FOREIGN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE LEARNING FROM A DIALOGIC PERSPECTIVE

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MULTILINGUAL MATTERS

Foreign Language and Culture Learning from a Dialogic Perspective

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Preface

This book is the result of various collaborations and dialogues that are described in detail in the chapters that follow. The project that forms the core of the book consisted of an exchange of cultural materials between two classrooms, one French, one English. (The age group was 13–14 year-olds, but the project could be adapted to fit various ages.) Two teachers and schools provided high levels of support for the project, and the two co-authors were involved as researchers in different capacities. The whole project was supported by research funding from the Department of Education at the University of Bath.

We would like to thank the following people who contributed directly to the project as teachers, secretaries or researchers:

Mrs Claire Braham, St Augustine's Catholic College, Trowbridge
Mrs Gill Brooke-Taylor, University of Bath
Mme Martine Diard, *Collège des Provinces*, Blois
Mrs Jackie Hazel, University of Bath
Mrs Tricia Lotter, University of Bath
Dr Hermine Penz, University of Graz
Dr Terry Phillips, University of East Anglia
Mrs Carmel Smith, University of Bath

and also thank the pupils and heads of the schools where we carried out our research, for their support and interest.

The project and the research supporting it represent a continuation of previous publications and research by the two co-authors. Both worked on the Anglo–French Cultural Studies/'Civilisation' project linking the University of Durham and the *Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique* in Paris, and both have explored aspects of cultural awareness in various ways.

The new focus of this current book is that of dialogue. The book is deliberately constructed as a dialogue, with chapters written by different authors, but with each chapter also being the product of dialogue between the authors. A range of perspectives on the core project is presented that not only represent the different academic backgrounds of the co-authors/co-researchers but which we hope are also mutually illuminative. Dialogue occurred within the project on every level with French and English pupils 'talking' to one another through the materials they prepared, with dialogues between researchers and teachers, and dialogues between the two researchers.

The project described in this book has since been trialled again between two further schools (one in Austria, one in England, see Morgan & Penz, 1998). A more wide-ranging network has been established under the aegis of COMENIUS 2 linking France, Germany, Austria and England, together with a network of researchers looking specifically at the language of school texts with representatives from Portugal, Ireland, France, Germany, Austria, Italy and Switzerland.

The theoretical underpinning of the project relies particularly on the work of Bakhtin and Vygotsky who recognised the crucial role of dialogue in the growth of cognition and meaning-making. Their work related to their own Russian environment. In our book we hope to demonstrate that their ideas have even greater potency in a foreign language context.

Introduction

A dialogic perspective is central to this book for several reasons. Firstly if we consider the general learning dimension of foreign language and culture learning, we can refer to the shift in thinking towards a dialogic model of learning by many theorists. Learning is seen in this case, not as something driven solely by the learner or the child (as suggested by Piaget, 1926), but as an interactive process, where development occurs in tandem with and in response to the context of learning (Rogoff, 1990; Garton, 1992; Vygotsky, 1978). One can legitimately speak of learners in dialogue with their environment, where context and learner shape each other. There has also been a movement away from considering learning just as a linear or direct hierarchical process (Bloom, 1956) to viewing it as an altogether looser and more flexible activity with rhythms and understandings occurring in unpredictable patterns (Claxton, 1996). Thus while stages of learning identified by Piaget and others (Bloom, 1956; Bruner 1974) can still provide useful pointers, with encounters with the unfamiliar causing learners to shift their ideas (Piaget, 1926), it may be unhelpful to see these stages as separate and always strictly chronological.

Theories of first-language learning have also moved away from concepts of strictly child-initiated learning (Chomsky's Language Acquisition Device) to a model where the role of adults and peers in modelling language and acting as partners in dialogues is seen as equally important (Wertsch, 1991; Wells, 1986; Vygotsky, 1978).

If one accepts a dialogic basis for learning: that understanding is built up over a range of contexts through interaction with different people, with repetition confirming understanding and new situations requiring adjustment to schema (Fishbein & Aizen, 1975; Rumelhart, 1980), then foreign languages would seem to be a school subject that lends itself ideally to a dialogic model of learning. The communicative approach encourages interaction between students and the teacher and also between students themselves. Role plays abound; oral and listening skills are recognised as having equal importance with literacy skills; pupils communicate with classrooms abroad through e-mail and video-conferencing; and software programs encourage interactive participation.

However, on closer analysis, much of this 'dialogicality' can prove illusory. Students are very often not the authors of their own language (Morgan, 1996a); question/response cycles are predetermined and learnt by rote (Donato, 1988), and teachers maintain a traditional controlling role by the use of questions where the answers are already known to and pre-constructed by the teachers themselves (Donato, 1988; Young, 1991).

A further dimension that is also often ignored in foreign-language teaching is an exploration of the context of the foreign language, in other words the learning of cultural awareness and understanding (Byram, 1989; Byram & Esarté-Sarries, 1991; Byram & Morgan, 1994). In mother-tongue learning, cultural schema are learnt concurrently with language, and these schema are also built up over time (Duranti, 1997). The learning of a language item will entail an understanding of the appropriacy of that item within a context, that is to say a more highly tuned understanding of the particular meaning of the item given the context in which it occurs. In foreign-language learning, sets of meanings linked to vocabulary will already have been established, but an understanding of different expected groupings of words and related cultural constructs in the foreign-language context is often not provided in classrooms (Byram, 1997a). Culture teaching, where it does occur ('*civilisation*' in France and '*Landeskunde*' in Germany, for example), usually emphasises the acquisition of cultural facts and not an understanding of any difference in cultural values or priorities (Mariet, 1986; Kordes, 1991). There is also a notable lack of training for cultural awareness teaching.

This book describes an Anglo–French project that attempted to incorporate both culture and language learning and at the same time to realise a dialogic process that more closely conforms to the interactions that generate learning in pupils' everyday life. There is evidence of this kind of dialogue in some other projects (Alix & Kodron, 1989; Jones, 1989; Jones, 1995) but in these projects the emphasis has been on the dynamic of exchange rather than a joint in-depth exploration of a particular topic. It is hoped that the description and analysis that we provide of this project will give teachers, teacher-educators and researchers some concrete examples of how a thematically-based cultural awareness programme might be realised in the classroom.

The research that supported the project both prior to the student–student contact and afterwards also represents genuine dialogue, in that quite different approaches to research and education were brought into play. The different roles of animator, observer, critical friend and teacher can all usefully illuminate one another and provide fruitful dialogue. In our project there was collaboration between researchers from two different countries (France and England) as well as between the French and English classrooms.

The chapters that follow are also intended to interact dialogically: various perspectives on the project are included, and the two researchers have contributed both by writing in their own voices and by collaborating in dialogue with each other throughout (cf Shipman's account of a curriculum project, 1974). Thus Chapters 3 and 5 are mainly the work of the French researcher, and Chapters 1, 2 and 4 are mainly the work of the English researcher.

The project is considered from a range of perspectives. Chapters 2 and 6 represent the voice of the teacher/researcher and focus on praxis: a detailed analysis of what took place in the project and a consideration of how the project might be repli-

cated in current French and English classroom contexts. Chapter 1 represents the voice of the theoretical researcher and analyses the theoretical underpinning of the project, looking at the dialogic nature of language and culture in more depth and considering the dialogic relationship between the two. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 represent the voice of the investigative researcher. Chapter 3 provides a close analysis of the materials produced in the project and examines internal dialogicality (intratextuality), while Chapter 4 looks at possible links with the pupils' self-made products and their textbooks at the time of production (intertextuality). Chapter 5 adds a further illuminative dimension by analysing the researcher–pupil interviews, revealing the pupils' perceptions and constructs while engaged in the project.

This multi-perspectivity of presentation, where the reader is asked to consider the central theme (our intercultural project) in different ways is intended to mirror the experience of the pupils in the project. In other words we hope to enact as well as describe and analyse the dialogicality of experience and learning.

Chapter 1

The Theoretical Context

In order to understand the complex and intermeshed relationship between language and culture, it is helpful to take perhaps a new perspective on foreign language and culture learning, namely looking at its dialogic nature, and recognising that language, communication and culture are all constructed through interaction (Bakhtin, 1981, 1984 & 1986; Vygotsky, 1962). In learning one's mother tongue and the cultural values of one's own country, development and socialisation takes place in stages: through the family, school and workplace (Doyé, 1992; Bourdieu, 1990; Kohlberg *et al.*, 1983). Meanings and values are learnt concurrently with language (Bruner, 1974), with continual interaction and revision occurring. In the foreign-language classroom, the process is, of necessity, truncated with many important elements omitted, so that the language process is unlike that of mother-tongue learning although clearly many elements are shared (Bailly, 1995, 1998a, 1998b).

In this chapter we shall move from the broad focus of the relationship between language and culture to the much narrower focus of the foreign-language classroom, using the notion of dialogue as an informing construct.

The Dialectic of Language and Culture

The multi-stranded and highly interactive relationship between language and culture and the very different yet integrated character of these two elements would seem to justify substituting the term 'dialectic' for 'dialogic' in considering the very broadest dimension of this category.

Halliday and Bourdieu

'Dialectic' presumes a three-stage process: a statement (thesis), counter-statement (antithesis) and a bringing together of the two (synthesis). In the following quotation from Halliday, he suggests a dialectical relationship between text and context where the interaction between the two elements creates something that belongs to both: 'The relationship between text and context is a dialectical one; the text creates the context as much as the context creates the text... part of the environment for any text is a set of previous texts that are taken for granted as shared among those taking part' (Halliday & Hasan, 1989: 47; see also Barton & Hamilton, 1998). We can apply this comment to our own context and substitute 'language' for 'text' and 'culture' for 'context'. We need to be aware of the problem of over-simplifica-

tion and false distinctions. Kress and Hodge (1988: 73) warn us that 'every classification scheme is tidier than the reality it classifies', and the work by Lakoff (1987) on the unreliability of taxonomies or categories also gives similar warnings. However, it is possible to track significant features in the relationship between language and culture which can aid understanding and which point to how such understanding might be realised and promoted within a foreign-language classroom context.

It is useful also to consider Bourdieu's notion (1990: 131) of 'habitus', ways of thinking and understanding social reality, which he locates squarely in a cultural context: not only because these ways of thinking construct our understanding of culture, but also because these ways of thinking or constructs are themselves formed by that culture. In both cases, the operation reflects the social position in which it was constructed. In addition Bourdieu suggests that such constructs are not limited to personal and individual perception, but may also become a collective enterprise. He thus includes both a personal and a global frame.

If we take Halliday's and Bourdieu's comments together, we can see that both the cognitive structuring processes and the language that is produced relating to these schemata have an interactive, reciprocal relationship with the cultural context in which they occur. This very interaction is the core relation between language and culture. Language occurs always in a cultural context, and the values of that context will accrue to the lexical items as they are learnt (Vygotsky, 1981; Halliday & Hasan, 1989; Quasthoff, 1986; Goodwin & Duranti, 1992; Ochs, 1986; Voloshinov, 1973).

The referential/denotative relation of language and culture

Given, then, that language occurs within and forms part of a cultural context and that the lexical items and cognitive structures informing those items are all culturally bound, it is clear that in order to understand language we need to understand the culture that produced it and to which it refers. The denotative, referential aspect of language relies on an understanding of cultural norms (Widdowson, 1988; Rommetveit, 1988; Kress & Hodge, 1988).

One aspect of language emphasised by Rommetveit is important in the context of foreign language learners. He condemns the myth of literal meaning:

> What is fundamentally wrong with the myth of literal meaning is ... a total incapacity to capture certain basic prerequisites for linguistically mediated intersubjectivity... the dependency of linguistic meaning upon tacitly taken-for-granted background conditions and its embeddedness in communicative social interaction. (Rommetveit, 1988: 14–15)

The danger here for the foreign-language classroom is evident: the belief in literal meaning (reinforced of course by the existence of dictionaries and computerised translators) can lead to a superficial and sometimes misleading understanding, where the cultural context of the country and the context of the individual are ignored. There is no taken-for-granted one-to-one correspondence between

languages. Each language operates a different discourse system, where lexical items often have different collocations or clusters of associated vocabulary. A foreign-language learner must migrate from one language system to another.

The culture that language refers to may not only be a macro level of collectively shared meanings (Geertz, 1973) but may operate on other levels. Schwerdtfeger (1993: 38) talks of her own language as 'abbreviations which encompass my very personal meanings of things', and children within a foreign-language classroom will need to be reminded of differing ideolects or personal versions of a language within a single language, giving form to idiosyncratic schemata and personal opinions.

It is important to remember as well that in the school classroom a particular kind of representational interaction is taking place. Wells in his research on children learning language, both before and during school, points to the key role performed by the teacher in 'using the power of language as a system of symbols to represent objects and events that are absent or no more than hypothetical possibilities' (Wells, 1986: 111; see also Bruner, 1974). Thus for learners, language refers not only to observable objects and actions, but to ideas and opinions that need to be deduced and imagined. If we translate this into a foreign language context, for the learner of German the understanding of *Kartoffelsalat* is likely to be much more accessible than the abstract and elusive concept of *Ordnung ist alles* (Kramsch, 1993).

Language creates cultural categories

As well as language referring to and denoting specific cultural factors, there is also the Whorfian theory that language forms culture by creating certain classifying principles, the number of colour categories for example (Whorf, 1956). Here then one can point to the phenomenon of the untranslatable in the foreign-language classroom, where mother-tongue equivalents are unhelpful, and where a comprehensive knowledge of the culture is needed in order to understand the difference between mother tongue and foreign language referents (see Wierzbicka, 1991, 1992, 1997). Riley (1991: 56–7) provides concrete examples of particular words structuring descriptions of reality in his comparison of French, English and Finnish sentences. Bruner's experiments with Wolof and French children, however, have shown that language categories do not necessarily affect cognitive categories (here challenging Bourdieu's claims): the Wolof children in his experiment were able to discriminate on the basis of colour without having the necessary lexical colour categories (Bruner, 1974: 382).

The inference here, then, is that understanding of constructs lying beyond one's own cultural boundaries is possible, but that one's own language may be a hindrance not a support (Tul'viste, 1987). Bruner's description (1974: 327) of our mother tongue as a kind of filtering grid: 'linguistic encoding, which places a selective lattice between us and the physical environment' reminds us that a language can be restrictive in terms of the culture it embodies and describes and that, in learning another language and culture, we need to learn both alternative new

lexical items and also frequently alternative conceptual categories (Cain & Murphy-Lejeune, 1997; Cain, Murphy-Lejeune & Kramsch, 1996). There is an inter-active dialectical relationship between language and culture that cannot be ignored. In a foreign-language context Byram and Morgan (1994: 23) point to the fact that it is 'possible for learners to encode many but not all of their existing schemata in another language but in that case they are not learning a new language but a new code.' In the project described in the following chapters, we took the topic of Law and Order and asked for students' interpretation of this as a way of accessing their schema of the topic (this is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5).

Culture 'polices' language

If the argument thus far has concentrated on the importance of language consti-tuting, constructing and denoting culture, there are equally important relationships operating in an obverse direction. One important feature of a cultural context is that it will police the kind of language that is allowed. Lindstrom helpfully distinguishes this organising function of the cultural context:

> context ....[is] an apparatus by which our talk most of the time is organized and controlled. A set of devices and procedures that protect ruling powers and truth ... people talk in a context of existing discursive orders that (1) endow people with different qualifications and opportunities to talk and with different rights to talk the truth; (2) establish regions of knowledge and regions of silence; (3) set truth conditions - a 'regime of truth' and (4) link that regime of truth in a circular relationship with systems of power which produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it. (Lindstrom, 1992: 104–5)

The dialectical relationship between language and culture here assumes a more instrumental character, where cultural norms prescribe language. Habermas (1984: 85–7) similarly nominates 'normative' as one of his four kinds of interactive behav-iour (together with 'strategic', 'dramaturgic', and communicative'. Clearly the specific cultural context or norm will be critical here.

Rosen points to the prescriptiveness of the classroom cultural context in partic-ular in his study of narrative: 'as a communicative context, the classroom is subject to rules for speaking which constitute massive constraints on pupils' (1984: 17). In learning a foreign language, the teacher is likely to 'police' the language used since the language *available* is restricted (provided by the textbook and the teacher). However there is a further dimension, since students will also need to understand the rules of appropriacy tenable in the foreign culture which may not accord with those in their own cultures or with those in operation in the foreign-language class-room. Students can misjudge the offensiveness of language, for example, since conventions and taboos will be less well known in the foreign language.

Cultural empowerment through language

Refinement of this policing or prescriptive relationship between culture and language is present in the notion of 'access'. Both Bruner (1974) and de Hérédia (1986) underscore the excluding role that language may play in accessing certain cultural power groups: 'it may very well be that a ghetto-dweller's language training unfits him for taking jobs in the power-and prestige-endowing pursuits of middle-class culture' (Bruner, 1974: 459); 'for immigrants ... integration into a society ... exercises a certain influence on language acquisition (which may be in terms of motivation)' (de Hérédia 1986: 51, our translation) The question of cultural empowerment through language is one often tacitly sidestepped in the learning of a foreign language. It is helpful for students both to understand the dialectical relationship of culture and language here, and also themselves to be enabled by it. In other words they need to understand that not all groups in the societies that speak the target language they are learning have equal access to that language; and that as 'outside' learners of that language they may be learning particular varieties of that language.

Different cultural views of 'language'

Finally we should not ignore the validation of language by culture. Not only do we recognise that 'members of different cultures differ in the inferences they draw from perceptual cues' (Bruner, 1974: 370). but also that speech or language itself may be considered quite differently by different cultures (Halliday & Hasan, 1989). Raymonde Carroll (1987) in her description of cultural differences between France and America points to the very personal private nature of speech for a French person compared with the more public and casual norms in the US. Clearly in learning a foreign language one needs to be aware of the cultural norms associated with the act of speaking itself, part of what de Hérédia (1986) terms *les comportements langagiers* in order to communicate effectively.

The relationship then between language and culture is not a simple one and needs to be understood as an interactive dialectical process. Similarly the separate notions of both language (in its linguistic and its semiotic dimensions) and culture can be seen as dialogic in themselves, as the following sections will demonstrate.

Language as dialogue/culture as dialogue

In one sense of course it is an artificial exercise to separate out the different strands of language, semiosis and culture (particularly since this section has underlined the integrated relationship they enjoy). However it may help in clarifying the notion of 'dialogue' to do so, since writers in different disciplines have interpreted this notion in different ways. Post-modern approaches to literature for example favour the identification of different voices in narrative (Bakhtin, 1984). The relatively new disciplines of discourse analysis and conversational analysis deconstruct 'voices' both within interlocutors' speech and between interlocutors; and

cultural researchers concern themselves with the dialogic interactions between ethnographers and their subjects (Mannheim & Tedlock, 1996). If we take 'dialogue' to mean the coming together of two people, two discourses, two ideas, then three important issues seem to emerge:

- firstly the seminal points of reference for many writers seem to be the Soviet writers of the 1920s and 1930s: Bakhtin, Voloshinov and Vygotsky;
- secondly the specialness of an occasion where this interface occurs. Attinasi (1996: 36) is particularly emphatic on this point with his study of life-enhancing dialogues '[dialogue] ... creates a special semi-private space and time shared by the two interlocutors to the partial exclusion of the rest of the world';
- and finally the special nature of the dialogic interface, where opportunities are opened up to the language (and culture) of others. As Bakhtin (1981: 293) succinctly puts it: 'language ... lies on the borderline between oneself and the other. The word in language is half someone else's'.

In thinking, then, of the last two issues in the foreign-language classroom context, it would be helpful to query the significance or specialness we accord to dialogic interaction, both within foreign language texts and between mother tongue and foreign language speakers. In addition we could draw learners' attention to what may happen in dialogue: for example that you may echo someone else, that someone else's response can alter the direction of the interaction. All too often I suspect dialogue is used in foreign-language classrooms as rehearsal, or example without its special qualities being noted.

The Dialogic Nature of Language

In turning to language itself, one can identify three different interpretations of 'dialogue' that emerge in critical literature:

- the co-active/enactive;
- the retrospective;
- the deictic.

Discourse 1   Discourse 2
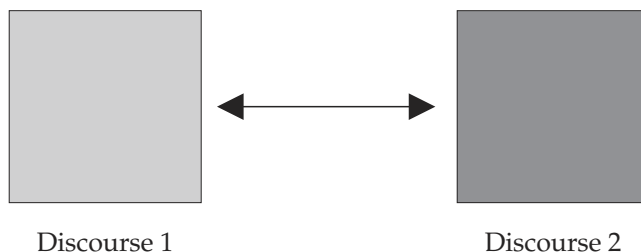
Figure 1.1

Coactive/enactive dialogue

Dialogue is traditionally interpreted as two people talking. One may see this process as either contiguous or interactive/co-active/enactive (see Figure 1.1).

The two interlocutors may merely be mutually presenting ideas to each other, or the relationship may be interpreted more interactively as one or both parties enabling or affecting the other. Mannheim and Tedlock (1996: 4; see also Bakhtin's anacretic and syncretic dialogue, 1984: 110–11) usefully distinguish two categories of dialogue, which match these two possibilities:

- 'formal' presentative dialogue:'the economics of verbal exchange;'
- and 'functional' interactive dialogue': 'a social field across which multiple voices and multiple cultural logics contend with each other.'

Presentation of ideas through dialogue has august origins in the Socratic dialogic tradition (Bakhtin, 1984: 10 9–12) and can be found in critical works from a range of disciplines (Clifford, 1988; Shipman, 1974). Value is placed, then, on presenting two separate but juxtaposed points of view. Evaluation studies, for example, seek to investigate and present the views of a variety of stakeholders in projects (see Parlett & Hamilton, 1972); and cultural researchers urge the wisdom of presenting 'voices from [fieldwork] texts' as well as ethnographers' 'disciplinary discourse' (Mannheim & Tedlock, 1996: 2–33).

There is therefore a robust tradition of 'double' presentation with two view-points having equal standing. One can also cite Bakhtin's (1981) notion of 'heteroglossia' with one person's discourse operating within a variety of other discourses in a society.

Juxtaposition of language items

If one investigates the structure of language and linguistic presentation, one might also say that the utterance/sentence/word itself stands in a similar juxta-posed relationship to other utterances/sentences/words in a speech or text; in other words everything that appears alongside any particular word will affect the interpretation of that word (white space, paragraphing, illustrations, gesture, into-nation, etc). Halliday writes of 'every sentence in a text' being 'multifunctional ... the meanings are woven together ... in such a way that to understand them ... we look at the whole thing simultaneously from a number of angles' (Halliday & Hasan, 1989: 23). One could talk then here of a kind of contiguous or juxtaposed lexical presenta-tion, or a kind of internal dialogue without hierarchy.

Kress and Hodge suggest that linguistic and non-linguistic communicative signals co-exist in a neutral relationship. They concentrate particularly on the notion of semiosis or signals that are transmitted with any linguistic message: 'In the case of speech, communication of any ...content is normally accompanied by innumerable clusters of messages about the conditions of semiosis transmitted with

massive redundancy of semiotic systems (tone of voice, expression, behaviour, etc)' (Kress & Hodge, 1988: 39). Again the emphasis appears to be one of contiguity or juxtaposition, with the dialogue between non-linguistic signals and language depending on these two occurring at the same time.

Bakhtin (1981: 275) presents an interesting 3-layer nesting model of juxtaposed 'dialogue orientation, [first] amid other utterances inside a *single* language, ... [second] amid other 'social languages' within a single *national* language, and finally amid different national languages within the same culture'. In other words any language item will carry with it echoes on several layers. Elsewhere Bakhtin (1981: 262–3) expands at greater length on the different kinds of social language relating to genre, age groups, social dialects, and so on. In all these cases there is a suggestion of symmetry between the two or more presented components.

Unequal juxtaposition

The two-sided model may, however, operate in quite a different way if the focus of control is firmly placed on one side rather than the other. Ahmed in his analysis of the use of language by native speakers and non-native speakers points to this crucial factor: 'The activity of speaking is ... to be seen in terms of behavioural control on the part of an individual. The relationship between interlocutors and dialogic communication is often not of equal exchange but "asymmetric"' (Ahmed, 1994: 160) A useful concept here is also that of possible (or impossible) reversibility of roles (de Hérédia, 1986: 49).

In the foreign-language classroom, with the popularity of role plays, dialogue may be seen as part of the learning process. The stripping bare of power relationships that may occur in interchange (and particularly in interchange that involves encounter between different cultures) is, however, normally unexplored. The dialogues presented in textbooks do not present unequal dialogues where there is coercion, misunderstanding or different social discourses interacting, but rather a trouble-free and neutral context where expected statement activates expected response.

The hidden dialogic partner

As well as the 'obvious' two-sided model (be it juxtaposed or interactive), there are also two interesting notions of dialogue which demonstrate that, although a second interlocutor (second idea/second discourse) appears not to be present, nevertheless some kind of dialogic process is taking place.

The first of these is the process of 'inner speech' as outlined by Vygotsky (1978) and Voloshinov (1973) where the learner creates a bank of 'inner words' from those heard in actual and possible conversations. These inner words can be used to construct meaning from what is encountered outside, or can be used by learners to create their own messages. This notion of inner speech has been extended to that of 'private speech' where learners talk out loud a dialogue with themselves at times of

stress, when undertaking a task of enhanced difficulty, for example (see Lantolf & Appel, 1994: 15). In her tracking of children's playground discourse, Maybin (1993: 150) shows how use of inner or private speech can demonstrate internal mental struggle within children, but can also be a means of resolving this struggle. Encouraging pupils to vocalize 'inner speech' has been a driving force behind such projects as the National Oracy Project, 1987–93, where such vocalisations are seen to aid learning (see also Keys & Fernandes, 1993: 34).

For learners in the foreign-language classroom, however, attention to the inner speech of others is a dimension noticeably absent in the artificial and purposeful/functional dialogues to be found in current textbooks. Opportunities to explore understanding of the foreign language through collaborative talk or voicing of inner speech are also rare when target-language communication is accepted as a potentially prohibitive norm; interesting exceptions here are examples such as Freeman (1992) and Donato (1988). In the project described later, we tried to capitalise on the notion of the usefulness of 'inner speech' by encouraging students to talk about what they had done and how they reacted to the materials from the foreign classroom (this is described in more detail in Chapter 5). As mentioned, insistence on target language can be unhelpful and the 'inner speech' discussions in our project were all in the mother tongue.

Addressivity

The second dialogic process where a second person or idea appears to be absent is that of 'addressivity' mentioned by Bakhtin (1981, 1986) and Voloshinov (1973). Both writers emphasise that, even though discourse may *appear* monologic, it is always in fact addressed to a particular audience and will be thus framed in a particular way because of this and also because of the interlocutor's view of him or herself addressing that audience (see Habermas' 'dramaturgical' mode of interaction, 1984: 86). An utterance is likely to be shaped in anticipation of a particular kind of response. Culioli (1990) talks of an utterance situation always functioning with an utterer and a co-utterer. As Bakhtin (1981: 276) suggests 'Every word is directed towards an answer.' Even the printed word can be viewed as a participant in a dialogue: 'a book, i.e. a *verbal performance in print*, is ... an element of verbal communication ... it responds to something, objects to something, affirms something, anticipates possible responses and objections, seeks support and so on' (Voloshinov 1973: 95).

In research on foreign-language learning, there is some recognition of the need to appreciate register in foreign language or second language discourse – Canale & Swain's (1980) socio-linguistic competence for example. There is also some movement towards making foreign-language learners aware of their own learning processes (Graham, 1997), although not necessarily of their own language processes. Overall, though, the rote-learning/chunk-learning model prevalent in textbooks does little to encourage a dialogic understanding of language in any of

the above-mentioned forms. It may be useful here to think of children leading the way in informing adults' understanding of discourse, as Wells (1986: 48) suggests happens in the case of conversations between adults and pre-school children.

Retrospective dialogue

Another key interpretation of 'dialogue' is that of language echoing, encompassing or subsuming a former use of language, as it were a retrospective dialogue with a former interlocutor (see Figure 1.2). This process extends Bakhtin's emphasis on interfacing mentioned earlier, where one speaker brushes up against the discourse of another speaker. In retrospective dialogue, the language from this interface has been appropriated and has become absorbed.

In a note on his discussion on discourse in the novel, Bakhtin (1981: 345, note 31) explains this process further: 'One's own discourse is gradually and slowly wrought out of others' words that have been acknowledged and assimilated, and the boundaries between the two are at first scarcely perceptible.' Bakhtin's interpretation of the interactions here is that of an interlocutor who has taken control of the process; a key word for Bakhtin is *appropriation*. Later writers and researchers used this Bakhtinian notion of retrospective dialogue (using language that belongs to someone else), but have demonstrated that the process may be interpreted differently.

Wertsch (1991: 90) in analysing a mother–child conversation quotes the Bakhtian notion of 'one voice ... [coming] into contact with another, thereby changing the meaning of what it is saying by becoming increasingly dialogical, or multivoiced'; but for Wertsch (1991: 91) this process is one of the interlocutor (the child) being *socialised* by the other discourse. Wertsch identifies the child's speech gradually changing so that it becomes an echo of the other's speech. 'The child's utterances changed in that they increasingly reflected the hidden dialogicality derived from incorporating the mother's meanings into her own.'
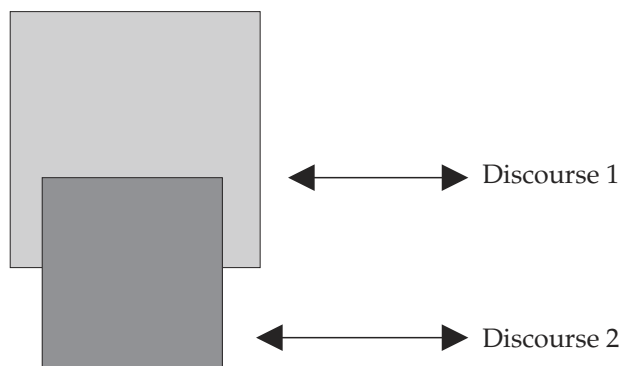

Figure 1.2

Maybin's analyses (of playground talk) also demonstrate echoes of previous discourses. Her recordings were longitudinal (over 3 weeks in one case, and over 3 days in the other). Maybin saw that children's conversations re-used language from previous conversations, thus becoming echoes of previous speech. She was thus able to track 'how particular themes and topics resurface in different conversational contexts, to be explored and tackled by children in ways which acknowledge and build on their previous related conversations ... [contributing] additional layers of meaning to the immediate exchange' (Maybin, 1993: 145). For Maybin the emphasis in this retrospective dialogue appears to be on *collaboration*.

If we turn to the foreign-language classroom, the process of one discourse or part of a discourse being absorbed into another, whether this is seen as appropriation, socialisation, or collaboration, is clearly one that already takes place. The teacher repeats a version of a foreign-language item a sufficient number of times for the learners to absorb it into their interlanguage. Indeed one might say that the onus for the foreign-language teacher lies not in recognising the 'half-role' that they already play in the dialogue with learners, but in appreciating that the learners need to develop their own 'other half' of a discourse, in a situation that all too often represents an engulfing of the pupils' discourse by school language, in either teacher- or textbook discourse (Morgan, 1996a). In our project, we encouraged students to have their own voice by producing their own materials, with little interference from the teacher. What was interesting was that the 'echoes' in the students' language and language behaviour turned out to be 'echoes' of the textbook, which for many students is the most powerful dialogic partner they encounter in the classroom. (This is explored in greater depth in Chapter 4.)

Another aspect of retrospective dialogue noted by Maybin (1993: 145) in her longitudinal studies is that of the 'long conversation' where students converse 'intermittently across days and weeks'. In these conversations the interlocutors not only echo and recall the speech of others but also that of themselves: 'they are ... hearing, responding to, their own and other voices from previous conversational contexts' (Maybin, 1993: 146). There is clearly a parallel here in a foreign-language context with the building up of a new language over time, as evidenced in Myles *et al.*'s (1998) longitudinal study of foreign-language learning.

An interesting footnote, in terms of discourses echoing each other, is that the logical conclusion would seem to be a denial of autonomy or personal ownership. Bakhtin and Voloshinov themselves represent a living example of this (as we hope we do also on a humbler level as joint authors of this book). Authorship between these two writers was often shared (as also with Medvedev) and attributions to one particular author cannot be made with any certainty (Morris, 1994: 3–4).

Deictic dialogue

'Dialogue' can thus be seen as two (or more) contiguous discourses, or one or more discourses enveloped within one another. An extension of the notion of

'enveloped' or retrospective dialogue is the interpretation of dialogue as deictic or pointing specifically to something outside. Here another 'voice' also occurs within the one stretch of language, but there is distance between the two voices and the *nature* of that distance provides the flavour of the discourse (see Figure 1.3 below).

Parody and Humour

Examples of this explicit double-voiced discourse are parody, jokes and reported speech. Humour, whether it be parody or joke-telling, depends on a dislocation between two events, two discourses: there will be some wrong-footing. In order for humour to operate, the listeners or readers must already have an expected schema in their heads for the unexpected version to have a comic impact: the pun, the spoonerism, the transferred epithet all work from this basis. A parody cannot operate as such unless the original is known.

In his analysis of Dostoyevsky's poetics, Bakhtin writes extensively of the use of carnival images and of parody. In talking specifically of parody he highlights the dialogic processes taking place: 'the author may ... make use of someone else's discourse for his own purposes, by inserting a new semantic intention into a discourse which already has ... an intention of its own ... In one discourse, two semantic intentions appear, two voices' (Bakhtin, 1986: 189).

In his analysis of jokes, Fonagy cites 13 different examples of joke-situation, all of which depend on double meaning. He points to 'the conflict between the deictic field and the verbal field which gives rise to absurdity [and which] is the basic component of verbal humour' (Fonagy, 1985: 12). For the interlocutor, an internal dialogue is taking place that is offered for sharing, where a previous discourse/ text/happening is used as a basis for a second layer of language that overlays the first. The 'dialogue' between these two constitutes the basis of humour.

