicative Language Teaching, it seems clear that learners are not only encouraged, but expected, to exhibit western-style creative behaviour. This expectation may appear completely incongruent

with the learners' prior classroom experiences, and "(b)ecause culture learning is so deeply concerned with norms, values, beliefs, world views, and other aspects of subjective culture, it is a type of learning subject to the action of many variables and often accompanied by feelings of discomfort and even shock" (Ryffel, 1997, p.28).

While the spontaneous production of language is a creative act at many levels, when and how a student gets there may be dependent on their concept of creativity. Some students may not be comfortable with spontaneous utterances until they feel they have reached a certain level of mastery with the tools of language (grammar, pronunciation, vocabulary) as in the first level of creativity (see table 1.1, p. 12). Thus, the expectations for students to behave in a modern "creative" fashion, as in the third level of creativity, (see table 1.1, p. 12) may put some students at a disadvantage that has absolutely nothing to do with their level of proficiency with the language.

The following chapter will explore modern and traditional views of creativity. Through this exploration of differences in relation to creativity, it will be clear that the expectations of the Communicative language classroom need to be examined more closely. This will be done in the fourth chapter with the aid of anecdotes from teacher interviews.

Chapter 3

A Cross-Cultural Exploration of Creativity

Introduction

Meador (1999) proposes that there is a “common language of creativity which transcends race, country, culture, and economic level.” Conversely, Weiner denies that there is a “common language of creativity” and states that “...the global culture we believe exists is itself largely the continuation of the Western imperialism of the last few centuries” (Weiner, 2000, p. 143). Therefore, Weiner’s definition of creativity¹ embodies the modern understanding of creativity as a trait found in all individuals if given the proper training, and as a process which involves “...zeal for the new, the commodification of creations, the singling out of individual creators, and to some degree, the determined rejection of tradition” (Weiner, 2000, p.170). While Weiner’s modern definition of creativity democratically includes all people, Weiner does not assume that the language or concepts used to describe creativity are shared within, or across societies.

It’s clear to me that all individuals in all cultures create objects and ideas that contribute to their cultures. However, the producers, processes, and products involved in creativity look different, and are defined differently, within and across cultures. Gardner (1989) describes this in reflections on his experiences in China that acknowledge the ethnocentricity of his modern perspective:

In the case of creativity, one who values as worthwhile endeavors works not necessarily produced by those who are established, a free and unguided process of exploration and learning, and originality and

¹ See definition in Chapter 1, p. 5

iconoclasm will take a dim view of what is seen as creative in China...On the other hand, one who views all products as part of one extended cultural statement, values an educational process that builds upon the craft and lore of the past will find the creativity in China ample and gratifying (p.288).

Dissonance arises in EAL classrooms as a result of western teachers taking a modern understanding of creativity and treating it as universal. The implication for EAL teachers is that it is important to gain an understanding of the origins of the tensions in their classrooms. The lack of acknowledgment from western teachers of the ethnocentricity of the term "creativity" combined with the emphasis put on creative activity in CLT methodology results in misunderstanding between students and teachers.

It will become clear from descriptions of my research, my experience working with learners from diverse cultural backgrounds, and my experiences traveling and working abroad, that "creativity" means different things within different societies, and the language used to define creativity in modern terms is different from the terminology used in parts of the world with a more traditional orientation. In fact, "...in modern China...there seems to be no word which easily translates as creativity" (Weiner,2000, p. 173) and "...when people speak of 'creativity' around the world, they primarily use this English word, because the concept is not a normal part of their languages and the West has succeeded in influencing them so powerfully" (Weiner, 2000, p. 143). This variation in understanding of the modern concept of creativity is a reflection of cultural values in a particular society. As a result, culture becomes the defining theoretical construct.

The basic utility of culture as a theoretical construct is to focus attention on the influence that shared, in-group socialization exerts on thought and action. "This idea or construct of culture helps us to see and to categorize...social conventions...that profoundly affect how we think and act...culture provides the software of the mind, without which most behaviour would be random, unpredictable, and meaningless to other people" (Seelye, 1997, p.22-23). Similarly, the appreciation of creative processes and products is enhanced if one understands the background, be it modern or traditional, of the creations. "The problem is understanding our own culture, let alone someone else's, is no easy task" (Weiner, 2000, p.146).

Thus, we somehow often think of ancient Egypt or China as coherent wholes, despite their thousands of years of evolution. Conversely, many of us think of our culture as so creative and so dynamic that we ignore the traditions which shape us and have great difficulty perceiving characteristics of our own culture (Weiner, 2000, p. 146).

Therefore, while culture will be used as a defining construct, it will be treated in a manner that demonstrates an acute awareness that there is constant change and diversity, including dominant and minority cultures, within every society. As a result, the term "modern" is a more accurate description of what Weiner refers to as "western".

In much of the cross-cultural literature that involves creativity, various traditional cultures are mistakenly criticized as being "designed to avoid creativity", or lacking in creativity because what is observed is different from the western notion of the term (Dinca, 1999). Therefore, a comparison of traditional and modern societies in terms of the modern components of creativity will lead to a deeper

understanding of the values supporting a particular view. It will become clear that many traditional societies do not view or value creativity as defined in modern terms. How traditional societies define creativity will not be specifically addressed; rather, the degree to which the traditional society fits, or does not fit, the modern definition will be explored. In most cases the components of creativity, which come from the modern literature on creativity, are not absent in the traditional societies, but play a lesser or greater role than in modern societies.

Modern vs. Traditional

Although culture is the defining construct used to explore the various interpretations of creativity, the distinction will not be made between specific cultural groups. Rather, the distinction will be made between modern and traditional societies. It is impossible to discuss the modern notion of creativity without setting up the context of the existence of a traditional notion.

A modern society is one that reflects the cultural, political, and economic values primarily of the west² and the constant change of everything within it, as Dewey states:

Domestic life, political institutions, international relations, and personal contacts are shifting with kaleidoscopic rapidity before our eyes. We cannot appreciate and weigh the changes: they occur too swiftly. (cited in Weiner, 2000, p.98)

As a result of the fast-paced change in modern societies, it is difficult to create an accurate or descriptive definition of what exactly “modern” represents, although in general terms “modern” includes the ideas of Judeo-Christianity, capitalism, the

² See definition in Chapter 1, p. 3

scientific method, and representative democracy. In addition, the west is considered a modern society which is determined by the creative activity within in (Weiner, 2000, p. 144). This results in a general belief, in the west, in the superiority of modern societies over traditional societies because the latter are viewed incorrectly as somewhat lacking creative activity, aside from that which is defined by tradition.

Referring to other cultures, but not itself, as “traditional” has long been an important aspect of the west’s self-definition (Weiner, 2000, p. 146). In order to provide an accurate, inclusive, and useful dichotomy, the term “traditional” will be used in reference to all societies that do not fit the definition of modern. Again, there is an awareness that within each society there will be sub-groups which will appear more modern than traditional, yet there are general tendencies within each society which will be the focus here.

In addition, the constant evolution of all societies and the strong influence of modernity lead to the understanding that this dichotomy is fluid rather than static in nature, and many of the traditional examples will change over time. This is illustrated through the contrast between Gardner’s description of China in the late 1980s as a country where “the Chinese have traditionally embraced uniform education or uniform schooling, where students studied the same subject matter, were evaluated by the same instruments, and could be readily ranked from best to worst” (Gardner, 1989, p.288) and my current (2002) experiences teaching Chinese principals who ranked “How can we provide many subjects for students to choose themselves?” “How can we develop the individualism of the students?” and “What can we do to encourage creativity in our schools?” as some of their priority concerns regarding

their education system. In less than twenty years there have been significant changes in education in China, partly as a result of a governmental mandate that requires all civil servants to have a functional use of English by 2005. This mandate is resulting in large numbers of Chinese educators studying in western countries and large numbers of westerners visiting China as English language teachers; either way the influx of modern culture is significant. Other societies may experience change at a slower rate, but will change nonetheless.

Components of Creativity

The term “creativity”³ will be explored by dividing the term into three components: producer, process, and product. In turn, each of the three components of creativity will be divided into sub-components. The sub-components that are included are not an exhaustive list, but are the most significant sub-components found in the modern literature on creativity. As a result, the taxonomy used here to describe and define creativity is bound by modernity.

The sub-components of creativity will be illustrated and compared using my experiences, observations, and research, both in and out of the classroom, in a variety of settings. These settings will include Chinese, Mexican, Kenyan, Korean, Romanian, Japanese, Finnish, and Inuit. Many of the examples will be related to the experiences of educators, but examples will not be limited to education and will encompass other domains in an attempt to explore culture in a more holistic manner. Although highly anecdotal, these comparisons are a starting point for more formal

³ See Weiner’s definition in Chapter 1, p.4

explorations and support the idea that the understanding, interpretation, and notion of creativity vary as a result of values.

These components and sub-components of creativity have resulted from the research and varying opinions in the field of creativity by Freud (1908), Wallas (1926), Rogers (1959), Parnes (1963), Guilford (1959), MacKinnon (1962), Skinner (1972), Perkins (1981), de Bono (1970), Gardner (1988,1989), Csikszentmihalyi (1988), Barrow (1988), and Bailin (1993, 1994). While each expert focuses on one or more of the three components - for example, the work of Rogers (1959) focuses exclusively on the creative process with little or no attention to the product or producer - all three components must be included here to achieve a complete picture of the perceptions of creativity and the differences between traditional and modern views of creativity. A discussion of each of the components is included at the beginning of each section. The manner in which traditional and modern societies emphasize, value, and define the components and sub-components of creativity, as delineated in this chapter, becomes the major defining element for discussing and defending the notion that the modern concept of creativity is not universal.

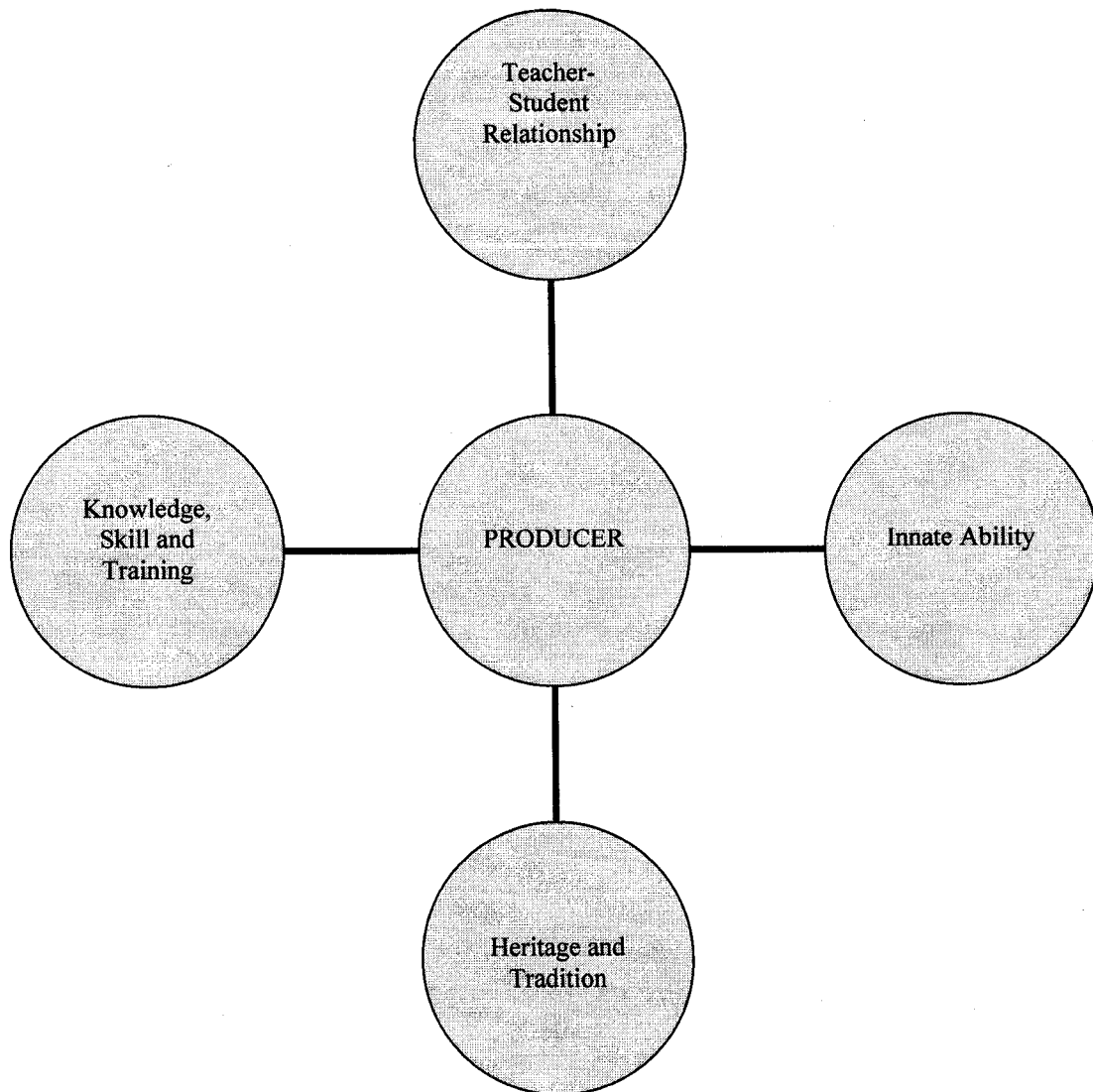


Figure 3.1 Subcomponents of Producer

Producer

What leads to the notion that the members of modern societies are intrinsically more creative than members of traditional ones? According to the modern view of creativity, the creative individual is, on the one hand, believed to be someone with innate, biologically determined abilities, yet, on the other hand, the individual,

regardless of innate ability, is believed to be able to be trained or nurtured to be more creative (Parnes, 1963; Rogers, 1954; Skinner, 1972).

Does the creative individual result from a skilled mentor, years of study, genetics, or birthright? These factors will be referred to here as:

- 1) Teacher-Student Relationship
- 2) Knowledge, Skill, and Training
- 3) Innate Ability
- 4) Heritage and Tradition

All of these factors are important in both traditional and modern societies, although, the degree to which each subcomponent is valued and the way it is defined varies.

Teacher-Student Relationship

The relationship between the teacher and student is important in both modern and traditional societies, yet it plays a different role in each. In traditional societies, a teacher generally plays the role of master and a student plays the role of apprentice; the teacher's primary role is to pass on knowledge and expertise in a hierarchical manner. On the other hand, in modern societies a significant aspect of a teacher's role is to encourage and facilitate in a democratic manner. The variations in the expectations of that relationship - from both teacher and student - may lead to tensions in the classroom. The emphasis on a hierarchical teacher-student relationship is more pronounced in traditional societies than in modern ones. Although not completely absent in modern societies, the role of "teacher" has been euphemistically redefined as "facilitator", "group leader", or "motivational speaker".

In modern societies teachers are encouraged to “share power and allow (students) to help plan activities” (Cho & Kim, 1999, p. 338). Teachers should show respect for unusual questions, ideas, and solutions; show students that their ideas have value by constructing a non-evaluative and non-threatening atmosphere; and should avoid giving examples or models that shape thinking (Cho & Kim, 1999). If a teacher does not adopt these methods, the teacher risks inhibiting creativity, and jeopardizing a student’s psychological safety and freedom (Cho & Kim, 1999). The responsibility of the teacher is significant in modern societies, but an important aspect of the teacher’s purpose is to enhance and protect the psychological or esteem needs of the students as opposed to simply purveying knowledge.

In many traditional societies, as observed by Howard Gardner: “Control is essential and must emanate from the top” (Gardner, 1989, p.257). In traditional societies, there is the basic assumption that the teacher has the knowledge and the learner does not. For example, one of the tenets of Confucianism is the obedience to authority and tradition. This tenet is made manifest in the way the Chinese value the master-apprentice relationship. This appears to concur with a recent (2002) observation of teacher-centred learning taking place in an English language class in China:

Here the teacher stood in front of the room as the students, sitting two to a bench, read a short article in English in their government-published textbook. Students volunteered to read by standing up and reciting passages from the onion-skin pages. This activity was followed by recitation of vocabulary words from the article (de Ramirez, 2002, p.16).

A description of a Mexican classroom echoes the Chinese model above:

Students sit in rows and complete assignments individually by filling in workbook sheets or copying such exercises from the blackboard (Wilcox & Moreno, 1999, p.360).

Traditional teachers are seen as authority figures who hold high positions within the society. In Kenya the nurturing of children's creative thinking "...was a responsibility reserved for the elders – men and women held in high social esteem who were recognized as reservoirs of rich oral traditions and folklore" (Gacheru, Opiyo, Smutny, 1999, p. 346). Similarly, the training of Inuit girls in the art of sewing and the infinite patience required to scrape and chew skins to soften them, was carried out by their mothers:

"Mother passed on her skills to us girls by careful instruction and example. Looking back on it now, it seemed at the time Mother overworked us, but now I realize she only wanted us to learn some basic skills" (von Finckenstien, 2002, p.7).

Although top-down oriented, the teacher-student relationship in traditional societies does not necessitate only receptive behavior from the student. In Kenya the elders transmitted the community's values and vision of life to youth through "...songs and spellbinding stories, wily riddles, and proverbial rhymes..." in a highly interactive way. One Kenyan storyteller describes his experiences under the tutelage of his paternal grandmother:

Misca not only shared a seemingly endless stream of stories, songs, riddles, and rhymes, but also expected each listener to take his or her turn retelling a tale or two to siblings and cousins. The children had to pay attention to the details of Misca's storylines and learn them by heart (Gacheru, Opiyo, Smutny, 1999, p.346).

An example from China of after-school classes shows how a learning group develops from the initial instruction from the expert:

An understanding and supportive older person introduces the children to the activity. And...there were other children around – some more skilled than a particular child, others less advanced. In such an atmosphere, the child maintains a continuing sense of his own progress; where he is ultimately headed in this activity; where he stands in relation to those who are more advanced and with respect to activities he has already covered (Gardner, 1989, p. 293).

Therefore, the role of the apprentice is much more than a passive or receptive one.

The apprentice is expected to demonstrate the skill and knowledge that the teacher has bestowed and provide modeling for less experienced students.

Teachers in traditional societies are expected to be experts, as opposed to facilitators, as one EFL teacher in Brazil states: "I'm expected to be an expert about English and I should be able to answer all my students' questions, otherwise they will think I'm lazy or incompetent" (Richards & Lockhart, 1994, p.108). In addition, teachers in traditional classrooms take more responsibility for their students' academic success, as a teacher from Taiwan expresses:

If a student doesn't succeed, it is my fault for not presenting the material clearly enough. If a student can't answer something, I must find a way to present it more clearly (Richards & Lockhart, 1994, p. 108).

These reflections differ dramatically from those of an American teacher teaching EAL students in America, who, as a facilitator, emphasizes the traditional teacher-student relationship to a much lesser degree and finds her expectations incongruent with the expectations of the students:

My students are surprised if I try to get information from them about what they want to study in my class. They feel that I should know what they need to know and that there is no need to ask them (Richards & Lockhart, 1994, p. 108).

The difference in perception of the role of the teacher-student relationship between traditional and modern societies is an area in which dissonance arises when students and teachers come from different cultural orientations. Students coming from a traditional orientation may be surprised at the role their modern teacher takes in the fostering of their creative endeavors, as opposed to merely passing on knowledge.

Knowledge, Skill & Training

Knowledge, skill and training are important features of both traditional and modern societies, but are defined differently within each. In traditional societies, knowledge, skill and training refer to developing and refining skills in a particular domain. Modern societies also hold this view but there is an additional kind of knowledge, skill and training, which is not domain specific: creativity training. Modern-style creativity is viewed as a positive and necessary trait for any domain, and, thus, is worth cultivating even though “(w)e still know little about what ‘creativity’ really is...we do know how to stimulate greater creative behavior in individuals” (Parnes, 1963, p.352). The differences between knowledge, skill, and training in traditional societies in a specific domain, and modern creativity training leads the producers in each culture to have very different experiences and notions regarding the acquisition of knowledge, skill, and training.

That traditional societies put a high degree of value on domain specific knowledge, skill, and training can be seen through many examples of the time and effort students are expected to spend in order to achieve mastery in their domain. Gardner (1988) observed that in China the dominant view is that “(e)ducation should take place by continual careful shaping and molding” (p. 257). This traditional view is exemplified by his description of the Suzuki Method of teaching violin in Japan: “...extraordinary achievements are attained from ordinary children, thanks to skillful modeling and structuring of the environment by teachers and parents” (Gardner, 1988, p. 118-119).

The first step in the Suzuki Method is for young children and mothers to observe classes....After this period of observation, the students focus on training routines and the development of learning skills that do not directly relate to making sounds or an instrument. It is only after carefully structuring the way the child mentally and physically learns to prepare to play the instrument that the child plays the first note – after 2 to 6 months of preparation (Nelson, 1995, p. 12).

This method of instruction requires active participation on the part of parents, and thus the availability of the parents during daily practice sessions is crucial. This emphasis on skill development through repetitive practice, as a means to an end, is also evident in the scholastic achievements of Chinese students who are “...better prepared in basic education given the rigorous testing that they go through at all levels of schooling” (de Ramirez, 2002, p.11). The motivation for such dedication of time and energy does not come only from the pressure of rigorous testing as Gardner (1988) observed:

Without apparent prodding, students as young as six or seven would work for an hour or more on their

paintings, their calligraphy, their sums, or their constructions. They would return to these activities day after day, gaining genuine skills in the process, so that by late childhood, they would already have achieved considerable mastery (p.292).

Language learning from this perspective "...consists of learning the structural rules ...through such activities as memorization, reading, and writing" (Richards & Lockhart, 1994, p. 35). The Chinese attitude towards learning an additional language can be summarized in the following terms:

Learning involves mastering a body of knowledge that is presented by a teacher in chunks small enough to be relatively easily digested. Both teachers and learners are concerned with the end product of learning, that is, they expect that the learner will, at an appropriate time, be able to reproduce the knowledge in the same form as it was presented to him by his teacher. (Richards & Lockhart, 1994, p. 107)

Another excellent example of the domain-specific development of knowledge, skill, and training in traditional cultures comes from the Inuit where in one village a weaving industry has developed as a means for economic survival. Elders bring in the drawings for tapestries, since the tapestries depict the cultural heritage of the people which only elders are expected to communicate, and then, skilled weavers weave them (von Finckenstein, 2002). This joint effort, yet division of skill, has been adhered to since the inception of the weaving project. Each, the designer and the weaver, is knowledgeable, skilled, trained, and respected in his/her domain and there doesn't appear to be a desire to cross-over domains until a weaver reaches the status of an elder and is, therefore, qualified to pass on the cultural heritage.

The kind of traditional model of skill development described above may seem like a situation that is the antithesis of one which would nurture creativity as Parnes (1963) describes: "The individual's creative ability is frequently so repressed by his education and experience that he cannot even *recognize* his full potential, let alone *realize* it" (p.352). Ironically, Ann Roe found only one trait that stood out in common in individuals (leading artists and scientists in several fields) who were deemed creative: "...a willingness to work hard and to work long hours" (Roe, 1946, 1953, cited in Guilford, 1970, p. 175). Guilford (1970) dismisses this finding as "a trait that may contribute to achievement in any field...(and) is no indication that it has a unique relation to creativity" (p. 175).