In Maybin's (1993: 148–9) recorded discourse, she identifies instances of children parodying their own voices and voices of others for humorous effect. Bakhtin also analyses Menippean satire as well as Dostoyevsky's novels and finds 'parodying

Discourse 1
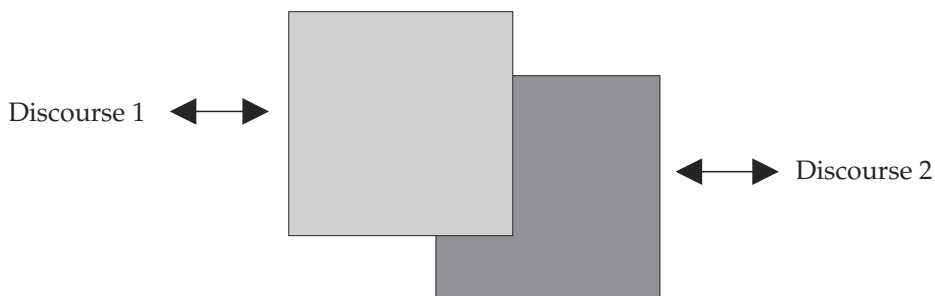
Discourse 2

Figure 1.3

doubles'. Bakhtin (1986: 127) sees the whole parodic context as 'an entire system of crooked mirrors, elongating, diminishing, distorting in various directions and to various degrees'.

Dialogical discourse thus takes a very special form in deictic interactions. One needs to be aware of the two different layers of discourse in order to understand meaning. This operates differently then from the simpler juxtaposed coactive/enactive and intermingled (retrospective) modes we described earlier.

Alerting foreign language learners to the dynamic relationships that exist in this particular notion of dialogue would seem to be an ideal opportunity for creating motivation. The difficulty, however, lies not in the willingness of teachers to include humour in their lessons. Jokes occur frequently in textbooks, and humorous material is advocated for classroom use. Berwald (1992) for example recommends the use of jokes, and Takashima (1987) the use of comics for assessment purposes; but reasons given for use do not (in these two cases and, I suspect, also more widely) relate to exploration of deeper linguistic understanding, but rather suggest purposes such as 'to enliven … classes' (Berwald, 1992: 189).

The experience of 'humour' in another language relates to a parallel operation of the two sides of the parody or the joke in one's head for the necessary dialogue to take place. If the referent has to be explained, then some of the humour is lost – as Fonagy (1985: 2) remarks: 'paraphrasing of a joke completely eliminates its humorous content'. It is the shadow of the real/original behind the parodied and the simultaneity of the occurrence, the instant dialogue between them, that makes for humour. In our own project we see some examples of students' self-parodying as a way of subverting their own messages. (This is explored in greater depth in Chapter 3.) It is difficult for the foreign language learner to identify parody or satire since he or she may not recognise the distortion of the original. This level of playing with and enjoying language, although it is often a key element in native speaker utterances, is often avoided in a classroom context, where accuracy and rote learning may be more prevalent.

Metaphor

In the two other instances of deictic speech, reported speech and metaphor, that one could also cite as examples, the relationship between the two voices is more extended, less tight or simultaneous, and thus perhaps more accessible to the outsider.

Metaphor is of course a tighter construction than simile (lacking the linking words 'like' or 'as'), but nevertheless, thinking about two different referents, the original and the figurative can be effective both in metaphor and in simile. Fonagy (1985: 22) suggests that metaphor is violent and incongruous in its impact: 'The type of poetic statement we call metaphoric … forms a violent and intentional contrast with common sense… the poet behaves as the joker, assuming the responsibility for the incongruity'. But this interpretation ignores a vital difference between joke and

metaphor, namely the necessity of specific shared often culturally bound implicit referents for the former, which will then be subverted, with the latter relying on unusual combinations that are unlikely to be effective if too incongruous, and where meaning is usually enhanced rather than subverted.

Metaphorical/creative use of language, like humorous use of language, is unlikely to surface in many of the still highly functional foreign language syllabuses current today (Morgan, 1996a). Literary appreciation, however, still lingers in a few corners where time is found for non-examination material or where a post-16 syllabus contains literature studies. An advantage here is that any metaphor (or idiom) is likely to be experienced freshly by the foreign-language learner since cliché and over-exposure will not have dulled the comparisons being drawn.

Reported speech

If metaphor is less tightly dependent on its referent than parody, the relationship of reported speech within discourse can be seen as an altogether looser affair. From one perspective, reported speech can be seen as something extraneous, existing temporarily in any discourse. This is the perspective favoured by Voloshinov (1973: 115): 'A reported utterance ... has the capacity of entering on its own ... into speech ...it retains its own constructional and semantic autonomy while leaving the speech texture of the context incorporating it perfectly intact.' In other words when reporting someone else's speech, the other person's voice is likely to remain distinct. However, there are several loopholes in Voloshinov's argument. Firstly, although words may be reported verbatim, they are likely to be used for different purposes than were originally intended and also are likely to be accompanied by different paralinguistic signals than when originally spoken. It may also be the case that different lexical items are substituted and the interlocutor's version of the reported speech is given rather than the actual words themselves.

Tannen provides numerous examples of prior discourse converted into stories (for the audience waiting for stories as though for a mouse to come out of its hole). The distortions she outlines suggest that reported speech becomes part of the dramatic armoury of the interlocutor: 'the words have ceased to be those of the speaker to whom they are attributed; they have been appropriated by the speaker who is reporting them' (Tannen, 1996: 199).

Similar story-telling flourishes were achieved by incorporating reported speech in the pupils' playground discourse monitored by Maybin. In particular (Maybin, 1993: 148–9) an anecdotal conversation reported by one boy (Darren) allowed him to both save face (by making the man he was speaking to appear weak) and also to outdo the friend he was currently speaking to (by reporting a lively and witty conversation). The reported speech directly served *Darren*'s purposes. The dialogic-ality here was entirely appropriating in nature, but there is a distance between Darren and his earlier conversational partner. It is in this distance, in this case Darren's conversational superiority, that the message lies and that the value of the

inclusion of the reported speech exists. He used the reporting of this person's speech for his own purposes.

Reported speech where it occurs at all in the foreign-language classroom is likely to take the form of a linguistic transfer exercise (changing direct speech into indirect speech) or, in the case of German, as a test of pupils' knowledge of the subjunctive. Little attention is generally drawn to the use of reported speech for dramatic or other purposes.

The Dialogic Nature of Semiosis

In talking about language and culture and dialogic processes within language, we have concentrated on the relationships between the two 'sides' of dialogue and on the processes taking place within dialogue. In turning to semiosis we need not only to understand the system of signs, but also to consider dialogue in terms of meaning and intentionality. Both language and culture can be treated as something that exists separately, in other words not as part of a dialogue. De Saussure (1974) talks of '*langue*' (a set body of language) as opposed to '*parole*' (language in use); Cleanth Brooks (1968) interprets literature as an object to be decoded in *The Well-Wrought Urn*; and culture can be seen as a fixed set of norms to be transmitted (Duranti, 1997). Semiosis, on the other hand, cannot exist on its own. It can only be dialogic, in that a sign always needs someone to decode it: 'the text doesn't exist, semiotically, unless it has an audience' (Kress & Hodge, 1988: 60).

Semiosis does not introduce a new element into the language–culture interface but rather highlights particular aspects of it, namely the interaction of sign-systems in terms of meaning and power-relations/intentions. It is useful here to briefly examine the nature of semiotic systems, the role of rhetorical codes in particular and intentions on both a cultural/political level and on a personal level.

Semiotic systems

A fairly broad taxonomy can be offered of language, gesture, intonation, etc. as separate semiotic systems. Much more subtle and difficult to identify are those systems that serve as group identity markers (where language, gesture, intonation and so on can converge to form a single sign), what Bakhtin calls 'the internal stratification of ...[a] single national language into social dialectics, characteristic group behaviour, professional jargons, generic languages, languages of generations and age groups, tendentious language, languages of authorities' (Bakhtin, 1981: 262–3). Thus one may recognise the 'codes' of a group one may wish to join by what the group members are wearing, what they are talking about, how they talk, etc. It can be difficult for foreign-language learners to grasp the niceties of these group signals, the group semiotics, since these are often subtle and not necessarily made explicit.

As was noted earlier, *within* a culture, access may be denied to certain groups because of a lack of semiotic codes (Bruner 1974), with the same also applying

between different cultural groups (de Hérédia, 1986). In these earlier examples the emphasis was on language production and comprehension. Two further examples may help to clarify the nature of semiotic systems (and the ensuing difficulties of dialogue if these are not shared).

Semiotic codes and inclusion/exclusion

Doering (1993: 422) shows how French advertisements reveal a series of semiotic codes: the advertisements themselves represent 'an iconic semiology of that culture' in dialogue with the French viewer who is familiar with particular advertising codes, and in dialogue with advertisements from past campaigns. It is only by being part of the viewing audience that one know the codes that are being used (in much the same way as Maybin's observed pupils shared codes of reference in their 'long stories'). In this country one could point to an ongoing series of cigarette advertisements that created part of their impact by referring back across previous advertisements.

Kress and Hodge point to a rather different semiotic field, namely to the constructional devices in a text, whether this be 'grammatical function' words (such as 'the' or the plural 's' form) or 'the taken-for-granted frame around a painting, the columns and headings of newspapers'. These framing signals form a particular dialogic relationship with the text, and a reader or viewer needs to understand this relationship to locate the cultural meaning of the text. Kress and Hodge (1988: 81) suggest that these are 'often seen as being too humble and common to be worthy of notice' but that they constitute strong exclusion signals: 'Fluent and "correct" use ... is usually difficult for foreigners to acquire, so that they are convenient markers of group membership.'

Language items may be relatively easy for a foreign language learner to acquire and this acquisition may suggest that partnership in dialogue will be readily available. However, if the more subtle semiotic codes are not also taught, then communication is likely to founder. Discourse, for example, in job interviews with non-native speakers has been analysed by Ellis and Roberts (1987) and demonstrates just such breakdowns.

The semiotics of rhetoric

Knowing the semiotic codes of a language can also be described as knowing the rhetorical codes of that language (Barthes, 1975). As noted earlier, during socialisation a bank of signs will be acquired for interlocutors to draw on, as Voloshinov (1973: 85) comments: 'the utterance is constructed between two socially organised persons'. Social organisation here will mean that communication is facilitated because common rhetorical codes are shared. One can say, then, that there is a historical or diachronic dimension of understanding here. Apart from this history of learned signs, there will also be particular signs operating in the present context of a dialogue, the synchronic dimension. Internal signals will be passing between interlocutors (see

Peters & Boggs, 1986: 82), but choices will also be made in terms of how the whole conversation is perceived at any one time. Billig (1988), for example, points to particular signals being given and stances being taken, not necessarily from personal conviction but because of the rhetorical weight of discourse at any particular time, a positive comment to 'balance' too many negative comments, for example.

On a slightly different tack, de Hérédia points to selective auditing of rhetorical patterns by one of her own native-speaker interlocutors. Decoding had gone awry since the person involved, a South American Hispanic, already had a rhetorical pattern in her head (focused on her principal preoccupation of finding work) which filtered and interfered with her decoding processes (de Hérédia, 1986: 55; see also Roberts *et al.*, 1996).

Foreign-language learners may be quite unaware of the dynamics of dialogue where rhetorical conventions play their part. Dialogues that are learnt in the classroom often have a fixed format: statement A is followed by response B. While creating the illusion of communicative proficiency if such dialogues are learnt by rote, real encounters with a foreign interlocutor may be unsuccessful, with unexpected responses from that interlocutor and a lack of awareness by the learners of the need to attend carefully to conversational signals in order to achieve understanding.

Cultural and political semiotic intentions

Kress and Hodge (1988: 121–8) suggest two main kinds of signal that are transmitted in dialogue: either one of acceptance between participants – a modality of 'high affinity', which signals solidarity, or one of challenge – a modality of 'low affinity' signalling a power struggle and the wish to establish hierarchy.

There may of course be cultural misunderstandings that blur the semiotic process taking place. Inappropriate responses may be given if the interlocutor has misunderstood what is being said. Differing views of what constitutes a 'challenge' between interlocutors for example may lead to communicative breakdown (de Hérédia, 1986; Jaspers & Fraser, 1984).

Fonagy (1985: 11) refers to semiotic codes of humour, where the presence of the ridiculous already acts as a signal. He sees 'absurdity as an implicit joke-mark, a signal that implies the assertion is not to be treated seriously ... With the funny remark the ... shift occurs from decent to scandalous and unsocial.' Here again, however, there may be cultural differences in decoding what level of scandalousness is being signalled. Berwald (1992: 191) comments on 'French humour with its bawdy references ... quick witted gallic spirit ... and traditional fondness for "irreverence"', but these are culturally-bound value judgements. The signals of intention may thus misfire if the partner in the dialogue receiving them does not share the same coding system.

In all these 'global', semiotic fields, whether it be the sets of systems themselves or the values they encode, there is clearly much to be learnt by the foreign-language learner. Teachers may argue that such a level of decoding should come later in a

learning programme – witness the current reluctance in Britain to incorporate cultural awareness into programmes (Morgan, 1993a). However, such a level of breakdown in dialogue can be seen to occur that it would seem vital to include semiotics in a language programme as early as possible.

Personal semiotic intentions

Interlocutors in a dialogue may be transmitting *general* signals of high or low affinity but there can also be signals that relate to a much more personal agenda. Habermas' four-part taxonomy is useful here in identifying the intentions of participants. Habermas (1984: 85–6) sees interaction as :

- *teleleogical* or *strategic* (where one or both participants are goal-directed; clearly manipulation is a strong possibility here);
- *dramaturgical* (where the focus is on impression management and presentation of self);
- *normatively regulated* (where there is confirmation of a commonly held norm, similar here then to Kress and Hodge's high affinity); and
- *communicative* (with the emphasis on establishing personal relationships).

Any interaction may of course veer between these different semiotic codes and intentions, or may combine them. Referring back to Darren's semiotic codes, we can see that these related both to communicative purposes (a sharing of his story with a playground companion) and to dramaturgical purposes (in terms of a presentation of himself designed to impress his peers). One could argue that, in a foreign-language classroom, communication can be *teleological* on the part of the teacher; *dramaturgical* with pupils enacting role plays and drama; *normative* in reproducing the classroom/textbook version of the foreign language, but rarely truly *communicative*, in that pupils are usually given *rehearsed* lexical items.

The superiority of Habermas' taxonomy can been seen if we look at Wertsch's (1991: 63–6) description of Bush's presidential campaign where Bush used pop songs to woo young voters, If we use Kress and Hodge's differentiation we could say that Bush was demonstrating solidarity with the young electorate. While this is true, it is a much more revealing taxonomic exercise to describe the process as teleological or strategic, since we then focus much more on the manipulative motive behind the discourse style. Another telling example of such a manipulative process is evident in the Vatican CD, mixing papal speech with pop songs (issued as *Abba Pater*, 1999).

The important message here, as with understanding the other semiotic codes outlined above, is that language is not transparent. In order for dialogue to be effective, and of course, most particularly in the case of a foreign-language classroom where there are complications with linguistic and cultural codes, semiotic codes need to be studied, understood, assimilated and practised.

The Dialogic Nature of Culture

As in the previous section, one cannot here really talk of a new dimension but rather of highlighting particular facets of dialogue by looking at how cultural inter-action operates. Just as language is seen as a mobile system with different glosses and meanings built up over time, so culture can also be interpreted as something on the move. Street (1993) comments that 'culture is a verb'.

Similarly Ochs (1986) comments on how 'individuals and society construct one another through social interaction'. Culture is thus seen as the shared meanings of a group formed through interchange. In commenting on the enshrinement of these meanings into stories, Rosen (1984) highlights this change: 'Stories are as they are only because others exist; they are "intertextual".' We can perhaps legitimately take Rosen's term and rename it 'intercultural' (or more accurately 'intracultural').

One way of describing 'culture' is that there are central codes of meaning that are enshrined in language and semiotic systems. For example, a variety of discourses may draw on a single concept, although presenting it slightly differently. One could take the notion of 'fair play' (identified by Dahrendorf, 1969, as a particularly English national cultural feature) and imagine this encoded differently in a variety of cultural contexts: sport, business, school classroom activities, the playground and so on. A similar kind of common point of reference is found in the use of stereo-types. For example, Doering (1993: 425) points to the frequency and exploration of cultural stereotypes in advertisements. The particular instance, then, is in some kind of dialogue with a known shared common cultural image or idea (cf. Quasthoff's semantic/collective meaning and episodic/ individual meaning, 1986: 233).

A more common interpretation of culture in recent approaches is that different languages and semiotic systems actually encode different cultures with one set of language/semiosis/culture being privileged over the others. In her analysis of three different pre-school cultures Brice Heath (1996) suggests that one culture (that of a middle-class set of parents who are teachers themselves) prepares children for the culture of the classroom better than the others. She identifies the 'initiation–reply–evaluation sequences' that occur during middle-class home bedtime-story reading as the same kind of discourse interchanges as classroom lessons (with the attendant cultural valuing of the adult–child relationship). The white blue-collar group and the black working-class group in her study appear to have different adult–child expectations and semiotic codes that are different from the school culture, whose worth may be unrecognised. While the generalisations here are strongly drawn and evidence is difficult to validate, the analysis is useful in pointing up the polyvalency of cultural ideas. With different discourses and values in dialogue with each other, there is always the possibility of a privileged cultural view shifting, or being shifted.

The danger for the foreign-language teacher may be that one set of cultural

values is taken as universal, as in Berwald's (1992) view of 'French humour with its bawdy references, quick witted gallic spirit and ... traditional fondness for irreverence' mentioned earlier. Care always needs to be taken to recognise the plurality of any culture and the diversity of discourses and cultural values within it.

One particular aspect of 'culture' as described in critical literature marks out this facet as being slightly different from the fields of language and semiosis, namely the role of the adult as mediator.

It is helpful here to adopt Vygotsky's distinction between spontaneous and scientific concepts in the development of cognition. Vygotsky (1978) sees the child developing from being able to handle (lower) everyday concepts to coping with those of a (higher) scientific order through the intervention of a significant adult. Children's learning is scaffolded (see Bruner, 1974), and they move into the next zone of their cognitive development (zone of proximal development).

If we apply this thinking to the transference of cultural ideas (and to some extent the development of scientific concepts already typifies this process), then we can see that there is a difference between on the one hand learning language/semiotic codes/meanings in a context where this is spontaneous, and on the other where this is taught. Spontaneous learning takes place as Wells (1986: 42) points out in his child–adult studies because children want to be able to communicate with their parents rather than to behave like them 'for the sake of conformity'. Here one could talk of the cultural content of dialogue being incidental to the communicative intention. In a different environment, partly in the home and particularly in the school, there are instructed sets of values that are explicitly transferred and where correct cultural values are insisted on.

If we return to the Brice Heath examples, we can see that for the black working-class group of children (labelled Trackton students), the cultural and semiotic systems identified by the researcher in their home backgrounds were non-verbal imitation, a competitive imaginative oral culture and a 'group' reading culture. In school these pupils faced a set of instructed values and semiotic systems that were quite different: they 'face unfamiliar types of questions which ask for what-explanations, [and] ... children's abilities to metaphorically link two events ... and to recreate scenes are not tapped in the school (Brice Heath, 1996: 21)

Significant adults (the parent and the teacher) are thus driving forces in both the spontaneous and instructing dialogues. In this case the teacher can be seen to be imposing values and modes of communication alien to the values already absorbed from significant adults at home (cf. Freire's 'banking concept' of education, 1970). Disjunctions between the home culture and school culture have also been observed as particularly acute for travellers' children (Deprez, 1996).

One aspect of foreign-language learning is that encounter with the foreign language will entail understanding the values behind it, the equivalent of the teacher understanding the Trackton students. As has already been pointed out, this aspect is often neglected in the classroom (Morgan, 1995; Byram & Morgan, 1994;

Byram & Esarté-Sarries, 1991). If, however, one is able to shift cultural viewpoints, if the teacher *were* able to understand the Trackton children, the upshot may not always be entirely positive. As Attinasi points out in his analysis of life-changing dialogues, these may also 'alienate the native consultant from his or her culture, just as they often alienate the anthropologist from his or her native culture' (Attinasi & Friedrich, 1996: 40; see also Furnham & Bochner's stages of culture shock, 1986 and Morgan, 1998). Petonnet (1958) has reported exactly this kind of experience in re-entering the intellectual world as a researcher after working in poor urban areas.

Dialogue can therefore create opportunities for development in terms of language, semiotic systems and cultural codes, but may also have its own dangers.

Dialogicality in the Foreign-Language Classroom

In the earlier sections of this chapter, mention has already made of how various aspects of dialogicality of language and culture relate to the foreign-language classroom. These could be summarised by two questions:

- How *aware* are students of the dialogic processes inherent in language and culture?
- What *opportunities* are there for students to engage in these dialogic processes in the classroom?

In drawing these two questions together. we can identify the potential contributions of the foreign-language classroom to 'dialogic' learning, and what appear to be its current deficits. The key features already identified are:

- the juxtaposition of different linguistic and cultural texts;
- an awareness of dialogue within language and between language and media;
- the understanding of addressivity;
- the symmetry/asymmetry of classroom interfaces; and
- the dialogue of inner speech and collaboration.

These are discussed in greater detail below.

Juxtaposing different linguistic and cultural texts

Bruner (1974: 454) outlines current linguisitic anthropological theorizing in this area and in so doing neatly summarizes the complexity of the linguistic and cultural experience that lies behind the learning of a foreign language: 'the way in which different culture/linguistic groups categorize familiar areas of experience ... different conclusions about the world are the result of arbitrary and different but equally logical ways of cutting up the world of experience.'

Vygotsky carries the notion of 'different but equally logical' further on a linguistic level in suggesting that the learning of a foreign language will help with the revitalisation and enhancement process that Bruner implies. Vygotsky (1962: 111)

believes that the grammatical awareness that comes through learning a foreign language has a positive effect on improved language learning: 'a foreign language facilitates mastering the higher forms of the native language'. For Vygotsky (1962: 109), foreign-language learning also represents in itself the rigour of a more advanced level of learning: 'The influence of scientific concepts in the mental development of the child is analogous to the effect of learning a foreign language, a process which is conscious and deliberate from the start.'

Bakhtin shifts perceptions of the process of understanding another culture and language onto another level by drawing attention to the personal human aspect of language that emerges when languages and cultures are juxtaposed:

> When a national culture loses its sealed-off and self-sufficient character, when it becomes conscious of itself as only one among *other* cultures and languages ... only then will language reveal its essentially *human* characteristics; from behind its words, forms, styles ... and faces begin to emerge the images of speaking human beings. (Bakhtin, 1981: 376)

It would seem then that the dialogic process of learning a foreign language and culture, where differences are juxtaposed, has the *potential* to encourage pupils to a deeper and higher level of thought, to encourage reflexivity in terms of understanding one's own language, and to reveal language as a personally produced occurrence rather than a reified abstraction.

In practice one could expect to see in a foreign-language lesson an attempt to compare and contrast the language(s) and culture(s) of the students (recognizing that they may be a heterogeneous group) with the foreign language and culture. Although some attempt has been made in curricula and syllabuses (Morgan, 1993a) and in textbooks (Morgan, 1995), very little is done in a systematic way to carry out this comparative process. For example, language-awareness initiatives in the UK have almost disappeared (Morgan, 1999). In initiatives where schoolbooks and texts from the target culture are used (a situation that would seem ideally suited to contrastive analysis), opportunities to highlight the differing rhetoric of texts from the two cultures are often missed. Instead, these differences can be viewed as 'interfering' with the processes of teaching in the mother-tongue context (Morgan, 1999). Cultural studies courses too in other European countries have been criticized for uni-directional presentation of facts rather than a more relativised understanding of other cultures. Mariet (1986: 65), for example, in appraising the teaching of 'civilisation' in France criticises the fixed 'recipes' in textbooks*: 'Les manuels de civilisation donnent des recettes figées de savoir-vivre à l'étranger (ou avec des étrangers)'* [Civilisation textbooks give fixed recipes for knowing how to live in or belong to a foreign country (or with foreigners)' — our translation]. Schwerdtfeger similarly criticises the rigidity of *Landeskunde* in a German context: 'Cultural studies are bound at present by scientific objectivity and, at the same time there are remnants of an imperialist form of writing about

other countries ... [which] tacitly presupposes that somewhere out there exists the "right" knowledge about the world' (Schwerdtfeger, 1993: 37; see also Kordes, 1991, and Zarate, 1988).

There have been a few school-based initiatives that have attempted to implement a contrastive dimension: Jones's 'shoe-box' project, for example, encouraged students to exchange artifacts (Jones, 1989; Alix & Kodron, 1989; Jones, 1995); Downes and Levasseur (1988) produced a post-16 textbook whose axis was a comparison of French and English cultures and the Anglo–French project in Durham and Paris produced contrastive materials. (Byram & Morgan, 1994; Cain & Briane, 1996) These projects encouraged students to discuss the contrastive materials being used but without any cross-cultural dialogue between native and non-native speakers. Juxtaposed 'texts' in a co-active/enactive dialogue were clearly available to allow for students' deeper cultural understanding but in general there were no shared thematic foci.

One further 'deficit' apparent in some current practice is a lack of appreciation of plurality and diversity *within* cultures. Byram's (1993) and Doyé's (1991) work on stereotypes in German and English foreign-language textbooks reveals the continuing prevalence of stereotypes in textbooks. There has been some acknowledgement of multiculturality, but this is often tokenistic (Morgan, 1995). There is not a great deal of evidence of texts dealing with cultural conflict or misunderstanding within cultures, although Starkey's groundbreaking school text (1990) and Fesquet's work (1996) provide welcome contributions here.

What would seem to be needed here, then, is the opportunity for students to compare and contrast mother tongue and target language texts to identify:

- differences in the linguistic and rhetorical framing of texts (the kind of texts; the expectations from the reader; the construction of arguments etc.);
- differences in the cultural constructs or schemata on which the texts rely; and
- a recognition of different kinds of language and rhetoric within a culture.

If these comparisons and contrasts were made then students would have the opportunity to recognise that 'otherness' is a cultural/linguistic dimension that is operative between cultures and within cultures, and thus also within their own culture (Schwerdtfeger, 1993; Cain & Zarate, 1996).

Awareness of dialogicality within language and between language and media

An extension of the contrastive analysis suggested above is a fostering of awareness of the interdependence of linguistic, paralinguistic and non-linguistic elements of written and spoken texts: the iconography of visual elements in a text, for example, the role of intonation, the codes of text presentation in textbooks etc. In other words the written or spoken language of a communication is in some kind of dialogue with the mode in which it is presented and this may be supportive or in

opposition to the text (Morgan, 1990; Barton & Hamilton, 1998). It should be helpful for students to recognise the way that this 'internal' dialogue is functioning when they come to identify intercultural differences and similarities.

It should also be possible for students to engage in tasks that compare the media of communication between cultures (what is the difference between French and English textbooks, for example), and that allow reflection on the dialogue between text and medium, an analysis of the effect of intonation in different renderings of a text, for example.

On a more sophisticated level (post-16, for example) one might wish to focus on voices *within* a text, a key notion of Bakhtin's dialogicality. This may be a focus for older students in trying to understand the workings of the texts they encounter. Schwerdtfeger (1993: 30) in her analysis of the usefulness of a phenomenological approach to teaching cultural and language awareness, identifies 'plastic' words from the mass media that have 'international' meanings (words such as 'information' and 'communication' for example). She suggests that, in internationalising these words, they have been stripped of meaning: 'nobody really knows what others are talking about ... this language blocks understanding across borders'. Schwerdtfeger's suggestion, then, is that the voices in the text have become so dislocated from individual cultural contexts that they can no longer be located within a cultural frame of reference. Nevertheless, one can imagine that it is perhaps these transcending cultural codes/lexical items themselves that could be a first locus of investigation for pupils trying to understand cultural differences or similarities.

Wertsch (1991: 143) identifies 'multivoicedness' within texts or in speech as 'the utterance of other concrete voices that have been part of the speaker's experience'. Thus students might be able to trace in texts particular lexical items (words or phrases) that have been 'borrowed', for example from the media or from school textbooks or perhaps the plastic words mentioned by Schwerdtfeger. Again such identifications would allow students access to a deeper cultural understanding of the target culture and language they were studying. (This intertextual dimension of texts is studied in greater depth in Chapter 4.)

The level of language awareness then that could be taught in a foreign language classroom could go considerably further than for example the purely linguistic kinds of help given in current pre-16 syllabus advice in the UK. This information can be useful in identifying 'false friends' or cognates in language but the analysis is somewhat mechanistic, and does nothing to indicate the complexity of cultural and linguistic meanings at stake.

Addressivity in the foreign-language classroom

As well as decoding written and spoken texts from other cultures and understanding the complexity of differences therein, students will also need to understand their own role in the dialogic process of learning and communication: to

understand themselves as decoders and to see that their gambits or points of departure are likely to affect what returns to them. In other words the necessary collaborative frameworks need to be learned. Donato points to the paradox that communicative activities as practised in the foreign-language classroom in fact lack the normal sensitivity that occurs in everyday dialogue: 'In the case of L2 interaction studies ... referential communicative tasks yield few, if any, opportunities to collaborate ... individuals are coerced into engaging in communicative conduits without the rich network of social support typical of real world learning interactions' (1988: 36).

Because classroom dialogues are often rote-learned and pre-determined, it is easy to see that there is little self-awareness in considering the audience of one's own speech. It is likely as a consequence that in contact with *actual* native speakers, students will continue to use classroom speech, without thinking of tailoring speech to particular recipients or contexts. This was evident in analysing post-16 students' interviews with native speakers in the Durham–Paris project mentioned earlier (Morgan, 1996b).

In Wertsch's (1991: 127) analysis of classroom discourse, he points to the frequency of students' 'non-instructional experience statements', where pupils draw on their own experience and ways of describing things rather than on the information/discourse expectations of the classroom. He describes a clash of the norms prescribed for the classroom and what students would like to do.

This has two different implications in considering the notion of addressivity in the foreign-language classroom. If we turn this situation on its head, we can see that the norms operating in a mother tongue classroom are reversed in a foreign-language classroom: the teacher (or textbook) provides the language, and the students generally have little in the way of non-instructional experience statements (which they might normally draw on) either in terms of what they want to say or how they might want to say it.

Secondly it is important for students to recognise that the foreign-language context they will encounter will contain a wealth of experiences and discourses that belong precisely to this category of 'non-instructional experience', for which their classroom language experiences may not have prepared them. As interlocutors they will need to negotiate meaning within this heterogeneous climate. One of their tasks will thus be to consider how to frame their language and thought in order to communicate meaningfully.

Symmetry/Asymmetry in the Classroom

If we consider that learning occurs through dialogue, then we can see that in a foreign language learning context the learner needs to be in meaningful dialogue both with target language texts and target language speakers. It seems, however, that although foreign-language tasks appear dialogic, in reality they are often rarely so.

A further crucial dimension is the role of the teacher in the classroom. One can argue that, if there is a lack of 'dialogue' in the classroom between the teacher and students, then it will be difficult for students themselves to engage in dialogic inter- action with the target culture and language. Wertsch (1991: 72) criticizes the trans- mission model of teaching: 'One of the most common criticisms of the transmission model concerns the unidirectionality of the arrows involved ... the receiver is viewed as passive'. Freire's (1970) contrasting 'banking' and 'dialogue' models of education are also relevant here. Donato (1988: 34) points to the particular unsuit- ability of this transmission/message model for a foreign-language classroom:

> Framing the study of L2 interaction in the message model of communication masks fundamentally important mechanisms of L2 development and reduces the social setting to an opportunity for 'input crunching' ... where meaning appears fixed, immutable, to be sent and received. What is lost is the collabora- tive nature of meaning making.

In these models the teacher relies on an information-transmission model rather than one based on dialogue. There is a clear power difference between teacher and student (Wertsch 1991; Young, 1991). The discourse used by the teacher is in Bakhtin's terms 'authoritative': 'The authoritative word ... is a prior discourse ... it demands our unconditional allegiance ... authoritative discourse remains sharply demarcated, compact and inert ... It is by its very nature incapable of being double-voiced' (Bakhtin, 1981: 342–4).

The asymmetric situation embodied in a teacher–student relationship exists of course in other situations outside the classroom: employer–employee, doctor–patient, etc. Cain points to the particular situation of foreign-language learners where students have to learn the target language starting out from the basis of their own mother-tongue language systems and then explicitly comparing these with those of the foreign language (Cain & Murphy-Lejeune, 1997; Hawkins, 1987). Students here are in a particular asymmetric situation in terms of content and communication. It would therefore seem desirable to develop the currently popular facilitative mode of teaching, and encourage children to enter into equal partner- ships in dialogue wherever this is possible.

The dialogue of inner speech and collaboration

In a survey of Year 7 and Year 9 students in England and Wales in 1992 (Keys & Fernandes, 1993: 34), students stated that they preferred working with others to working on their own (92% versus 51%) and showed a preference for lessons based on discussion (75%). There is a clear message here for teachers and, in our context, for foreign-language teachers. Students in professional technical colleges in France have also commented on their preference for debate (Colomb, 1996).

However, discussion in foreign-language classrooms, particularly with younger age groups, is problematic since the stipulation very often is that all classroom

discourse should be in the target language (Chambers 1991; Atkinson 1993; Powell *et al*., 1996) Students may be working in pairs and groups and hearing and adjusting their language accordingly, but collaboration for a shared understanding of language structures and lexis such as the Brattleboro Union High School activities described by Freeman (1992) are rare occurrences.

It could be argued that sufficient contact with the language and structured information from the teacher or textbook will suffice for students to grasp underlying grammar, although praxis and research have shown this presumption to be dubious (Ellis, 1994). However, when it comes to understanding cultural meanings, this does not seem to be the case. Students will need opportunities to explore and discuss differences in cultural meanings, both between cultures and in their own culture. It will be helpful for them to give voice to their inner speech as described earlier. All these activities are likely to be difficult if students are restricted to using the vocabulary of the target language, since they may know very little. This whole constraint is likely to restrict severely the development of creative discussion. Particular kinds of target-language exercise can be planned where the questions asked have depth, but the linguistic demands are not too high (Cummins, 1984). This kind of exercise could be alternated with mother-tongue input (Cain *et al*., 1997) However these exercises require considerable skill from the teacher, and finding time, both for the preparation and for the realisation within lessons, may also be problematic.

Conclusion

In contemplating a project for cultural awareness founded on dialogue, there were thus several elements that needed to be considered. We needed to think of a situation that would more closely resemble a 'natural' dialogue:

- the partners in the dialogue needed to be native speakers;
- a strong comparative/contrastive element needed to be included that allowed 'texts' that had a common reference to be juxtaposed;
- there needed to be equality between the partners in any dialogue so that this was not an asymmetric exercise;
- there needed to be sufficient time for discussion by students so that they could understand layers of meaning and cultural differences in ways of framing ideas;
- some consciousness-raising element needed to be included so that students would be aware of their own role within the dialogue, the particularities of addressivity;
- as far as possible students needed to be given a 'free hand' in communicating with their target-language partners.