In modern societies knowledge, skill, and training more closely resemble the notion of "jack of all trades, master of none". Practice is important, but parents are told to encourage their children rather than push them. The motivation to strive for excellence in a particular domain is supposed to come from within the individual rather than from the direction of the teacher or parent. Guilford (1970) believed that boredom would be a motivating factor for creating, and only when complacency sets in will individuals take corrective measures by way of creative activity. Of course modern societies also include the development of domain-specific knowledge, skills, and training. Without such development modern societies would be void of accomplished masters in all domains, which is not the case. The difference between modern and traditional societies in terms of knowledge, skill, and training, lies in the emphasis in the modern societies on each individual reaching his/her creative

potential which may or may not be connected to development of expertise or mastery in a particular domain.

In addition, many researchers in modern societies hold the view that through deliberate education, the gap between an individual's innate creative talent and his lesser creative output can be narrowed (Parnes, 1963). "Many believe that certain techniques can be used to reduce socially conditioned and self-imposed blocks to creativity and to develop the habits of divergent and associative thinking, and imagination, which are fundamental to creativity" (Weiner, 2000, p. 106) and therefore, desirable in modern societies. The role of training becomes a form of "creative calisthenics" to counteract the atrophying of talents (Parnes, 1963). This type of thought in modern societies has given birth to a barrage of personal development books and teaching materials designed to train one to be more creative, and more successful. This is illustrated by B.F. Skinner (1972) in "A Behavioral Model of Creation":

We can build a better world in which men and women will be better poets, better artists, better composers, better novelists, better scholars, better scientists – in a word, better people (p. 272).

This kind of creativity training, whether taking the behaviorist view or not, is not evident in traditional societies; knowledge, skill, and training remain a focus, but for domain specific skills.

Innate Ability

Regardless of the emphasis on creativity training in modern societies, there is still a high regard for what is seen as the innate ability of the prodigy or the gifted

child. Creativity has been seen as analogous with intelligence in the modern literature, and is viewed as a trait, or combination of traits that can be quantifiably measured. "A trait is any distinguishable, relatively enduring way in which one individual differs from another" (Guilford, 1970, p.169). The primary traits that are believed to be related to creativity are connected with an aptitude for creative thinking and include evaluative abilities, various types of fluency (word, associational, expressional, ideational), spontaneous flexibility, adaptive flexibility and originality (Guilford, 1970). There are inventories which are designed to measure fluency, flexibility, and originality. These inventories usually place these traits under the general category of divergent thinking, although Guilford (1970) believes that "...it would be incorrect to say that divergent thinking accounts for all the educational components of creative production" (p.182).

It is not clear exactly what makes one person more creative than another, yet modern societies do acknowledge and recognize those who apparently possess an innate ability towards creative endeavors. This ability is often observed by teachers who are able to recommend students for gifted programs as this example from a Romanian study indicates: "As a rule, the teacher recognizes a creative pupil as a result of his or her own studying or from noting other signs indicating special abilities" (Dinca, 1999, p.357). In addition, in the Romanian example there is special status and resources for "gifted" children:

We provide gifted children (including highly creative children) overtime training. Not only in terms of time, but also materials that we buy with our own money. Our relationship with them is extremely important. We are there for them at any time...(Dinca, 1999, p. 357).

In North America the emphasis on gifted education is also prevalent. In my local school district (#73 Kamloops/Thompson), the Educational Policy states: "Schools will identify and monitor students who meet Ministry of Education criteria as Gifted Learners". The Policy goes on to define "giftedness" as: "demonstrated or potential abilities that give evidence of exceptionally high capability with respect to intellect, creativity, or the skills associated with specific disciplines"

(www.207.23.161.8/di_policies/209.php). Schools are expected to support the "gifted" students through individual planning which might include flexible learning plans, advocacy, mentorship, or opportunities for challenge.

On the other hand, traditional cultures do not celebrate the prodigy, at least not in theory. In Japan a common platitude translates into: "The nail that sticks out must be hammered." Homogeneity is more the focus in traditional societies. This may be a result of philosophical factors such as the Buddhist notion of engaging in " 'actionless doing...creating, but not possessing' or 'taking credit' for what he creates" (Weiner 2000, p. 178). In the Peoples Republic of China, all children are expected to maintain the same level of achievement. This equality is possible because the "cooperative" nature of the culture requires that everyone help everyone else so that all may achieve (Nelson, 1995, p.14). In China "individual success is desirable, rewarded and humbly accepted, but those who succeed give credit first to their class, parents, and country, only finally acknowledging their own contributions to personal success" (Nelson, 1995, p.14).

In China, often the prodigy, although not celebrated, is identified early and given special training and support. The training comes with a high price as Gardner (1988) observed: "...there is a tremendous effort afoot to locate children who have talents of various sorts and to nourish these gifts to the fullest...these procedures seem to sacrifice the child – and her natural development course - to the ambitions of family, teachers, friends, and the country at large" (p. 291). The Chinese prodigies may rise to the top of their domain and lead a somewhat more interesting life, if they are successful; and if less successful, they will become casualties of a system that provides no options to pursue alternative careers (Gardner, 1988, p. 291). As a result, in some traditional societies, the expectations on the individual who is found to possess innate ability is very high, and may limit the individual rather than provide for opportunity.

The homogeneity found in traditional societies may also be a result of lack of opportunity to either develop or celebrate the prodigy. I observed this when I spent six weeks in an Inuit village on Disko Island on the west coast of Greenland. The primary industries are fishing and hunting, and the community is only accessible by helicopter or boat in the summer and dog-sled in the winter. The average first grade class size in the main village of Disko Island (Qeqertarsuaq) is approximately 25 students. In 2001, when I was there, there remained only four students in grade 11, and grade 12 has now been abolished. Regardless of innate ability, the 1,200 inhabitants of this community will continue to develop the skills needed to survive in their environment, and due to resources, location, and needs, not much more. This is a very different perspective than the celebration of the prodigy or the celebrity/royalty

status given to successful creators (artists/musicians/actors/ academics) in modern societies.

Heritage, & Tradition

Heritage and tradition, as precursors for creative activity, have been largely replaced in the modern societies with the notion of self-actualization. The creative individual in a modern sense is seen as a product of their individual consciousness rather than a product of a collective consciousness, as is the case in some traditional societies.

In some traditional societies the idea of artistically following in the footsteps of one's ancestors is alive and well. In the Oaxaca region of Mexico, there are groups of families, and entire villages, dedicated to the production of particular art forms such as pottery, weaving, and carving. The knowledge and skill related to the domain is passed down from generation to generation. The economic survival of the family is also dependent in many cases on the adoption of the craft from generation to generation.

A similar situation exists in the Inuit village of Pangnirtung where the survival of the community centres around a weaving studio. Despite the economic pressure to create, the artists and weavers have cultural preservation as their main motivation:

Some people might think these are just wall hangings,
but they are part of us, our ancestors, our lives... We
want to show the old ways so our children won't forget
(von Finskenstein, 2002, p.7).

There are, of course, families in modern societies that boast similar talents in acting, music, etc. Mozart is an excellent example of a prodigy who was born into a

family of musicians; his father was a music teacher and his sister an accomplished musician. However, in modern societies, particularly today, there is no assumption that the domain specific skills of a parent would be carried on through generations or maintain tradition.

In modern societies economics may play a more significant role than heritage or tradition in the development of an individual's creative potential. Lessons and art supplies are costly⁴. In addition to cost is the question of availability of qualified instructors. For individuals living outside of large urban centres there may be a lack or absence of high quality instruction.

In summary, the components that lead one to be deemed a creative producer in modern societies depend primarily on the intrinsic motivation of the individual, coupled with a dash of innate ability and a sprinkle of good instruction. On the other hand, in some of the traditional societies exemplified here the emphasis for developing expertise in a particular domain is much more influenced by the development of knowledge, skill, and training that is delivered by an accomplished mentor and based in tradition.

⁴ Ten weekly parent-participation music classes for my two year old cost \$75 in 2001.

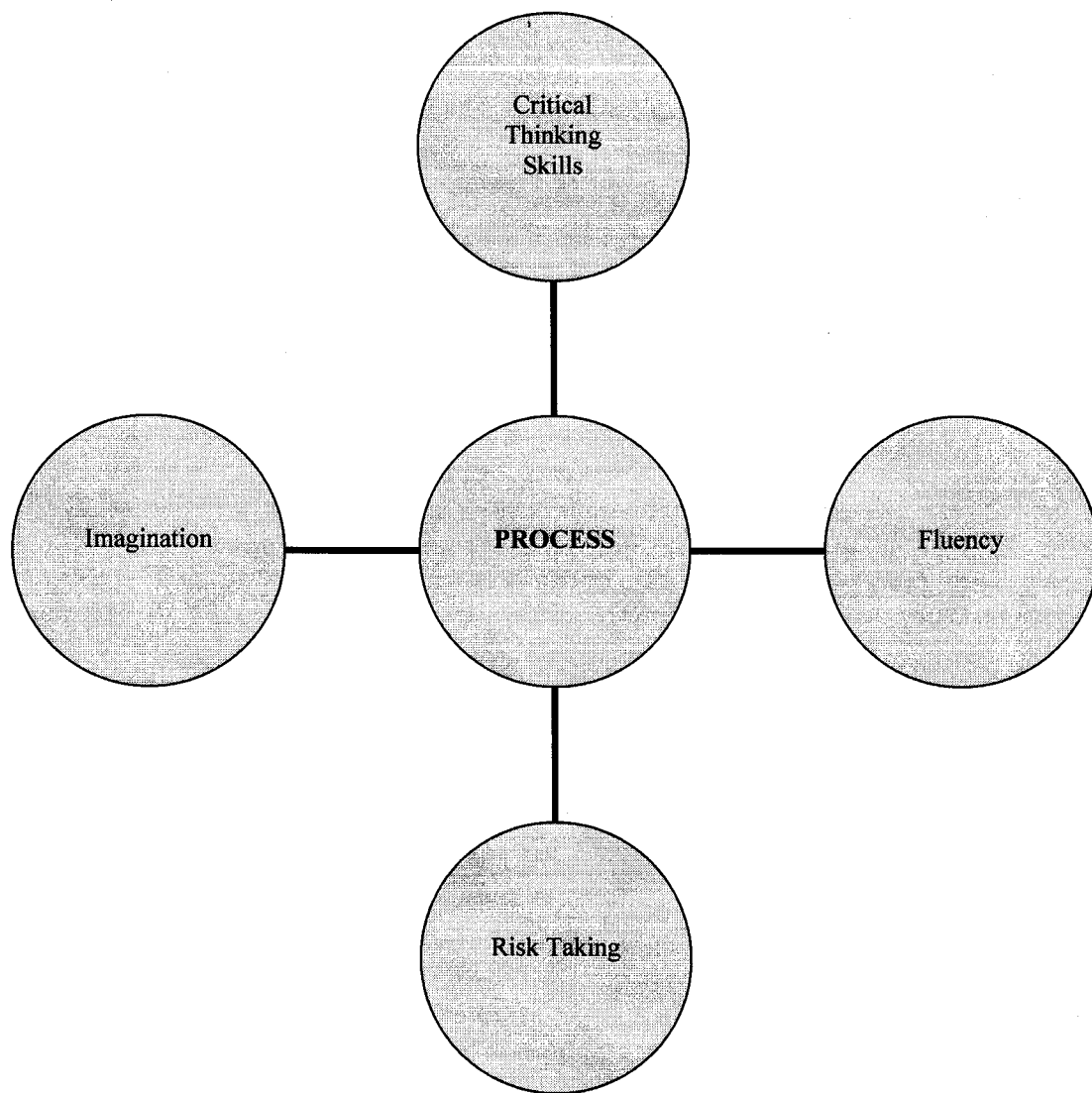


Figure 3.2 Subcomponents of Process

Process

Many theories have been developed in order to describe and understand the process of creativity. Wallas (1926) described a four-stage process in which “the thinker should bring the conscious and voluntary effort of his art to bear” (p. 91). The stages Wallas described are: preparation, incubation, illumination, and verification. Today, the subcomponents of fluency, imagination, critical thinking skills, and risk-

taking are given the most prominent attention when exploring the creative process. These four sub-components are behaviors, which it is assumed, in a modern society, the creative individual will, and should, experience during the creative process. In modern societies the emphasis, particularly in education, is on the process of creating more than on the product or the producer.

Fluency

The expression of a high degree of fluency is valued in modern societies. In modern societies more is better; and more is defined in many ways, which can be seen in the literature related to fluency. Guilford (1959) discusses several types of fluency that relate to the creative process: word fluency, associational fluency, expressional fluency, and ideational fluency. Behaviors that express associational fluency and ideational fluency are the most commonly expected behaviors in the modern creative process. This can be seen from the type of questions found on standard tests used by cognitive psychologists to assess creativity. Tests for associational fluency require “the examinee to produce as many synonyms as he can for a given word in a limited time” (Guilford, 1959, p.171); tests for ideational fluency are measured by the quantity of responses and “may ask examinees to name objects that are hard, white and edible or to give various uses for a common brick, or to write appropriate titles for a given story plot” (Guilford, 1959, p.171). “Those individuals who can come up with many responses that are deemed unusual are considered more creative ‘in general’ than those who come up with few, or with banal, associations” (Gardner, 1989, p.113). The quality of the material produced during the process is not always significant, although there is an underlying

assumption as Parnes (1963) cites: "Osborn's theory that in idea production, quantity leads to quality" (p.349).

Modern societies emphasize a creative process which involves looking "outside of the box" to find multiple solutions to problems, or perspective taking. We have become a society obsessed with non-linear, holistic thinking where qualities from all domains are blended in order to engage in a process to create vast amounts of novel products. Brainstorming is a popular western expression, which is used to describe an activity that encourages and requires one to engage in expressing fluency in ideas and associations. Brainstorming, or what Sawyer (2001) calls "collaborative creativity" is a common activity in modern societies; it can be found in the boardroom, in the classroom, on the playing field, or in the therapist's office. Sawyer (2001) describes a 1995 research project he did with Csikszentmihalyi at the University of Chicago:

(W)e examined the everyday work habits and creative processes of exceptional artists and scientists. When we asked them to tell us about their most important insights, we expected them to tell us stories about having an "Aha" moment in the shower or walking on the beach. We always think that creative insight happens in a private moment. Instead, we were surprised to find that most of these creative individuals depended on creative conversations for their insights, during collaboration, brainstorming, and team meetings (p.69).

In terms of language production there are significant differences in terms of fluency between modern societies and traditional ones. "Not every culture values talk as much as Americans...In America, we assign a value to talk and we assume that higher-status individuals will talk more" (Sawyer, 2001, p.59). On the other hand,

many cultures place a higher value on silence, for example, "Japanese speakers prefer not to speak in confrontational situations" (Sawyer, 2001, p.59).

In modern societies people may engage in activities that promote ideational or associational fluency for the purpose of "creative calisthenics" which may or may not have any practical purpose, while in traditional societies the process involved for ideational and associational fluency is not absent but it may occur as a result of a practical challenge resulting in an innovation. An example from Inuit culture describes this:

Ever since first contact with outsiders, the Inuit have adapted whatever new materials were introduced into their culture in most ingenious ways. There are countless examples of empty tin cans being melted into bullets for rifles or metal saws being converted into ulus (crescent-shaped women's knives) and hunting knives. (von Finckenstein, 2001, p. 4)

The process of the Inuit described above is resourceful, practical, and purposeful; these are not qualities always associated with modern-style fluency activities.

Japan is an example where the emphasis is so strong on producing the right answer, that "...to guess is to admit not having spent enough time in finding the correct answer" (Nelson, 1995, p. 11). "Being only partially 'right' which may be acceptable to the impulsive learners...is often seen as totally 'wrong' by those whose reflective learning styles are culturally sanctioned" (Nelson, 1995, p.11). Modern-style fluency requires one to ignore their inner critic and pay little or no heed to the quality of what is being produced; this process is almost impossible for members of some traditional societies. As a result, creativity techniques designed to generate quantity with little regard to quality are absent.

Critical Thinking Skills

Critical thinking, or problem-solving, may be viewed as the opposite of idea association and generation as described above. De Bono (1970) states that there are fundamental differences between lateral and vertical thinking; for example, vertical thinking is selective, analytical, sequential, and follows the most likely paths, while lateral thinking is generative, provocative, non-sequential, and explores the least likely paths. Furthermore, de Bono explicitly divides the two types of thinking with no discussion of the two working in tandem. Critical thinking skills coincide more with the notion of vertical thinking and would, therefore, be in opposition with some of the earlier components of creativity that are valued in modern societies.

However, not all theories on creativity support this view. Bailin (1993) explains the incorrect assumption that creativity and rationality are mutually exclusive:

An underlying reason for this opposition between creativity and rationality is the view that reasoning always takes place within rigidly bounded and highly rule-governed frameworks.... There are relatively few cases in which we operate within clear-cut, clearly determined and rigidly bounded frameworks. In most situations which require logical thought, frameworks overlap, shift, and have indefinite boundaries (p.40).

Cognitive psychologists have come to believe that "intelligence involves the ability to solve problems, or to fashion products which are valued in one or more cultural settings." (Gardner, 1988, p.113). Torrance's definition of modern-style creativity focuses on special kinds of problem-solving or critical thinking skills, which include: curiosity, flexibility, sensitivity to problems, redefinition, self-feeling, originality, and

insight (Cho & Kim, 1999). Therefore, many theorists believe that critical thinking skills are a highly valued component of the creative process in modern societies.

In some traditional societies and in traditional education the “right” way of doing something is passed down from generation to generation, or from teacher to student, and therefore, critical thinking skills are not of paramount importance to the process of creativity. In China “(f)iguring out what the appropriate response was in a given circumstance was strongly colored by the fact that past examples were supposed to provide clear models to follow” (Weiner, 2000, p. 175). In addition, the Chinese do not analyze a topic divisively by breaking it down into parts and are more likely to think by means of analogies and to make greater use of metaphors and similes in drawing conclusions (Nelson, 1995, p.13). Similarly, the Chinese tend to think by beginning with the principle or the whole and using logic to “reason downward to derivative propositions”(Nelson, 1995, p.13). In Mexico there is a strong focus on math, but very little focus on creative problem solving or on applying what is being learned (Wilcox & Moreno, 1999). These examples are in contrast to the emphasis placed on critical-thinking skills in western education.

Interestingly, the processes of critical thinking and problem solving are ones which Chinese educators are interested in adopting, a fact which can be seen in the comments made to an American educator by a Chinese administrator:

...when comparing the U.S. to China, there were strengths and weaknesses on either side. He praised the U.S. for its attention to a student’s creativity and research skills...and explained that China had a lot to learn in this type of problem-based education (de Ramirez, 2002, p.11).

The west is a problem-based culture, while traditional cultures generally are not. In modern societies, all things can be reduced to problems or challenges that need remedying, and the process for finding solutions comes from looking to the future rather than from contemplating the past.

Imagination

Imagination has been an important feature in the development of modern societies. Enlightenment thinkers referred to imagination as an important helpmate to reason, and by 1800 the psychology of creativity shifted the locus of genius from the faculty of judgment to that of imagination (Weiner, 2000, p. 71 & 76). The concept of imagination has evolved throughout history, and today can be defined as:

...the capacity to think of things as possibly being so; it is an intentional act of mind; it is the source of invention, novelty, and generativity; it is not implicated in all perception and in the construction of all meaning; it is not distinct from rationality but is rather a capacity that greatly enriches rational thinking. The imaginative person has this capacity in a high degree (Egan, 1992, p.43).

Or, put more simply, imagination is simply the conscious process of conceiving, visualizing, conjuring, or thinking up of some particular set of circumstances (Barrow, 1988).

In modern societies the possession and production of imagination is viewed in a positive light, and assumed to be a good thing (Egan, 1992). Einstein's claim that "imagination is more powerful than knowledge" is a common mantra in the modern societies. "The claim that Smith has imagination or that Jones is imaginative is usually an instance of praise, and clearly refers to the superior quality of the abstract

representation engaged in by Smith or Jones” (Barrow, 1988, p.81). In addition, the process of using one’s imagination should result in the production of something that is both unusual and effective (Barrow, 1988).

On the other hand, the role of imagination in traditional societies looks much different. In Confucianism the producer is seen as a transmitter of the knowledge of the previous generations: “I transmit but do not create. I believe in and love the ancients” (Weiner, 2000, p. 175). Receiving the label of “imaginative” in China would not be a positive experience. In conversation with a Chinese colleague, Jim Hu, Phd., regarding his research on Chinese students and plagiarism, I was told that the Chinese view imagination as “unrealistic, idealistic, and impractical”. Chinese students learn by memorizing and imitating models. “To improve their writing, students memorize written texts, often several pages long, that are considered exemplaries of a type of discourse” (Carson, 1992, cited in Nelson, 1995, p.13).

Conversely, in modern societies modeling and memorization are seen as blocks for developing imagination. Ironically, “it was the need to memorize things that early stimulated and developed the human capacity for imagination” (Egan, 1992, p. 11). Today, however, memorization is a quality absent from the general modern conception of imagination.

Risk Taking

Risk-taking behavior involves the willingness to divert from the norm and pay little heed to consequences. The value on risk-taking in a modern society exists in every domain, from the artist to the weekend warrior; the tendency is to push one’s self beyond one’s comfort zone and take chances. Western studies of creative

personalities show that creative individuals are commonly risk-takers and the willingness to take risks plays an important part in overcoming obstacles to creative development (Meador, 1999). From Torrance's research (1963, cited in Dinca, 1999) three personality characteristics stand out as differentiating the highly creative children from less creative but equally intelligent children. All three characteristics relate to risk-taking behavior:

1. Highly creative children have a reputation for having wild or silly ideas, especially the boys.
2. Their work is characterised by the production of ideas "off the beaten track, outside the mold."
3. Their work is characterised by humor, playfulness, relative lack of rigidity, and relaxation. (p.355)

In a 1991 study of teachers of English in Hong Kong, the kinds of learners who teachers felt did best in their classes had the following traits:

1. Those who were motivated.
2. Those who were active and spoke out.
3. Those who were not afraid to make mistakes.
4. Those who could work individually without the teacher's help.(Richards & Lockhart, 1994, p. 37)

It is clear that trait #2, #3, and #4 are related to a comfort with risk-taking behaviour.

It is also clear that behaviors such as speaking out and comfort with making mistakes are not behaviors considered worthy of fostering in some traditional societies:

In Chinese classrooms, students seldom form small groups or pairs; instead, they sit with backbones straight, eyes directly ahead...until they are called on to raise a hand, stand to recite, or take out materials to work...They arrive, they listen, they take copious notes, they depart. Even when invited to make comments or ask questions, they are reluctant to speak (Nelson, 1995, p. 12).

Risk-taking would be going against convention in some traditional societies.

A Japanese study compared Japanese and American kindergarten students in terms of differences in risk-taking behaviour and found significant differences in the behavior of the children:

...as soon as an American child received a sheet of paper he or she would begin to draw. When the picture was finished, the child would hold it up to be collected or would bring it to the teacher's desk. In the Japanese schools the children waited until all of the papers had been distributed. Then, at each table, the children looked at each other and talked a little about what they were supposed to do. Then, table by table, as if by signal, all the children would begin to draw. Throughout the activity, children would turn and look at what the others were doing. Those who finished first waited until the others were done, and when all were finished the drawings were collected (Nelson, 1995, p. 10).

It is clear from these examples that risk-taking behaviour, as previously defined, is one sub-component that differs significantly between modern and traditional societies. This is one of the key elements that lead to dissonance in the classroom when traditional students meet modern teaching methodology.

In summary, the creative process as defined in terms of modernity to include fluency, risk-taking, imagination, and critical thinking skills, differs significantly from what is involved in creating in many traditional societies. In addition, the ideological emphasis put on process in modern societies differs significantly from traditional societies. As a result, "art for art's sake" and "process writing" may be unfamiliar tenets to students from traditional orientations.