In the chapters that follow, the descriptions of the project are intended to be helpful in three ways:

- to demonstrate how such a project can work in practice with its advantages and drawbacks;
- to illustrate the dialogicality that is taking place when such a project is set in process; and to
- analyse dialogue in action from a researcher/observer point of view.

A final chapter reviews the viability of such initiatives given the problems of implementation already suggested.

Chapter 2
The Anglo–French Project

This chapter provides a description of the intercultural project that took place: who was involved, what actually happened and the outcomes produced by the students. As has already been indicated there was a clear idea of the *kind* of activity intended. It was then necessary to plan appropriately, both in terms of how the project would be run and in terms of the topic to be chosen. In planning the project, several important factors needed to be considered:

- partners for the two sides of the dialogue needed to be found;
- a year group needed to be chosen where students were not under too much pressure in terms of examinations, but who had sufficient knowledge of the foreign language to be able to communicate and understand;
- classroom teachers needed to be identified who were sympathetic to the teaching of cultural awareness and who were willing to allow 'different' kinds of activity in their classroom;
- support was needed to facilitate the implementation of the project, and to help the teachers in a new venture.

In the event, the University of Bath School of Education provided funding, and existing contacts were used in finding teachers interested and willing to take part in the project.

The project was on a very small scale: two schools participated: one in England, one in France, with one set of students from each school; and the whole project took only six weeks. The foreign-language teacher for each of the two classes contributed to the teaching and learning processes, the English researcher was involved both as a researcher and a facilitator, and the French researcher acted as a critical friend.

For the project, we needed students of similar ages who would have the opportunity to interact with one another on a shared topic. These students were to interact in a 'real' context; to choose their own means of expression, encouraging the use of the vernacular; to consider and shape their communication for a particular audience; to listen and understand the response from their audience, and to locate their own interpretation within a plurality of responses. Channels of communication such as e-mail or video-conferencing could have been useful for these purposes, but at this time neither facility was available in either school, and could also have detracted from the inter-school contact by providing virtual rather than real interaction. (This is discussed in more depth in Chapter 6.)

Each class was asked to prepare a 'package' of texts of various kinds (interpreting

'text' in the broadest sense), to send to the partner class in the foreign country, focusing on a particular topic that was to be common to both sets of students. The topic chosen was 'Law and Order'. This choice of topic related to ideas explored in a previous project on how best to investigate a target culture (see Byram & Morgan 1994). In this earlier Lower and Upper Secondary project on teaching cultural awareness in the French Modern Languages curriculum, a list of twelve key areas had been identified in Sociology Upper Secondary syllabuses. These included *Deviance* with sub-areas of 'social order/social control' and 'law-enforcement agencies' . In this earlier project too it had been noted whilst exploring the topic of the world of work that there were considerable differences in perceptions of the role of the police between French and English students. The choice, then, of 'Law and Order' for the later project was informed by experience and thoughts from this earlier experience.

The texts were to be written in the mother tongue, accompanied by a 'help-sheet' written in the target language, explaining points of particular cultural and linguistic interest, or clarifying areas of potential linguistic and/or cultural misunderstanding or difficulty. Information for these help-sheets was obtained by conducting researcher-student interviews. The tables on page 34 (Figure 2.1) illustrate these differing components of the project, and the relative amount of input from the students and from the teacher (and others) in both the sending and the receiving classrooms (the strength of input is indicated by the number of plus signs).

These two tables indicate the symmetry and complementarity of a dialogic approach. The strength of input relates to the importance of the role played by different actors in creating and using the materials. As far as the products themselves are concerned, the main input in the sending classroom is from the students who discuss and produce this material. The teacher at this stage is a resource-person. In the receiving classroom, dealing with the documents requires equal input from the teacher and the students in terms of decoding. In other words, at this stage the teacher's role is greater. With the preparation of the help-sheets in the sending classroom, the teacher also plays a major role in terms of linguistic and cultural input. Here the contribution of the teacher is greater than that of the students. In the receiving classroom again the input of the students can be seen as equal in strength to that of the teacher. In the interviews conducted with the sending classroom it is the students who have the highest level of input. They may speak freely in their mother tongue with a person who is probably not their teacher. In our project this person was the researcher, but we suggest elsewhere (see Chapter 6) that this role could be taken over perhaps by the foreign language assistant or the teacher or students from the receiving classroom. In the interview situation, the students can speak about their intentions and their representations. The interviewer will have a minor role to play in asking appropriate questions, and the teacher will probably have no role at all to play. In the receiving classroom it will be

Sending Classroom

Origin of product	Input	Nature of product
Pupils	++	Texts in mother tongue
Teacher	+	
Pupils	+	Help sheets in target language
Teacher	++	
Pupils	+++	Interviews in mother tongue
Teacher	0	
Other	+	

Receiving Classroom

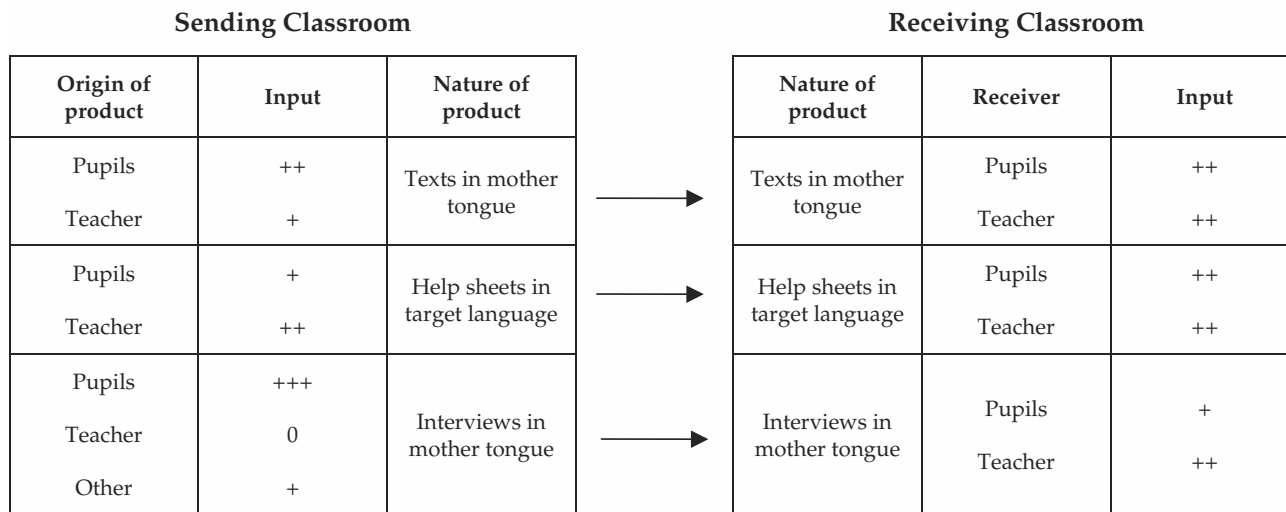| Nature of product	Receiver	Input
Texts in mother tongue	Pupils	++
	Teacher	++
Help sheets in target language	Pupils	++
	Teacher	++
Interviews in mother tongue	Pupils	+
	Teacher	++

Figure 2.1

the teacher who decides how to use the information from the interviews. This information can help to clarify understanding of the materials or to prompt students to reflect on a deeper level about the representational modes and priorities chosen by their partner students. In either case the teacher has a more major role than the students do.

Each classroom had to produce and was to receive materials focused on the same topic, and students were thereby afforded the opportunity of considering their own thoughts in terms of what they were going to send and how the materials might be received in relation to those of another group. The dialogic notion of addressivity mentioned earlier thus comes into play here. By opening out the range of media for the students, we gave them greater autonomy and allowed for deeper insight into their perceptions, looking not only at the points of focus selected, and the attitudes towards these, but also at the frames chosen by the children to embody their ideas: the language, style and genres. One might refer here back to the notion of 'dialogue' between behaviour and language. Having a choice of medium allowed the pupils to have more influence on the visible outward form embodying their text.

In this way, then, we tried to ensure that there was some equality between the two partners given that they were already the same age and status: we established 'proper' dialogic partners, in that each side both sent and received materials; students were at liberty to create their own materials, so this more closely resembled the spontaneity of natural dialogue; there was an inbuilt contrastive/comparative element, with both sets of texts focusing on the same topic; the dimension of the help-sheets added to the consciousness-raising nature of the project; and the teaching contexts were sufficiently sympathetic for students to have time to collaborate and discuss.

The Schools and Classrooms

The two schools involved were fairly similar: both were situated in small provincial towns and drew on a largely white, middle-class clientele. Both schools catered for an 11–15/16 mixed age group. The English partner was also a Roman Catholic comprehensive school. Here the denominational status could not have been paralleled in a French equivalent, since the link between state and church is different in France: state schools are secular; denominational schools are almost exclusively private. The more interchangeable system in England, incidentally, needed clarification for the French students.

The year level chosen in each school was similar: Year 9 (13–14 year olds) in England and '*la troisième*' (14–15 year olds) in France. However the status of these year groups within the two schools is different, and may have contributed to some differing self-perceptions amongst the students. In England, Year 9 is situated in the middle of the Lower Secondary band, with two succeeding year groups (Key Stage 4), where students prepare for the pre-16 examination. In France, *la troisième* is the

final year in the *collège* system (*Première Cycle*) with students leaving thereafter and going into employment, further education, or into a *lycée* to take their *baccalauréat*.

Within the French college therefore, *la troisième* enjoys a top-year status not shared by Year 9 pupils in an English school. Also, the French students took some of their lessons with another class group in a voluntary additional English stream, this option perhaps reflecting the greater importance attached to foreign languages in the French national system, as compared with the English national system.

There were also some differences between the two classrooms in the way in which the students prepared the materials and how the activities were set up. These differences related primarily to the teacher's familiarity with cultural awareness teaching activities. In England, the teacher had already piloted several innovative cultural projects (see Braham, 1995), and the Year 9 students involved had taken part in several of these. The teacher in England was also familiar with some of the associated theoretical issues, which she had explored in her MA dissertation (Braham, 1995). In France the teacher, although very open to new ideas, was recruited late into the project and had no previous experience of specific cultural learning activities. These differences in teacher background and time available help to explain the subsequent differences in sample size and procedure.

In England the whole Year 9 class (27 students) participated. Students worked for a whole week on preparing materials (2 double lessons and 1 single lesson: three hours in all) and then a week later spent two lessons discussing the package from France. The Bath researcher was present during these last two lessons. In France six students were taken out of their normal English lessons to spend time with the Bath researcher to prepare materials (3 x 50-minute lessons). Just over two weeks later, the English package was discussed in France by the whole 'extra English' class with the French MFL teacher and, on a separate occasion, with the six participants and the researcher.

Within the two different cohorts, students divided themselves into small groups: in England there were eight groups ranging from 2 to 4 students, in all cases single-gender groups; in France there were two groups: one with two girls and the other with four boys. There was, incidentally, no visible difference in commitment to participation in the project between the groups of different gender, although the chosen gender preference for grouping was interesting.

Despite the considerable differences in variables in the two different classrooms, there seemed little difference in the enthusiasm and interest among the students who participated. On both sides of the Channel there seemed high levels of motivation, with the pupils producing surprisingly inventive and thoughtful materials.

The Materials

In France the two sets of students opted for rather similar materials: pictorial presentations of the police and law and order in cartoon format. *(References here are*

given to materials provided in Appendices A and B.) The lack of time available here clearly played a part in having to find materials quickly. The two girls produced their own caricature of a policeman failing to direct traffic (A2) and the boys' group copied a series of cartoons, altering the speech bubbles as appropriate and provided comments to show how these cartoons demonstrated different roles of the police and systems of justice (A1). The *bandes dessinées* from which the cartoon pictures were chosen were: *Mickey, Tuniques Bleues, Lucky Luke, Asterix* and *Gaston la Gaffe*. The identified roles of the police were controlling traffic, helping the elderly, controlling arms and maintaining civil order; and the systems of justice in dealing with criminals: catching them, arresting them and bringing them to trial. These visual depictions were heavily coded both in visual and linguistic terms, and needed considerable explanation in the help-sheets.

By limiting themselves to instances found in existing cartoons, the students here may have omitted some areas connected with law and order that belonged to their own frame of reference, but which do not occur in children's publications – drug-trafficking for example. The children's awareness of drugs surfaced in a later session, where school rules and smoking were discussed.

In England nine resources were produced (one group produced two different items): a video recording (B2) and two tape recordings (B3 and B4) all simulating dramatic scenes related to law and order; three documentary resources describing police uniforms (B5), TV programmes on the police (B8) and the rule-systems in the English school (B6); two games: one board game (B7) and one word-search (B9); and a questionnaire (B1).

Two main foci were chosen. Firstly the police with different aspects of their work were highlighted: regulating traffic offences in one role play resource (B2), and fulfilling six different roles in another role play resource: controlling crime, helping those who are lost, controlling drink-driving offences, acting as security guards, lecturing school children and controlling traffic (B4). Police uniform (B5) and the depiction of the police in the media (B8) were described in two other student resources. The second focus was the regulation of order within a school system with one role play resource simulating discipline exercised by the school head (B3), and another resource providing a detailed overview of systems of rules within the school looking at prefects, uniform, bus-rules, etc (B6). Other products were a word-search relating to TV programmes in general (B9), and a questionnaire addressed to the receiving students in France, in an attempt to gauge their reactions and to test their understanding of the materials that had been produced (B1).

The English students were able to draw on a wider base of resources (the computer for printing and the video camera, for example) than the French students. Clearly the factors of time and availability of resources affected the kinds of materials produced. The students in France had expressed a desire to make a film*: 'un film ... on amène une camera ... oui, moi j'en ai une'* [a film ... we'll bring a camera ... yes, I've got one[1]] but time proved to be too short to accommodate this suggestion.

When the French class discussed the English package, they were aware of this disparity in resources. 'So they [the English students] did a video of a scene with a policeman', *'C'est ce qu'on voulait faire! On n'a pas pu alors.'* ['That's what we wanted to do! But we couldn't.'] This inequity then was unfortunate, but represented only a minor disadvantage in a project that overall reaped positive results. The keenness of disparity felt may also relate to the greater sense of competition exhibited in the French classroom.

The Classroom Process

Both groups of students prepared their packages more or less at the same time, with the Bath researcher helping the group of French students. The Bath researcher took the French package to the English classroom, and a week or so later the English package was taken to the French classroom. Because the researcher was able to facilitate this rapid exchange, the momentum of interest among the students was maintained (Seidler, 1989) and several potential hindrances were obviated (materials lost in the post, delivery delays leading to frustration, etc). Four particular activities need to be mentioned that contributed both directly and indirectly to supporting the students' dialogic encounter.

Two classroom activities were undertaken that helped to support the package-exchange activity indirectly. Students were asked to use the '*cinq mots*' associative technique pioneered by Albane Cain (1990). Here they were to write down the first five words that they could think of linked to their particular topic. There was unfortunately a slight dislocation in this exercise since the French students focused on 'law and order' and the English students on the 'police'. Nevertheless the clustering of ideas here revealed some interesting associative patterns. Students were also asked to think about school rules, their rationale, and what rules pupils might like to introduce themselves. Again some interesting differences emerged between the two different groups of students.

Because of the logistics of the project organisation, these two activities took place at different times in the two different classrooms: in France they occurred during the preliminary discussion/preparation phase, and in England during the period when students were discussing the French package they had received. In both cases, then, the activities could be said to have raised awareness of the issues connected with law and order. Perhaps in France one might have expected the discussions that took place *before* the preparation of the package to have influenced the choice of materials which were then sent, but this did not seem to be the case: there was certainly no take-up of the topic of 'school rules' in the French materials. In thinking of the rationale of choice, it is likely that a whole range of factors will be responsible for students' associative field of any particular topic, which would then be reflected in the choice of materials. Input from a teacher is likely to play only a small part in this choice (see Chapter 4).

Interviews and help-sheets

The two other activities that contributed to an understanding of the materials exchange took place *outside* the classroom, but constituted a direct influence. These were the individual interviews with the students, and the writing of the help-sheets to accompany the packages.

The interviews were clearly an important part of the research process as they provided access to students' constructs, both conscious and unconscious. Students' awareness of their own thinking was raised to a higher level in the interview process. This aspect is explored in greater depth in Chapter 5. The interviews also provided the information for the help-sheets. That is to say the students were asked not only why they had chosen certain items and their opinions of them and of the topic (and later their reactions to the received package), but were also asked to decode the materials they had produced. This information was then transformed into the help-sheets to provide explanations for the receiving foreign classroom. In France there were (at the students' request) no individual interviews during the preparatory phase: the six students were interviewed in pairs (relating to their working groups) and during the receiving phase they asked to be 'interviewed' as a whole group. This 'group' identity may relate to the solidarity of class-group identity in France (where classes are not split up into streams), or may have reflected the students' possible apprehensions in encountering a new teaching/learning technique and/or a researcher from another country/environment. In England twelve different students were interviewed (approximately half the cohort) eight separately and four in two pairs. Seven students commented on both producing and receiving the packages, four commented only on producing and one only on receiving.

In terms of validity of the interviews, the French students may have felt less able to express their own opinions in front of their peers (see Watts & Ebbutt, 1987), although the general acceptance of debate and expressions of disagreement in public in France would tend to refute this (Carroll, 1987). In England the students interviewed were often acting as spokespersons for the whole of the working group and may therefore not have presented the whole range of views present. Half the class was after all *not* interviewed. In both groups there was the danger of students providing answers they believed the researcher was looking for. Certainly the asymmetry in terms of age and status in the interview situation could have confirmed this tendency. However, there seemed plenty of fairly provocative and non-conforming input from amongst both sets of students that suggested that some degree of validity was present.

A further factor that may have influenced the validity of the research was that the researcher wrote the help-sheets. This was not ideal but was necessary because of the lack of time available to set up this activity with the two teachers involved. The disadvantage here was that the help-sheets may not have been a very accurate

representation of the students' intentions and understanding. As mentioned, the students themselves may have only partially voiced their ideas because of the circumstances of the interview situation. In addition the researcher/interviewer was operating as a double-filter agent: firstly by choosing to highlight particular features in the material to be explained (other important features may have also been omitted); and secondly by interpreting and writing up the responses of the students in a particular way (there may have been some misinterpretations here).

However in our project the interview activity mediated by the researcher played a crucial role in pinpointing key factors and providing explanations that then appeared in the help-sheets. Ideally the teacher would help students to prepare the worksheets in the target language and it is envisaged that in developing this project further, a methodology for preparing the help-sheets would be devised to help with this process. Teacher involvement would mean training the teachers in awareness of cross-cultural difficulties (this would not have been a problem with the two teachers involved), and also allowing for an extra classroom phase for writing out and correcting the help-sheets. (This is explored in greater depth in Chapter 6.)

The information taken from the interviews did provide a considerable amount of very helpful information illuminating the material that the students had produced, thus making it more accessible. One English student commented for example: 'It was easier to understand, because these [the help-sheets] were all written in English and we knew what they meant, so it was more helpful.'

The Dialogic Dimension

It could perhaps be argued that the work undertaken by these two groups of students was not particularly innovative: that 'authentic' texts are already available in abundance in textbooks, that children communicate already by a number of means with other partners abroad (pen-pal letters, video-letters, e-mail, etc.) and that exchanges, where students meet each other face to face in the authentic context of the target culture, provide a much more valuable experience. While all these arguments can be accepted, they mostly ignore the processes of decoding and hypothesis testing that lie at the heart of an individual's construction of reality described earlier. The luxury of time is not available to the learner wishing to under-stand a new culture. Just as it is now recognised that time is a factor that militates against the simplistic view that a *second language* may be acquired in the same way as a first (Lightbown & Spada, 1993; Ellis, 1994) so the acquisition of a *second culture* similarly requires a more 'aided' learning process.

Two factors were important here. Firstly, just as in general conversation processes, participants need to be oriented in the topics of discussion to be alerted to what will follow (what Cuff and Sharrock call 'pre-beginning activities', 1985; see also Widdowson, 1990: 106) so also do language and culture learners. Current text-books almost always provide a degree of orientation by means of visual support for

the topics, but what is often missing is an exploration of the cultural dimension of a topic in the pupils' own country. Such a dimension can greatly add to a sense of orientation if one wishes pupils to focus on a conceptual/schematic level rather than just a surface/superficial level of topic detail. It was noticeable in a previous cultural awareness project (Byram & Morgan, 1994) that a topic carried out in a French classroom on English children working on Saturday jobs was greatly aided in terms of understanding the historical dimension, when both French and English nineteenth century texts were looked at (Cain & Briane, 1996).

In this instance, students immediately understood the mother tongue in one set of written texts and were able to orient themselves in their own culture before moving on to examine the phenomenon in another culture and another language. Similarly, the mixed language content of the series of readers produced by Rössler and O'Sullivan (see Morgan, 1993b for more detailed discussion) provides a linguistic orientation. Students are able to read part of the novels in their own mother tongue and are thus mentally prepared for linguistic input in the target language that relates to the same storyline.

In preparing materials in the mother tongue and then interacting with materials in the foreign language, a 'dialogue' between the students' own experience and contrasted/compared experience of others was thus built up which in turn helped to develop greater understanding of the foreign cultures involved.

A second factor that needed to be included in this accelerated cultural learning experience was the provision of specific decoding explanations. Just as in accelerated L2 language learning, the provision of explanation of grammatical structures will help overall learning (Widdowson, 1990), so in learning to construct cultural meaning as mentioned earlier, the learner needs specific structured guidance as well as experience. It is not enough simply to bring groups together, as Apitzch (1987) found in his research on German and Turkish adolescents, or to present learners with authentic texts from other cultures. Help is needed to understand the cultural context of any product (see Byram, 1989; Kramsch, 1993). In our project, then, we wished to introduce a deliberate consciousness-raising element (Donato, 1988).

The orientation process was provided by the preparation of the package on the home culture. Students were thus already operating in the frame of the topic when they received the package from their partner class abroad (here the wisdom of speedy exchange is evident). The structured guidance came in the form of the help-sheets, which proved to be of considerable benefit, particularly in the context of understanding the heavily coded French materials.

As well as this orientation process, it was hoped that further construction of meaning processes or dialogic processes was simulated in the package-exchange exercise. Firstly, students were shaping their products to take account of their audience. There was a deliberate attempt to simplify the language: 'It was quite good, yeah, cos like we knew they would be reading it, so we had to try you know to put

not too much complicated English in it ...'; '*et ben on met des p'tits trucs rapides, ils vont comprendre ... qu'avec les dessins ... euh, ça va aller vachement les aider*' [well, we put little things in; they will understand ... with the drawings ... it'll really help them a lot] and a feeling of equality within dialogue: 'It's how we would say something, so it's easier for us to understand than for adults etc.'; 'It's good experience, because we're sort of exchanging ... ideas and stuff with people who have different countries [sic] and we're just getting an idea of what they think of certain things'. There was also a sense of responsibility expressed, in that the students could themselves act as ambassadors for their own culture, whether local to their own school or class, or national in terms of their country: 'It's good because you feel that they're relying on your information. You're explaining what goes on in your country to someone'.

Many of the demands, then, that we had envisaged for a 'dialogic' project were fulfilled: there was equality of partnership in the dialogue, and students became aware of 'addressivity'.

One of the most positive aspects of the exercise was the experience of authenticity. From a linguistic point of view this may be identified in the spoken texts taped by the English classroom, where French students could hear authentic accents and speech, even in those cases where students had chosen role plays. Authenticity was also present because pupils had chosen or created texts themselves. In other words there had been a high level of personal commitment, not only in the original choice but also in the discussions that took place between real people. The students were able to see what the students in the partner class looked like (on the English video and from the photographs of the two groups taken by the researcher); they were able to hear their voices (on the two audiocassettes from England and on the recorded answers to the English questionnaire put on tape by the French students); and they could see their handwriting in some of the texts that were exchanged. The auditory aspect seemed to be that most appreciated: '*c'est plus vivant que si on a quelque chose d'écrit*' [it's more alive than if we had something written]. In the classroom, where students often encounter a foreign language in a context that is artificial, pre-ordained and unconnected with themselves, a 'voice' speaking personally to them is clearly a welcome departure, and demonstrates the advantages of an approach that is dialogic.

Several other aspects of dialogue were simulated in the work carried out by the students in France and England. In working in groups and pairs they were part of the kind of collaborative process recommended by Wells when both adult and child are engaged in a shared activity: 'they will each have the best chance collaboratively to build up a shared structure of meaning about the topic that is the focus of their inter-subjective attention' (Wells, 1986: 44–5). In the dialogue with each other, students can offer the kind of support and scaffolding normally provided by adults (Donato, 1988: 39). Within the broad framework of the topic, students were also able to choose their own focus and how they wished to express their ideas – again simulating much more closely the process of 'normal' dialogue with others (Wells, 1986: 87). The whole

awakening of interest in each side of the exchange could be said to replicate those favourable conditions for language development that Wells identified in his research on adult–child interactions: 'These are the conditions that foster language development: when one has something important to say and other people are interested in hearing it' (Wells, 1986: 107)

The dialogue between the students could clearly have been developed much further. The French students' replies to the questionnaire sent to the students in England (Appendix F) were a first step in this direction, as was the set of pen-pal letters sent by the English students. E-mail, video-conferencing and exchange visits as mentioned earlier, could also have provided a next step of dialogue that would perhaps have been more useful *after* a rather freer initial stage than if these media had been used initially. The students would have a common topic for discussion and the media would facilitate speedy interaction between classes.

A possible broadening of the topic could have been provided by including a classroom from another culture or another classroom from the same target culture (all these possibilities have been envisaged in a larger-scale planned project). Here, however, one needs to guard against possible topic saturation in terms of time and breadth. A further stage could also have been introduced, where students articulated their own perceptions and understanding of the 'foreign' responses to the chosen aspect of a culture, with the students of that culture then also responding again (this aspect is also envisaged as integral to a further larger-scale project).

The dialogic *process*, then, appeared very enjoyable for the students in both classrooms, and interesting materials were generated. In the three chapters that follow, the *products* of the project are analysed in more depth in order to provide evidence of their dialogicality from various perspectives, and to provide ways of analysing cultural data that could be of use to students and teachers. Products such as these are *not* available currently in textbooks, and so these data represent a unique resource. In addition they may represent a more durable resource in that attitudes and representations do not date quite so rapidly as some of the 'authentic' texts in textbooks, since cultural schemata have both a more particular and a broader base (Valero-Garcés, 1995).

Note

1. Translations throughout are our own.

Chapter 3

The Intratextual Dialogue

It is clear that the basis of our project was a *dialogue* between the two groups of students. In this chapter some of the students' products will be analysed in greater depth to show that they too are dialogic, but this time internally dialogic (in the ways described in Chapter 1).

It is useful for both teachers and students to reflect on the construction of the texts in terms of what different cultures can prioritise when thinking of good ways of representing something (Wertsch, 1991). Thus there were different cultural inter- pretations of 'law and order' and individual differences between the different student groups producing the texts in each country. The products from these two cultures present diverse views that individually seem to be deficient in some areas. However, it is precisely because of the choices made by the students that interesting intercultural comparisons can be observed.

Because of the asymmetry of the two sets of products, only a limited number of English texts (B3–B6) have been included for analysis, whereas both sets of French texts have been included. *(Again, references here are given to materials provided in the appendices.)* For purposes of comparison, we chose the English texts that most closely aligned with the French products. Thus the questionnaire (B1), the video role play (B2), the game (B7), the word-search (B9) and the document relating to TV programmes (B8) were all omitted.

The four English texts chosen relate to two different aspects of law and order:

- rules in a school setting (B3 and B6), and
- the police (B4 and B5).

The French texts (A1 and A2) both relate to the police and thus could be compared in terms of content with one of the two sets of English texts chosen.

The national frame of reference of the research should also not be forgotten. In studying the work produced by two different national groups, it was difficult for the individual researchers to avoid their own national bias. It was thus useful to have dialogue between the two researchers, and to bring different disciplines into play.

Aspects of the text that have been taken into consideration in addition to the thematic analysis are linguistic, including socio-linguistic (Culioli, 1990), phonetic, semiotic, and social-psychological (Moscivici, 1989).

The messages transferred between the two classrooms relied on a range of signals including syntactic features (determiners, anaphora, etc.), intonation, punc- tuation and the use of illustrations. The use of live audio- and videotapes allowed

access to this range of features. These features were called into play as the communication situation was a real one, where pupils were given responsibility as informants. External signals are transmitted with any message about what 'law and order' is perceived to mean. These external signals will provide an extra layer of information for the receiving students, and will also be in dialogue with one another. For example, in the interview with three students and the headmistress (B3) described in more detail below, punctuation, use of capital letters and intonation audible on the audiotape all interact with each other to provide a rich message together with the actual words of the role play.

The particular role played by the pupils and teachers has also been considered.

The French Texts

A1: Cartoons of Law and Order (the Police)

Four boys in the French classroom created this group of texts to illustrate various laws. The texts contain iconic illustrations and text, and are accompanied by help-sheets. The points of focus chosen are theft (two pictures), street demonstrations (two pictures), and smuggling arms (one picture). Two pictures refer to the judicial system, one refers to an instance of police as helpers, and the opening picture suggests a generic role of the police as crime-hunters.

The cartoons were taken from cartoon books and magazines, as mentioned earlier, and serve as illustrations to short texts written by the students. The written texts are addressed directly to the receiving English classroom, while the cartoon illustrations both echo and complement the texts and operate in an oppositional dialogic relationship to modify them.

It is clear that there is already dialogicality within the scenarios presented in the texts produced in the project: the characters express themselves in dialogue. These exchanges often modify information that has previously been provided, thus offering a further range of dialogue. In addition there are the help-sheets in the target language (the mother tongue for the receiving classroom), which will provide additional support for the students receiving the products.

There is no suggestion of exhaustivity of police roles, since the opening rubric declares: *'en voici quelques unes'* [here are some of them]. There are two groups of documents, which are described below. In the first group of texts, three police responsibilities are identified: arresting thieves, preventing violence, and judging criminals after arrest. The opening line of the eight rubrics suggests a certain distancing from the mother culture: *'En France, il existe de nombreuses lois répertoriées dans le code civil'* [In France there are certain laws detailed in the civil code]. The French students wish to present a clear picture, and have made an effort to simulate a legalistic style.

One should also note in passing that there is a factual error here: it is the penal not the civil code that is relevant. It will thus be necessary for the teacher to intervene to

clarify the difference between the two codes. For the students, however, the over-riding desire is to provide a text with a legal flavour.

The second introductory sentence is equally important. *'Les policiers contribuent également au respect de l'ordre et de la justice'* [The police contribute equally to respect for order and for justice]. This statement suggests that it is not sufficient for the law simply to exist, it is the application of the law that is important, and thus those also involved in the application. Here, then, there is a justification for the French students' choice of materials. Law and order is seen through the eyes of those in charge of its application.

In the two sets of documents, the descriptions of police activities do not correspond to the opening statement made by the French pupils. The individual descriptions relate to police duties involving crimes, and not laws. Again the resource person/teacher in the receiving classroom will need to distinguish between crime, law and police action in order to clarify these distinctions.

It is worth noting the third rubric in particular: *'Après les avoir arrêtés, ils jugent les bandits'* [Having arrested them, the police judge the bandits]. Here there is confusion between the roles of the police and the judiciary. The separation of three different responsibilities (executive, legal and judicial), which is fundamental in a democracy, is ignored by the students. The judicial institutions seem to be unknown, perhaps because their activities are less spectacular than those of the police, and are less evident in the media, particularly on television. It will thus be important for the teacher in the receiving classroom to alert students to the fact that these are representations of the truth, rather than the truth itself. Nevertheless one can see this comment from the pupils as a first stage of understanding: there is some recognition that punishment/judgement follows on from crime.

The mini-scenarios are taken from cartoon books and magazines, and present characters popular in those cartoons. Their presence lends a certain humorous distance to an ostensibly didactic text. These characters, which are familiar to the French students, belong to an American context. Those engaged in battle are Indians. The judge is wearing ordinary clothes (which would not be the case in France, where there would be special clothing). None of these factors prevent the French students from using these images to present law and order in their own country, perhaps because these cartoon heroes are so familiar to them (Mariet, 1986).

The students used the copies made from the cartoon books and magazines and changed the original dialogue. Some of the comments made by the criminals demonstrate a certain level of naiveté: *'On est riche!'* [We're rich!] There is also evidence of non-solidarity amongst the criminals and a forfeiting of responsibility. *'C'est de ta faute, idiot!'* [It's your fault, stupid!] The prisoners are congratulated by those who are free: *'Bien fait'* [Well done]. In other words, the pictures tend to present the criminals as idiots.

If we turn to the judge, we see a figure of authority who affirms this by noisily

banging on the table with a horseshoe: *'Je suis le juge'* [I am the judge]. The presence of an opened can on the table serves to diminish somewhat the solemnity of the site of justice. In this first group of texts, the criminals are devalued, and the role and presence of the judge is confirmed, even though this is done at a humorous level.

The second group of texts focuses mainly on traffic problems, and has no further introductory statement, simply numbered explanatory (or didactic) statements. Besides traffic problems, there is also mention of smuggling arms and helping elderly people to cross the road. The traffic matters relate to speeding offences, regulating the traffic, and sanctions incurred by noisy motorists. The arms-smuggling incident interestingly is not solved by the police, but by a private detective. These incidents are presented through cartoon pictures with a high level of graphic realism and short texts written by the students which are neutral in character. There is thus a sense of dialogue between text and visual, and also disjunction between the two.

In this second group of texts, the provenance is mainly French with cartoon characters taken from *Asterix, Lucky Luke* and *Gaston la Gaffe*. In the text dealing with speeding (6) taken from Asterix, the French connection is clearly signalled: *'Allez Gaule!'* [Come on the Gauls], *'Equipe Romano-Gauloise'* [The Romano-Gallic team]. The temporal distance created by using historical characters can be said to subvert the seriousness of the supposed role of the police: *'Ils contrôlent les limitations de vitesse'* [They control speed limits]. Here there seems little regard for the law.

In the following cartoon (7), a chaotic traffic situation is illustrated, with traffic going in different directions round a roundabout and a policeman vainly trying to control the situation from a distance by blowing his whistle. In the other two illustrations relating to traffic offences, we see a motorist having fun revving his motorbike noisily and failing to comply with the policeman's demands: *'Vos papiers?'* [Your papers?]. *'Heuu. Je les oubliés'* [I've forgotten them].

In the picture relating to helping elderly people to cross roads (4), it appears that the students have misread the semiotics of the situation in their blanking-out of the speech bubbles. The policeman in fact looks drunk and is being guided by the old lady, not vice versa. A teacher using this material would need to decide whether to draw pupils' attention to this discontinuity or to focus on the message that the sending students intend.