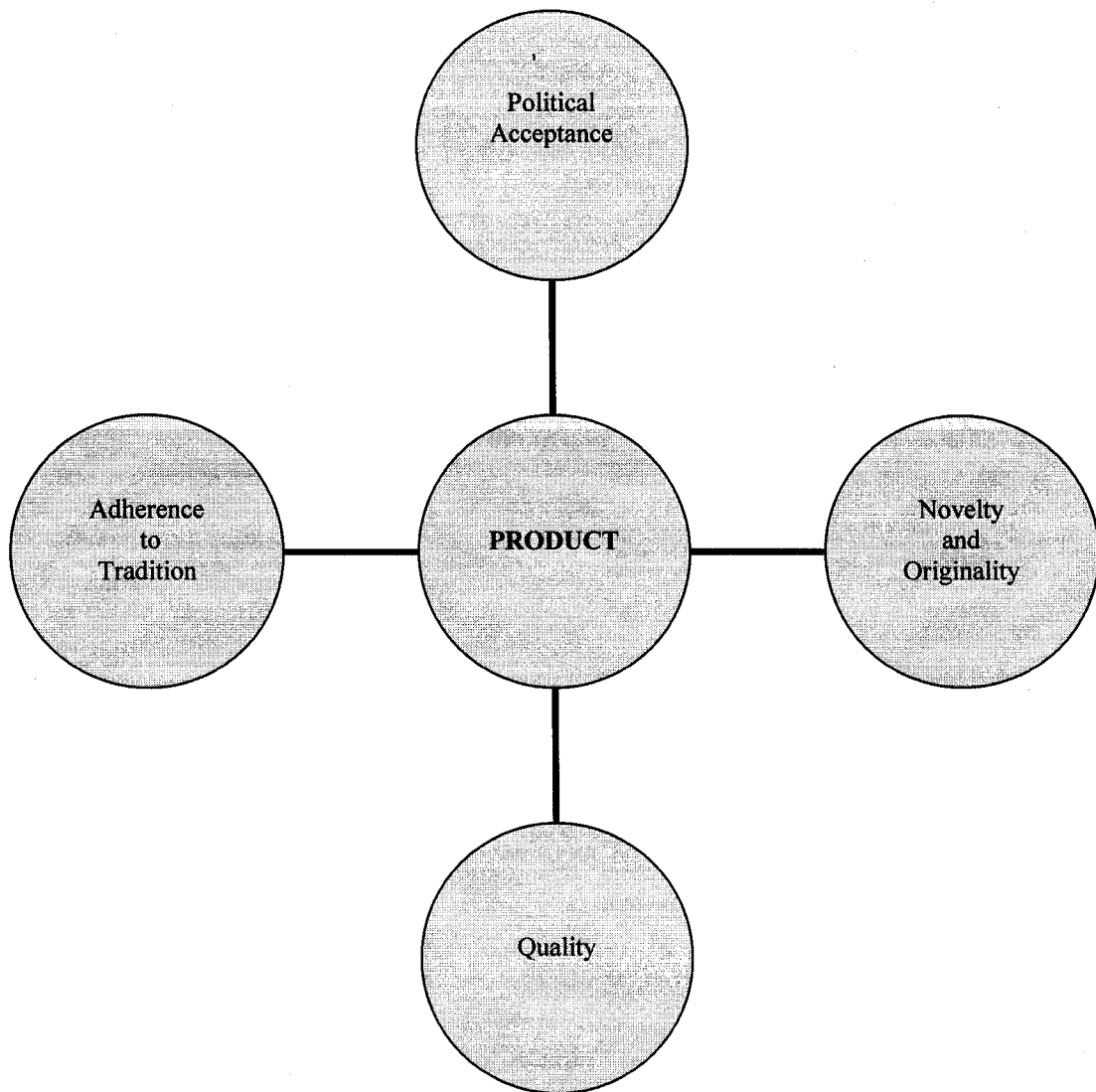


Figure 3.3 Subcomponents of Product

Product

Freud (1970) acknowledged that “If our comparison of the imaginative writer with the day-dreamer, and of poetical creation with the day-dream, is to be of any value, it must, above all show itself in some way or other fruitful” (p.133). The focus in modern culture generally, and in western education specifically, is not on the product, although the product must play some role in the act of creativity. In general, modern societies value the process of creating and the expression of the behaviors

associated with creating, while some traditional societies place a higher value on the product, as the product represents quality, tradition, and political acceptance. Quality, tradition, and political acceptance are not absent in western societies, but they play a less significant role. Instead, there is more of an emphasis and value placed on the novelty and originality of the product.

Political Acceptance

Political acceptance plays a role in the products of both western and non-western cultures but in different ways. The role of politics, or political correctness, is a more covert underlying theme in western society, while political ideology has been overt and pronounced in places such as Post-Revolutionary Mexico and Communist China. Artistic examples will be primarily used to demonstrate the influence of politics in the acceptance of creative products.

Classic Communist China is a country that puts high value on the artistic product and the degree to which the product supports and carries out the political ideology. This is illustrated in Mao Tsetung's "Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art" in 1942:

All of our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use. (Mao, 1972, p.300)

According to Mao (1972), the purpose of creative products

...is to ensure that (they) fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy, and that they help the people fight the enemy with one heart and one mind. (p.301)

Howard Gardner echoes this idea in one of the conclusions he draws about the Chinese view of art after spending time in China in the 1970s: "All art should be beautiful and should lead to good (moral) behaviour" (Gardner, 1988, p. 257). Although Mao's vision of the role of the arts in China is specific to supporting the political ideology of the Cultural Revolution, this does not mean that Mao (1972) envisioned all Chinese artists following one prescribed form, but that "(d)ifferent forms and styles in art should develop freely and different schools in science should contend freely" (p.303). Mao's creative goal was "the permanent Communist Revolution". Such an approach, which calls for change in every realm, seems to imply creativity in the most absolute western sense of the word, but Mao's revolution had a very specific direction and had little tolerance for those whose creative insights prompted them to want to go another way (Weiner, 2000, p.183).

Post-Revolutionary Mexico was also a place that emphasized political acceptance of artistic products. Following ten years of civil war, the minister of education, Jose Vasconcelos, was in search of an art form to carry out the government's cultural policy which would support the agenda of the cultural reform movement intended to improve the social and racial status of the Indian population. Diego Rivera was enlisted by Vasconcelos to help carry out the government's cultural policy by creating extensive murals depicting the reclamation of an independent Mexican national culture after centuries of Spanish-Christian blocking of Indian cultural integration. These murals would be displayed in public places and demonstrate a break with the past, although not with tradition, and establish a

rejection of the colonial epoch and nineteenth-century European culture (Kettenmann, 1997).

In the west one desires to believe that all creative acts take place free from political influence or pressure. Although overt agendas supporting the dominant political position may not be present in creative products, in the words of Mao (1972):

In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines. There is in fact no such thing as art for art's sake, art that stands above classes, art that is detached from or independent of politics (p.299).

In the west, the role of political acceptance is disguised in the term "political correctness" which purports to reject the ideas of sexism, racism, and intolerance, while embracing the tenants of diversity, freedom of speech and expression, and tolerance.

It is clear that political acceptance is a significant factor in the creation of a product in all societies. The difference between western and non-western societies lies in the overt or covert nature of the expectations from the society; in more practical terms, the issue may be whether one may end up in jail or be ostracized from their society as a result of their products, or merely lack critical acclaim and financial compensation.

Novelty & Originality

(O)riginality is at the core of creativity...creative thinkers seek unique ideas and solutions, and they create original products, 'create...rather than imitate' (Meador, 1999, p. 324).

Novelty and originality are highly valued components of creativity in modern societies. Modern societies are obsessed with the “new and improved”; the “first of its kind”, etc. as can be seen in advertising. “Making the new is our culture’s agenda” (Weiner 2000, p.98). R.J. Talbot (1993) describes innovation in terms of social patterning in which modern societies have changed from societies in which individuals kept their ideas to themselves to ones that are powerfully oriented towards the individual. In the new system, innovation is vital for survival; hence improvisation and new ideas are looked upon as necessary (Dinca, 1999). The value of innovation has changed focus in modern societies from a necessity for survival to social convention. Hattiangadi (1985) states that “(n)owadays, a person is thought to be creative if he or she produces anything unusual” (p. 46), and goes on to satirize the way in which novelty includes almost everyone and everything:

...novelty in art or science is trivially achieved. Every missed beat in music is novel, every mistake a creation. Every failure is unique. Even a mediocre artist has a style of his own, failures of his own. We cannot escape being novel and creative, even the most ordinary men and women among us, I should say, even the most original among us (p. 48).

On the other hand, some traditional cultures focus much less, if at all, on the subcomponent of novelty and originality. Weiner (2000) describes the situation in China that “(w)hile creativity was necessary in devising the governmental and societal structures, innovation was not a cultural priority... Thus, bureaucracy and traditionalism went hand in hand.” (p. 176). In addition, the I Ching, or Chinese book of divination, speaks of a pre-determined destiny with all roads leading to the same destination and, therefore, deliberation becomes unnecessary. Weiner’s

conclusion, in terms of creativity, is that this philosophy does not seem to encourage the introduction of the new (Weiner, 2000, p. 175). This philosophy regarding novelty and originality is exemplified by the manner in which Chinese students are taught to improve their writing skills:

To improve their writing, students memorize written texts, often several pages long, that are considered examples of a type of discourse (Carson 1992, cited in Nelson). In this way, the students learn, through memorization, the framework for writing and can then modify it as needed and desired (Unger, 1977, cited in Nelson). Sheridan (1981, p.807) states explicitly that "the practice of memorization is continued so as to help students develop writing style through modeling" (Nelson, 1995, p.13).

The difference between modern and some traditional societies in terms of the value placed on novelty and originality is evident in academic settings. Hu (2000) explains that there is a clear difference between the modern (American in this case) view and the traditional Chinese view: "Among the Western countries, 'the US educational culture is extreme in its intolerance of copying'...(while) traditional Chinese culture sees copying...as a valuable and effective way of learning" (Hu 2000, p.23-24). Hu, a Chinese EAL instructor, reflects on his own learning of English:

Through memorization I was able to learn more English words, expressions, and structures (grammatical and rhetorical), and could hope to speak and write English more fluently in an environment with very few native English speakers (Hu, 2000, p.24).

The products which result from memorization and imitation don't have much value in modern societies, even though they may prove to be successful tools for creating

future products of quality: “As the Chinese saying goes, if one can learn 300 poems of the Tang Dynasty by heart, one can compose poems” (Hu, 2000, p.24).

Novelty or originality of product takes on a significantly lesser role in traditional societies and contrasts with the acceptance of failure and mediocrity, which pass for originality in modern societies, as Hattiangadi (1985) points out. Hattiangadi (1985) explains that as a reaction to an elitist view of art, “art loses all standards (and) musical composition, painting, and sculpture have no standards to meet, and hence can be liked or disliked, but not judged to be good or bad” (p. 47). Conversely, it is exactly the attainment of high standards and rejection of mediocrity that some non-western societies strive for through memorization, imitation, and repetition.

Adherence to Tradition

In terms of modernity, creativity and tradition appear to be mutually exclusive values. Tradition, which represents a commitment to the past, plays a very small role in creating in the modern societies. Although cultural identity and social stability require continuity, it is the breaking of tradition and forging of new territory that is more highly valued in the west. A product may belong to a specific domain, for example, dance, visual art, music, or literature, but often it is the manner in which the product defies the form that is valued. In addition, the mixing of media in modern societies is common, and the multidisciplinary approach to just about everything is rampant.

In some traditional societies, however, tradition is the foundation of the creative product in both form and function.¹ The traditional carvings I saw in Greenland were of very limited and specific images, much like the Inuit carvings of northern Canada. The materials, images, and techniques have not changed; what has changed is the tourist market for these products. In China “(t)he long perpetuation of custom had to do with an enduring peasant agricultural economy, an entrenched bureaucracy, dynastic rule lasting centuries, and a dominant ideology which integrated a range of philosophical, religious, and political ideas and maintained a strong sense of continuity” (Weiner, 2000, p. 174). One result of the strong traditional culture in China can be seen in Chinese paintings, which have manifested a high degree of continuity over the centuries (Weiner, 2000, p. 179). On the other hand, Hattiangadi (1985) points out that in modern societies “...the history of our philosophies are not of interest to most artists and composers, or to most scientists and mathematicians” (p.47).

Ironically, while valuing novelty and innovation, members of modern societies put a high value on the apparent static components of traditional societies and interpret change as a form of corruption; for example, the use of modern tools in First Nations carving, or the use of commercial dyes by Mexican weavers. This is paralleled by the type of standardized language testing, such as the TOEFL exam, which is used globally to determine entrance requirements for EAL students in western post-secondary institutions. The “traditional” language student will perform better on this type of exam than one who has been schooled in a more modern manner.

Quality

Quality plays a significant role in both traditional and modern societies, although the difference occurs in the definition of quality. Gardner (1989) effectively makes the distinction between what is valued in modern societies in terms of quality and what is valued in traditional ones by way of a comparison of his reaction and a Chinese reaction to a German art show:

First, in New York City, I viewed "Berlin after the War," at the Museum of Modern Art. Almost nothing in this exhibition would be considered beautiful by Chinese or even by more relaxed Western standards. Much of it is in fact harsh, ugly, grotesque, anarchic, crude, or cruel – and when not so jarring, it is often big and brassy or tiny and obscure... Some of the art portrays...subjects likely to be considered taboo in a Chinese context. Finally, it is often difficult to discern any craft behind the surface appearance of the work. Most Chinese would be appalled by its style, subject matter, and apparent absence of technique. And yet, rather than being depressed by the exhibit, I was exhilarated. I discerned voice, spirit, and genuine emotions in these works (p. 308).

In some traditional societies quality relates to the level of skill of the producer, the quality of the materials used, and the degree to which the product reflects the heritage of the society. In China: "...when judgments of quality were made...the comparison was between whole schools of artists following regional traditions"

(Weiner 2000, p. 179). Gardner (1989) describes contemporary art shows in China:

...(they) often featured lovely craftsmanship but had nothing to do with life as it is played out on the street. Such artwork reflects a kind of dream world, suspended between a restful past which cannot be regained and a

socialist present which is being undermined on a daily basis by the economic reforms of the Deng regime (p. 308-309).

During my time in Greenland, it was apparent that as an outsider I was completely at a loss in terms of determining quality or purpose of the carvings and other artwork I saw. Products that I thought would look nice hanging on a wall were actually meant as toys. My experience is not unique, but rather an attempt by modernists to appreciate the “multicultural” in order to escape the label of elitist or ethnocentric.

On the other hand, quality in a modern society is often determined by novelty, social acceptance, and the commodification of creations within popular culture rather than adherence and respect for tradition. Another element of quality in modern societies focuses on the emotional involvement of the product with the perceiver, or audience. As Gardner (1989) expresses, it was not the quality of the products in the “Berlin after the Wall” show that attracted him, but the emotional reaction he felt to the content and the relevance of the work to politics and the human condition.

Therefore, quality in a traditional society is often determined within a cultural context of tradition while quality in a modern society may be determined more often by novelty, market-value and emotional content.

Conclusion

The previous examination of the components and sub-components found in modern-style creativity, and the comparison to traditional societies leads to the conclusion that the components of modern creativity are understood and interpreted differently across and within cultures. This may not be surprising, but it is significant

to a teaching methodology (CLT) that relies heavily on a modern understanding of creativity in terms of producer, process, and product.

How, then, are students from traditional societies going to fare in a classroom that uses communicative language teaching techniques which value modernly defined creativity? Dissonance is a definite result. I believe that it is primarily the difference in understanding of the term "creativity" (in terms of one, or more, of the components and/or subcomponents, and/or the value placed on them) that leads to much of the dissonance in the EAL classroom.

The next chapter will describe some of the areas where dissonance occurs due to variations in understanding of various sub-components of creativity. In addition, there will be a discussion of some practical ways for instructors to lessen the dissonance and create a classroom environment which supports the learning of students from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds and, if possible, creates a three-way forum for learning: student to student, teacher to student, and student to teacher.

Chapter 4

Implications of Modern Creativity in the EAL Classroom

Introduction

This chapter will describe many suggestions for reducing the dissonance arising from different concepts of creativity in the EAL classroom. These suggestions, in turn, will make the classroom a more comfortable place for students from diverse cultural backgrounds. Ironically, many of the suggestions covered in this chapter can be seen as the antithesis of modern style creativity: reading handouts to students, criterion-based evaluation, and explanations of methodology. First, there will be an examination of the practical, cultural, and philosophical dimensions of EAL teaching; second, an illustration of some problems arising from teacher-student misunderstandings related to the modern definition and practice of creativity, and, finally, some suggestions will be provided for decreasing the level of dissonance between teachers and students resulting from the emphasis on modern creativity in the classroom.

The most successful EAL learners will take on, and exhibit a western learning style. This means that these students will adopt and accept the tenets of modern creativity as outlined in the previous chapter. This process of assimilation gives rise to a question regarding the kind of transformation the EAL learner is expected to undergo in the classroom.

“To learn a language is...to translate one’s individuality into that language.”

Gouin, 1880

(cited in Kelly p. 303)

“To have another language is to possess a second soul.”

(Charlemagne, unknown source)

The quotations above exemplify one difference in ideology regarding additional language teaching. Often teachers speak of the emerging “English” personality of their students, as though learning the new language is transforming the student into a more modern or western, and therefore, more “acceptable” individual. What if EAL instructors underwent a paradigm shift from aiding our students in their transformation to aiding them in preserving and communicating through their current individuality by developing a bicultural identity? This would involve examining exactly what EAL instructors are doing in the classroom.

First, language teachers teach language. We choose the grammar, the vocabulary, and the skills that we feel are most important and sequence them according to our pedagogical beliefs. We may adopt a developmental theory of grammar teaching, or a function based theory, but most teachers will deliver language lessons using a variety of Communicative Language techniques.

Second, language teachers teach culture. The materials (textbooks, films, songs, instructor’s values and experiences, etc.) are all culturally laden. For example, during a trip to Greenland as a teacher educator, I had the opportunity to examine the English language textbooks that are currently used in the public school system. The textbooks, which were thirty years old, contained stereotypical nuclear families, with a white-collar father, homemaker mother, two children, and a family pet. Of course all of the characters in the textbook were Caucasian. This is an example of the cultural image of the native English speaker that is perpetuated in many parts of the world today. This exemplifies that:

...(l)anguage teaching is also reality teaching. The instruction that foreign and second language teachers provide in linguistic construction necessarily includes guidelines on how to experience reality in a different way (Bennett, 1997, p.17).

In addition, students may be confused when their anticipated English reality doesn't match their perceived reality; for example, their host family may consist of a professional single parent, child, and no pet. The confusion also extends into the classroom when students are not overtly informed of the expectations, such as risk-taking, which are closely tied to the modern concept of creativity.

Finally, language teachers teach methodology. They teach their students how to learn in a biased manner. They expect and require students to behave in a predetermined way in order to be successful. These behaviours may be incongruent with students' prior learning experiences. "When learners and teachers meet for the first time, they may bring with them different expectations concerning not only the learning process in general, but also concerning what will be learned in a particular course and how it will be learned" (Richards & Lockhart, 1994, p. 34).

Consequently, the international student may be at a great disadvantage in the classroom and his/her sense of self-worth, or individuality, may come into question.

If one is to accept that there is not a shared global understanding of the concept "creativity" and that modern creative behaviour is an expected staple of the Communicative Language classroom, then one must explore the impact of this on the students and instructors. Personally I have found many examples of this incongruence between student and instructor expectations throughout my twelve

years of teaching EAL students. Several of these examples will be described in order to highlight the kinds of problems, that arise from the lack of a common understanding of creativity and the role that creativity plays in the CLT classroom.

Recently at my current position at the University College of the Cariboo (UCC) there has been a problem with students from China cheating on exams. I believe that this is due in part to the teaching methodology that these students have been expected to accept upon arrival at UCC. They have been forced to work cooperatively in groups, create novel products, and take risks. In addition, evaluation has not always been clear. It has been difficult for these students to accept the new style of learning and then submit to traditional forms of testing. Culturally, for the Chinese students, the product of learning, which is measured by one's test score, is much more valued than the process of learning, which is emphasized in the CLT classroom. The result of these episodes has been incredibly frustrated teachers and students who are facing the possibility of failing due to academic dishonesty policies.

Another example of the incongruence between teacher and student expectations is found in the subjective evaluation of students by instructors for activities such as presentations. Students who are from more modern-oriented cultures such as Europe or Mexico City generally score much higher than the students from Asian cultures. Thus, often it is the ability and willingness to take risks, try something new, and exhibit a degree of outgoingness in a group setting that is valued more than the quality of what is presented. Grammar skill or vocabulary development is ranked, if at all, below the performance features of the presentation such as non-verbal cues (body language), voice audibility, and clarity of speech. This

follows the modern view of creativity, which puts a higher value on specific sub-components such as novelty and risk-taking over quality and skill development.

In addition, one might assume that EAL instructors would have a high degree of cultural sensitivity and global mindedness. I believe this to be true, yet I often hear instructors speaking in general terms with comments such as “My Mexican students do great presentations, although they’re always late”, or “The Chinese students in my class have no imagination”, or “I can’t get them (Japanese students) to participate if I stand on my head”. These kinds of stereotypical comments express frustration on the part of the teacher as well as serve as a point for exploration. Do the Chinese students have no imagination, or are they confused about the expectations of the instructor? Do Japanese students dislike participating, or are they confused about how to participate, or uncomfortable with the kind of participation expected? Do the Mexican students get some leeway in terms of tardiness because they participate well and as expected?

I asked a group of college teachers, during a presentation I gave entitled “Creativity & Culture” in May, 2001, at Douglas College in New Westminster, B.C. to brainstorm ways to “level the playing field” for international students. Many of the following suggestions came from my notes made during that session. Most of these suggestions relate to good classroom practice, in general, when working with any student group, but will be specifically tailored to the needs of the additional language learner in the Communicative Language Classroom. The suggestions will focus on lessening the dissonance that results between students and teachers due to misunderstandings surrounding creativity and will be exemplified with quotations

from interviews with EAL instructors. These suggestions will be grouped into five categories: developing political correctness via culture learning, redefining the teacher-student relationship, encouraging imaginative problem-solving and risk-taking, curbing a fetish for fluency, and counting quality.

The goal of this chapter is for EAL teachers to use the following suggestions in order to reflect on their own conceptions of creativity and how these culturally determined conceptions influence their classroom practices. In addition, it is hoped that EAL teachers will gain an insight into some of the misunderstandings that occur in their classrooms and receive some practical suggestions for remedying the problems. These suggestions are geared for EAL instructors and adult learners of English.

Developing Political Correctness via Culture Learning

One of the first coping strategies that traditional students need to learn in the EAL classroom is that while a variety of political views will be tolerated, political correctness will play a large role in their success in the western classroom, and content involving sexism or racism, for example, will not be tolerated. It is clear from the discussion of political acceptance in Chapter 3, that all “products” are subjected to political influence; similarly, once students gain enough vocabulary, syntax, and self-confidence, they can use English to produce whatever they choose. It is important for EAL teachers to inform students about politically correct content and behaviour, both in and out of the classroom.

Overt teaching of western culture and political correctness is often absent or underrepresented in the EAL classroom. This may be because teachers take for

granted that western culture has permeated the globe so efficiently that it is not necessary, or they may be unaware of how significant the role of culture is in the terminology they use. I wonder how many EAL instructors are aware that they are asking students to participate in creative activities that they may not understand the purpose of? Therefore, if teachers are unaware that some of their goals in the classroom are directly connected to the development of creativity, in a modern sense, how can they communicate that to their students?