In the cartoon relating to smuggling arms (5), students once again draw on an American context, that of the Wild West, to present a French situation. The policeman (on the left) is clearly astonished at the result obtained by the dashing cowboy-private detective, Lucky Luke.

All the pictures in this second group present the police implementing the law inefficiently and in so doing are out of joint with the accompanying written explanations. The spoken dialogues between the characters in the cartoons are minimal, and sometimes serve to underline the dimwittedness of the police, as in the conversation in cartoon 7: *'Qu'est-ce?'* [What is it?] *'Des armes volées'* [Stolen firearms].

There is, however, a sense of parodic dialogue between the image of what the police should be (confirmed by the written text) and the ridiculousness of how they actually are.

The help-sheets (C1) serve two different purposes in supporting the understanding of the English students (although here the mediating role of the English researcher should not be forgotten). For the first group of texts (1–3), comments in the help-sheets appear to justify the choice of materials: 'He [the policeman] is a dog because this is a cartoon for young people.' There is also some explanation of the juxtaposition of French and American realities (there is a more extended discussion of the use of American images in Chapter 4): there is an inferred difference in the use of firearms: 'Policemen don't use guns often in France', an analogy with the cowboy/Indian fights and demonstration protests in France: 'The Indians are fighting men in uniforms. It's like protesters against the CRS'; and a general acceptance of analogy: 'Although the cartoons show something American, some of the same things take place in France.'

Other comments in the help-sheets relate to further details of police clothing, only some of which are present in the cartoons. Thus the stripes on the policeman's sleeve symbolise his rank: the more stripes the higher his rank (cartoon 1) while the comment, 'The CRS wear special bullet-proof uniforms and helmets' refers to cartoon 2, but does not describe it.

Comments in the help-sheets for the first group of cartoons are didactic in nature and perhaps reveal the conscious intentions of the pupils in preparing these materials.

For the second group of cartoons, the information in the help-sheets is mainly descriptive and helps with the decoding of the images: 'On the left, the figure is a "policeman" with his radar hidden in the corn' (6). Extra information is also provided again revealing implicit attitudes: 'On motorways the speed limit is 130 kilometres, in town it is 60 km, but no-one takes any notice of them' (6). It is also evident that the police are associated with negative ideas: 'The policeman looks tired because he's fed up helping grandmothers across the road,' while the image of the private detective is more positive, linked to popularity and success:

> In France there is a lot of trafficking with other countries in arms and drugs. Lucky Luke is a private detective: he is not a dealer but is never paid. Because everyone knows him, he is bought food in bars. The police chief is amazed because Lucky Luke has worked on his own and has been so successful.

The help-sheets act as a kind of third level of dialogue that reveals the attitudes of the students towards the police. This operates as a kind of meta-dialogue illuminating the consciously produced texts of the French students and providing a particularly rich source of information for the English pupils in the receiving classroom.

A2: A Caricature of the Police

This text was produced by two girls in the French classroom. It differs from the previous text in that the girls drew this *caricature* themselves, whereas the boys availed themselves of copies of existing iconic images. This text consists of only one picture, whereas the other French text comprises a series of pictures.

The centre of the caricature presents a policeman involved in traffic duties. He is standing on a kind of pillar and is alone in the chaotic situation that surrounds him. He appears ridiculous with his squint and missing teeth. His 'uniform' is not that of a French policeman. It is far closer to the American uniforms seen in cartoons popular with young French people, as noted in the previous text. (The whole question of the American influence is dealt with in more detail in Chapter 5.)

The institution for law-enforcement that the policeman represents is not enhanced by his exaggerated portrayal. The image is one of lack of authority and indeed incompetence, as signalled by the traffic piled up around him. This character is clearly not presented as someone taken seriously by those drawing the caricature. The central positioning of the policeman, contrasted with the non-centrality of his role in the traffic chaos, underlines the derision signalled by the two creators. His revolver whether it is a toy or a starting-gun is not a real firearm, as the small flag announcing 'BANG' reveals. A further parodic distance is established, since this would be the noise made if the revolver were real.

The words supplied for the policeman suggest that he is starting a race*: 'Vous pouvez y aller maintenant'* [You can go now]. One could ask what the race is towards, perhaps further chaos and confrontation. The permission being granted by the policeman is ridiculous, both in terms of the words 'can' and the time frame 'now'. At the stage shown by the drawing, there is no possible further development. Thus the dialogue between the policeman and the single male driver is rendered absurd.

The policeman is the central character in a farce, and is linked to misdemeanours that are minor if one considers them globally within the context of criminal law and order. However, in daily life, traffic problems and accidents can be seen as common instances of law and order, though in this case the image offered is one of ridiculous inefficiency, even of danger.

The message, then, for the English students is clear: French policemen are incompetent and figures of fun. The message operates dialogically on two levels: an ostensible presentation of a policeman in France, and a satiric message conveyed through exaggerated and subversive detail.

The information provided in the help-sheet (Appendix C, C2) is sometimes redundant: 'The car on the left lying down is a Citroen', but mostly provides supplementary additions. Thus the students inform the English class about the colours involved (the caricature is in black and white): 'The policeman is wearing a blue uniform with a helmet. He has white gloves and a revolver.' A third level of information goes beyond the text and adds a level of general contextualisation: 'In Blois

there are often traffic jams'; 'In France people often say: the police are never there when you need them. They always arrive late!'; 'There are more policemen than policewomen. Men usually direct traffic – but this is old-fashioned because now there are traffic lights'. The explicitness (and sometimes redundancy) of the information in the help-sheets demonstrates a strong wish to communicate on the part of the French students, and the message in both texts is the same: the police are inefficient.

In both texts (A1 and A2) the students have chosen to focus on those who implement law and order in public: the police. There is no mention of law and order in private life, which is the opposite of what is presented in the English texts.

The English Texts

The work of the eight groups of English students reflects the multi-variance of the class and provides a heterogeneous corpus, with perhaps some elements appearing less pedagogically valuable than others. This diversity in itself provides a richness of experience for the receiving French classroom.

B3: School Rules Role Play

This text was prepared by a group of three female students who present a short theatrical event, which is audiotaped and which takes place in an English school, as the title indicates. A cassette was made, together with a written version of the text (see Appendix B). Thus the product may be responded to both as a written and as an oral text. (There are clearly possibilities of 'dialogue' between these two forms of the text.)

There are two scenes in the playlet: one takes place in the classroom and one in the Head's office. Thus different players in the educational establishment are represented : members of the teaching/management team, and the students. The focus is the internal 'ordering' of the school and certain misdemeanours that have been committed.

The English students have chosen an aspect of law and order that relates to a kind of private law, which nonetheless has its own validity. The 'laws' here have been created by the school management with a view to organising the behaviour of the other social group in the school : the students. Duties and rights of both groups are defined, as well as the character of the interaction between them. Both groups recognise these rules, which are both accepted and, on occasion, flouted.

The order of appearance of the all-female cast is significant. The first actor to speak can easily be identified both by the content of her comment (and by the authoritative intonation audible on the tape): *'Good morning, Stand up please, children.'* This is a teacher's voice, which is soon identified as the Head. Thus the first speaker is someone in authority.

Cultural information is immediately provided, as we learn that in this English

school it is the custom to stand up and greet teachers when they enter the room. Thus the receiving French students are not directly provided with the rule here, but can discover it for themselves from classroom practice (as they can later discover other rules from what happens in the Head's office). In each case there is such an explicit presentation of the rules that it is quite possible for the French students by the end of the sketch to have a clear idea of which school rules have been infringed.

The theatrical behaviour of the students who greet the Head and respond to her greeters is so explicit that the French students will have no difficulty in understanding the existing hierarchical power situations: 'Good morning, Miss.' 'Yes, Miss.' This understanding is reinforced by the authoritative tone of the student who acts the part of the Head. There is an emphasis on temporal urgency with the use of the word 'now', where the Head needs to expedite a problem speedily: 'Come to my office now, girls.'

The second scene opens with a catalogue of complaints against the two pupils, Sarah and Elizabeth: 'You are here because you have been bullying Jessica.' This remonstration is followed immediately by an inquiry relating to the victim: 'What have they done to you, Jessica?' Here, we are confronted with the problem of pupil harassment by one or several fellow-students. This concept of 'bullying' may be difficult for French students to comprehend since it is not part of common parlance in French secondary schools. The only comparable practice is bizutage [rites of passage] which take place after Upper Secondary examinations (the baccalauréat) particularly in the first year of entering the preparation classes of the 'grandes écoles' [elite schools preparing students for professions]. There is no direct inter-changeability with these but nevertheless both involve the inflicting of unfair treatment on one student by other students.

In reply to the Head's questioning, only a vague comment is returned which does not confirm the accusations: 'They do not like me, Miss.' This comment confirms a perception, but does not relate to what has taken place. The Head nonetheless pursues her investigation: 'Is this true?' Her inquiry is deflected by the discovery of further transgressions by the two students already deemed guilty of bullying the third student: 'Elizabeth, your hair style is against school rules.' The way in which the two girls have flouted what the school has defined as rules is clearly demonstrated: 'Elizabeth, your hair style is against school rules, you are not allowed to wear hair spray to school.' 'And Sarah, take your ring off your finger ... and wash your make-up off, too.' Neither jewellery, nor make-up, nor inappropriate hair-style is allowed at this school.

Two details are interesting, both of which promise very rapid repair or resolution: Elizabeth's response demonstrates regret and promises a speedy reaction: 'Sorry Miss, I will wash my hair tonight.' The Head also demands an immediate forfeit: 'Give it to me, please.' [The Headmistress takes ring.]

Once these misdemeanours have been dealt with, the interrogation can continue:

'Have you been bullying Jessica?' Both pupils disclaim responsibility: 'No, Miss, it wasn't me, it was Sarah.' 'It was you, Elizabeth!!!'

The Head's reaction is to switch interlocutors, thus putting an end to the suspense, and addresses herself directly to the victim: 'Jessica, what happened?'

At this point the intermeshing of misdemeanours becomes apparent. The victim confesses her own misdemeanour: 'I was walking up the LEFT of the corridor.' We thus become aware of the implicit rule that has been transgressed: one must walk on the right in corridors. In addition there appears to have been some unwarranted aggression by unauthorised persons: 'and Sarah AND Elizabeth started to bully me. I was very scared.'

The confirmatory investigation continues, followed by an expression of astonishment and expectation. 'Is this true?' 'Yes, Miss.' 'PARDON??!'

It is not enough for the students to have admitted their guilt, they also need to demonstrate regret: 'Yes and we are very sorry.'

The seriousness of the misdemeanour within the institutional regulatory framework is signalled by the punishment extending beyond the school framework to involve parents (although here different codes of practice between schools and parents may make cultural judgements tricky): 'I am now going to call your parents and sort this problem out.' The use of the word 'now' in conjunction with 'going to' demonstrates temporal immediacy. The matter is not concluded for the two guilty students: the worst is yet to come.

The exposé of these two misdemeanours emphasises that, although respecting law and order is down to students, they are not then involved in bringing these misdemeanours to justice. Punishment lies in the hands of the school management team. The role play dialogue is able to demonstrate clearly these two contradictory impulses, which underlie the sketch. On the one hand there is an affirmation of the authority of the Head, revealed by her powers of investigation and general approach, focused on obtaining admission of guilt. On the other hand there is an air of apparent politeness, of capitulation too readily provided and an unwillingness on the part of the students to accept responsibility. The desire to provide information, to expose a particular function and to dispel any ambiguities is clearly visible.

Although this clarity will help the French students to understand, it also prevents the English students from adopting a more reflective approach or from achieving any intellectual distance. In this case the help-sheet (Appendix D, D3) is short, giving only the content of the sketch and two informative facts: the ban on wearing jewellery, and the rules concerning circulation within the school.

The text has been typed on a computer with care being taken over legibility (see Appendix B, B3). When a word is particularly important or emphasised it is written in capitals: 'QUIET PLEASE!' 'Sarah AND Elizabeth started to bully me,'

'PARDON??!' The use of punctuation underlines these emphases, particularly the use of exclamation marks. This use of punctuation adds a further dialogic dimension to the whole, as does the intonation audible on the cassette. The authori-

tativeness of the Head and the over-sensitivity of the students provide a trace of subversion to the original text because of the exaggeration present. In this way the 'voices' of intonation and punctuation can run in parallel with the text, and provide a dialogic commentary.

Text B4: Police roles role play

This text was prepared by two female students, who provide an audiotape and a hand-written transcription of the tape. This allows for responses to both oral and written texts.

The approach adopted is highly didactic, as can be seen from comments included in the text. The focus is law and order in the public domain.

The two girls who produced this material provide both an audiotape of six sketches illustrating different roles of the police, and a written transcript of the tape. Thus students in the receiving classroom could respond to both written and oral input. Most comments in this analysis focus on the written text. The tenor of the texts is highly didactic, and the students have chosen to focus on law and order in the public domain.

The product as a whole consists of a short introduction followed by six sketches, and a brief conclusion. Each of the sketches follows the same model: title of the sketch defining the police role, brief explanatory paragraph contextualising the situations in the UK, a 'cast list' of the actors in the sketches, and then the dialogue itself, with the different actors clearly identified in the written text. The didactic purpose of each sketch is thus made explicit, and each purpose is realised in a concrete example.

The introduction suggests an exhaustive provision of information: 'to show you all the different instances in which the police could be involved in, in Britain.' The conclusion, however, recognises the ambitiousness of this intention: 'These are just a few instances of where the police are needed. There are many more but they are too numerous to mention.' In this regard, it is interesting to note the difference between the audiotape and the transcript. The written transcript runs as follows: 'We will do the series of sketches to show you these situations,' the word 'these' here refers to 'all the different instances'. In the audiotape it could be that a certain level of realism led to the students unconsciously rewording this sentence, since the spoken version is as follows: 'We will do a series of *short* sketches to show you *some* situations.' Thus the sentence on the tape corresponds more closely to what the students are actually doing.

The students illustrate the topic 'law and order' with a range of activities undertaken by the police: both breaches of the law that are dealt with, and services offered to the public. It is not just a repressive angle that is presented. There is a real desire to present a balanced picture, and to show the function of the police in maintaining public order and promoting respect for the law.

Sketch 1 – Crime

The first sketch is entitled *Crime*, and the definition focuses on the police rather than the criminal: 'Crime is the main area police are involved in.' The image of the police is that of a large force constantly on the alert. The underlying notion here is one of security: 'Many policemen patrol the streets on the lookout for crime'. (It is interesting to note in passing that the first image presented by the French group dealing with the roles of the police (A1) is also of a policeman on the hunt for criminals.) There are two actors in the sketch: 'thief' and 'policeman'. The thief is the first to speak, with his primary concern that of not being seen: 'Right no one is about'. There is also a suggestion of premeditated crime of long standing: 'I've been meaning to break into this shop for ages.' It is also not the thief's first crime, as we hear from the policeman: 'I've heard about you. You are that thief that keeps on stealing from small shops.' This is a small-time criminal ('small shops'), who limits the risks taken. Apart from the thief declaiming, 'Oh No!', the rest of the sketch is dominated by the policeman and the efficiency in the available security: 'Suddenly the alarm goes off'. The policeman is prompt in arriving: 'A policeman runs to investigate.' He is also well-informed, since he knows about the thief and he appears to have superior physical strength: 'The thief tries to run but the policeman catches him.' Punishment follows immediately. 'It's off to jail for you now.'

This first sketch presents an efficient police force that not only controls crime but also watches over victims and allows public order to triumph

Sketch 2 – People Who Become Lost

The second sketch, *People Who Become Lost*, refers not to controlling crime but to offering help to the category of people in the title. The opening explanation in the sketch defines the target group, who are seen in an English context: 'In England it's mostly children and tourists who get lost in big towns or shopping centres.' The expected role of the police is also defined: 'Sometimes there is a policeman on duty there in the area. Their job is to help and direct them.' The cast is all-female: a tourist and a policewoman. The two characters are not adversaries as in the previous sketch.

The sketch is very brief, but celebrates the value of the policewoman's help when faced with the tourist's panic. The tourist's confusion is indicated in a stage direction '(speaking in a panic)' and also through her exclamations and questions: 'Excuse me! Could you help me!' The policewoman plays a multiple role – calming: 'Calm down'; showing concern: 'Calm down, dear!'; but also efficient: 'Tell me where you need to go.'

It is interesting on several levels to note that the character who gets lost is not only a woman but also an American woman. Equilibrium is established in that one woman (the tourist) is rescued by another woman (the policewoman). The choice of nationality is also interesting. On the one hand the American will have no problem with language since she also speaks English. On the other hand the US is sufficiently

different from the UK that 'getting lost' may be a likelihood. The distance of the tourist's country of origin may relate to the possibility of their getting lost. It may also be that the students were still able to present their dialogue in English, even though they were dealing with someone from another country.

This sketch operates with maximum efficiency. All necessary details are given, and the brevity of the sketch reinforces its didactic impact.

Sketch 3 – Drink Driving

The third sketch, entitled *Drink Driving*, illustrates this particular offence. The explanatory paragraph points to the fact that this offence is not unusual and is in fact widespread in England: 'Drink driving is still common in England.' The recurrent form of 'have to' demonstrates clearly the restrictions imposed by the law regarding the alcohol limit, which must not be exceeded: 'the police have to deal with them ... drink drivers have to be breathalysed to see if they are under or over the limit. If they do exceed the limit they will have to be accompanied down to the police station'.

Again there are two characters in the cast: 'Sally – policewoman; Peter – drink driver'. The female this time is not confined to the role of helper but will administer sanctions where necessary. The sketch is divided into two distinct halves: in the first half the driver comments on his enjoyment of his drinking session and one can sense the conviviality of the occasion: 'That was good ... Well lads, I'd best be off. Bye!' There is already a hint that he may have exceeded the limit: 'A good stiff drink, that's what I like!' The driver thus seems aware of his own actions. The 'crime' begins at the moment of entering his car, as indicated by the stage direction '(Gets into his car ...)'. The dynamic in the sketch depends on the contrast between the hero's conscious awareness of his own state and his possibly unconscious irresponsibility, which persuades him to drive home. This is compounded by the lie that he tells the police: 'Have you been drinking tonight?' 'No, I never touch the stuff.'

The drink driver has been aware of the presence of the police. 'Oh no, what do they want?' and it is this presence, or one might say this omnipresence, that will not only ensure punishment of the crime ('Your alcohol level is 7.5. You will have to come down to the station with me'), but will also control the public danger, represented by the drink driver, and thus protect the public.

Danger is averted, and the guilty party is punished, not in any random way, but by using an objective measure: 'Your alcohol level is 7.5'. The police here, represented by a female character, are shown to be efficient both in observation and in punishment.

Sketch 4 – Security

The fourth sketch focuses on a particular function of the police, that of dealing with *Security*. The pupils have chosen to focus on the protection of property, but the tone of the sketch appears forced, even caricatured. (The change in hand-writing suggests there may be a change in author.)

The opening paragraph is weak in its input, both because of its brevity and in the language used: police are 'sometimes' asked to guard things, and the verb here is in the passive. There are again two characters in the cast, with the counterpart to the policeman this time being a 'rich woman'. The rich woman states her request and clearly has high expectations that it will be met: 'Now inspector, I trust you will be guarding my jewels.' The imperious tone audible on the cassette suggests that, even without the personality of this character, maintaining order (here the protection of goods) is a duty to be carried out by the police, whether it is pleasant or not.

The exaggeration in the sketch is noticeable in the lack of appropriate scale between the task to be done and the means employed to do it: 'Half our police force are guarding your treasure. We'll be here until you get back.' The help-sheet does not provide any information on this sketch, so it is not clear whether this is a situation with a didactic purpose, presented in a theatrical manner to get the message across, or whether it is meant humorously. The interpretation is left open, and could lead to interesting debate.

Sketch 5 – Demonstrations: Law Awareness

In the fifth sketch, it is not a crime or an incident that is focused on, but a further function of the police force: the demonstration of law awareness. The brief introduction explains the occasional nature of this function: 'Police people may be asked to teach children or evening classes about law enforcement and how they work.'

The cast list signals the superior significance of the police. The person who counts is the policewoman. The other two characters are given only forenames ('Jane' and 'John'). These are the two students. The sketch fulfils two functions: providing information, and clarifying and controlling this information. Thus it is either the policewoman who provides the information or the student who is prompted into giving it: 'Every town has its own police force and my job is... er... Jane?' 'To protect things, help the community and keep the peace.'

It is interesting that the dialogue in the sketch retains a certain symmetry with regard to the relationship between the teacher and the two students, reflecting different aspects of dialogue: in the instance just cited, the adult issues the student with a demand for verification. This is followed by the student demanding of the adult: 'Do you carry equipment?'

In the first student's reply outlining the duties of the police, it is the protection of goods against theft that is mentioned first, reinforcing the traditional image of 'cops and robbers': 'To protect things, help the community and keep the peace.' Matters that concern people are secondary for the student in the sketch. The policewoman, on the other hand, concentrates on people in her affirmatory reply: 'That is right. The police will always make sure your [you're] safe.' Looking after people will imply protecting their possessions, but the policewoman uses her authority here to correct the view of the student, and to prioritise concern for people as more important.

The policewoman finishes by providing a list of equipment, which seems random. However, this equipment all relates to liaison activities necessary for security, defence, and arresting criminals.

Sketch 6 – Traffic Controlling

The final sketch focuses on traffic, perhaps signalling that this is the least important function of the police. The opening descriptive paragraph suggests that the presence of the police is not compulsory in every traffic situation, only when there are complications: 'Many police people have to direct traffic when there has been an accident or some other incident.' Thus this function is deemed occasional or exceptional. It is interesting to compare this view with the French students' representation of the police, where controlling traffic is seen as an essential part of their duties.

There is no cast list given, perhaps again indicating less attention focused on this function.

The sketch opens with the sound of a police car arriving on the scene. (This sound is far more evident on the audiotape than in the written transcript.) There is thus a signal that there is a situation requiring his presence. This is confirmed by the brief commands issued by the policeman: 'Cars over there! Turn to the right! That's it, keep going!'

As a whole, this set of sketches provides an interesting corpus to compare with the two texts prepared by the French students: there is a dialogue here in that both partners have chosen to focus on the same aspect of 'law and order' and to present different views of the police and their duties.

B5: Inventory of Police Uniform

This text was produced by a group of three boys and consists of a presentation and explanation of different items of police uniform. This can be seen as a semiotic system, signalling the need to respect these enforcers of law and order, and also identifying who they are. The items have not been chosen at random, and each one is accompanied by a written description of function. Overall there are twenty-one items, which may be divided into two groups: clothing and accessories. The inventory has somewhat the appearance of a mail-order catalogue with each article described and illustrated. There is a clear didactic purpose of demonstrating to the receiving classroom the need for each item.

Clothing

The uniform of both sexes is presented, demonstrating the students' wish to present equality. Each item is named and explained, identifying its necessity, with a similar format used each time. We can see later whether this format was also suitable for the descriptions of the accessories. Thus for example one item is described as follows: 'Luminous Top. This is used for traffic patrol.'

Sometimes the chosen format leads to logical infelicities: 'Police Jumper. This is used when police are doing anything useful and it is worn under their jackets.'

The teacher in the receiving classroom could perhaps extend this rather empty

description by drawing attention to the difference between police clothing and other people's everyday clothing. The notion of comfort here is further linked to one that is also mentioned subsequently, the notion of risk. Perhaps one needs to be relaxed in order to carry out certain duties: 'In London, the Metropolitan Police wear it during combat.'

There appear to be five different possibilities relating to whether garments are worn by men or women.

- where no specific wearer is mentioned: '<u>Police Jumper</u>, <u>Medium Jacket</u>, <u>Rain Jacket</u>';
- garments first mentioned as worn by women and by men: '<u>Shirt and blouse</u>. The blouse for women is worn most of the time under the blazer for added protection ... The men's shirts are similar but they are short sleeved.'
- clothing that can be worn by both sexes: '<u>Trousers</u>. These black trousers can be used by men and women'.
- garments initially intended for men, but also worn by women: '<u>Blazer</u>. This is also part of the women's uniform';
- clothing specifically for women: '<u>Skirt</u>. This is part of the women's uniform ... <u>Hat</u>. This is part of the women's uniform.

The masculine model is not the only point of reference and this point is emphasised in the help-sheet: 'Policewomen are just important as the men.' One should remember here that the creators of this text were all male. But also important was the information gathered in the interview that one of the boys had a mother who had recently become a Special Constable.

What is interesting in the text is that the male–female equality is integrated into the mode of presenting different clothing items and is not offered just as a politically correct obligation. In the section dealing with accessories, we will see that there is an automatic assumption that these are used by both sexes.

The main function of clothing mentioned is to keep the police force warm: '<u>Trousers</u> ... They keep you warm ... <u>Skirt</u> ... It also keeps them warm ... <u>Medium Jacket</u> ... it keeps police warm... <u>Rain Jacket</u> ... This is also used for keeping police warm'.

This emphasis, reiterated four times, suggests a wish to see the police enjoying a level of comfort. Comfort may be contrasted with the hard working conditions that the police have to endure, and these are also mentioned: '<u>Medium Jacket</u>. This is used when it is windy ... <u>Rain Jacket</u>. This is also used for keeping police warm, but can only be used in snowy or rainy weather, etc.'

The notion of comfort is also extended by that of protection: '<u>Leather gloves</u>. This is [these are] used to protect their hands if they are smashing glass etc with their hands.' Safety is prioritised by the students. The use of the clip-on tie points to the need for protecting the police in the case of an attack: 'The clip-on tie is used instead of a real tie for safety reasons.'

Precise details are also given. The clips, straps and belts demonstrate the prac-

tical nature of police uniform, since the police are obliged to carry a certain number of accessories necessary for efficiency and mobility: 'Shirt and blouse ... They have clips on the chest area to put their radio ... Belt. This is used to carry the radios, truncheon and handcuffs etc.'

As well as this prioritisation of comfort, protection against the elements, safety, and the efficiency and utility of police accessories, there is also another emphasis of quite a different type. This time instead of focusing on the police and how they might benefit, there are several details mentioned that relate to the way the police are viewed in their relationships to others. Here details are explicit. The police firstly need to be seen: 'Luminous Top. This is used for traffic control'. Other sartorial details also relate to the police being visible in public: 'White Rubber Gloves. This is [these are] used for traffic controlling so people can see where the policeman/woman is directing them to.'

The policeman is not the sole focus of interest, since his uniform plays a role in demonstrating a relationship with others. The image suggested by the students is a positive one. Here, then, is a central notion of representation. The police are seen as citizens in their own right: 'Blazer ... it can be used for going to police meetings and balls', with one item of clothing in particular adding prestige: 'Hat. This is part of the women's uniform and is worn to give the public a good impression of the police.' Note that prestige here derives from the female police.

The close examination of the detail of police uniform is impressive, as is the designated role of each clothing item. The image that is created is one of a positive relationship between the students and the police, which it would seem desirable to extend to the public at large.

The accessories

The second group of police items, that of accessories, is divided into two parts: one relating to the English police and one relating to the American police. One can question why the students have chosen to make this distinction with such precision. Perhaps because there is a common shared language to describe the items and because American police films are often shown on television (as in France), and the English students wished to avoid possible confusion. The influence of the media may then have directly resulted in this explicit comparison.

In each case (American and English) the list of items is the same. Each accessory is examined in close detail to reveal the differences in the two countries. Each description is also accompanied by a drawing. The definition of handcuffs is the same for both countries. They are used to eliminate the danger represented by the criminal arrested by the police. They help to protect him: 'Handcuffs:- Are used for when a crime has been committed and the police don't want the offender to attack them.' The radio is also seen as a source of help in both countries. Again it is the safety of the police that is important: 'Radio:- is used for when they are calling for backup (help).' The only difference is the superior technology of the Americans: 'Radio:- The Amer-

ican's radio is better and more updated than the English.' Here it is the radio's function to call for help that is the focus, rather than its function to receive instructions and to connect with the superior officers who issue these instructions. In each case the drawing for both radio and handcuffs is carefully executed and illustrates up-to-date models.

There are some differences when it comes to the truncheon. There is a difference in appearance in the drawings, with the short fat English truncheon contrasting with the long thin American one. There is also a difference in use, with the American truncheon used rarely and the English one used both in combat and for protection: 'Trunchen:- [Truncheon] They use this to hit people and also to protect themselves.' It is worth noting that this distinction no longer holds true, since the English truncheon is now much more similar to the American one.

With the firearms, the difference is even more striking, not only in the outward form, as illustrated in the pictures, but also in terms of how it is used. In England, the negative opening comment highlights the restricted usage: 'Pistol/Gun:- Not all policeman have one of these.' The 'only' in the following sentence reaffirms the restricted range of uses: 'Only some special services have these.' For the Americans, on the other hand, the gun is a constant companion: 'Gun:- They carry these with them all the time.' There is also superior firepower for the Americans: 'Guns:-... They have more powerful guns than the English.' There is thus an implicit suggestion that the police in England are more exposed in dangerous situations.

B6: Photo documentary of law and order in school

This text was produced by two girls and is entitled *School Rules*. The law and order described here operates on the micro-level of the school, and affects daily life there. The dossier is a kind of personalised report, where the authors have taken particular care both in presenting diverse aspects of the school and in illustrating them attractively. (Unfortunately the physical aspect of the text cannot be replicated in that each section was folded under the next so that the whole opened out in a kind of concertina.) The text is also underpinned by considerable research on the part of the two students in photographing and investigating various aspects of the school.

The text is not presented just as a didactic medium. Although this is the overriding concern, there are also other priorities: a friendly tone and an emphasis on exchange and authenticity. There is a running commentary throughout that presents amusing self-portraits, and makes the document alive.

The illustrated text comprises twelve photographs, eight drawings and a factual written text. The following sections are included:

(1) The presentation of the authors (*Introduction*)
(2) A presentation of school buildings with comments on rules operating there (*Welcome to.../Around our school*)
(3) Internal rules (*School Rules*)

(4)   Rules relating to the School Bus (*Transport*)
(5)   The prefect system (*Prefects*)
(6)   Uniforms (*Uniforms*)

There is thus an attempt at a comprehensive overview of the restrictions operating in a self-contained institution – a school, in this case a Catholic school – and the effect on those who come there.

This overview is realised, not through dramatic presentation (as is the case in B2, B3 and B4), but rather through a catalogue of information, which through the personalised additions, provides a real sense of everyday life. One might perhaps here talk of a dialogue between a didactic voice and a voice of everyday experience.

1 Introduction

The authors present themselves as drawn figures, both wearing uniform. They give their names, their ages, where they live, and the name of their school. One of the girls does not live locally, 'I live in Devizes. I go to .... school in Trowbridge.'

Two aspects are particularly noticeable here: the first is the friendly approach. The report is given maximum personalisation and is thus likely to engage the reader: 'I hope you enjoy this booklet'. The second aspect is the parodic distance adopted by the pupils vis-à-vis the established rules. This is already hinted at in the cartoon-like drawing of the two students, and in the further comments on the rules: 'This booklet is about all our rules. There are too many of them!'

2 Welcome to... /Around our School

A photo of the school is accompanied by a message of welcome. The second page of the section presents three photographs of different features of the school*: 'The Goats'; 'The Mobile Classrooms'* and *'Technology Block'*. Each feature is accompanied by a title and also a description of linked activities. The authors personalise these activities. Thus the first feature focuses on the animals that are kept in the school grounds: '*The Goats* ... The goats here are Fern, Ebony and Piccolo.' There are particular activities which are relevant and organised in particular ways: 'We take it in turns to look after the goats – grooming and feeding.' There is already a sense of order suggested in this timetable of activities.

The second feature is a place characterised by being out of bounds sometimes*: 'The Mobile Classrooms*. We are not allowed to go into the mobiles at lunchtime'. The discomfort experienced in these classrooms is also mentioned: 'They get very cold!'

The third feature is also a multi-purpose building where, by contrast, there appear to be few constraints: '*Technology Block*. We can use the computers at lunch time. We do cooking in here. We make models in here.'

In this section there is a dialogue between the illustrations and the text where the one supports the other, and between the three illustrated items, which demonstrate the diverse aspects of the school.

3 General Rules

Unlike the group of girls who produced the cassette on school rules, choosing to focus on a few rules, these two students provide an exhaustive list of fourteen regulations, covering the flow-system in the school, chewing gum, homework, biros, make-up, girls' hairstyles, jewellery, Tippex, covering books, punctuality, pupil diaries, running in corridors and swearing. These regulations are provided over two pages, and are carefully written out. They are accompanied by photographs of the Head, the French teacher, the school shield and a merit award, plus a drawing of the school shield as it appears on the school blazer.

Although the list is comprehensive, there is no describable logic in the order of the rules given, so one can presume that the girls wrote as they thought. The overriding impression from the rules is that they ensure a calm and orderly running of the school.

4/5 Prefects and Transport

This section has two parts: the first focuses on rules for the bus, and the second on prefects. Two maps in the first section provide information about the locality of the school for students who live locally. Thus for the French pupils there will be the possibility of specifically locating the school with whom they have formed links.

There are two photographs, of the school bus and the minibus, and a list of eight rules that relate to behaviour on the bus (relating to food and drink, standing, kneeling, overcrowding, shouting, swearing, bus-passes and taking friends home). As with the previous set of rules, there is an emphasis on quiet and orderliness.

The section on prefects has one photograph of a female fellow-student and a description of which year-group may be prefects, plus three examples of prefects' duties. There is also a mention of the head girl and boy and deputy head boy and girl, with a drawing of a prefect's badge. Prefects then also act as enforcers of law and order within the school.

Also included in this section is a class timetable and a comment on homework diaries.

6 Uniform

The final section focuses on school uniform and again contain aspects of self-parody: 'This is what we have to wear. You're probably going to find it hilarious. Here we are in our lovely (!) school uniforms.' Here, then, there is an element of parodic dialogue with the voice of the informant providing facts, and the voice of the narrator providing humorous commentary.

Three photographs are provided on the first page of this section: two of the authors themselves, and one of a male and female student (providing both gender aspects of the uniform). The two author photographs contrast with the cartoon-drawings at the beginning of the text, and the boy and girl photographs contrast with the caricatured boy and girl on the second page who are not wearing correct uniforms.

Items of uniforms are given as two lists for girls and boys with firstly correct items (1–6 in each case) and then items that are not allowed to be worn (6 items for

girls, 4 for boys). These non-correct items are then portrayed in two caricatures on the final page, accompanied by the words: 'How to get into trouble!!!' The caricatures also illustrate other non-correct features, some of which had been mentioned in the earlier list of school rules (jewellery, unsuitable hairstyles). In addition there is a general slovenliness portrayed in the pictures that contrasts with the orderliness desired in the school: laces are undone, ties are loosely knotted, shirts are not tucked in, and clothes have holes in them.