In order to overtly teach classroom culture, a teacher must reflect on exactly what the expectations of their classroom are. Intercultural competence begins with the instructor, as one instructor mentions: "What I choose reflects my own biases which are culturally bound of course...(t)hey wouldn't work in other cultures" (Interviewee A). The following is the reflective process of one instructor as she questions and defines the expectations she has of her students in a listening and speaking class:

...what are the components of being a group participant?...What are the components of making an oral presentation? What are the components of being a group participant in a leaderless discussion?
(Interviewee A)

Teachers need to clarify to learners the assumptions underlying classroom practices and underlying instructional methodology (Richards & Lockhart, p. 35). One practitioner suggests:

Be open with learners. Discuss your teaching approach and the goals you have set for your learners right at the outset of the course in simple, non-technical language, using graphs or charts if necessary. Do this in the learners' mother tongue if possible (Wyss, 2002, p.12).

This suggestion would be met with strong reactions in some EAL settings where “English Only” policies govern students’ linguistic behaviour in, and even out, of the classroom in some schools. One can imagine the initial confusion when low level EAL students are told to “brainstorm”; even using translation devices, this terminology and the purpose of the activity may be elusive to many students.

Clear communication about the role of the classroom is important. As one instructor states: “I’m not trying to change people’s personalities. I am trying to encourage them to use the ESL classroom as a testing ground for building a repertoire of skills that will, in some sense, make or break them in a university classroom...” (Interviewee A). Wyss (2002) gives some useful advice for providing clear communication about classroom culture to EAL students:

- Discuss CLT and other recent trends in language learning and teaching from time to time.
- Demonstrate how your syllabus takes these into account.
- Engage learners in developing and discussing their personal goals for the course.
- Show how many of these goals are already implicit in the syllabus (p. 12).

A teacher who can communicate clearly about the sub-culture of the classroom will create a supportive network for students who will be comfortable asking questions when culture-based confusion arises.

Redefining the Teacher-Student Relationship

The western teacher using CLT methods is the guru of modern creativity. The teacher often presents herself as primarily a motivator or facilitator. The roles of purveyor of knowledge and evaluator are important components of the profession, but

less emphasis is put on these roles, in favour of the roles that encourage and develop modern creativity in the process of language acquisition. This can lead to confusion on the part of the student, particularly when it comes to evaluation. The following are a few suggestions for creating a clearer understanding regarding the role of the teacher in the EAL classroom, and in the relationship between the teacher and student.

First, the teacher should realize that many of the activities that she is asking students to engage in require the exhibition creativity in the modern sense. I am not suggesting that these activities be removed from the methodology or the curriculum, rather, it may be beneficial to give students something familiar in terms of learning activities as well. Finding a familiar activity will involve getting to know one's students and having students reflect on, and communicate about, their prior learning experiences. There is so much that is new to students of English who are studying abroad that to give them something that feels familiar, "or accommodating classroom practices to match them more closely to students' expectations" (Richards & Lockhart, 1994, p. 35) can reduce their stress level. This may look different to learners from different cultural backgrounds. For example, I have found that giving Asian students a standard, traditional quiz every week is an extremely motivating activity. It gives these students a familiar task to prepare for, participate in, and receive recognizable achievement (a percentage grade). I have found that students will more readily try something new if they feel successful, and providing a familiar learning activity in which they can find that success may be the starting point for bringing the students "on-side".

Not including tasks that are familiar to the students may result in “...misunderstanding and mistrust on the part of both teachers and learners” (Richards and Lockhart, 1994, p. 35). The following is an example of a common communicative activity:

I try to bring in a lot of materials...for reading...I'll bring in current events...from Maclean's magazine or something like that...and then I would probably...divide up the text and then have groups, different groups, read each part and then jigsaw the reading (Interviewee B).

This activity would be unfamiliar to new students on a variety of levels: the language, the content of the article, and the methodology that implies co-operative learning. During this type of activity the teacher provides materials, facilitates group formation, and acts as a resource when students have problems. It may appear to some students from various cultural backgrounds that the teacher is doing “nothing”. In addition, many students are unclear about how to be successful in this kind of learning environment and will not take the activity seriously unless it is clear that it is “worth” something.

This leads to the second suggestion that involves providing clear criteria for evaluation for students. Evaluation in the communicative classroom can be messy. Instructors tend to employ a variety of communicative activities, yet rely heavily on traditional forms of evaluation which only measure competence in the first level of creative use of the language: grammatical manipulation. It is important to

(a) assess achievement not just in terms of vocabulary and grammar, but also in the pragmatic dimensions of culturally appropriate social judgment and decision making. Case studies or critical incidents accompanied by various possible actions can be useful in assessing a student's

ability to shift his or her frame of reference toward that of the new language (Bennett, 1997, p. 20).

As a result most instructors who use CLT techniques find that “(t)he assessment instruments we are required to use do not match the communicative approach we are trying to implement” (Richards & Lockhart, 1994, p.39). The dilemma and the benefit of CLT are highlighted in one instructor’s comments:

Do you evaluate them on a class standard or do you evaluate them on their ability level?...That’s why I do written follow-ups (for oral activities)...because a lot of students who are orally weak may be really, really good in their writing...I think it’s a philosophical question, and you’re always doing it. I think it’s great with communicative work because you do get a much more rounded view of what the student understands (Interviewee C).

Students need to know, and want to know, how they are being evaluated. “Indicate milestones of progress periodically; show your learners that the CLT approach is in fact working in helping them reach their long-term objective of communicative competence” (Wyss, 2002, p. 12). Even if the format of evaluation is new, there will be less dissonance within the students if they understand what is expected and what kind of output will be rewarded. As one instructor echoed: “I try to have really specific points that I’m looking for, otherwise it’s hard to evaluate” (Interviewee B). The work, then, is on the instructor who must create and communicate clear expectations to the students.

What I do, not the first time, and usually not even the second time...once students are comfortable, then I’ll say to them “Today I’m going to give you your discussion a mark out of ten, and here’s what I’m looking for” (Interviewee D).

For many instructors moving from the subjective to a more objective form of evaluation of CLT activities will take some time and effort. How does one assign a grade to “imagination”, “critical thinking skills” or “ideational fluency”? One must ask oneself difficult questions such as:

- What exactly do I expect from my students?
- What do I mean by “communicative competence”?
- What do I mean by “participation”?
- How will I measure “intercultural competence”?

Moving towards objectivity in evaluation is a goal, although total objectivity is not realistic, nor desirable, as one instructor explains:

There is a degree of subjectivity involved, but I haven't quite figured out how to take that element out, and I don't really think it should be taken out, because in all of our interactions with people we are judging them both objectively and subjectively (Interviewee A).

The final suggestion for redefining the teacher-student relationship involves the teacher taking the role of learner. Teachers can help their students greatly by learning with them, and from them. The role of the instructor needs to take on a more humanitarian focus. We need to move from the often distancing role of facilitator, or hierarchical role of lecturer, to engage in and learn from and with our students as one instructor describes:

I like to participate as well in a discussion or just sharing of information. Being a participant I feel I learn a lot from students. So it's my role as a learner (Interviewee B).

It's important to “(e)mphasize a learner-centred pedagogy and encourage learners to view the course as a mutual endeavor that requires effort from both the teacher and the learner” (Wyss, 2002, p.12).

In response to the question “What do you consider is the instructor’s role in the CLT classroom?” one instructor responded that her role is to act as “orchestra conductor”:

I spend all of my energy in the planning, the creation of these criteria sheets for marking, and then observing like a son of a gun when things are happening, but pretty much being a fly on the wall. I set people up where there is an empty chair at each group of tables and I sit, and I listen, and if I’m asked a question I’ll generally find out if somebody else has got an idea or can answer that...I try to make myself accessible to ask the follow through questions that were not asked, to move people on to thinking about things from perhaps a different angle; put themselves into somebody else’s shoes, may challenge them more than they were challenged by their group members (Interviewee A).

Instructors can also be participants as “cultural experts” to help students “...look for concepts and structures in the new language that do not exist in the native language...” (Bennett, 1997, p.20). This kind of teacher involvement provides two benefits: the teacher can learn more about his/her students, as well as providing a model for western style learning. This also makes the teacher reflect on the comfort level of the activities that she is asking her students to participate in. After all, if I’m uncomfortable participating in an activity that requires a high degree of risk-taking, how will my students feel?

Encouraging Imaginative Problem-Solving and Risk-Taking

Developing critical thinking skills is currently a goal for western educators and is inter-connected to imagination, risk-taking, and fluency, the subcomponents related to the modern process of creativity (see figure 3.2). Much of the CLT

methodology requires students to engage in activities that also require these skills. If EAL teachers are going to expect their students to become risk-takers and imaginative problem solvers, the first step is to create an atmosphere of trust in the classroom.

Creating a safe environment for students to take risks in the target language is paramount for using the target language, particularly at the third level of creativity, which involves using the target language to produce original work such as poetry, drama, narrative, or debate. This task can be ominous with some groups and can be largely dependent on cultural factors, which the instructor may be unaware of. There may be cultural hierarchies in place; for example, there are Japanese students who are from a Korean background and are never issued Japanese passports or granted Japanese citizenship, regardless of how many generations have been born in Japan. Therefore, having a Japanese of Korean heritage, who probably doesn't speak any language other than Japanese, in a homogenous group of Japanese students may change the dynamic. Another example relates to the attitudes of some men from Middle Eastern countries towards women, even if the women happen to be their classmates, or even their instructor.

The level of compassion of the instructor will have a lot to do with how trust is established in the classroom. There was a high degree of compassion expressed from each of the instructors I interviewed. One instructor mentioned her awareness of, and sensitivity to, the diversity of her students' backgrounds when asking them to participate: "It depends on the student. It depends on where they're from. It depends on how long they've been here. It depends on their confidence level and their language level" (Interviewee C). Another instructor acknowledged the difficulty of

some of the tasks she was asking her students to complete and focused on bringing her students from the realm of the uncomfortable to the comfortable: "I've tried to get them to see the utility of doing something that may be uncomfortable, to move them to where they want to be" (Interviewee A).

Students, particularly adult learners, enter the classroom with a wealth of information and experience. Asking students to share their expertise validates their sense of self-worth, which is often eroded when they find themselves challenged by their lack of success with the new language. It is important to accept students and communicate to them a feeling of unconditional worth as a precondition for fostering constructive creativity as Carl Rogers explains:

Whenever a teacher, parent, therapist or other person with a facilitating function feels basically that this individual is of worth in his own right and in his own unfolding, no matter what his present condition or behavior, he is fostering creativity. This attitude can probably be genuine only when the teacher, parent, etc. senses the potentialities of the individual and thus is able to have an unconditional faith in him, no matter what his present state (Rogers, 1970, p.147).

Without a strong sense of self-worth, students will not be prepared to take the kind of risks that the modern-style creative activities found in the communicative classroom demand.

Another important, if not critical, experience for the EAL instructor is to have experienced the role of the language learner. Spending time on the "other side" of the classroom can be an enlightening experience for EAL instructors. Ask me to be creative in English and I'll try; ask me be creative in another language and I'll retreat into silence.

For all of the research and concepts about other cultures and world views, the monolingual ESOL teacher or interculturalist engages mostly in intellectualized endeavors when concepts are not also accompanied by direct experiences of other cultures and languages...Despite our ability to discuss ad infinitum intercultural concepts in our own tongue, our experiences remain vicarious intellectualized, lacking multiple perspectives, which Fishman (1976) characterized as "...monocular vision...which can lead to narrow smugness and a smug narrowness" (Fantini, 1997, p.4-5).

My immersion experience in Mexico in 1997 was a great example of the empathy and sensitivity that an instructor can gain from exchanging roles with their students. I spent a month living with a Mexican family and formally studying Spanish for four hours every day. My hesitations, embarrassments, and successes with the language are experiences that I bring to my own classrooms everyday; for example, my pride in exclaiming on one very hot August afternoon, "Yo soy caliente!" in the home where I was staying, only to discover that I used the wrong term for "hot", and was professing my "sexiness". The significance of taking the role of the language learner was echoed in the instructor interviews as well:

...when I was a language learner, I was the shyest person you've ever met...I just did not want to speak French. And so, I often didn't. I got really frustrated with myself and I went and talked to an instructor and she told me...there is such a thing as active listening, and I can tell that you are doing that...you're listening, you're trying hard, you really want to say something, but you can't get over that shyness barrier. Which I finally did. So, I realize that a lot of students are in that position too (Interviewee B).

...I did get them to do a presentation...And you know what? It's a terrifying thing to do. I know because I've given a presentation in Chinese and it's terrifying. And

their English is a whole lot better than my Chinese, but it's still really difficult (Interviewee C).

Accepting the role of life-long learner as an instructor seems second nature, although for many instructors the opportunity or desire is overshadowed by a multitude of time constraints. The learning of an additional language, not necessarily to a level of proficiency, should be a component of any EAL teacher training program.

Curbing a Fetish for Fluency

One of the first things western teachers need to admit and accept is that we have a fetish for fluency¹. More is better in western culture, and western teaching methodology reflects that tendency. Instructors using CLT methodology want students to participate spontaneously, take risks, volunteer answers (any answers) regardless of quality, and engage in dramatic activities. All of this is expected to take place QUICKLY. For example, writing teachers in academic EAL programs often expect students to engage in “pre-writing” activities such as “free writing” and “brainstorming”. I regularly do this in the form of in-class journal writing; I explain to my students that the purpose of the activity is solely to improve ideational fluency and they should eliminate their censors, not worry about grammar, spelling, etc. and write! This is an extremely difficult and uncomfortable task for many students.

There are several ways that we can curb the western fetish for fluency and acknowledge that EAL students may need more support, in the form of time, in order to accomplish the goals we set for them. One of the biggest sources of frustration for teachers who are not familiar with EAL learners is the amount of time required to

¹ The term “fluency” is used in reference to ideational fluency and language fluency without the consideration of quality or accuracy.

complete tasks, or formulate responses. I have found that teachers, including myself, are uncomfortable with silence in the classroom. The silence is usually interpreted as “the students don’t understand”, when, in fact, the students may be using the time to process the information that has been presented. It is important to remember that presenting information to students does not mean that the information has been internalized. Students need time to make mistakes, confirm what they know, confirm what they don’t know, and figure out how to fix it.

In order to achieve a level of mastery, or internalization, of the information presented in the class, students need time to think, and time to practice. Pattern practice is not a common staple of the CLT classroom since it requires little, if any, creativity on the part of the learner. In contrast, pattern practice of verb tenses was a major component of my high school French classes. Failure to supply time in the classroom for practice may result in students developing solidified errors. As one teacher-trainer told a colleague of mine, “I’ve never seen a teacher give students too much time.”

The challenge, of course, for the teacher is how to complete all of the topics on a course syllabus and have students engage in the kinds of activities that involve creative processes and result in creative products if the pace is slowed down to accommodate the students’ true learning and internalization of the material. This paradox is not easily solved and will require reflection on the part of the teacher, and possibly change on the part of programming to include realistic goals.

Counting Quality

Quality does count in modern societies, and in CLT classrooms. Although CLT methodology is process based and emphasizes the kinds of creative activities mentioned in Chapter 2, ultimately instructors must evaluate and assign grades. As a result, the student must produce a product, be it a composition, a test, or an oral report, and these products will be measured based on specific standards.

While skill and knowledge play a large role in the success or failure of a students' products, imagination also plays a key role. An English Literature instructor told me that she would never give a student an "A", even if the paper was technically perfect, if there wasn't that "something extra". This indicates a strong value placed on two subcomponents of modern creativity: imagination and novelty. As mentioned previously in Chapter 3 the Chinese value the activity of memorization and imitation. Therefore, a Chinese student who studies models of English essays, and is able to re-create the form perfectly, may never be able to achieve top grades.

Not only will the product of an imitative process not be valued, the process itself will not be valued. Many EAL students in academic preparation programs are taught to write through a western style process that emphasizes modern creativity as well as organizational skills; this process consumes a lot of time. Often EAL students either engage in the process and feel that the final product is not particularly important, or they may try to bypass the process and produce a high quality product using a process they are comfortable with (sometimes this involves writing the composition first in the mother language and then translating). Either way, EAL

instructors need to sell their students on the validity of the process in order to get to the desired product. It is also important to show students models of good writing, speaking, etc. This is a practice that is commonly avoided because of the tendency towards imitation, an activity that is not valued in modern creativity.

Conclusion

As a wise Zen Buddhist monk once advised his disciples, "Either stand or sit, but don't wobble." Once having discussed and debated your CLT approach with the class, it is important to stick fairly closely to the syllabus you have devised for the course. Most learners will eventually come to see the value of a communicative teaching style in time, despite its apparent unorthodoxy. In fact, many learners will come to appreciate your efforts all the more for having introduced them to a new and effective way of reaching their EFL communicative competence goals (Wyss, 2001, p. 12).

Often new teachers are critical of themselves and their ability when lessons don't go as planned and, conversely, the veteran instructor all too quickly blames the students' lack of ability or attitude for such shortcomings. One solution for "not wobbling" is for instructors to acknowledge the role that the modern conception of creativity plays in the EAL classroom and the many and various opportunities for misunderstanding that may lead to dissonance. Having an awareness of and confidence in one's methodology and realistic expectations related to student expectations, acceptance and participation can ease this misplacement of responsibility for "failure" and lead to a more productive working environment for both the instructor and the students.

Concluding Remarks

It's now time to return to Wittgenstein's lion¹. Language acquisition cannot be separated from culture acquisition, and language instruction cannot be separated from the dominant values of the dominant culture of the target language. What our students say, how they say it, how they learn it, are all products of a foreign way of perceiving the world. It's like the big game hunter telling Wittgenstein's lion, "I had a wonderful time hunting gazelle in Africa." This may seem like common ground until we discover that "hunting" is understood very differently from the lion's perspective.

It's clear from this research that creativity will not be understood to refer to the same thing across and within societies, and this will play a defining role in one's conception of everything. The language classroom is simply a microcosm of modern society where the modern notion of creativity is alive and well.

There is ample opportunity to further this research. It would be valuable to study cross-cultural understanding of creativity by interviewing students before they leave their own country to experience a western-style education in Canada or some other English-speaking country. Currently there are large numbers of Chinese students coming to Canada in order to learn English and to obtain degrees from western universities. This would be an ideal group to use for a qualitative study on classroom perceptions and expectations. It would also be interesting to use some of the western tools, such as inventories, which are designed to measure creative traits, with a cross-cultural group.

¹ See p. 1

However, I feel that research into cross-cultural differences such as this will have a short shelf life. I am currently (2002) working with a group of principals from Shanghai, China, who are in Canada for two months in order to study Canadian education methodology and western administrative techniques. In addition, there are currently approximately ninety teachers from China on my campus who are in Canada for six months in order to train to be English teachers. The English language and western educational methodology are permeating the globe, and with it western culture goes hand in hand. It won't be long before terms like "creativity" will have a common understanding among most educated people from all cultures. I write this with feelings of dismay. The kind of western cultural imperialism that is overtaking the world rarely operates in a two-way exchange. Indeed, the power of western/global culture tends to overwhelm all unique group identities (Weiner, 2000).

Since I am a member of these cultural missionaries of the 21st century, it is my hope that a sharing of strengths and understandings can occur between cultures. Instead of trying to convert my Asian students into western-style creative people, engaged in western-style creative processes, producing western-style creative products, I would like to encourage a sharing of thoughts on the idea of creativity. In this way, educators can learn from each other, and a new form of educational exchange can develop. This proposal is far different than the ideas that Howard Gardner went to China with in the 1980s, and would, I hope, generate cross-cultural understanding as opposed to ethnocentrism. Finally, I urge EAL instructors to examine their goals and ask themselves if they really view the classroom as an opportunity for two-way exchange.

I am encouraged by the socio-political work that is being done by members of TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) to raise many of the same issues that I have raised here. This is illustrated in a recent (2003) article that summarized discussions held at the 2002 annual conference in Salt Lake City that I attended:

The world would be a lot poorer if we turned the so-called salad bowl into one linguistically boring melting pot in which people are streamlined to think and feel alike because the one language forces them to do so. This is no argument against the teaching English; it is an argument for the teaching of English in relationship to other languages, the cultures they represent, and what they can contribute to the advancement of humankind (Bliesener & Kling, 2003, p. 13).

Appendix I

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

OFFICE OF VICE-PRESIDENT, RESEARCH



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Telephone: (604) 291-4370
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January 19, 2001

Ms. Karen Densky
Graduate Student
Faculty of Education
Simon Fraser University

Dear Ms. Densky:

Re: Creativity and Language Learning

I am pleased to inform you that the above referenced Request for Ethical Approval of Research has been approved on behalf of the University Research Ethics Review Committee. This approval is in effect for twenty-four months from the above date. Any changes in the procedures affecting interaction with human subjects should be reported to the University Research Ethics Review Committee. Significant changes will require the submission of a revised Request for Ethical Approval of Research. This approval is in effect only while you are a registered SFU student.

Best wishes for success in this research.

Sincerely,

Dr. James, R.P. Ogloff, Chair
University Research Ethics Review Committee

c: S. Bailin, Supervisor

/bjr

Appendix II

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

**INFORMED CONSENT BY SUBJECTS TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH
PROJECT OR EXPERIMENT**

The University and those conducting this project subscribe to the ethical conduct of research and to the protection at all times of the interest, comfort, and safety of subjects. This form and the information it contains are given to you for your own protection and full understanding of the procedures. Your signature on this form will signify that you have received a document which describes the procedures, possible risks, and benefits of this research project, that you have received an adequate opportunity to consider the information in the document, and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the project.

Any information that is obtained during this study will be kept confidential to the full extent permitted by law. Knowledge of your identity is not required. You will not be required to write your name or any other identifying information on the research materials. Materials will be held in a secure location and will be destroyed after the completion of the study. However, it is possible that, as a result of legal action, the researcher may be required to divulge information obtained in the course of this research to a court or other legal body.

Having been asked by Karen Densky of the Education Faculty of Simon Fraser University to participate in a research project experiment, I have read the procedures specified in the document.

I understand the procedures to be used in this experiment and the personal risks.

I understand that I may withdraw my participation in this experiment at any time.

I also understand that I may register any complaint I might have about the experiment with the researcher named above or with Dr. Phil Winne, Director of Graduate Programs in the Faculty of Education of Simon Fraser University.

I may obtain copies of the results of this study, upon its completion, by contacting:
Karen Densky at: kd@telus.net

I have been informed that the research material will be held confidential by the Principal Investigator.

I understand that my supervisor or employer may require me to obtain his or her permission prior to my participation in a study such as this.

I agree to participate by taking part in an interview process which will involve reflection of personal teaching practices. This interview will be audio taped and transcribed. Direct quotes from this interview may or may not appear in the principal investigators thesis. Identities, and other distinguishing information (i.e. school names, students' names) will be kept confidential. This interview will take place during the time period of January, 2001 at various locations around Greater Vancouver.

NAME (please print legibly): _____

ADDRESS: _____

SIGNATURE: _____ WITNESS: _____

DATE: _____

Appendix III

Questions Used in Instructor Interviews:

1. According to Nunan's features of Communicative Language Teaching (see p. 21) and Savignon's five components of the communicative curriculum (see p. 23), do you apply CLT methodology in your ESL classroom?
2. Describe some activities that you use which specifically involve CLT.
3. What is the instructor's role in the CLT classroom?
4. How do you expect students to participate?
5. How do you evaluate student performance?

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