There is, then, an interesting dialogic element that is particularly apparent in this section. There is a clear knowledge of what is allowed and not allowed, but the non-correct element is presented with a sense of fun. The subversion of the alternative is here softened by the authors' own self-deprecation, both in comments and in their use of exclamation marks.

There is some echo of the school rules role play (B3), but the dialogue in this case is different. This photo documentary includes not only the dialogue between the diverse elements described, but also the dialogue between the accepted and the non-accepted.

The help-sheets

As with the help-sheets with the other English texts, descriptions tend to be brief and to add supplementary information (D6). For example: *'Les autobus, il y en a 5 qui amènent les élèves à l'école.'* [There are 5 buses which bring students to school] Most of the information necessary to understand the text is already provided with the text itself and therefore needs no further explanation (unlike the heavily coded French texts). It should also be remembered that the materials used in the French texts (A1) were taken from an external source, and are therefore likely to need more decoding. The English texts on the whole were originally-produced materials.

Another distinction that could be drawn between the English and French help-sheets is that the former tend to provide direct information, whereas the latter are more meta-dialogic in nature.

One could say in conclusion that the *form* of the documents reveals just as much difference as the content in comparing the packages from the two different countries.

The students in both countries also demonstrate that they have stepped back from their own cultures and reviewed them in a new way. Because their texts will be received by students in another country, the students are put in a position where they must think of how their topic (law and order) might be viewed differently elsewhere. The English texts are both didactic and self-evident, requiring minimal explanation, although there are examples of varied modes of representation, and a strong emphasis on the dialogue that is taking place. The French texts appear more sophisticated in terms of their coded messages and level of internal dialogue, and require a much higher level of decoding (and thus by implication input from the teacher). In both cases the texts reveal a rich source of information of pupils' views of law and order that is not available in current textbooks.

Chapter 4

The Intertextual Dialogue

We have seen that dialogue is a fundamental requirement for learning, and that the *process* of this intercultural project served this requirement well. It is also clear that within the *products* of the project internal dialogic processes took place. In this chapter we hope to demonstrate that these products also relied on linguistic and cultural dialogue with the pupils' environments: the immediate pedagogic environment of the classroom and the school, and the non-pedagogic environment where literacy events also take place, including television, newspapers, magazines and a range of other products and events (Barton, 1994).

By looking at what appear to be pupils' intentions and at the voices in their texts and matching these to activities and styles inside and outside the classroom, we should be able to:

- understand pupils' learning processes more clearly;
- identify any differences (or similarities) in the dialogic processing in the two different national cultural contexts; and
- consider how pupils might be made aware of the influence of particular contexts in order to facilitate a deeper level of cultural understanding.

The Eleven Texts

In reviewing the texts as a whole, there seem to be *six* different functions in operation, with some texts fulfilling several functions simultaneously. These functions are: information-giving, entertainment, provoking debate, testing comprehension, giving opinions, and communicating socially. Other factors are also important. Some texts include a narrative 'voice'; some have a strong visual illustrative component; others rely on audio or video enhancement. In addition, the texts can be viewed individually or as two heterogeneous teaching and learning packages.

In order to decode these texts and understand their teaching and learning potential more fully, it will be useful to consider several general issues: the nature of intertextuality, different ways of speaking and writing and communicating, preferred means of representation, and also the particularities of pedagogical texts and classroom practices and events. The pedagogical environment also needs to be viewed from the perspective of the culture in which it is embedded, as does the non-pedagogical, extra-classroom context.

Intertextuality

There appear to be two different kinds of intertextual operation: either an echoing of text (in a Bakhtinian sense, as explained earlier), where the voice or roles in a text directly imitate other identifiable extra-textual voices, or where the text is embedded in a set of other texts and practices, and needs to be seen as part of this whole.

Children's stories, for example, can be marked by specific formalised openings, or expectations regarding structure (Rosen, 1984; Brice Heath, 1996). Advertisements, as we saw earlier, can engage in dialogue with previous advertisements in that they echo, evoke or challenge their format (Kress & Hodge, 1988). The format of textbooks can also often be predictable, in that earlier texts are echoed. In a climate where there have been several changes in educational ideology with correspondingly differing examination requirements and teaching techniques, as has happened in England and Wales, this pedagogic intertextuality will be less evident. It can then be interesting to view the stability or predictability of texts in other European countries where there has been less change, and where recent texts echo earlier texts much more strongly (Morgan, 1999). The echoing of voices (as mentioned in the Maybin example earlier) can be identified in the project texts with, for example, particular voices of authority (the Headmistress in B3, the parodied police sergeant in B2, and the 'teacher-tone' of the narrator in A1, B4 and B8).

Clark and Ivanic (1997) usefully identify the context of situation of any written text (including the physical context and its supportive social action), and also the context of culture with competing practices and ideologies. In the classroom, the students and teachers will have histories of other texts, other pedagogic events (the 'long conversations' mentioned earlier), and these experiences will furnish an intertextual framework of reference (Luke *et al.*, 1989). The 'language' of the school, as it appears in teachers' talk and school literacy products, will also provide an intertextual context (Street & Street, 1991). The photo-documentary (B6) and questionnaire (B1), for example, both echo the kinds of literacy events found in English textbooks. This pedagogic intertextuality is examined in more detail below.

The wider context for the rhetoric of pedagogic texts needs careful analysis, since norms depend as much on cultural preferences as on those obtaining for any particular genre (Connor, 1996; Clyne, 1987). In their research, Wierzbicka (1994) and Swales (1990) have shown that local national norms are likely to be more influential in determining rhetorical approaches than those expected in any particular genre. It is therefore important in this project to consider the privileged pedagogical and non-pedagogical rhetorical forms in the two different countries, France and England, separately in order to understand the schemata that inform the different student texts.

Ways of Speaking and Writing

When analysing the project students' choices in producing texts, it is important to consider three factors: the students' physical context, their cultural 'history', and the post-modernist notion of re-writing.

The physical context will determine the limitations of what students are *able* to choose from (what Kress terms 'what is to hand', 1997: 98). Thus we saw that the French students were not able to produce the texts they had originally thought of because of restrictions of time and availability. The English students had a longer time-span and a wider range of resources on which to draw, and this was likely to be one of the reasons why they produced a more diverse set of materials.

Students in any classroom will have learnt various scripts and routines for handling situations, and taxonomies for mapping cultural values onto the world (Peters & Boggs, 1986; Rogoff, 1990; Holquist, 1997). They will also will be drawing from 'what is at hand conceptually' (Kress 1997: 98) in terms of views of language from parents, peers and people in school. Thus for the groups of students in France and England there will be a range of representational schemata of what is appropriate or preferred when they are thinking of how best to represent the themes of law and order. Clearly there is diversity among the products. What is interesting to speculate is whether there are also commonalties within each national group and to what extent the students' products mirror or diverge from pedagogical texts and practices (and indeed whether these pedagogical aspects can be said to have a national character).

Four features of the products deserve attention: the particularities of written and spoken language; the explicitness or non-explicitness of texts; the presence or absence of heteroglossia; and the multimodality of texts. Vygotsky (1962: 99) points to the difference in the 'grammar of thought' in written and spoken language, with writing requiring much more deliberation and 'its relationship to inner speech ... [being] different from that of oral speech.' Wells (1986: 186) reiterates the relative difficulty of writing for children: 'a relatively unfamiliar mode of linguistic communication and the constraints involved are much more daunting'. Although Wells refers here primarily to younger children, reluctance to write has been identified in the older age-range as well (Constantinidou, 1998). The English and French products in the project are largely visual or aural in format, and the language is either ostensive (naming/labelling and/or explaining) or dramatic (enacting illustrative scenarios). This may be a feature 'borrowed' either from pedagogical texts or from other literary practices/events in the students' own environments.

What is noticeable is that a great deal of care was taken over many of the products. The 'grammar of thought' here has the permanence and seriousness of a written text, although the end products nevertheless had many of the features of speech. Students discussed and reworked, contributing generally to the meaning-

fulness of the texts, and perhaps thus preparing the ground for learning about others in a more meaningful way.

Bernstein (1971) has linked expectedness/non-expectedness to social class, with restricted non-explicit 'positional' codes contrasted with elaborated, more explicit 'personal' codes. However, in the context of considering the English and French materials it seems likely that the level of explicitness used in their texts will relate much more directly to cultural pedagogic norms. Valero-Garcés (1995) in comparing Spanish and English academic writing noted that texts written by English speakers were more explicit and user-friendly, while texts written by Spanish speakers generally placed the responsibility for decoding at the door of the reader. In preparing the help-sheets it was noticeable that the French materials were much more heavily coded, requiring considerable explanation, whereas the English texts were more explicit: for example 'This is a cassette to show you all the different instances in which the police could be involved in, in Britain. We wish to do a series of sketches to show you these situations' (B4), 'This booklet is all about [school] rules. There are too many of them' (B6). 'This [TV] programme is about criminals and how people catch them. This is fiction' (B8).

The presence or absence of heteroglossia is also an interesting differentiated feature in the texts. Bakhtin (1984) directs our attention to the multi-voicedness (heteroglossia) of our language environment and in particular to the 'languages' that are centripetal (fixed, unitary, authoritarian) and centrifugal (stratified alternative languages): the enactive/coactive dialogue mentioned earlier. In almost all the texts that were produced for the project, one can detect different voices. These may be the voices of characters in a dramatised role play (B2, B3 and B4), the voice of a narrator running alongside other elements of the text (A1, B4, B6, B8), or the voices in a text asking for different kinds of attention (personal and comprehension questions in the questionnaire, B1), written descriptions and visuals (B5), or the schema of the criminal chase in the board game and the questions/answers relating to age-limit rules for leisure activities(B7). A more subtle double-voicedness, recalling the retrospective dialogue mentioned earlier, occurs where texts have a parodic element, as in the lack of order in the policeman caricature (A2), the ironic intonation in recorded voices (B2 and B3), and the depiction of 'unacceptable' school uniform (B6). One could say that here students are reflecting the heteroglossia of their own environments and perhaps particularly of their own classroom where they may experience the tensions of asymmetric power relations. Luke *et al*. (1989: 256) interestingly point to student graffiti in textbooks as a similar oppositional technique for challenging the univocal authority of the classroom.

As well as the heteroglossia within the texts, one can also claim that the sets of texts in themselves represent heteroglossic packages, particularly in the case of the English collection where the eight products have quite different foci, different media of expression and different 'voices'. The usefulness of these multi-voiced teaching resources is discussed in greater detail below.

description by drawing attention to the difference between police clothing and other people's everyday clothing. The notion of comfort here is further linked to one that is also mentioned subsequently, the notion of risk. Perhaps one needs to be relaxed in order to carry out certain duties: 'In London, the Metropolitan Police wear it during combat.'

There appear to be five different possibilities relating to whether garments are worn by men or women.

- where no specific wearer is mentioned: '<u>Police Jumper</u>, <u>Medium Jacket</u>, <u>Rain Jacket</u>';
- garments first mentioned as worn by women and by men: '<u>Shirt and Blouse</u>. The blouse for women is worn most of the time under the blazer for added protection ... The men's shirts are similar but they are short sleeved.'
- clothing that can be worn by both sexes: '<u>Trousers</u>. These black trousers can be used by men and women'.
- garments initially intended for men, but also worn by women: '<u>Blazer</u>. This is also part of the women's uniform';
- clothing specifically for women: '<u>Skirt</u>. This is part of the women's uniform ... <u>Hat</u>. This is part of the women's uniform.

The masculine model is not the only point of reference and this point is emphasised in the help-sheet: 'Policewomen are just important as the men.' One should remember here that the creators of this text were all male. But also important was the information gathered in the interview that one of the boys had a mother who had recently become a Special Constable.

What is interesting in the text is that the male–female equality is integrated into the mode of presenting different clothing items and is not offered just as a politically correct obligation. In the section dealing with accessories, we will see that there is an automatic assumption that these are used by both sexes.

The main function of clothing mentioned is to keep the police force warm: '<u>Trousers</u> ... They keep you warm ... <u>Skirt</u> ... It also keeps them warm ... <u>Medium Jacket</u> ... it keeps police warm... <u>Rain Jacket</u> ... This is also used for keeping police warm'.

This emphasis, reiterated four times, suggests a wish to see the police enjoying a level of comfort. Comfort may be contrasted with the hard working conditions that the police have to endure, and these are also mentioned: '<u>Medium Jacket</u>. This is used when it is windy ... <u>Rain Jacket</u>. This is also used for keeping police warm, but can only be used in snowy or rainy weather, etc.'

The notion of comfort is also extended by that of protection: '<u>Leather Gloves</u>. This is [these are] used to protect their hands if they are smashing glass etc with their hands.' Safety is prioritised by the students. The use of the clip-on tie points to the need for protecting the police in the case of an attack: 'The clip-on tie is used instead of a real tie for safety reasons.'

Precise details are also given. The clips, straps and belts demonstrate the prac-

tical nature of police uniform, since the police are obliged to carry a certain number of accessories necessary for efficiency and mobility: 'Shirt and Blouse ... They have clips on the chest area to put their radio ... Belt. This is used to carry the radios, truncheon and handcuffs etc.'

As well as this prioritisation of comfort, protection against the elements, safety, and the efficiency and utility of police accessories, there is also another emphasis of quite a different type. This time instead of focusing on the police and how they might benefit, there are several details mentioned that relate to the way the police are viewed in their relationships to others. Here details are explicit. The police firstly need to be seen: 'Luminous Top. This is used for traffic control'. Other sartorial details also relate to the police being visible in public: 'White Rubber Gloves. This is [these are] used for traffic controlling so people can see where the policeman/woman is directing them to.'

The policeman is not the sole focus of interest, since his uniform plays a role in demonstrating a relationship with others. The image suggested by the students is a positive one. Here, then, is a central notion of representation. The police are seen as citizens in their own right: 'Blazer ... it can be used for going to police meetings and balls', with one item of clothing in particular adding prestige: 'Hat. This is part of the women's uniform and is worn to give the public a good impression of the police.' Note that prestige here derives from the female police.

The close examination of the detail of police uniform is impressive, as is the designated role of each clothing item. The image that is created is one of a positive relationship between the students and the police, which it would seem desirable to extend to the public at large.

The accessories

The second group of police items, that of accessories, is divided into two parts: one relating to the English police and one relating to the American police. One can question why the students have chosen to make this distinction with such precision. Perhaps because there is a common shared language to describe the items and because American police films are often shown on television (as in France), and the English students wished to avoid possible confusion. The influence of the media may then have directly resulted in this explicit comparison.

In each case (American and English) the list of items is the same. Each accessory is examined in close detail to reveal the differences in the two countries. Each description is also accompanied by a drawing. The definition of handcuffs is the same for both countries. They are used to eliminate the danger represented by the criminal arrested by the police. They help to protect him: 'Handcuffs:- Are used for when a crime has been committed and the police don't want the offender to attack them.' The radio is also seen as a source of help in both countries. Again it is the safety of the police that is important: 'Radio:- is used for when they are calling for backup (help).' The only difference is the superior technology of the Americans: 'Radio:- The Amer-

nature of the textbook and teacher practices in more detail, it should be possible to see to what extent this holds true.

In literature on textbooks, there is some disagreement as to the focus of authority. Some critics see the textbook as holding prime position, whether as a dominant framework that the teacher must follow ('the text as destination' – Swan, 1991: 33), as a useful and convenient overarching structure and standard (Hutchinson & Torres, 1994), or as an arbiter of the speech genre of the teacher (Wertsch, 1991). Other writers emphasise the mediating power of the teacher (Luke *et al.*, 1989; Stopolsky, 1989; Barton, 1994; Selander, 1995). Luke *et al.* (1989: 251-2) even see the teacher as equivalent to the mediaeval cleric: regulating and filtering knowledge and instilling specific attitudes towards learning. One should not forget, though, that very often teachers are textbook writers (Barton, 1994) and often teachers have some choice in which textbook they use, so that there is some legitimacy in seeing the teacher and textbook as congruent if not joint voices. This is, of course, not to deny the heterogeneity amongst teachers and their textbooks, as well as amongst pupils.

The roles of the teacher and textbook would appear to be to inform, to encourage and to assess. In current classrooms pedagogical practices are often delivered as a kind of 'entertainment'. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 30) comment on the format of a science textbook as follows: 'Students of science are addressed ... as people whose interests need to be solicited and won, who need to be entertained, humoured.' Certainly the emphasis in advice to foreign-language teachers in modern handbooks and articles concentrates frequently on the notion of 'fun' (*Grammar Games*, Rinvolucri, 1984; *Let's Play Cards*, Nikolov, 1990; *Generalisable Game Activities in Modern Language Teaching*, Rumley & Sharpe, 1993; *More Grammar Games*, Rinvolucri, 1995).

This aspect of 'entertainment' is evident in many of the project texts: the inclusion of games in the English texts (the board game B7 and the wordsearch B8), the satire and visual punning in the French texts (A1 and A2), the 'fun' intonational patterns in two of the role plays (B2 and B3), and the 'playful' comments in the photo-documentary of the school (B6): 'This booklet is all about our [school] rules. There are too many of them! Here we are in our lovely (!) school uniforms. This is what we have to wear. You're probably going to find it hilarious ... How to get into trouble!!!' [An arrow to two drawings of 'scruffy' students]. It is noticeable that these fun elements relate more directly to non-pedagogic traditions than to the rather ponderous 'fun' elements often found in school textbooks (Morgan, 1995). It is interesting to note that the drawings of the scruffy students in B6 recall quite strongly the picture of a 70s punk (reproduced in Appendix E) in the textbook *Arc-en-Ciel 3*, which this class was using at the time (Miller *et al.*, 1990: 69).

Even when there is a 'fun' element in foreign-language teaching the locus of authority still lies with the teacher and textbook. The textbook has the authority of print; it has a kind of anonymity, which can place it beyond criticism, and the

authors may even be anonymous (Olson, 1989; Luke *et al.*, 1989; van Leeuwen & Kress, 1995). The textbook is often school property, and students may not feel that they have sufficient status (i.e. they are not textbook writers) to challenge what they find (Olson, 1989).

Street and Street (1991: 157) describe a particular model of authoritarian teacher (identified in their research on middle-class schools in the US), that may not accord with the facilitating figure recommended in approaches more geared to autonomous learning: 'The teacher continually interrupts students' work with statements about where the class are in her timeframe and what to do next ... These interjections ... define the organisation of texts, papers and reading and writing materials as the organisation of cultural time and space.' Certainly such an authoritarian figure features in some of the project texts (the role play on school rules, for example, where the Headmistress directs and questions the students). The tone of many of the narratives in the project texts is didactic, as though the students are modelling a teacher's voice and, as was mentioned earlier, some of the students certainly took their responsibilities as information-providers very seriously. If we consider the opening comment of the 'cartoon text' on the roles of the police (A1), the seriousness of intent is obvious: *'En France il existe de nombreuses lois répertoriées dans le code civil. En voici quelques-unes: Les policiers contribuent également au respect de l'ordre et de la justice'*. [In France, there are a number of laws detailed in the civil code. Here are some of them. Policemen also contribute to the respecting of order and justice.]

The net effect of congruity of teacher and textbook and a strong authoritative voice is that plurality and diversity may be discouraged, and a particular kind of academic discourse privileged. Selander (1995: 14) rues the lack of plurality in textbooks: 'in very few textbooks we can find a multiplicity of voices, different interpretations and understanding of the world – textbooks are uni-voiced.' Barton (1994: 31) also pleads for heterogeneity and uses the existence of varieties and heterogeneous registers within a language as supporting evidence: 'The edges [of a language] are its vitality and variety ensures its future ... an ecological approach emphasises diversity and in the original biological sense of ecology sees it as a virtue. Diversity is a source of strength.' We have already referred to arguments in favour of heterogeneous forms of representation. It would seem that there is an equally strong argument for allowing pluralistic approaches and voices in the classroom. It is here that the English/French materials have a particular value, since they represent multi-voicedness on many levels.

Some modern textbooks have a particular format to allow children easy access to learning: what one could call bite-size chunks. Information and tasks appear in short sections (Barton, 1994) with particular kinds of compartmentalisation: sections for grammar, information, etc (Morgan, 1995; Luke *et al.,* 1989). It is interesting, for example, to see that in two French textbooks popular for the project age group *(la troisième)* at the time of the project (Lemarchand & Juré, *Apple Pie*, 1991 and Gibbs *et al. Channel 3*, 1987) chapters follow a similar format: three 'lessons', an

'exercise section' 'civilisation' and literature extract in *Apple Pie* ; and Part A 'language study' and Part B 'language tasks' *in Channel 3. Arc-en-Ciel 3* (Miller *et al.*, 1990), which was used by the project English class, also has a strong formulaic construction with 9 units interspersed by 3 '*divertissements*' after the third, sixth and ninth units and with several examples of catalogues: 'vitamins'(8–9), 'signs of the zodiac' (32–3), 'characteristics of early childhood' (62–3), salient features of different environments' (93 and 95). The same kind of formulaic division is evident in some of the project texts: the audiocassette scenarios of the role of the police (B4), for example. Other project texts also provide catalogues or compartmentalised knowledge: the role of the police in France (A1), the catalogue of police clothing in England and the US (B5), the inventory of school rules (B6), and the range of UK TV programmes relating to crime (B8). The schema of short assimilable sections itemising different aspects of the same topic is clearly one shared across classrooms, when students are considering the best way to convey information.

While the students appear to be following the textbook format here, they appear to have avoided one of the other criticisms levelled at textbooks that relates to this truncated compartmentalism. This is the danger of superficiality/lack of argument/one-sidedness/'closed' texts, which links back perhaps to the criticism of the univocal nature of textbooks. Kress and van Leeuwen criticise in particular the lack of depth and cultural engagement in modern textbooks: 'The apprehension of facts displaces the concern with truth and the emphasis is not on sustained, concentrated analysis but on the quick apprehension of facts' (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 39; see also Street & Street, 1991). Selander (1995: 12) focuses on the 'closed' nature of pedagogic texts 'where pupils ... are controlled and tested in relation to the correct answer', and Halliday points to the impoverished linguistic and cultural frameworks in modern language textbooks in particular: 'the continuities in a language-teaching exercise are normally strictly metatextual; there is a purely formal reason for grouping ... sentences ... which has very little to do with language as used in everyday life' (Halliday & Hasan, 1989: 71; see also Rosen's 'thin grind of drills based on floating bits of language', 1984: 28). Sadow (1987: 25) also comments that 'most foreign language textbooks offer descriptions of the target culture that resemble a collection of postage stamps ... this kaleidoscopic view gives a one-dimensional impression of a multi-dimensional subject.' We would suggest that some of the *internal* dialogic processes and heterogeneity in the project texts that were identified in the previous chapter accommodate this multi-dimensionality much more satisfactorily, thus avoiding the passive and superficial learning-and-teaching model that is sometimes present in textbooks.

One might wish to query the notion of the 'truthfulness' of some of the project texts. While there is useful information in some of the texts: the inventories of school rules (B6), police clothing (B5) and TV programmes relating to crime (B8), others are clearly fantasy or playful versions of the 'truth': the American/Disney characters in the cartoons (A1), the music-hall policemen in the video role play (B2), and the

idealised and caricatured actors in the police scenarios (B4). What one could argue, though, is that these texts clearly *signal* that they are versions of the truth through the alternative and unusual non-pedagogic elements that are included in the text, whether this is in terms of content, medium or approach. (This is discussed in more detail below.)

If we return to thinking of the similarities of the project texts to other pedagogic texts, it is evident that, as well as imitating the atomistic format of many textbooks, students have also copied certain pedagogic functions and particular activities.

Returning to the earlier definition of the functions of the teacher and textbook (to inform, encourage and assess), we can see that the first two are present to a high level in the project texts. The students' voices speak across the classrooms and provide genuine peer collegiality. Perhaps because of the collegiality there is little in the way of 'assessment' in the texts. Only the questionnaire (B1) contains the typical 'closed' comprehension questions familiar from textbooks: 'What colour are our pullovers? Is driving through a red light a crime in Britain?' But even here these kinds of questions are also accompanied by other genuine personal and communi- cative questions such as: 'Which was your favourite cassette?' 'What do you think of our school uniform?' It is a measure of this genuineness that the French students chose to answer these questions and record their answers on tape (see Appendix F). It is interesting that in a later project based on this format and topic, but with older post-16 pupils, a much higher number of closed assessment questions were included in the student materials. This may indicate schemata more heavily imprinted with experiences of assessment and more geared to linking education and the classroom with testing procedures (see Morgan & Penz, 1998).

Two further facets of textbook approach that have been identified are the popu- larity of definitions (Olson, 1989) and the presence of a 'reading path' or linear representation (van Leeuwen & Kress, 1995 and Luke *et al.*, 1989). Again, it is clear that both these elements feature in the project texts, with particular aspects of topics clearly defined and the reader/viewer/listener clearly led through different stages or aspects of the presented information. Particular kinds of activity (role play, a wordsearch, the evaluative questionnaire) can also be seen as direct borrowings of the English students from their own pedagogical environment.

It is clear then that, although the project students were given a free hand in choosing and assembling their own materials, many aspects of their texts referred back to their pedagogical environment in terms of how they felt they could best represent 'law and order' to their partner classroom.

Alternative Schematic Sources

However, there are several elements in some (though not all) of the project texts that demonstrate an alternative 'antilanguage' (Kress & Hodge, 1988) calling on

versions of the truth and media of communication that lie outside expected class-room practices.

Discontinuities between language practices in the home and language practices in school, mentioned earlier, can disadvantage young children. In this project students were able to harness some of the norms of extra-classroom discourse to create a different medium of communication from that normally found in the foreign language classrooms.

At its simplest level what the students are doing in their texts is making fun of certain aspects of the subject matter and also including aspects of topics or situations often left undiscussed in classrooms. For example, the role plays in the Head-mistress' study (B3) and the police station (B2) include confrontation and power struggle; the cartoons on the role of the police refer to theft, prison and scenes of violent confrontation (A1); and the photo-documentary (B6) provides an example of students being naughty. These depictions are a long way from Sadow's 'one-dimensional 'postage stamp' cultural descriptions.

It is not just the content that has a new focus. The means of depiction in some cases is also new. In each case the medium provides a parodic or oppositional distance from the subject matter, providing an alternative voice for the learner and thus functioning as a deictic dialogue. The degree of distance is different in different texts. In the French texts the use of cartoon format with exaggerated caricatures, the occasional large typeface and visual puns signals a low affinity with the subject matter, here the police (van Leeuwen, 1992; Kress & Hodge, 1988). Kress & Hodge in talking of children's comic strips (and in the police-roles French text this was the sole main source) comment that this particular format signals 'peer-group soli-darity against parents and non-solidary peers' (in this case perhaps also teachers?). However they also point out that the exaggeratedness of the cartoon format declares its inauthenticity: 'the force of [the] subversion is weakened by the drawing style and thus made safe' (Kress & Hodge, 1988: 33). In other words there is clear signalling that this is a version of the truth. In this case, too, the presence of animal Disney figures and American police uniforms further distances the authen-ticity and renders the oppositional distance 'safe'. The semiotic messages here are significant.

The other French text, the *caricature* (A2), which appears without intermediating narrative text, is perhaps a much harsher indictment. Again the figure of the policeman is parodied in being portrayed as old-fashioned, but the traffic is recog-nisably authentic, although in an inauthentic situation. The lessening of the distor-tion here sharpens the criticism and it is clear from talking to the two girls who produced the texts that there was a highly critical level of polemic intended: 'We wanted to do a caricature, to show the opposite ... to say that they always arrive late ... the police are never there when they're needed ... it's the opposite of order.' Inter-estingly, the 'alternative' elements in the English texts (the Gilbert and Sullivan operetta jingles in the police station scenario: 'A hefty fine! ... a hefty fine! ... a hefty

fine!') and the exaggerated melodramatic language ('We have you now you dirty swine!') and the ironic intonations and comments in the school rules role play and photo-documentary are all mitigated and hedged with the use of exclamation marks (for example, 'QUIET PLEASE!!'), which have the function of weakening these oppositional elements. By including a play/fun element in texts, not just of the games/entertainment variety mentioned earlier, but in a truly explorative spirit, students are likely to be experiencing opportunities of greater cognitive development. Rogoff points to the importance of play and dramatic play in developing useful skills:

> Role play and dramatic play may be arenas to work out the 'scripts' of everyday life – adult skills and roles, values and beliefs and to learn to take the perspective of others .... A rich history of play may prepare a person to solve problems opportunistically in an organised and flexible way. (Rogoff, 1990: 186–7)

Another 'alternative' feature that is noticeable in most of the texts is that they use the informal vernacular, rather than formal 'academic' language. Two factors are significant in this context: it is the students, rather than the teachers, who have control of the text, and the students are using their mother tongue. They will thus have access to a wider range of language than normal, since use of the target language normally restricts students to a limited range of lexical items, and usually the teacher controls these.

Rosen and Kramsch suggest that is both dramatic and empowering to use and have access to the vernacular: '[Because it is dramatic] the vernacular ... seems to have a distinct advantage over some educated styles' (Rosen, 1984: 7). 'The thrill at being able to use forms of speech, such as slang or highly idiomatic gambits, are ways in which learners can gain power in a [pedagogic] system that by its nature reminds them how powerless they are' (Kramsch, 1993: 243). The language in the project texts provides quite a different sort of input from that normally found in textbooks, although of course on a visit to each other's classrooms such language would be a familiar norm.

It is interesting that the relative 'openness' of the project texts may presage a development that is in any case taking place in foreign-language classrooms, namely the use of information and communication technology, where students have interactive contact without the mediation of the teacher, both with computer texts and across classrooms with e-mail. Selander (1995: 13) sees the new information-processing activities as allowing a more open-ended hermeneutic process, such as that experienced when students interpret literary texts. It is certainly clear that students have the opportunity for a more personal and dynamic dialogue in their individual encounters with the learning material. However, in terms of creative range, communicating solely by e-mail (or video-conferencing) is likely to restrict the possibilities and perhaps 'persuade' students of the value of certain media. One of the benefits of the Anglo/French project was that, in opening up the

range of media, students were then encouraged to consider the suitability of different options and in consequence also needed to think more carefully about the *content* of their texts. We have already seen that one student said: 'It actually made me think a lot more about how the law is practised in England.' As part of foreign-language teaching it is clearly important to encourage understanding and decoding of text schemata (Quasthoff, 1986) what Selander (1995: 19) terms a 'rhetoric understanding of pedagogic texts' In the project, the help-sheets fulfilled this function, both in raising awareness of the students' own texts and in helping to explain text features to partner students.

Intercultural Differences and Intercultural Understanding

If we take a cultural relativist point of view, we can see that the two sets of project texts could support the view that the agendas set by the two groups of students (although having some internal diversity) also point to differences in context, form and approach. Rogoff (1990: 43) emphasises this cultural relativity: 'Cultural practices are influential in setting the problems that need solving, providing technologies and tools for their solution and channelling problem-solving efforts in ways that are valued by local standards.' Included in these ways, as we have already seen, are different preferred approaches in texts – not forgetting that 'visual language is not transparent and universally understood but culturally specific'. (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996: 3). As well as specific approaches such as the explicit/non-explicit mentioned earlier and the specificity of visual codes, there may be *overall* preferred modes of presentations. Rogoff (1990: 57), for example, draws our attention to varying preferences for narrative styles across cultures: 'Judgements about a good narrative vary across cultures' and there have been several studies of varying styles of learning within cultures (Oxford & Anderson, 1995; Jin & Cortazzi, 1993).

Thus, in understanding the French text where comic strip illustrations are used, it is useful to know the history of *Asterix* cartoonists and others (Pinet, 1978; Berwald, 1992) in order to identify particular kinds of stereotypes that the French have of themselves, and to appreciate the role that cartoons play in the literacy events of life in France. Understanding this mode of presentation will help students to understand what it means to be French. Similarly an understanding of the explicit, user-friendliness of the English texts with elements of self-deprecation explains facets of literacy events in England. In both cases the representational modes may be indicative of texts within or outside the classroom.

As well as looking at the representative modes as a way of understanding intercultural difference, students could also focus on the choice of topics and the attitudes portrayed. As we will see in a later chapter, the students were able to gain considerably in intercultural understanding by considering differences in attitudes towards the police, towards school uniform and towards school rules. The English students focused on school rules in two out of the eight texts, making it more of a

priority than for the French students (although this aspect of law and order was discussed both before and after creating the texts). This could reflect a more inward-focused schema in the English classroom, with political debate and philosophical discussion a stronger component of the French context (demonstrations and strikes by the French school students, for example, and philosophical debates as a weekly norm in some Parisian cafes.)

One word of warning perhaps should be given here in terms of an overly reductionist attitude to cultural norms. Hirsch (1977) suggests an inventory that needs to be learnt in order to acquire cultural literacy. This is in line with several other North American writers on cultural learning who often provide a textbook-manual approach to understanding intercultural differences in behaviour (see Byram & Morgan, 1994).

However there are real dangers here: such an approach discourages an appreciation of diversity; subtler ideological differences may not be understood; and there may be lost opportunities to grasp those elements that one shares across communities, whether this is part of the 'non-verbal' language of the mass media (Schwerdtfeger, 1993) or the 'information [that] truly is important to all of us' (Field, 1992: 170). In the present project, some of these dangers were hopefully obviated: certainly there was a diversity of texts (if not opinions); there was the opportunity to delve deeper into the subtler aspects of the text with ensuing discussions with the teacher and the researcher; and the project set-up allowed important similarities to emerge: the asymmetrical power situations in the common topic, the desirability of exploratory and oppositional modes of representation; and the evident desire to communicate across cultural boundaries.

In the following chapter we examine how diversity and dialogicality can be further illuminated by an examination of the researcher–student interviews.

Chapter 5

An Illuminative Dialogue

It is evident that rich layers of dialogue operated in this project: in the classroom contact between the students, between the different elements that constituted the student products, and also between the materials the students produced and the texts that belong to their environment.

The final area of dialogue we wish to consider is between students' thoughts and what they produced. It is always difficult to access students' constructs or schemata, to find out what they really thought they were producing. However, we were able to have extensive interviews with our students. This chapter analyses various aspects of these interviews and demonstrates how valuable such an activity can be in terms of cultural understanding: both for the students in exploring their own views and understanding one another and also for the teachers in understanding their own students.

Seven different areas were identified as of key importance and where appropriate these are analysed for both the English and the French students (12 English and 6 French students were interviewed). The seven areas were as follows:

- text content;
- text appropriacy;
- didactic aspects;
- learning the target language;
- awareness of otherness;
- better understanding of the home culture;
- better understanding of the target culture.

In the interviews carried out by the English researcher with the student creators of the texts, these students explained their intentions in creating their own texts and their reactions to the texts they received. Their intentions were not always realised. Several external factors were influential here: the materials available to the pupils, and the time available to them for researching, planning and producing them. The variance here between the French and English classrooms has already been mentioned.

The analysis of the interview corpus reveals a different kind of variance, namely that relating to views prevalent in England or France. The analysis that follows focuses on different aspects of both the self-prepared texts and the texts that were received by both groups of students. These interviews also represent a genuine dialogue with the researcher-interviewer probing to clarify understanding and meaning.

(In the quotations that follow, **Int** refers to the interviewer and **S** to the inter-

viewee student; the text that the students helped to prepare is also mentioned where appropriate.)

Text Content

The English students' views of their own texts

Within the content of their own texts, there seem to be priorities for the English students, both on a societal and on a personal level. On a societal level, the appearance of the police seems as important as the law itself:

S: We wanted to present the police and what they look like and some of the roles as well (B1).

There is a hierarchy of breaches of the law that may not reflect that of those in authority:

S: Probably the worst [crime] is speeding ... because it's endangering other people a lot more than maybe just going through a red light (B2).

Part of this hierarchy refers to whether the offender has committed the misdemeanour before:

Int: Does it make any difference [in terms of punishment] if he [the offender] is a criminal?
S: Probably he'll get more punishment (B2).

The police are seen as helpful rather than repressive:

S: That was basically a sketch to show that people who get lost in big shopping centres or towns can go up to a policeman and ask for directions (B4).

Other views of the police are more wide-ranging, as in an enquiry by the interviewer as to why a policeman was called PC Plod in one text :

S: I just thought of that when someone said PC and Plod came after it.
Int: What does that suggest about a policeman?
S: That he is a bit stupid, clumsy.
Int: Is that sometimes how people see policemen?
S: Not really I think they have respect for them (B2).

One other student in talking about the fact that his mother is a member of the police reveals an attitude to the police not so very different from that of the French students:

Int: What do your mates think about your mum being a Special Constable?
S: They've been joking (B4).

He then adds: 'I suppose she'll get a bit more respect from some people but there are some people who don't tend to take much notice of the police.' This same student

emphasises the need to destroy the stereotype of a male police force (as was seen on several occasions in the English texts):

S: Everyone stereotypes police as men basically, and policewomen are just as important. They have all the jobs as well, and they go out and patrol the streets along with men and have the right to arrest the people on anything (B4).

This student shows the same breadth of vision in identifying different attitudes in different age groups: 'It depends on age groups. Teenagers in a way don't really care about them [the police]. They think they're there to boss people around; but the older people use them to protect themselves' (B4).

It is interesting that several students showed an awareness of the source of their schemata of the police, namely the television. One student comments as follows: 'It is typical of what a policeman would say on a TV show whenever they've caught someone and I just thought I'd include it: You have the right to remain silent but what you say, will be taken down and may be used in evidence' (B6).

The group that chose to focus on the presentation of the police on television (B8) seemed fairly aware of the influence of the media:

S: We decided to do something about TV, to show them [the French pupils] what sort of things were on TV about law and order.
Int: Do you think TV has much influence on you?
S: Yes, quite a lot I suppose.

The English students also chose to focus on law and order in the everyday private domain of the school. Both peer-norms and authority-driven regulations are identified. Thus in the headmistress interview, peer pressure is identified.

S: A lot of people go with a group peer. If someone doesn't like them, then the rest will all go along to be with the group (B3).

In talking about the regulations at school, the subversion already evident in the photo-documentary text (B6) becomes even more evident in the interviews:

Int: Why do you think the Head here might insist on those rules – not wearing jewellery or make-up or outrageous hairstyles?
S: To set a certain standard I suppose. A high standard.
Int: Do you think it's a good idea?
S: I don't necessarily. I wear outrageous stuff out of school (B6).

The ambiguous attitude to school rules here is developed during the interview dialogue:

S: The 'no trousers for girls' rule I really don't understand because nearly half the girls would like to wear them because you get really cold (B6).

It should be noted that this was the group who commented in their text on the 'coldness' of the mobile classrooms.

There is some attempt to understand further the rationale for rules: 'Some of them I find a bit silly like no biros. Maybe you can't correct when you write in biro. I understand the "no Tippex". I've seen bottles being knocked over and the whole lot goes.' However, there is also a sense that there could be more latitude: 'I think you should be able to get away with little rings, nothing extreme'.

The ambiguity of attitudes toward school rules is further sharpened by the sentiment expressed that school is a rigorous institution with uniform that provides a sense of identity and pride: 'It [uniform] gives you a sense of pride in which school you come from ... I think we are a good school and I like showing it off.' Another pupil confirms the strictness of her own school relative to others: 'I think it is more orderly at this school than at some schools.'

What can be seen in the dialogue with the interviewer is that this student has come to a deeper understanding of her own mixed views in relation to her school; an ambiguity that is hinted at in her text, but which is given far more chance to emerge in the dialogic encounter with the researcher.

The French students' views of their own texts

The implicit view of the police that emerges in the French views of their own texts is one of little respect: '*Les policiers, ils ne sont jamais là quand il faut* (A2) [The police are never there, when they are needed]. This notion of being late or too late is repeated throughout the interview with the two girls who prepared the A2 text*: 'Ben, c'est pour dire qu'ils arrivent toujours en retard ils arrivent après que tout le monde soit, se soit rentré dedans'* [They always arrive too late, I mean they arrive after everyone has collided into each other]. This perceived lack of usefulness would suggest an attitude that accords little seriousness to the work of the police, and the interview reveals the origin of this attitude.

Firstly the students wished to draw a caricature: '*on a voulu faire une caricature'*. The dictionary definition of caricature emphasises the portrayal of the ridiculous and the satiric intention of exaggeration (also noted by Kress & Hodge as mentioned earlier, 1998). In other words there are two particular features: the desire to criticise some malfunction, and the desire also to ridicule it. The sending of a caricature to the English students is not in itself a neutral act. For the French students the humorous element is one they acknowledge, and also the parodic distance between what should be and what exists, the dialogue between ideal and reality: '*Une caricature, c'est pour faire le contraire un peu ... là, c'est un dessin humoristique.'* [A caricature is to show the opposite a bit ... it's a humorous drawing.] When the students describe the toy gun in the drawing, this humorous element is reiterated*: 'C'était pour faire drôle, quoi! C'était plus rigolo avec le bang.* [It's to make it look funny. It's funnier with the 'bang.']

The students have chosen old-fashioned images to represent the police, for example the platform that allows an overview of the roundabout:

S: *Il y avait un policier ... it était sur une espèce de plateforme et il faisait la circulation. Il y en a encore en Amérique d'ailleurs.*
S: *Mais plus en France.*
S: *C'est demodé en France.*
S: *C'est un peu vieux, la police.*

[There was a policeman and he was on a kind of platform in charge of the traffic. There are still some of those platforms in America, but not in France…it's old-fashioned in France. The police are rather old hat.]

With the other group of French students who prepared the A1 text, there is a focus on crime. The students have chosen to focus on crimes committed, but this is not at first how they describe what they have done:

S: *Toutes les choses qui composent la loi française ... donc ...*
S: *Tous les délits.*
S: *Et avec tous les délits il y a ..le policier qui pique.*

[All the things that French law comprises. All the crimes, and with every crime there is a policeman who's stealing.]

Police clothing is also seen as significant (as was seen with the English group, B5). The visual aspect acts as a semiotic marker of importance: *'Ça symbolise son grade, plus il y a de galons, plus il est gradé.'* [That symbolises his rank, the more stripes there are, the higher the rank.] There are further features relating to the clothing that deserve to be mentioned. The first group of cartoons chosen by the French students (A1) shows an American policeman. In fact it is a dog dressed as an American policeman that is presented. The whole setting in the first group of cartoons is American. Although students reveal some sense of the disjunction between an American image and the French reality being represented there is no real understanding of any rationale:

Int: *Est-ce que la prison est comme ça en France?*
S: *Ouais, je pense, oui je sais pas ...*
S: *Non en France les prisons .. elles sont pas comme ça.*
Int: *Bon, alors si ce n'est pas comme ça, pourquoi est-ce qu'on a dessiné la prison comme ça?*
S: *Parce que c'est américain.*
S: *Ah oui c'est américain.*
S: *C'est des americains qui ont fait cela.*

[Is prison like this in France? Yes I think so. Yes. I don't know. No, in France they are not like that. Well, if they are not like that why has the prison been drawn like that? Because it is American. Yes it's American. It's the Americans who have done it.]

One can draw certain conclusions here:

- the students have chosen something American to illustrate law and order in France;
- they recognise that what is described does not reflect what is in France because it is American;
- the tautology of their answers is not neutral. It demonstrates perhaps the strong influence of the US on the leisure pursuits of young people in France, and the relative indifference to the representativity of national symbols. It is not a question here of ignorance, but perhaps of indifference or even of cultural identity. On the one hand this attitude may not encourage reflexivity on systems of value in the home culture and deconstruction thus becomes a more difficult task. On the other hand there is evidence of a greater permeability with regard to other cultures and an acceptance of a globalisation that appears to be particularly well catered for by a dialogic approach.

The French students appear able to transfer images consciously without this troubling them:

Int: *Quels sont les deux groupes qui font ... ?*
S: *Les Indiens ...*
S: *Contre les cowboys ...*
S: *Oui c'est comme dans les manifestations, les CRS et les manifestants quoi...*

[Who are the two groups who ...? The Indians ... versus the cowboys ... yes it's like it is in demonstrations with the CRS and the protesters.]

The interviews here provide the opportunity for the American images to portray a French reality using analogy as justification, perhaps in this instance demonstrating an acceptance of the plurality of images:

Int: *C'est un juge américain?*
S: *Eh ben, oui, parce que là, c'est dans la BD, alors uh ... mais là, on dit que c'est un juge français, c'est pas grave.*

[It is an American judge? Well yes, because, well it's in the cartoon .. well you can say it's a French judge. It's not a problem'.]

Unlike the English students, the French students have a masculine image of the police, leaving less important tasks to women:

S: *Quand on symbolise un policier c'est un homme généralement.*
S: *Parce que souvent c'est les .. femmes, elles font pas la circulation, c'est ... elles. [qui] passent dans les rues, elles donnent des PV enfin ... elles mettent des PV sur la voiture.*

[When the police are symbolised, it's usually as men. Because often it's women, they don't do the traffic, they're the ones who walk around the streets and give parking

fines ... they put parking tickets on cars'.] One should perhaps remember that the text-creators here are all male, and that they are using pre-constructed images.

The tasks of the police include helping (as was noted with the English students), in particular helping the elderly across roads. There is some disjunction with reality here, since this is rarely how police offer help. In discussing police roles, however, the over-riding attitude toward them emerges:

Int: *Pourquoi il [le policier] semble tres fatigué?*
S: *Ils en ont marre de faire passer les grand'mères.*

[Why does he seem very tired? Because he's very fed up with helping old grannies cross the road.]

Here, then, the police are mocked just as much as when they are behaving in a more repressive mode, as in the caricature. We noted also earlier that the students had misread the semiotics here, failing to see that the policeman is drunk.

Representations of the law focus on justice and on an American-type trial, in other words not a simple representation of crime followed by punishment. The interviews reveal considerable lack of knowledge of how this works, but at least this stage is included.

As well as the pupils' ignorance, there is also the mediation of the American representations that are being used:

Int: *Ça, c'est quelque chose d'américain.*
S: *Oui parce que .. en fait, dans la France ... eh bien ... c'est comme ça quoi à peu près ... à part la salle.*
Int: American, it is similar to France.
S: Each ... not really. No ...: *Parce que les jurés ... enfin le jury ... c'est pas la même chose.*

[It's something American. Yes because in fact in France well ... it's like that ... more or less ... apart from the room ... because the jury ... that's not the same thing.]

The crimes the police are dealing with cover a wide range including stealing, speeding, creating too much noise, carrying too many passengers and smuggling arms. One can also see the lack of conformity tolerated by the French in these pupils' eyes:

Int: *Et dans la ville, c'est limité à 60 ... kilometres.*
S: *Mais personne ne respecte.*

[So in town the limit is 60km. But no one takes any notice.]

France is viewed by the students as a country of smugglers, and demonstrations where sport is often the cause*: 'Oui: en France, il y a beaucoup de trafics. Oui drogues et armes...' 'C'est comme dans les manifestations .. les CRS et les manifestants, quoi ... Dans les matchs de foot, ouais il y en a tout le temps..* [Yes in France there is a lot of trafficking. Yes of drugs and arms. It's like the demonstrations ... the CRS and the protesters ... in football matches, yes that happens all the time.]

Personal life does not feature in quite the same way for the French students as for the English students. One could say, however, that the experience of traffic jams could count on this score:

Int: *Il y a souvent des embouteillages?*
S: *Ah oui il y en a parce que c'est une ville avec des ponts. Il n'y a que des ponts et sur les ponts, tous les matins il y a enormément d'embouteillages et le soir à cinq heures.*

[Are there often traffic jams? Oh yes there are because this is a town with lots of bridges, that's all there are, bridges, and every morning there are huge traffic jams and in the evening at five o' clock.]

The English students' view of the French texts

Since the French students chose to focus solely on the police and to present their views directly, there were more comments from the English students on the French image of the police: 'They [the French] don't respect their police as much as we do'. 'They argue with policeman. Most of us don't say anything'. 'There might be discrimination against the police, taught by their parents.' These views derive only partially from the French texts (there are no altercations, for example), but are likely to come also from other sources, as was noted in considering personal schemata in the previous chapter.

The lack of respect from the students seems also linked with inflicted violence although the source of these representations is rarely explained:

Int: You said they don't respect the police ... any idea why?
S: Probably don't like them ... They beat them up or something with baseball bats.

Int: Have you seen that on TV?
S: No.
Int: But you just think they might.
S: Yes.

There is also some vision of the kinds of punishment that exist:

Int: What sort of punishment do they have?
S: They lock them in cells for the night, like hooligans.

There was an appreciation on the part of the English students of how French police operated: 'They [the texts] were good because apart from the uniform they showed us how they go about their job and what things they use to prevent people from getting caught.' It appears to be particularly those actions that lead to results that are of special interest to the English students.

Text Appropriacy

The English students' views of their own texts

The English students seemed concerned that their texts should be both understandable and appealing:

Int: Why did you decide to have a game?
S: It's a simple message (B7).
S: The role play was good because they were funny (B4).

Care had been taken in order to ensure comprehensiveness: 'We thought of doing a play and we couldn't think of enough things to do, so then we came up with a series of sketches about situations where police would be needed (B4).'

In talking about one of these sketches, the students recognized the prevalence of Australian influences on television, but also practical difficulties in imitating Australians: 'It was meant to be Australian to begin with and I think it's to do with *Neighbours* I couldn't do an Australian accent. I had to do a bad American one (B4).'

The television was also perceived as a source of information about America:

Int: So you feel the police are very violent with the criminals in America?
S: More than in England.
Int: Have you seen that on films?
S: I've just picked it up from the TV (B5).

French students' views of their own texts

The satiric intentions of the French female students is conscious: *'On a voulu faire une caricature'* [We wanted to do a caricature] and the French boys using the cartoons recognised the disjunction between the cartoon form and reality*: 'C'est fait comme si c'était un gendarme qui cachait derrière avec un radar'* [It's done as if it's a policeman who's hiding with radar speed trap] The kinds of media used reflect a disrespectful attitude towards the police*: 'Une caricature .. C'est pour dire ben, il arrive en retard toujours les policiers.'* [A caricature…that's to show that the police always arrive too late.]

The French students are conscious of codes of representation *'Ouais ça, c'est la grand'mère française, ouais typique, avec son petit sac à main, son parapluie, son manteau, quoi.'* [Yes, it's a French grandmother; yes typical with her little handbag, her umbrella and her coat.] The typicality is seen as belonging to the context of a cartoon: 'A typical... not really, but in the cartoon.'

The French pupils chose characters from French and French/American cartoons. The lack of cultural fixity is not problematic*: 'Ça, c'est des prisons, ouais ... mais c'est pas grave ... c'est des Mickey…c'est pareil...* [It's, it's prisons, yes…but it's not a problem. It's Mickey [Mouse] .. it's the same.]

The different cartoons with both French and American denotations have been

used because of their ability to illustrate the theme of law and order. One could ask if, given more time, the pupils might have made different choices where the cultural aspect would have been taken into consideration more.

Interesting comments by the French students reveal their perception that the Frenchness of the comic would result in the Frenchness of an image:

S: *Je pense que le dessinateur, il est français donc ...*
S: *Ouais, ouais, typical ça. Vraiment le gendarme quoi, c'est le même que la ... avec le képi et puis ... le matraque.*

[I think the graphic artist is French. Yeah, Yeah, that's typical. Really the policeman, it's the same with his '*képi*' and his truncheon.']

In terms of cultural awareness activities, it seems that the students have benefited from this kind of text preparation exercise. The interviews here have helped to build up reflexivity on their own culture.

French students' views of the English texts

Before these texts arrived, there was some speculation as to what the English texts would be, with the idea of music being predominant, perhaps linked to the English pop-music culture: *'Qu'est-ce qu'ils vont envoyer la classe en Angleterre?' 'Ben ça serait sympa qu'ils fassent une chanson. Euh trouver une chanson sur la loi, ça doit pas être facile.'* [What will the English class send? Well it'd be nice if they did a song. Well finding a song about law wouldn't be easy.] A desire for pragmatism is evident here.

The French students appreciated the lively and efficient aspects of some of the texts:

Int: *Faire une cassette comme ça ...*
S: *Ouais c'est bien.*
S: *Ouais parce que ... au moins les règles ... on voit plusieurs règles en même temps... C'est plus vivant.*

[Doing a cassette like that. Yes it's good. Yes because at least the rules.. you can see several rules at the same time... It's more alive'.]

It is the 'living/alive' quality that is particularly appealing:

S: *Ce qui est bien fait, c'est qu'ils font un dialogue. Ouais, encore une fois, c'est vivant, quoi.*
S: *C'est plus vivant que si on a quelque chose écrit ... Ils mettent son ton.*

[What's good is that they do a dialogue. Yes, again it's more alive. It's more alive than having something written. They put in their tone of voice.]

Other aspects of the materials that were appreciated were the good levels of explanation, the informativeness of the text, and the good level of graphic skill: *'Il y a un contexte, on comprend même si on comprend pas tout.' 'Puis ils expliquent après ils*

donnent un exemple.' 'C'est très bien expliqué.' 'C'est bien, c'est intéressant, ouais.' 'Oui, beaucoup d'informations... parce que nous en France ... C'est pas du tout les mêmes uniformes.' 'C'est vachement bien dessiné, très très bien dessiné.' [There is a context, you can understand more even if you can't understand everything. Then they explain and then they give an example. It's very well explained. It's good, it's interesting. Yes, lots of information because with us in France we don't have the same uniforms at all. It's fantastically well drawn ... very, very well drawn.].

Students here, by engaging in the dialogue with the other country, have a chance to develop their reflexivity in terms of understanding ways of representing reality (Wertsch, 1991).

It is interesting to see that the ludic aspect is also important: *'c'est marrant, comme jeu'* [It's funny as a game] even though there may be difficulty with the rules of the game and the physical aspects of it (here the students refer to B8: the game of cops and robbers): *'C'est dur de lancer des pions ... Les questions c'est trop dur à répondre ... Les questions sont bizarres'* [It's difficult to throw the counters ... The questions are too difficult to answer. They're strange questions.]

There is recognition, too, that the written form helps when there are difficulties:

S: It's very good.
Int: Why is it very good?
S: All the questions are written.

Thus we see the French students' predilection for the dramatic and recognition of the different effects of the medium being used.

Other factors that emerged from conversation with the researcher/interviewer about the English texts related to aspects of daily life: watching television, eating and doing homework. The stereotypes of the interviewer that French children watched less television than English children, took a longer time to eat and do their homework were challenged by the answers of the pupils:

Int: *[en Angleterre] En moyenne on regarde la télévision deux, trois heures par soir.*
S: *C'est pareil. On arrive ... on regarde la télé, on fait nos devoirs regardant la télé et puis après on regarde le film et puis on va se coucher ...*
Int: *Le repas dure cinq minutes?*
S: *Ouais, chez moi ... parce que moi je prends pas d'entrée, je prends pas de dessert alors.*
Int: *Chez toi Pascal?*
S: *Moi je dirais c'est vingt minutes.*
S: *Dix minutes.*
Int: *Et combien de temps est-ce qu'on a pour les devoirs?*
S: *Ben cinq minutes.*
S: *Non, non en réalité on a une demi-heure, une heure.*
S: *Si on les fait bien.*

S: *Ça depend des jours, il y a des jours en cinq minutes on a fini Puis il y a des jours au bout de trois heures on y est encore pas.*

Int: *Le stéréotype qu'on a un repas très long ... qu'on a beaucoup de devoirs ...et on a pas de temps de regarder la télévision. Tous ces stéréotypes sont faux?*

S: *Ah oui! C'est complètement faux.'*

[[In England] on average people watch television for two or three hours an evening. It's the same. You get home. You look at telly, you do your homework watching the telly and then you watch a film and then go to bed. Your meal lasts five minutes? Yes, at home ... because I don't have a starter or a pudding. And at your home, Pascale? Oh I'd say it was twenty minutes. Ten minutes. And how long do you have for your homework. Oh five minutes. No in truth it's half an hour, an hour. If you do it properly. The stereotype that you have a very long meal, lots of homework and no time to watch television. Are all these stereotypes wrong? Oh yes quite wrong.]

The English students' views of the French texts

The English found the highly visual French texts helpful: 'If we don't understand we can actually look at the pictures.' 'It's a good way to communicate with each other.' The comic aspect of the visual was also appreciated:

S: The picture of the policeman was good.

S: And the bit where they stick all the cartoons in. The one with the Indians.

Int: Why did you think it was good?

S: It was comic. Just some of the faces ...

S: I liked the things the boys did like the comics because of their expressions and what they are doing.

The students seemed aware of the advantages of the dialogic process and appreciated the newness of this approach: 'It's a good way to communicate with each other.' 'If you just repeat words, then it gets very boring so you have to change it around.' 'It's really different and interesting and you find out about different countries.'

In the extended conversations in the interview, the researcher/interviewer was able to help deconstruct stereotypes – in this case the footballer Eric Cantona (who had been in the news for kicking a fan on the football field). One may characterise this as a process with two stages:

Stage one is characterised by generalisation from a simple incident:

Int: Has the way he [Eric Cantona] acts got anything to do with him being French?

S: Temper? Probably all people's tempers are like that in France. People explode.

Stage two may occur when a different cultural image is encountered.

Int: When I was talking to some of the groups yesterday, they were saying they thought the French were quite laid back and relaxed.

S: Some say the French are pretty romantic as well because they've seen all those

adverts of French people ... In a sweet advert, I think it's Mars Bar or some-thing, the lady is with a man and he offers her a sweet or something. I know, a Rolo and she went with another man or something like that.

Int: So that's a sort of romantic situation?

The advertisement makes it clear that this is a French couple. One can see here, therefore, that the television advertisement relies on stereotypes, but also creates them as well.

Didactic Aspects

The English students' views of their own texts and the French texts

Using a dialogic method suggests that the students will reflect on the content of the texts they send, both in terms of selection and what they create themselves.

The English students demonstrate a strong didactic approach, evident in their care to be clear and explicit. There is an explicit demonstration of responsibility: 'It [doing these texts] felt different, I suppose. Showing other people what we have do here. Them not knowing how we do things (B2).' They recognise the useful language dimension: 'They can hear you speak as well.' Some of the pupils also wish to present a 'safe' version of events. Thus in commenting on wishing to avoid controversial subjects, one student comments: 'If you're trying to teach someone a point and they've got divided opinions then you can't really get through the message clearly (B4).' Through this simplification process, there may be the danger of providing stereotypes for the partner classroom: 'We are trying to keep it to a minimum basically.'

There is also a desire to be comprehensive in their presentation and to point to national differences: 'We just thought we'd show them what would happen to someone if they broke all the rules in England ... the speed limit, parking on double yellow lines, going through a red light (B2).' 'We thought about showing the differ-ences between French and English really. More respect by the English people for the police (B2).'

The students show an awareness of further comprehensivity of police tasks, but a tentativeness in recognising their own limited knowledge: 'There'd be police people to stop them [in demonstrations] and maybe if it turned into a riot, there would be riot police. If anything does get to too high a level, breaking into secret places or things, then you'd have to have special training I think.'

In terms of receiving the French texts, the English students recognise their infor-mative value and also the new perspectives afforded: 'We might not know anything about law and order in their country so if they write to us about it then we'll learn about it.' 'You can hear what happens instead of just writing it down'. 'You can put it in more perspective'. In terms of considering didactic objectives in general, it was only the English pupils who had comments to make.

Learning the Target Language

The English students' views of their own texts

As well as considering the complexity of the task to be presented, there is also the question of comprehensibility. One student demonstrated a high level of awareness of addressivity: 'I thought about how the French must find it and how different that is. When I was writing it, I thought: "Will they understand it?"' Several other students commented on their desire to simplify the language appropriately: 'You had to change what you write down to make it more simple.' 'We didn't use much slang because they might not know some slang or difficult words.' 'We had to watch our language use because if we put in difficult words or slang then it might be a bit difficult.'

One student who had produced the videotext was not able to comment on why the group has chosen slang (and, incidentally, a Gilbert and Sullivan parodic style of repetition). Language here had been used spontaneously, with unconscious borrowings from others (Bakhtin, 1981):

Int: What about 'you dirty swine'? What kind of expression is that? Why would you use language like that?
S: I don't really know what it means (B2).

One student also demonstrated a high level of empathy in thinking of what it would be like to be in France and how the French pupils would cope with the English spoken word: 'I know if someone was speaking very quickly in France it would be very hard to understand it.' [In talking of the videotext scenes]: 'I think they'd have to watch them a few times but then they'd get them.'

The French students' view of their own texts

The French students recognised that it was useful to include both text and visual: *'Quand il y aura un texte, on comprendra mieux.'* [If there's a text, you understand better.] These students too also thought about the comprehensibility of language that they were using:

Int: Will this [text] be difficult?
S: No, no.
S: *Si, Si.* To understand ... because we ... employed pictures, it's easy to understand pictures and it's short the text ... *et puis je sais pas, c'est plus familier.*

[Yes, yes ... and I don't know, it's more everyday.]

There is also some recognition of the disjunction in using the vernacular *'Elle [la prof] pense que c'est trop familier ... enfin que les anglais, ils pensent pas ... ils parlent pas comme ça, ils parlent plus ...'* [She (the teacher) will think it's too slangy. But the English, they won't think, they don't talk like that, they talk more...]

The English students' views of the French texts

While the French class did not make much use of the help-sheets from the English pupils (because of the circumstances described in Chapter 2), the English students made considerable use of the help-sheets from the French students (perhaps also because there was more decoding to be undertaken, as was suggested earlier). The English students appreciated the added dimension of comprehensibility afforded by the help-sheets. 'Their explanations were good. It was easier to understand because these [the help-sheets] were all written in English and we knew what they meant. So it was more helpful.' 'It was good because we understood what they were talking about.'

There was also some level of self-consciousness about the presumed level of English competency of the French students and their own level of French. (In fact the help-sheets had been written by the English researcher): 'I didn't know they could write English that well. You can compare how much English they know, probably more than the French we do.'

There was some reflection on the difference between doing the intercultural project and 'normal' French lessons with a lesser language input in the former: 'You tend to learn more in a French lesson. When Madame B…is talking in French you have to guess more and you learn more vocabulary.' Although the pupils had appreciated the culture learning, the schema of the language lesson remained for them one that was mainly focused on vocabulary learning.

The English students demonstrated a level of language awareness through having engaged in this dialogic process:

Int: What sort of language do you think they have used?
S: Something that we are able to understand.
S: It would have been harder for us if they would have written back in French.
S: It was easier obviously, but perhaps it would have been a bit more of a task if we had used French.

There is also a socio-linguistic awareness of the level used: 'They say they use the language they are learning but it's like slang. I find it quite interesting.'

One student comments: 'I didn't look at the French.' So for this pupil there was no target language input, but rather a dialogue in the mother tongue.

Awareness of Otherness

One may ask how the dialogic methodology used in the project helped to improve awareness of others. Two particular aspects seem important:

- the exchanged documents were personalised;
- there is a genuine dialogue in that there was someone to whom one was sending something with the knowledge that something else was to be returned.

Thus the vague anonymity of the foreign country was transformed into a sense of a partnership and one was likely to see a different attitude emerging of both the mother country and the foreign country.

English students' views of their own texts

The new aspect of what was done in this project was that students reflected on representations. One of the most significant aspects is the *visible* difference: 'I thought the differences in uniform would be interesting, differences between home and England.' The English students also focused on providing a great deal of precise detail: 'The department are trying to get these truncheons because they're easier to carry and also when their back is turned and you flick it, it makes a gun sound, so it scares them a bit.'

The English students also showed themselves capable of going beyond observation of visible difference and decentering, imagining how the French pupils might react:

Int: What do you think the French might think about school uniform?
S: They wouldn't like it because they're used to wearing the clothes they want to wear. Everyone looking the same, yeah. Only the heads are different really. I think they'd find it strange. Not peculiar but all like soldiers.

Other students were also able to decentre as far as their schools rules were concerned: 'I suppose they think our school rules are really funny and silly' (this had been evident in comments on text B6 already).

Different attitudes to the police were also imagined in the States, although a similar level of treating criminals was suggested in France: 'Perhaps we are more protective of the people who are criminal. We don't harm them as much as they do in America. I think … [in France] I think they'd be equally as hard.' There is still some tentativeness here: 'Perhaps … I think' suggesting a willingness to alter ideas.

English students' views of the French texts

Even before receiving the French texts, the English students seemed to be aware of a possible difference (it is important to remember that the English class already had quite a high level of cultural awareness training):

Int: What sort of things do you think they might send you?
S: I don't know. Games but different sorts of games to what we made.

This level of possible otherness was not shared by all pupils, however:

Int: What sort of things do you think they might send you?
S: I think they'd do the same sort of thing.

There is a mixture of attitudes towards differences in police forces in the different countries:

S: I don't really see any differences.

S: Lots of different countries have police who are much more forceful [than in England] and they can use weapons on crowds.

Interestingly, there is no mention here of knowledge of the American police through the media.

The similarity in protest marches is noted, although one student is able to recognise a difference in levels of English and French voicing of complaint in public: 'There are protests on the same things.' 'There's so much upheaval in France at the moment on work issues. Workers aren't being paid enough or big business ... There is not so much order as in England because everyone in England complains but they don't really do anything about it'.

A more permissive kind of law is seen by one student as more common in France:

S: [The age] might be lower for smoking.

Int: What about drinking in public?

S: I should think it's a bit lower than us.

This view of permissiveness can interestingly be compared with another student's comment on a French view of the police that lacks respect: 'I don't think they [the French] treat them [the police] with much respect. They're not so much an icon [as in England].'

There is also a suggestion from one student of differences in what might be considered a crime: 'I think drink driving would be more common in France because more people tend to drink more freely there. They don't regard it as that dangerous I don't think.'

French students' views of the English texts

The French students were particularly interested in law and order as it was represented in the private domain of the school. With Text B6 the English students included a school homework diary, and this focused the French students' attention on differences in amounts of homework set in the two different classrooms: *'ils doivent pas donner beaucoup de devoirs... vu les lignes qu'il y a [faible nombre] parce que nous, ça prend des pages, hein!'* [They don't have to give much homework. Look at the [small] number of lines. Because for us, it takes pages!]

There was also considerable surprise and a dogmatic response on the part of the French students in noting the controlled and public nature of such a diary in England*: 'Tout le monde peut le regarder. On a même pas le droit de marquer ce qu'on veut dedans ... c'est nul!'* [Everyone can look at it. You can't even put in what you want to ... it's rubbish!] These students are also loath to reflect in any depth*: 'Et puis même à la maternelle, ça fait: "qu'est-ce que j'ai fait de bien aujourd' hui?" C'est nul. Ah ouais c'est vraiment nul!'* [Even at nursery school it's "What did I do well today?" It's rubbish. It's really rubbish.]

One may also sense a certain violence in expression in the reactions of the French:

Int: *On ne doit pas porter de bijoux à l'école, ni de maquillage.*
S: It is very strict.
S: *C'est nul.*
Int: *Tous les élèves doivent aller à gauche dans les couloirs.*
S: *Oh là là.*
S: *C'est nul. C'est trop strict .. C'est affreux ... on se croirait à l'armée, les élèves n'ont même plus de jeunesse ... on n'est pas à l'armée, hein.*

[You are not allowed to wear jewellery or make-up at school ... That's rubbish. All the children must keep to the left in corridors. Oh wow! That's rubbish. It's too strict. It's terrible. You'd think you were in the army the pupils aren't even allowed to be young anymore, and you're not in the army are you?]

The French students' representation of school appears to be one of a place that allows their youth to be experienced as a privileged time without tension.

In discussing other details of the English texts the French students asked further questions that reveal their views of others. Thus in discussion of the differences between the headgear for French policemen, the following remarks were made:

S: *Ça fait une casquette plus plate, tout plat la ...*
S: *Tu vas pas mettre un truc plat non plus hein, c'est pas des juifs.*

[It's a flatter kind of hat, quite flat ... You don't want to put a flat thing like that. They're not Jews.]

Further interesting comments are evident in the French students' reactions to the comment that the English students might not have wanted to show anything controversial:

Int: *Ils ne veulent pas montrer quelque chose provoquante ...*
S: *Ben c'est les anglais, ça!*

[They didn't want to show anything ... that's just like the English.]

Perhaps, as in real-life dialogues, it may take some time to appreciate different intercultural points of view.

Better Understanding of the Home Culture

English students' views of their own texts

There is a certain level of pride in the English students' view of what they have produced and what they have represented. So, for example, school uniform is seen positively: `So that we all look smart and belong to one school, so you can tell from the different uniforms which school everyone goes to.'

Students were made aware of a greater breadth of their own vision by undertaking this exercise:

> It actually made me think a lot more about how the law is practised in England and all the different roles a policeman could have. Before I was just thinking basically of a policeman going out and patrolling the streets, but now that I've thought about it, I can see a lot more situations (B4).

Interestingly in conversation with this student four years after the project took place, it was the sense of responsibility in preparing materials and having to learn about things in order to send them to another classroom that was her overriding recollection:

> I remember we had lots of group work and things. That was quite fun working toward something. And you knew that you were going to get something back out of it as well. And, umm, it was good because everyone had a chance to put their ideas together rather than just, you know: this is what you are going to do and you do it.

Students also talked about their representation of driving an East European car as a signal of belonging to an inferior group:

Int: What about the Skoda?
S: [We mentioned it] just for a joke I suppose.
Int: Can you explain that joke?
S: It's just regarded as a really rubbish car over here and anyone who drives one is a bit thick (B2).

Becoming conscious of what lies behind representations can be seen here as a process that develops in stages. In sending materials abroad and being interviewed about this process, students are given a highly supportive environment to develop this reflective distance on their own culture, and are also to become aware of their responsibilities as purveyors of information: 'They can see the ages at which we do things.' 'We feel they're relying on your information. You're explaining what goes on in your own country.'

French students' views of their own texts

The French students also reflected on their own culture, on police carrying arms for example:

S: *On a besoin de porter un revolver pour se faire respecter pour faire peur aussi, pour se protéger aussi.*
S: To protect .. to stop the gangsters.
S: They [do] not use it [a gun].

[You need to carry a revolver to get people to respect you, to make them frightened as well and to protect yourself too.]

They think in more depth about their own institutions too*: 'Les CRS, c'est comme les policiers, sauf quils sont, ils sont entrainés pour se battre avec des armes et plus violemment.'* [The CRS, they're like the police, except that they've been, they've been trained to fight with guns and to do it with more violence.]

The French students also became conscious of the cultural influence of television in producing their texts and talking about them. When they talk about the sources for texts, television is mentioned on several occasions:

S: *Quand on regarde la télévision, on voit des Far West!*
Int: *Vous, ça fait partie de votre monde, le Far West?*
S: *Enfin pas si violant bien sûr.*

[When we look at television, it's the cowboy films/the Wild West. Is that part of your world, the Wild West. Well it's not so violent.]

Interestingly the student's response here recognises some disjunction between France and America but she can only evaluate it only in quantitative terms. She cannot articulate any qualitative difference.

In a dialogic approach, with dialogue between classrooms and here with the researcher-interviewer, there is a certain zone of vulnerability that needs particular handling and will require cultural competence on the part of teachers. For example in the following exchange we can see that students build up their understanding collaboratively after a prompt in the interview:

Int: Right, so it's a special police force.
S: *C'est quand il y des bagarres.*
S: *Dans les matches de foot.*

[It's when there are street-battles. In football matches.]

The dialogic approach may also help students to verbalise their ideas. One can see from the hesitations in the conversations/interviews that students are semi-aware of misinformation, that they also lack verbal fluency*: 'Mais ça fait, ça fait, euh, non parce qu'il fait, comme si c'était une...'* [But that's a, that's a, well, no, because he's behaving as though it's a...] One can see that it is not so much the unfamiliar nature of the target language interviewer that is causing the problem, but the difficulty of clearly explaining something that one does not understand very well. It is not a question here of linguistic misunderstandings, but rather the lack of practice in explaining one's own thoughts to someone else: a practice that is developed and improved by using a dialogic pedagogy.

The dialogic approach also made the French students aware of verbal puns in their own language that were impossible to translate. Thus *Lontarin*, *Piscou* and *Sapetoku* were all language items connected to the cartoons that were abbreviated portmanteau words relying for their comic effect on external referents.

One can conclude that the students gained a certain maturity in hunting out the materials for their own texts, even though this responsibility may not have been shared out fairly between them:

Int: *Est-ce que c'était difficile de trouver des bandes dessinées?*
S: *Non, non.*
S: *Ben toi, t'as pas fait.*
S: *Si. J'ai cherché des bandes dessinées.*
S: *Ouais, mais t'as pas cherché à l'intérieur.*

[Was it difficult to find the cartoons? No, no. Well, you didn't do it. Oh yes I did, I looked for some cartoons. Well, you didn't look through them.]

The texts reveal that the pupils were well able to select materials and place them in appropriate hierarchy.

Better Understanding of the Target Culture

English students' views of the French texts

Only the English students' views are given here, since there were no noticeable comments from the French students other than those already given above. The English students seemed well aware of having received information that was both unknown to them and that broadened their horizons:

S: It [the texts] teaches us a bit what their police are like, what law and order is like.
S: They [the texts] were good because apart from the uniform, they showed us how they go about their job and what things they use to prevent people from being caught.

This kind of information can be useful:

S: If you go on holiday, you're more aware of the law there.

There is a progression in what is of interest from what is *seen* to what is *thought*. There is a sense of extending conceptual horizons: 'I felt it was expressing other people's opinions not just yours. Seeing what other people thought.' Here there is a much higher level of cognitive engagement than is usually achieved with textbook materials. The dialogic approach adopted in the project seems capable of facilitating this conceptual breadth.

The engagement in conscious dialogue with students in another classroom also allows access to a particular kind of language:

S: I find it interesting to see what sorts of things they do in class and what sort of language they use.

This is not textbook discourse, but language used by children of the same age-group:

S: In textbooks, it's second-hand, but this is straight from the children.

The students show an awareness not only of their own schematic representation, raised by discussions in the interviews, but also an awareness of the representations of the French students: 'It's quite interesting to see what they think of their own police.'

The English students are particularly aware of the reciprocity of the dialogic process:

S: 'It would be interesting for them as well I suppose.'

One student was even able to decentre sufficiently to imagine what French students might think of them and to see this process as pleasurable: 'It's nice actually. It's quite good to find out what they think of us and what goes on there.'

There is thus here real evidence of an ability to relativise one's own culture and to achieve a high level of cultural competence (Byram & Morgan, 1994). Students even voiced a desire to follow up their text exchange with a real exchange:

S: I'm hoping there might be an exchange with the school.
S: Yes because we wrote them letters, didn't we?

The interviews that were carried out with the students in the two classes provide a mine of information for researchers and teachers. There is a rich level of cultural information relating to France and England, and a model of cultural awareness teaching that others may wish to follow. The richness of approach goes well beyond what is found in most textbooks, and should be welcome to all connected with foreign-language teaching.

A project of this sort offers plenty of opportunity to alert students to intercultural difference (and these opportunities were indeed taken). The final area for discussion, which is dealt with in the following chapter by both researchers, is the question of *feasibility*. If we can accept such a teaching practice as desirable, how possible is it to realise in the current climate of French and English schools and pedagogic systems, given the current logistical and ideological constraints that exist?

The Viability of the Project

The research done thus far clearly indicates the positive outcomes that can result from this kind of dialogic project.

Questions remain, though, as to the extent to which such a project is viable now given the current climate in France and England, whether the project is transferable beyond the rather privileged environment where it occurred, and whether there are ways in which it ought to be developed to suit different teacher and pupil needs in France and England.

The Common European Context

There are several factors within the common European context that could help to support such an intercultural project.

The European Commission actively encourages co-operation between schools in Europe. Two SOCRATES programmes are particularly relevant here: the COMENIUS actions relating to schools and the LINGUA actions relating to language learning and teaching. Using such European support not only ensures some financial assistance, but may help to legitimise a project if there are outside bodies who need to be persuaded. The focusing on objectives and outcomes that is necessary when preparing applications for European funding can also give to any project a stronger identity and higher profile.

Interschool links in Europe have existed for a long time. Exchanges already take place between pupils: the Central Bureau in the UK, for example, facilitates many of these links. Informal pen-pal exchanges are not uncommon and there are many school-to-school links that could provide a firm foundation for the more ambitious intercultural investigations envisaged in our project. Internet homepages, e-mail and video conferencing are also available in some schools, and these clearly facilitate easy and speedy communication.

Another factor that could support this kind of intercultural project is the general consensus in terms of foreign-language teaching methodology. Although there are different pedagogical traditions in different European countries (Broadfoot & Osborn, 1993) point up different French and English traditions, for example), there are still many commonly held approaches in the field of foreign-language learning. A communicative approach has up to now been seen as the most desirable (although a cognitive/structural approach is also gaining ground, see Skehan, 1998); learner autonomy is favoured, encouraging pupils to

take responsibility for their own learning (see, for example, Little, 1989 and Gathercole, 1990), and curricula usually include recommendations for an intercultural dimension. (Morgan, 1993a; Morgan 1995; Byram & Cain, 1998)

Our intercultural project is well suited to communicative and autonomous approaches, as well as offering a potentially rich source of intercultural experience. If teachers in participating countries share methodological preferences, then clearly this will help with successful implementation of the project.

Practical Problems of Implementation

In considering how this project might be replicated in current French and English classrooms, there are both practical problems of implementation and more fundamental issues to consider.

Choice of students

One factor that is crucial is the selection of an appropriate student group. Here there are several factors to consider. It will be important to choose a year group that is not under too much examination pressure. Thus a teacher taking groups studying for a pre-16 or post-16 examination may not wish to break across a syllabus to spend time doing something quite different. It may, however, be possible to integrate topics chosen for their anthropological value with topics specified in a syllabus. Thus in the Anglo–Austrian trial of the intercultural project mentioned earlier (Morgan & Penz, 1998), students in the English school were able to integrate the topic of 'law and order' with the theme of 'youth and drugs' that they were studying for their post-16 Advanced Level Syllabus. If teachers are using the intercultural project solely for *general* linguistic and cultural purposes, then the question of topic suitability may not be problematic.

A teacher must consider the dynamics of particular classes: whether students work well together collaboratively, and also the general disposition of a particular class in terms of their attitudes to foreign cultures and the undertaking of new activities Where a class is reluctant, smaller-scale preparatory cultural exercises may be needed. The stamp exercise suggested by Tomalin and Stempelski (1993) could serve as one such stepping stone. In our cultural project, both groups of students already had certain advantages: in England the students had already experienced cultural awareness activities, and in France only a small group of special volunteers was used. It may not be possible to replicate these conditions.

The infrastructure

No project takes place in a vacuum, and teachers will need to consider local factors relating to the infrastructure of the institution in which they work. Three elements of this infrastructure can be identified as important in facilitating the smooth running of an intercultural project such as the one we describe:

- resources;
- time;
- support.

Resources

In terms of resources, the project in our trials proved relatively unproblematic: the students used what was 'to hand' (Kress, 1997). Thus no institution should feel debarred from participating in such a project because of lack of resources. The richness of the products does not rely on sophisticated technology, but on accessing students' schemata. It is true that in our project the French students experienced some frustration at the lack of resources available to them (their not being able to use a camera has already been mentioned), but in fact the resources they produced were imaginative and culturally extremely rich. At this point it is worthwhile considering the relative merits and demerits of electronic forms of communication. We can perhaps compare the experience here of receiving a handwritten rather than a typewritten letter. In electronic interaction, communication is virtual, not real. The products of the Anglo–French project, although mediated by paper texts, photos, audio- and videotapes, nevertheless had personal elements that are missing from electronic communication: students' own handwriting and artefacts (the board game, for example). It is this physicality of contact that Jones' shoebox project also enjoyed (1995; see also Ormerod & Ivanic, 1998).

Time

Time is also a key element to consider, particularly timing within the school year and the duration of the project. It will be important to schedule such a project at a time when there is not too much pressure, either on the teacher or the students. Our project took place during the spring term when there were fewer pressures in terms of end-of-year tests or preparations for Christmas festivities.

We were also able to expedite the project relatively quickly (six weeks in all). This was helped by the fact that the English researcher was able to take the packages directly to the schools, and the two schools prepared the packages simultaneously. Seidler (1989) comments in his study of video-letters that failure to reply quickly can lead to disenchantment and a loss of momentum. There are therefore some practical aspects in planning a project where time elements will need attention.

Analysis of the success of a previous project (Morgan, 1998a) shows also that allowing sufficient time is a critical factor in the development of cultural understanding. In the our project, the teacher who taught French to the English students was prepared to take 2–3 weeks out of her normal schedule to accommodate the necessary preparation and discussion. Also the English researcher's university was able to allow her a considerable period of dedicated time (7 weeks). This dedicated time was used to carry out the interviews, to work with the French students on preparing their packages, and to expedite the whole package exchange. Thus the

French teacher's workload was not too extended, and the English teacher was interested and willing to take on the new project without onerous examination pressures.

Thus any teacher considering a project such as the one we describe will need to gauge the time available within the curriculum.

Support

Perhaps the most important aspect of the desirable infrastructure for such an intercultural project is that of support. It is unlikely that a teacher will be able to set up the project with a partner school 'solo', as it were. Some kind of support will be necessary, and clearly here the more support given the more likely the chances of project success. The financial support available from European sources has already been mentioned, although here it is only specific aspects that may be funded: travel, subsistence and costs of production materials. It will help if there is administrative support within the school to support the creation of the materials and the sending of the packages. Support from colleagues is also helpful in a situation where the teacher and students are attempting a different kind of activity. Perhaps the most important kind of support is that of a 'critical friend', who has knowledge of both countries involved in the project. In our project, the English researcher was able to work with the teachers, and the French researcher was able to act as a critical friend and observer for the English researcher.

National Curriculum demands

Lastly teachers will need to work within the framework of their curricula, both on a national level and in terms of what is expected in their own schools. In both France and England the need to include a cultural dimension in foreign-language teaching is recognised in the guidance provided in the respective national curricula. Thus in the recent French guidelines for Upper and Lower Secondary there is an emphasis on the need to make students aware of cultural similarities and differences: '*Il s'agit de sensibiliser les élèves à des specificités culturelles...des similitudes et des différences... entre leur pays et les pays dont ils aprennent la langue, dans les usages sociaux, les coutumes, les mentalités, les institutions*' (Ministère de l'education nationale, 1998: 83). [It is a question of sensitising pupils to specific cultural aspects... to differences and similarities between their country and the countries whose language they are learning, in terms of social norms, customs, ways of thinking and institutions.] In the English National Curriculum (Lower Secondary) there is a similar emphasis on 'similarities and differences' and a recommendation 'to identify with the experiences and perspectives of people in these countries and communities (DfE, 1995). For the Upper Secondary Advanced Level syllabuses similar consciousness-raising and empathy are also recommended (Morgan, 1993a).

Fundamental Problems of Implementation

As well as practical aspects of such a project that will affect feasibility, there are also less tangible aspects that relate to conventional expectations. Four particular issues appear crucial here:

- the language of communication;
- dealing with inaccuracy;
- levels of intervention; and
- the teacher as ethnographer.

The language of communication

Two factors are important here: one is that the project involves a commitment on the part of the teacher to a considerable amount of time working in the mother tongue, the other is that the texts created by the students and received by their partners in classrooms abroad will use the vernacular.

In both France and England, a high level of target language use is considered mandatory (Chambers, 1991; Atkinson, 1993). In England this has extended to examination rubrics, which are at the time of writing solely in the target language in the National Curriculum pre-16 GCSE examination (Powell *et al.,* 1996), although this may be changing. Research in schools in England has shown that target language operates only at a level of 50–60% (Dickson, 1996; Morgan & Freedman, 1999), but that teachers often feel guilty about this lower-than-expected level of use. However, even if a teacher cannot achieve an expected level of target language use in everyday classroom communications, it is quite a different matter to suggest a *deliberate* planned activity that has very little target language use at all.

Teachers may face considerable external opposition to this kind of non-target-language activity from other colleagues and so will need both confidence and resourcefulness to overcome this problem. A long-term view of the activity is also needed: help-sheets do involve target language use but there will be a considerable time spent working in and with the mother tongue. However, the ultimate benefit is that the pupils will, in return, receive up-to-date authentic target language materials from their partner school.

The other language issue that is relevant is that of the use of the vernacular. Although the vernacular may represent a livelier variety of a language (Rosen, 1994), for some teachers, the use of non-standard, non-adult versions of the foreign language may be problematic. Teachers may wish to point to the linguistic deviation represented by the vernacular, although as Pollack (1982: 1–2) suggests, the issue here is primarily socially focused, since both so-called standard and non-standard language forms can be extremely diverse. Kramsch (1993: 243) points to the liberating aspect of such versions for the student: 'The thrill of being able to use forms of speech that are only reserved to native speakers, such as slang or highly idiomatic gambits, are ways in which learners can gain power within a system that

by its nature reminds them how powerless they really are.' Such 'power' may be a danger that teachers fear, although students can themselves temper the language they use if they approach the project work in terms of being responsible providers of information. There is clearly a monitoring role for the teacher here.

Dealing with inaccuracy

With a general shift in foreign-language teaching back to more emphasis on accuracy(Hammerley, 1991; Skehan, 1998), teachers will already be aware of the need for linguistic accuracy in the mother-tongue texts and the foreign-language help sheets.

Even though students are using their own mother tongue, there is no guarantee that their language will be accurate. Thus, in one of the resources sent to the French pupils, the word for the policeman's baton is spelt differently in two different places: 'truncheon' and 'trunchen'. Here the problem is minor and easily overcome, and can lead to positive outcomes. On the one hand, the recognition of possible error can fully validate the necessity of a checking and re-reading phase in preparing materials. If materials are produced on a computer, the spell-check can perform this function, with an additional checking phase also advised. On the other hand, the recognition of possible mistakes may lead to positive collaboration between teacher and students in the partner classroom, where the text can be re-read together. It is clear that this is the only solution possible when it is a case of morphological or syntactical problems. In these two cases, both parties are involved at a minimum level and it is a situation with little likelihood of teacher–student conflict. It is low risk because it does not affect the content of the resources and their relevance and nature.

However, there may be cases where all three of these elements are involved and then the situation becomes more problematic. There may be a tension between exposure to genuinely authentic material, where the students from the foreign country can appear to have an incontestable authority (Cain & Zarate, 1996) and the factual accuracy of the version presented. In other words, students in each receiving classroom are unlikely to challenge a version of events from a 'real' foreigner, and yet that version may be seriously flawed.

The distortions of facts and the unusual presentation of information in some of the project products have already been mentioned, but there is a real problem for the teachers involved. Clearly the students' texts present their views of any particular cultural phenomenon and, as such, are an extremely valuable resource. However, there may be serious omissions that distort the validity of their vision. In our project, for example, with the resources provided by the French students, the judicial procedures taking place between arrest and imprisonment (A1) are a stage in the proceeding entirely omitted. It appears as if the law enforcement agent is also the person in charge of justice. (The democratic inequities here, of course, represent serious problems in some cultures.)

One way forward in solving this problem could be for *teachers* to exchange their own help-sheets, which would indicate factual inaccuracies or idiosyncratic representations. In this way the teacher in the receiving classroom would be able to mediate the students' products so that 'versions of the truth' could be discussed.

Levels of intervention

Linked with the last issue of dealing with inaccuracy is also the question of teacher intervention. This is likely to vary anyway both between cultures (where stronger teacher control is favoured in France, see Broadfoot & Osborn, 1993), and between teachers. The danger of too high a level of teacher intervention is that the unique nature of the resources will be destroyed.

If the teacher structures the choice of text, the choice of medium or the language to be used, then it is the teacher's construct of the topic that will be transmitted. This, then, will parallel images and representations already existing in textbooks. The unique feature of this project is that children produced their *own* versions of the truth, albeit in our project with heavy borrowing from representational material with which they were familiar, as has been described earlier.

If one takes the use of the cartoon strip favoured by the French students, for example, which can be seen as congruent with a general lack of respect accorded to the police, then this medium contributed considerably to the impact of the information transferred to the English students. If the teacher had rejected this medium as unsuitable for representing law and order, then a valuable dimension would have been forfeited. However there will be cases where teachers will need to intervene: with inaccuracies in mother-tongue language, in monitoring the kind of vernacular being used, and in preparing the foreign-language help-sheets. The difficulty may lie in relinquishing the choice of focus that has traditionally been the domain of the teacher and here the teacher may have strong conscious and unconscious views about the best way to represent a culture. Rogoff (1990: 57) warns of the dangers of assumptions of taxonomic validity: 'Judgements about the characteristics of a good narrative vary across cultures.' Cultures here could of course refer to differing student and teacher cultures as well as to different national cultures.

The teacher as ethnographer

In our intercultural project, students researched and represented their own culture and then received similar researched representations from their partner classroom. In this situation, ethnographic skills are called upon, where cultures are understood from an insider point of view and events are viewed anthropologically. In approaching a culture ethnographically there will be several new responsibilities for a teacher:

- identifying a suitable cultural focus;
- researching the home culture;

- identifying key elements in students' texts that may need cultural decoding;
- being able to explain the cultural background of the materials received.

The engagement here is serious, obviating what Mitchell *et al.* (1981) have called the 'content vacuum' frequent in many foreign-language lessons, and a different kind of ethnographic approach will be helpful. Pen-pal letters and textbook material often focus on bland topics ('my house', 'my family', 'my hobbies') that are cognitively undemanding of the students and engage with superficial intercultural differences. Such a project will allow for a deeper, more serious engagement.

Similarly, in considering home and foreign cultures it will be useful to move beyond a listing of cultural differences to consider the provenance of these differences. Mariet (1986) suggests such a substitution: *'substituer à l'enseignement des faits, l'enseignement des modes de production des faits ... une sorte de grammaire des comportements culturels'* [substituting for the teaching of facts, the teaching of ways of producing those facts ... a sort of grammar of cultural behaviour]. Ethnography moves one step further in attempting also to understand from an insider's point of view.

It is likely that some kind of training would help to prepare teachers for a different kind of approach (should they wish to take part in this kind of intercultural activity). Currently little exists in teacher education programmes in the UK or in France that prepares teachers for an ethnographic approach. Byram and Esarté-Sarries (1991: 191) in their survey of pupils' attitudes to French culture and French language talk of the advisability of teachers extending their reading of written texts to the reading of the 'spoken text of everyday life and the non-verbal systems of meaning in dress, architecture and so on. They suggest using home ethnography (analysing the home culture as though viewed by an outsider) and ethnographic training for use in the year abroad in foreign-language degree programmes. Such a programme of training was carried out, for example, at Thames Valley University (Barro *et al.,* 1998).

Replicating the Student–Researcher Interviews

A final point to consider in looking at the possible transferability of this project is the replication of the interview activity. The researcher–student interviews were carried out in the project for two reasons: as a substitute for teacher–student help-sheet activity, and as a useful dimension in situating the research.

In the event, the interviews provided an extremely rich source of data (as articulated in the previous chapter), and the depth of personal revelation probably went beyond what could be possible in a classroom situation. It is unlikely that in most classroom situations researchers will be readily available with time to provide this kind of support. The kind of analysis described in the previous chapter could provide a matrix of how to carry out cultural investigations, and there could be a range of alternative substitutions. A foreign assistant in the school might be able to

interview the students (and would more easily be able to locate culturally difficult aspects). The teacher and/or students in the foreign partner classroom might also be able to interview the material-senders by e-mail or fax at the time of receiving the packages. In other words, the help-sheets could be created at the moment of consumption. The exchange of materials might coincide with a time when an exchange visit was also taking place and interviews could be built into a programme of activities. One would also need to consider how the interview content could be 'transported' to the other classroom. As well as the physical recording of an interview on tape, the time-consuming activity of transcribing must also be considered.

Whatever procedure is adopted, it is clear that some kind of in-depth investigation of the meaning of different aspects of the materials produced will benefit not only the students in the receiving classroom (through the help-sheets) but also the students in the sending classroom, by raising their own awareness of what constitutes a cultural approach.

Thus it seems possible for this kind of project to be replicated, but alternative strategies may sometimes be necessary if cultural depth is sought.

Conclusion

In considering the project's success in terms of its dialogicality and usefulness, it will be helpful to view the project overall in two different ways:

- in term of its *products*;
- in terms of its *process*.

The products represent a source of cultural information of a particular kind; and the process represents a particular kind of cultural awareness activity. 'Authentic' materials are already available in classrooms, and students are already encouraged to be responsible for their own learning and to take part in communicative activities. It is with the emphasis on dialogicality that we have tried to introduce a new perspective in both product and process areas that more closely align with identified ways of making meaning.

The Dialogicality of the Products

The texts in the project can be said to enact dialogue in a variety of ways. In terms of *content*, the English texts present three instances of dramatic interaction (the videoed police/speedster role play, B2; the audiotaped headmistress–student role play, B3; and the series of six police sketches, B4). The questionnaire text (B1) also represents one half of a dialogue with the French students responding to the questions. (The answering tape transcript can be found in Appendix F.)

As well as replicating the outward form of a dialogue, the texts are internally dialogic in terms of the voices that are represented: not only the externally marked voices of the dialogues mentioned above, but also the internal interplay of visuals and written text and the voice of parody that illustrates a retrospective dialogue. Thus, for example, the English photo-documentary (B6) allows for substantial interplay between text and visuals, and the French caricature parodies the expected traffic-control experience.

There are three further ways in which the products can be considered dialogic. Firstly the group of products itself offers a kind of co-active dialogue with different views of law and order juxtaposed (the nine English texts and the two French texts). There is a dialogue with textbooks and media which students may be alerted to, in terms of understanding how they build up their own schemata. And finally the help-sheets provide a further illustrative dialogue that will help students to decode the texts in both the receiving and sending classrooms.

The dialogicality of texts can serve two purposes:

- to provide the multi-perspectivity which students will also be encountering in their own world (Wertsch, 1991); and
- to encourage reflexivity in understanding the derivation of their personal schemata.

The Dialogicality of the Process

The *process* enacted in the project brings students' socio-linguistic competence into play (Canale & Swain, 1980), because they are interacting in a genuine communicative and focused situation. They need to consider register and addressivity (Bakhtin, 1986); and they may become aware of high affinity and low affinity factors in becoming more self-conscious of the communication that is taking place.

The pitching of the exchange at student–student level allows for a different kind of power structure in the classroom, enacting the equality of dialogue. And, on a deeper cultural level, students may become aware of different modes of representation that are culture-bound, as well as the different cultural values and priorities embodied in the texts.

The dialogue between the French and English students can be seen as representing the opening gambits of a conversation (Bakhtin's appropriation, 1981), but nevertheless sets in place a more interactive process than is normally the case with the functional and pre-determined linguistic interactions often found in textbooks and enacted in classrooms.

The Usefulness of the Project

There are four groups of people who may benefit from the discussion of our project: students, teachers, (teacher-) researchers and teacher-educators. Clearly the project was enjoyed by the students who took part so, from this point alone, one could welcome such a project in terms of motivation. There are clear indications that educative purposes are served that are often not found in other classroom activities: language is used for real purposes; students are given responsibility for communicating with another country; they are asked to focus sharply on selecting information and presenting it in a form suitable for another culture; and metacognitive skills are developed when students are asked to reflect on their thought processes and handiwork.

For teachers, the project will offer the opportunity to understand their own students in a different way, since they will have more access to their personal schemata. The new role in helping to investigate the home culture may be helpful in terms of personal development; and the focused contact with the teacher and students in the foreign classroom will provide the opportunity to access aspects of

the target culture that may not have previously been encountered. The products of projects such as this could also usefully build into a culture database available to all.

(Teacher-) researchers similarly have access to a wealth of cultural data from the two cultures involved in such a project and the opportunity to track the link between students' stated perceptions and their actual output. The cultural data itself presents a multi-layered product because of its multi-media nature. That is to say, the students' home-produced video- and audiotapes and physical products encompass an ambiguity and multi-voicedness that is common in everyday discourse but normally absent from the 'straight' textbook text.

For teacher-educators, both the process of the project and the approaches in this book may offer examples of how to proceed with cultural awareness teaching. The teaching of facts relating to culture is useful but may engage students at a very low level. Placing students in a position of responsibility where they must choose, shape and deliver information is likely both to engage students at a deeper level and also to trigger cognitive activities that are richer and more exploratory.

If we ourselves learn through dialogic processes, then it seems sensible to replicate this activity as closely as we can in our pedagogic approaches.

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Appendix A

Materials prepared by French students for the English students

A1 Cartoons of Law and Order

En France, il existe de nombreuses lois répertoriées dans le code civil. En voici quelques-unes :

- les policiers contribuent également au respect de l'ordre et de la justice

ON EST RICHE !

i)

ii)

+) Ils arrêtent les cambrioleurs

C'EST D'TA FAUTE Ø IDIOT...

BIEN FAIT Ø

(FIN)

iii)

A1 (continued)

2.) Ils empêchent
    les violentes bagarres

3.) Après les avoir
    arrêtés ils jugent
    les bandits

i) JE SUIS LE JUGE ?

ii) ACCUSÉS LEVEZ VOUS

4.) Ils aident les
    personnes âgées
    à traverser les
    routes.

MERCI MONSIEUR
DE RIEN M'DAME

QU'EST-CE ?   DES ARMES VOLÉES

5.) Ils arrêtent
    les trafiquants
    d'armes.

ALLEZ GAULE! OUUUAAAiiiis

EQUIPE ROMANO-GAULOISE

6.) Ils contrôlent les limitations
    de vitesse.

A1 (continued)
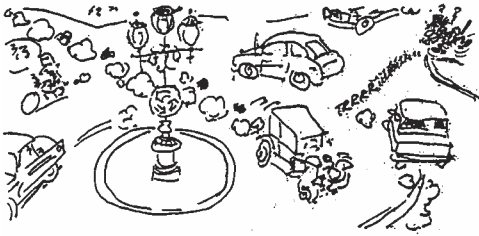
7) Ils s'occupent de la circulation

8) Ils arrêtent les motards bruyants.

ii) HEUU ? JE LES AI OUBLIÉS...

VOS PAPIERS ?

i) TARR ITARAT... ATAA...

A2 A caricature of the Police

VOUS POUVEZ YALLER MAINTENANT

BANG
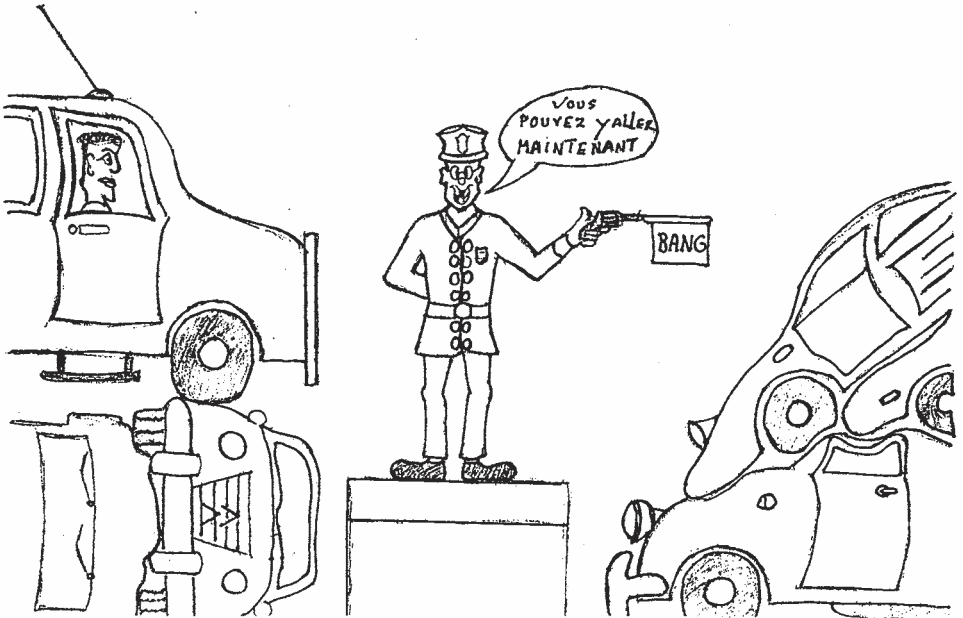
Appendix B

Materials produced by English students for the French students

B1 Questionnaire

Questionaire.

– Did you enjoy our project?
~ Which was your favourite cassette?

~ What did you learn from the cassettes?
1
2
3
~ What is your opinion of our school rules?

~ Which school rules are the same as yours?

~ Do you agree with our school rules?
~ At our school do we have homework diaries?
~ What do you think of our school uniform?

~ What colour are our pullovers?

~ Is driving through a red light a crime in Britain ?

~ What side of the road do British drivers drive on?
~ What is the speed limit on British motorways?
~ Did you enjoy the scripts for the role plays?

~ Which script do you prefer?

~ What was your overall opinion of our project ?

B2 Role play script and transcripts of video (next page)

SCRIPT FOR ROLEPLAY

CHARACTERS: P.C. Plod (policeman)
                         Jon (Criminal)
                         Inspector Briggs
                         Sergeant Louie

Jon is speeding in his Skoda.
Jon: Wow, I wonder if this baby can go 85 m.p.h.
        No one's looking I'll try it out.
Jon revs up the motor and speeds off.
Jon, while speeding runs through a red light and then feeling peckish,
he stops on double yellow lines and nips into McDonalds.
The comes along P.C. Plod.
P.C. Plod; Hello, hello, what's going on here then?
Then out comes Jon with his hamburger.
P.C. Plod arrests Jon and takes him down the station. Jon is then
questioned by Inspector Briggs and Sergeant Louie.
Inspector Briggs: Where were you on the day of March the 15th?
Jon: Well, I was travelling home from work and I felt that it would be
fun to speed!
Sergeant Louie: Ah ah we have you now you dirty swine!
Jon: W...we..well what's going to happen to me?
Inspector Briggs: We'll probably lock you up and throw away the key.
Sergeant Louie: No, not really, you'll probably face a heavy fine, your
licence will be taken away and you might go to jail!

Jon starts to sob.

THE END

ROLE PLAY(transcription of video)

Murray (in car):I wonder if this baby can do eighty-five, eighty-five. Won't do it again. Try it though. Going quite fast. I'm hungry. I'll go to Mcdonalds.

Policeman: Hello, hello, hello, hello. What have we here then? Parked on double yellow lines I see.

Murray: Sir, sir.

Policeman: Is this your car then?

Murray: No.

Policeman: It is, isn't it? You've parked on double yellow lines. You've been through a red light and you're speeding. What have you got to say to that?

Murray: Ehm

Policeman: Right. What's your name?

Murray: Murray

Policeman: Murray…?

Murray: Murray Wood

Policeman: Where do you live then?

Murray: 32, Manor Road, right. We're going to have to take you down to the station. The officers here will be there to take down details. [On the mobile phone] I'm bringing him, in boys. Be ready!

[Puts handcuffs on Murray and takes him to the police-station]

Sergeant: Hello, what have we here then!

Policeman: We've got a young joy-rider, child prodigy, thinks he's the real bees' knees.

Sergeant: [to Murray]: Take a seat.

Murray: Sir.

Policeman: So where were you on the night of the 21st?

Sergeant: The 21st!

Murray: I don't know. I'm not speaking till I've got a fag. [Murray smokes]

Murray: I was in the car.

Sergeant: And…?

Murray: Speeding, going through a red light. I was joyriding.

Sergeant: Ooh! We have you now, you dirty swine!

Policeman: You dirty swine!

Murray: What's going to happen to me?

Policeman: We're going to lock you up.

Sergeant: And throw away the key!

Policeman: And throw away the key!

Sergeant: The key!

Murray[slumps forward]: Oh!

Sergeant: Not really. You may have a hefty fine.

Policeman: A hefty fine!

Sergeant: A hefty fine!

Policeman: You'll lose your licence.

Murray[slumps forward again]: Oh!

Sergeant: And you could end up in jail

Policeman: In jail!

Sergeant: In jail!

Murray: In jail! But what about my mum! She'll kill me! [Sergeant laughs]

B3 School Rules role play script

School Rules.

Head Mistress: Good morning. Stand up please
children.
Class: Good morning Miss.
Head Mistress: Are Sarah and Elizabeth in this classroom?
(Sarah and Elizabeth stand up.)
Sarah and Elizabeth: Yes Miss.
Head Mistress: Come to my office now girls.
(They go to her office)
Head Mistress: You are here because you have been bullying Jessica.
What have they done to you Jessica?
Jessica: They do not like me Miss.
Head Mistress: Is this true and ... Elizabeth, your hair style is against
school rules. You are not allowed to wear hairspray to school.
Elizabeth: Sorry miss. I will wash my hair tonight.
Head Mistress: And Sarah, take your ring off
your finger and give it to me please.
(The head mistress takes the ring) And wash
your make up off too. Have you been bullying Jessica?
Elizabeth: No Miss, it was not me, it was Sarah.
Sarah: It was you Elizabeth!!!
Head Mistress: QUIET PLEASE!! Jessica, what
happened?
Jessica: I was walking up on the LEFT of the corridor and Sarah
AND Elizabeth started to bully me. I was very scared.
Head Mistress: Is this true?
Sarah: Yes Miss (Quietly)
Head Mistress: PARDON??!
Elizabeth: Yes and we are very sorry.
Head Mistress: I am now going to call your parents and sort this
problem out.
(Elizabeth and Sarah leave her office)

B4 Law and Order roles role play: Introduction and Sketch 1

This is a cassette to show you all the different instances in which the police could be involved in, in Britain. We will do a series of sketches to show you these situations.

1 Crime

Crime is the main area police are involved in. Many police men patrol the streets on the lookout for crime.

thief
policeman

thief : Right, no one is about ..... perfect, I've been meaning to break into this shop for ages.
[places key into lock]
        [SUDDENLY THE ALARM GOES OFF !!]

thief : Oh no!
        [A POLICEMAN RUNS TO INVESTIGATE.]

policeman : Oy, you, what do you think you're doing? I've heard about you. You're that thief that keeps on stealing from small shops.
    [THE THIEF TRIES TO RUN BUT THE POLICEMAN
            CATCHES HIM.]

policeman : Oh no you don't. You have the right to remain silent, but what you do say will be taken down in evidence. It's off to jail for you now.

B4 Law and Order role play: Sketches 2 and 3

2. <u>People who Become lost</u>

In England it's mostly children and tourists who get lost in big towns or shopping centres. Sometimes there is a policeman on duty there in the area. Their job is to help and direct them.

Annalise – tourist
Sarah – policewoman
(speaking in a panic)

Annalise: Excuse me ! Could you help me? I am from America and I'm very lost !

Sarah : Calm down dear ! Now, tell me where you need to go?

3. <u>Drink Driving</u>

Drink driving is still common in England but the police have to deal with them. The drunk drivers have to be breathilised to see if they are under or over the limit. If they do exceed the limit they will have to be accompanied down to the police station.

Sally – policewoman
Peter – drunk driver

Peter : Oh, this is the life ! A good stiff drink, that's what I like ! mmmm . . . . . . that was good. Well lads I'd best be off. Bye !
(gets into his car, sees the police car in his rearview mirror.)
Oh no, what do they want ?
(pulls over)

Sally : Hello sir. Have you been drinking tonight ?

Peter : No ! I never touch the stuff.

Sally : Well then, could you breathe into this ? (breathes in). Your alcohol level is 7.5! You will have to come down to the station with me.

B4 Law and Order role play: Sketches 4 and 5

4.   <u>Security.</u>

The police are sometimes asked to guard things that are valuable or in danger.

    Rich   lady

    Policeman

Rich lady: Now inspector, I trust you will be guarding my jewels. They are very precious and I wouldn't want them being stolen.

Policeman: Don't worry madam. Half our police force are guarding your treasure. We'll be here until you get back.

5.   <u>Demonstrations - Law Awareness.</u>

Policepeople may be asked to teach children or evening classes about law enforcement and how they work.

    Policewoman

    Jane

    John.

policewoman: Right. Now I'm a policewoman. I work in a police force. Every town has its own police force. I wear this uniform and my job is .... er .... Jane?

Jane: To protect things, help the community and keep the peace.

policewoman: That is right. The police will always make sure your safe.

John: Do you carry equiptment.

policewoman: Yes. We carry radios, sometimes small guns, handcuffs and notebooks - very important.

B4 Law and Order role play: Sketch 6

6. Traffic controlling
    Many policepeople have to direct traffic
    when there has been an accident or some
    other incident.
    Beep Beep Beep Beep Beep Beep Beep........
policeman: Cars over there!
    Turn to the right!
    That's it, keep going!

    These are just a few instances of
    where the police are needed. There are
    many more but they are too numerous to
    mention.

B5 Inventory of Police Uniform: clothing

Police Jumper

This is used when police are not doing anything useful and it is worn under their jackets. In London, the Metropolitan Police wear it during combat.

Shirt + Blouse

The blouse (for women) is worn protection most of the time under the blazer for added. They have clips on the chest area to put their radio on. The men's shirts are similar but they are short sleeved.

Trousers

These black trousers can be used by men and women. They keep you warm.

Luminous Top

This is used for traffic patrol.

Skirt

This is part of the women's uniform. It also keeps them warm.

Blazer

This is also part of the women's uniform. It can be used for going to police meetings and balls.

B5 (continued)

<u>Medium Jacket</u>
This is used when it is windy and it keeps police warm.

<u>Rain Jacket</u>
This is also used for keeping police warm but can only be used in snowy or rainy weather etc.

<u>Hat</u>
This is part of the women's uniform and is worn to give the public a good impression of the police.

<u>Clip on tie</u>
The clip on tie is used instead of a neck tie for safety reasons.

<u>White rubber gloves</u>
This is used for traffic controlling so people can see where the policeman\woman is directing them to.

<u>Leather gloves</u>
This is used to protect their ~~head~~ hands if they are smashing glass etc with their hands.

<u>Belt</u>
This is used to carry the radios, truncheons and handcuffs etc.

B5 Inventory of Police Uniform: accessories
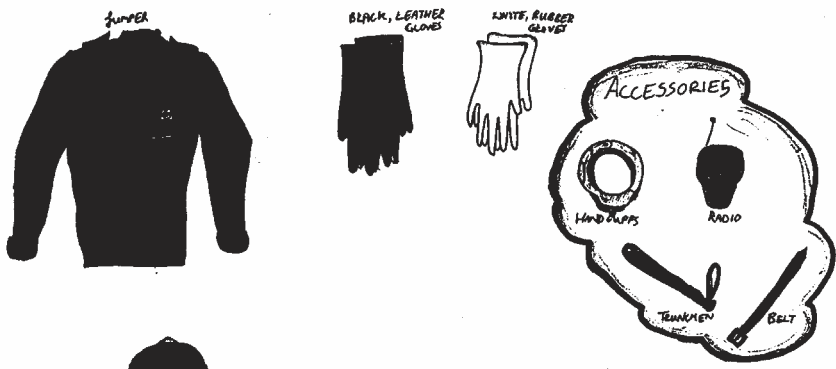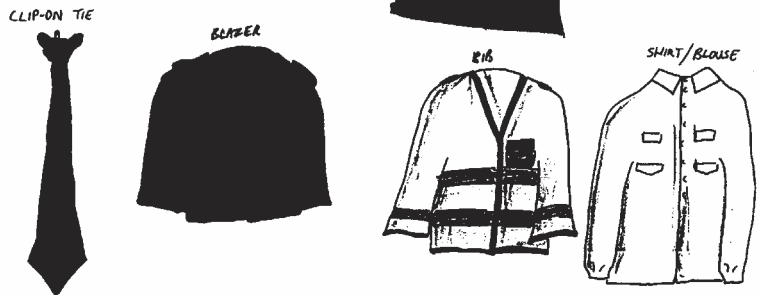
B5 (continued)

Law And Order. (English)

Accesories:

Handcuffs:-

Are used for
when a crime has been commited and the
Police don't want the offender to attack
them. They are strapped around their wrists
and are made from metal.

Radio:-

This is used
for when they are calling for backup
(help).

truncher:-

This is used
for when in
battle. They use this to hit people and also
to protect themselves.

Pistol / Gun:-

Not all
Police - men
have one of these. Only some special service
have these. It is against the law to
have one.

B5 (continued)

Law And Order   (American)

Accesories

Handcuffs:-
Are used for
when a crime
has been commited   and the   Police don't
want the offender to attack them. They are
strapped around their wrists   and are made
from metal.

Radio:-
This is used
for when they are calling for Backup (Help). The
American's radio is better and more updated
than the English.

Trunchen:-
The Americans
don't use
trunchens alot.

Gun:-
They carry
these withthem
all the time. They have
more powerful guns than the English.

B6 Photo-documentary of Law and Order in school

Note: in the physical original each section is folded under the next so that the whole opens out in a concertina-like form.

B6 (continued)
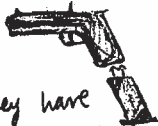
Prefects and Transport

General Rules.

Around our School.

Welcome to......

Introduction

Salut! My name is Clare. I am 13 years old and I live in Trowbridge. I hope you enjoy this booklet on our school rules!

Salut! My name is Maggie, I'm 13 and I live in Devizes I go to St. Augustine's catholic school in Trowbridge. This booklet is about all our rules There are too many of them!

B6 (continued)

General Rules.

Around our School

Welcome to. . . . .
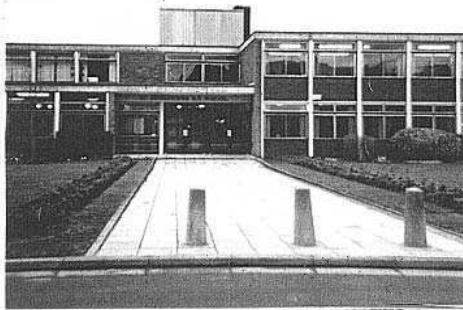
St. Augustine's

Contents

Around our school
General rules
Prefects and Transport
Uniform

B6 (continued)

Around our School

The Goats
1. We take it in turns to look after the goats – grooming and feeding.
2. The goats here are Fern, Ebony and Piccolo.
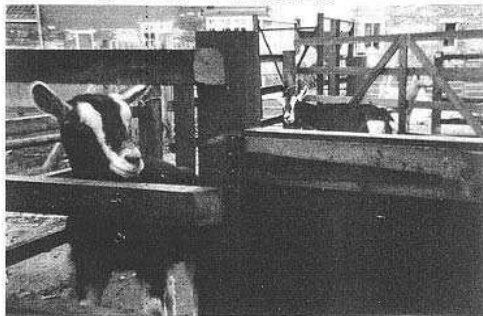
The Mobile Classroom
1. We are not allowed to go into the mobiles at lunchtime.
   2. They get very cold
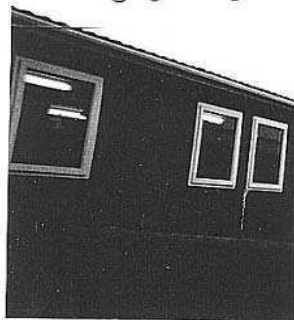
Technology Block.
1. We can use the computers at lunchtime.
2. We do cooking in here.
3 We make models in here.
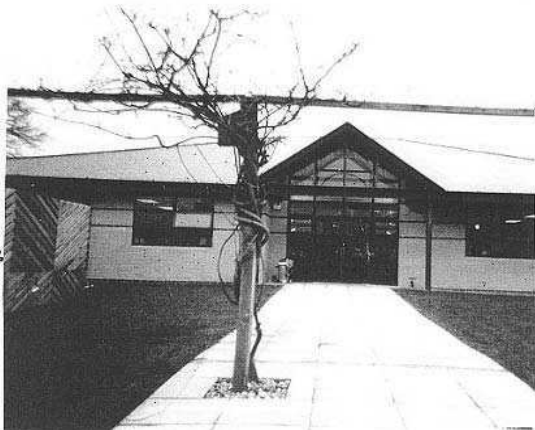
B6 (continued)

General Rules.

1. The flow system: there is an 'upstairs' and a 'downstairs'. We are only allowed to go one way around the corridors.

4. All Homework must be done on time.

No biros are to be used in this school

6. No girls are allowed to wear make up.

ST. AUGUSTINE'S R.C. COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL

MERIT

Awarded to   M Rose

WELL DONE!

Awarded by   R Gordon

Please present this to your Form Teacher
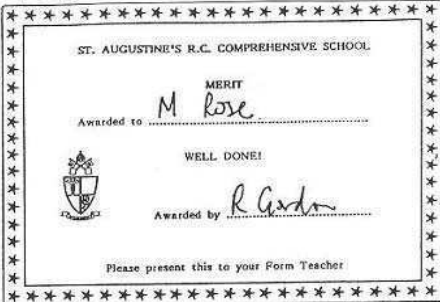
3. No chewing gum is allowed in the school

Mrs Braham (French teacher)

Mr Cook (head-master)

All girls' hair must be tied up.

No jewellry is allowed apart from stud earrings.

B6 (continued)

. No tippex is allowed in school
. All books must be covered.
11. Don't be late for any classes.
. Don't forget your pupil diary.
8. No running in the corridor
14. No swearing

ST. AUGUSTINES

TROWBRIDGE

This is the shield that hangs in the corridor of our school.
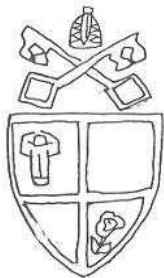
This is the shield we have on our blazers

B6 (continued)

Prefects and Transport

Some people who live in Trowbridge walk or come in a car to school. But there are a lot of people who live in surrounding villages and towns. We come to school by bus.

Wiltshire is in the southwest of England.

Great Britian

Ireland

Wiltshire

WILTSHIRE

SWINDON

•Melksham

•Devizes

Trowbridge

•Westbury

SALISBURY

this map shows **Trowbridge** and some surrounding towns.

Mr. Glinn (caretaker) and the Minibus.

the 'Devizes A' bus →

Rules of the Bus.

1. no food and Drink
2. no standing
3. no kneeling
4. no more than 2 people in every double seat.
5. no shouting
6. no swearing
7. you must have a bus pass to travel on some of the buses.
8. people who travel on some buses aren't allowed to take friends home **with** them.

B6 (continued)

Prefects

Prefects are pupils in the fifth year who have special responsibilities

Some of their jobs are:
1 corridor duty at lunchtimes and break times.
2. rubbish collecting in the dining hall at break time.
3. coming to activities that happen after school to help out.

There is a head boy, a head girl, a deputy head boy and a deputy head girl.

They get special ties and badges that say prefect.

This is 9B's weekly timetable.

	MON	TUES	WED	THURS	FRI
1	PE	Sci-	Fre-	math	ART
2			nch	ths	
3	Geog		Eng-	his	tech
4	raphy	english	lish	tory	nology
Break time					
5	Sci-	Drama	mus-	tech	RE
6	ence	PE	ic	nology	
Lunchtime					
7	germ	Eng	math	R.E	maths
8	art	lish	ths		french

We've put one of our homework diaries in this project for you to have a look at.

this is Catherine +

PREFECT

B6 (continued)

Uniform.

This is what we have to wear. You're probably going to find it hilarious.

Girls.

1. black or brown shoes
2. grey knee-length skirts with two pleats.
3. white socks or grey tights
4. short sleeved shirts with the St. Augustine shield on the pocket
5. maroon, grey and white striped ties.
6. maroon jumpers with the shield.

Girls are not allowed to wear....
1. trousers
2. any other kind of skirt
3. any other colour tights or socks.
4. boots or trainers.
5. colourful laces.
6. long sleeved shirts

Boys.

1. black or brown shoes
2. black trousers
3. grey socks
4. short sleeved shirts with the shield on the pocket.
5. maroon, grey and white striped ties
6. maroon jumpers with the shield.

Boys are not allowed to wear....
1. boots
2. trainers
3. any other colour socks
4. long sleeved shirts

(Here are our friends Anna and Alex modeling the school uniform.)

Here we are in our lovely (!) school uniforms.......

clare ↑

maggie ↑
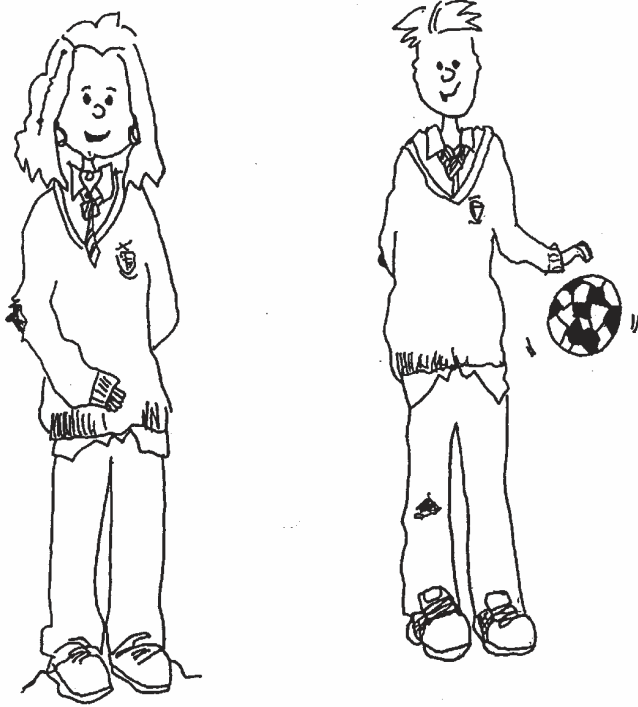
B6 (continued)

How to get into trouble ! ! !

B6 (continued)
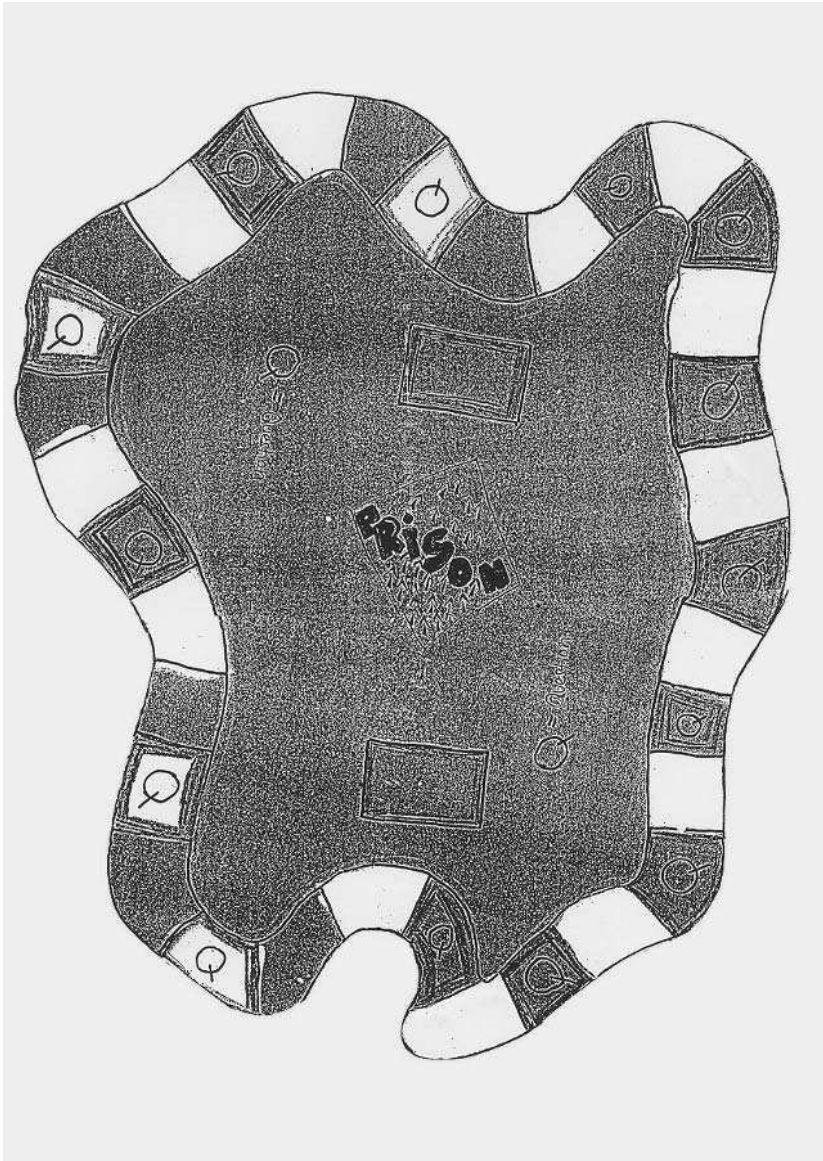
B7 Board game

B7 Board game (continued)

(a)
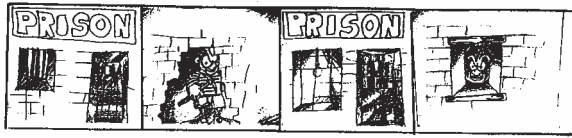
(b)
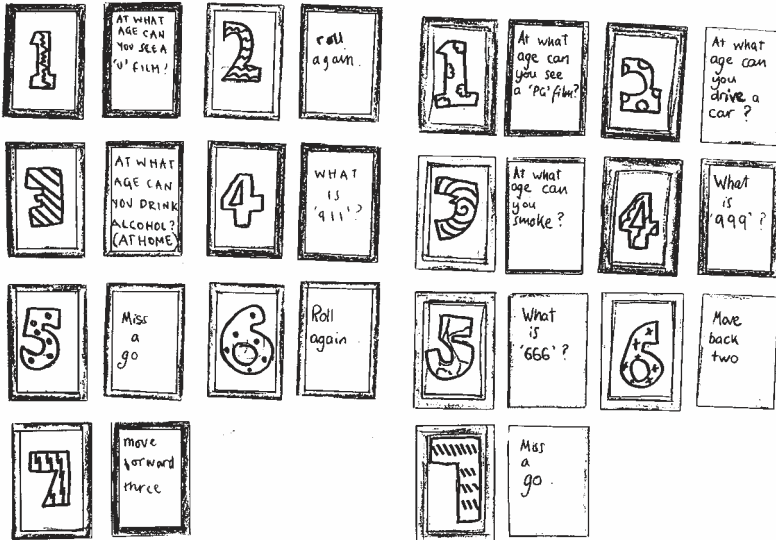
(c)

(a) paper strip representing central 'prison'
(b) cards to be picked up with questions to be answered
(c) answer sheet

B8 TV Programmes about Law
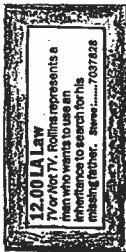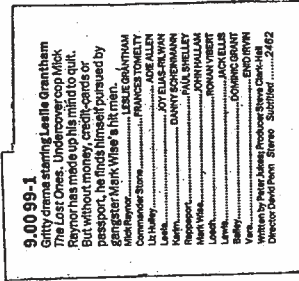
PROGRAMMES IN ENGLAND
ABOUT LAW.

9.00 Crime Story
Hot Dog Wars The murder of a millionaire fast-food baron and one of his employees provoked a terrifying battle, involving petrol bombs, shootings and intimidation, which lasted more than a year. Tonight's programme looks back at this Midlands gang war. See today's choices.
Director Alan Bell Producer Michele Buck
Stereo Subtitled 5717

This is a true - life story about the crimes in England.
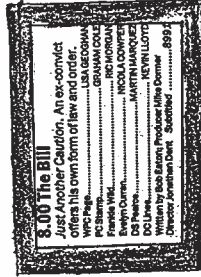
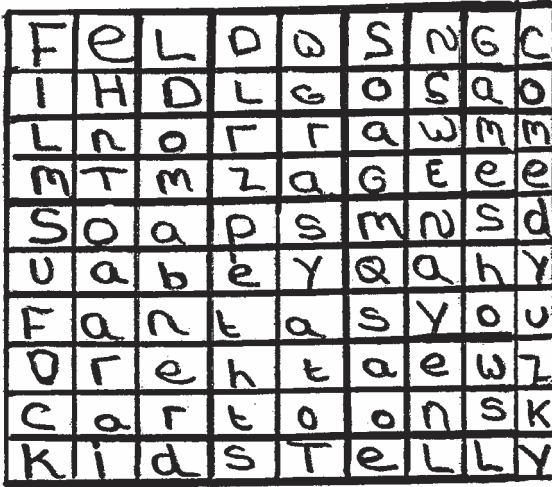This is a fiction programme about the Police. Their nickname is THE BILL!

This Programme is about criminals and how people catch them. This is fiction.

8.00 The Bill
Just Another Caution. An ex-convict offers his own form of law and order.
WPC Page .... LISA GEOGHAN
PC Stamp .... GRAHAM COLE
Frankie Wild .... RICHARD MORGAN
Evelyn Durrah .... NICOLA COWPER
DS Peattie .... MARTIN MARQUEZ
DC Lines .... KEVIN LLOYD
Written by Bob Eaton Producer Mike Dormer
Director Jonathan Dent Subtitled 8991

9.00 99-1
Gritty drama starring **Leslie Grantham**
The Lost Ones. Undercover cop Mick Raynor has made up his mind to quit. But without money, credit cards or passport, he finds himself pursued by gangster Mark White's hit men.
Mick Raynor .... LESLIE GRANTHAM
Commander Stone .... ADIE ALLEN
.... JOY ELIAS-RILWAN
Liz Hulley .... DANNY SCHORMANN
Karin .... PAUL SHELLEY
Rappaport .... JOHN HALLAM
Mark White .... ROHAN VIBERT
Lionel .... JACK ELLIS
Lionel .... DOMINIC GRANT
Bailey .... END IRWIN
Vern ....
Written by Peter Jukes, Producer Steve Clark-Hall
Director David Penn Stereo Subtitled 2452

In this episode some people are seen being interviewed by the Police. This a drama.

12.00 LA Law
TV or Not TV, Rollins represents a man who wants to use an inheritance to search for his missing father. Stereo:....7037828

This is a Drama about an under-cover cop (police-man)

8.30 Brookside
Mandy, Beth and Sinbad are interviewed by the police over the murder of Trevor Jordache.
Forecast see Wednesday
Stereo Subtitled 5558
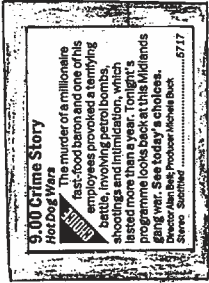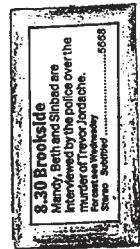
B9 Word search

Word Search...

F	e	L	D	o	S	N	G	C
I	H	D	L	G	o	S	a	o
L	n	o	r	r	a	w	m	m
M	T	m	Z	a	G	E	e	e
S	o	a	p	s	m	n	S	d
U	a	b	e	Y	Q	a	h	Y
F	a	n	t	a	s	Y	o	u
D	r	e	h	t	a	e	w	Z
C	a	r	t	o	o	n	S	K
K	i	d	s	T	e	L	L	Y

*
Films
Drama
Kids Telly
Game Shows
Fantasy
Soaps
Cartoons
News
weather

Find all the words* in the Square.

Appendix C

Help-sheets prepared in English from French students' comments

C1

1. Stopping thieves
– The policeman is a symbol of the French law. He is a dog because this is a cartoon for young people. He's a friend of Mickey Mouse. In his hand is a gun to protect himself , to stop gangsters getting away. Policemen don't use guns often in France. The stripes on his sleeve symbolise his rank: the more stripes, the higher his rank. His hat is like an American policeman. He is a captain. He is looking at a footprint.

– There are 2 gangsters: one is carrying a bag with the loot and the other one is wearing a cap to hide himself. The large dog is called Pat Hibulaire.

– *Pat Hibulaire* and the other dog are in prison. Mickey Mouse, Minny Mouse, a scientist and a young boy are also there. Prisons are not like this in France. Perhaps there may be one like this in America.

2. Stopping violence
– The battle is taking place in the Far West. The Indians are fighting men in uniform (*les tuniques*). It's like protesters against the CRS (a special police force for violent crowds). The CRS wear special bullet-proof uniforms and helmets and carry shields, truncheons and guns. They use tear-gas. They sometimes are on duty at football matches.

3. In France judges look different. They wear hats like this:

There is a jury and witnesses too. Although the cartoon shows something American some things take place in France.

C1 (continued)

4. "*Too*" is a word you find in cartoons meaning "ah". The policeman looks tired because he is fed up helping grandmothers across the road. This is a typical grandmother figure in cartoons with a handbag, hat and umbrella.

5. In France there is a lot of trafficking with other countries in arms and drugs. Lucky Luke is a private detective. He is not a dealer but is never paid. Because everyone knows him he is bought food in bars etc. The police chief is amazed because Lucky Luke has worked on his own and has been so successful. The Indian is the arms dealer. Sometimes the Indians help Lucky Luke.

6. If people drive too fast there is the risk of accidents. On motor-ways the speed limit is 130km. In town it's 60km but no-one takes any notice of them. On the left is a 'policeman' with his radar hidden in the corn. There is a joke with the horses, as you talk about *2-chevaux*, *4-chevaux* [2 horse-power, 4 horse-power]. There is also a problem with the overcrowding in the chariot as you are not allowed to have too many people in a car in France. The *Gaulois* [the Gauls] were ancestors, in England too.

7. One of the cars is going in the wrong direction. In the old car is *Gaston la Gaffe*. [*la gaffe= la bêtise* or joke]. The policeman has a cap, a whistle and a truncheon. He is called *Lontarin* (*long+ tarin* [a nose]).

8. With small *mobylettes* [mopeds] you are not allowed to make too much noise. Wearing a helmet is compulsory. "*Sapetokin*" is not a make of motorbike. It is a made-up word with rude words so it is a play on words. The policeman is asking for papers. He has a book for fines.

Appendix D

Help-sheets prepared in French from English students' comments

D1 **Questionnaire** - Les Feuilles

Ça c'est pour les élèves français C'est un résumé de tous les matériaux. Nous voulons savoir ce que les élèves français en pensent.

D2 **Role Play- Jeu de Rôle**

On trouve ça sur la vidéo et il y aussi un scénario écrit

PC Plod - C'est un nom qui indique que l'agent est stupide et maladroit.

Skoda - Une voiture-poubelle avec un conducteur stupide.

Peckish - On a faim.

Nips into - On entre et sort très vite.

Mcdonalds - Un des spécialistes de "fast food" célèbre en Angleterre aux Etats-Unis et dans le monde entier. Les jeunes y vont souvent.

hello, hello, hello - C'est une phrase que la police utilise dans des pièces comiques.

D3 **Cassette - le règlement de St. A.**

C'est une petite pièce qui a pour sujet le règlement de l'école. Une directrice convoque des élèves (2 filles) dans son bureau.

L'anneau - On ne doit pas porter des bijoux à l'école ni du maquillage.

A gauche - Tous les élèves doivent aller à gauche dans les couloirs.

D4   Cassette - la Police

1.   Il y a aussi un scénario écrit

Le malfaiteur veut entrer par effraction dans le magasin et le policier vient voir ce qui se passe.

You have the right to remain silent, but what you do say will be taken down in evidence - C'est la phrase légale qu'on doit utiliser dans ces cas.

2.   **Policewoman** - On a toujours le stéréotype d'un policier qui est un homme. Les femmes policiers sont aussi importantes que les hommes.

3.   **Stiff drink** - Une boisson très forte

Breathalise - Si un policier croit qu'on a trop bu il peut arrêter la personne et lui demander de souffler dans un alcooltest qui mesure le taux d'alcool.

4.   **Demonstrations** - Ici le mot ne signifie pas "manifestation" mais "démonstration"; on a eu l'idée de présenter quelque chose sur des manifestations au sujet des droits des animaux mais on a pensé que ça serait trop controversé / provoquant. Selon l'élève ici si l'on veut expliquer quelque chose il vaut mieux montrer quelque chose où tout le monde est d'accord.

Jane, John - Des noms typiquement anglais.

Les présentations de la loi et de l'ordre - Quelquefois la police est invitée dans une école pour présenter aux elèves une description de son travail.

D5   La Police- les uniformes

On veut montrer les différences entre les uniformes anglais et les uniformes français : les chapeaux et les couleurs. On croit qu'en France les képis sont plats, que l'uniforme est noir, et qu'on porte un sac.

Il y a une nouvelle espèce de petite matraque portative qu'on peut sortir vite et ça fait un bruit comme un revolver quand on la sort; la matraque normale n'est pas très longue (20 cm) et elle est en bois, comme un bâton de baseball. La mère d'un des garçons dans le groupe vient de devenir femme policier volontaire. Il est fier d'elle.

D6 Le règlement du collège

Deux filles (du groupe) ont pris des photos et elles ont écrit une description de l'école.

- On n'a pas la règle **Défense de fumer**, peut-être parce que les élèves n'auraient pas l'idée de le faire.
- **Les prefets** portent des insignes spéciaux en guise d'avertissement: Soyez sages devant moi!
- **Les autobus** : il y en a 5 qui amènent les élèves à l'école. Ce sont souvent les compagnies d'autobus qui décident du règlement et pas l'école.
- **Les règles** que les élèves dans le groupe trouvent **stupides** sont: "no biros" (pourquoi pas!); "no trousers for girls" (la moitié des filles veut porter un pantalon parce qu'elles ont souvent froid).
- On aime **porter l'uniforme** parce que ça procure un sentiment de fierté et tout le monde peut voir à quelle école on appartient.
- L'élève est aussi **fière de son école**: on a un nouveau bâtiment pour la technologie. Ce n'est pas trop grand.
- L'élève croit **qu'on porte des uniformes dans quelques écoles en France** comme en Angleterre.
- Les élèves **vont rencontrer des problèmes** parce que:
    - la fille a des chaussures délacées
    - elle porte des baskets
    - elle porte un pantalon
    - sa chemise sort de son pantalon
    - elle a un trou dans son pullover.
    - elle a un "dreadlock" [une tresse] dans ses cheveux : avec des rubans ou des fils de soie.
    - elle porte des boucles d'oreille et un collier.

D7   Le jeu de la prison

- On a une prison au centre (faite en papier); tous les joueurs commencent au même endroit - on doit le choisir; on doit placer les jetons noirs sur le tableau (ce sont les malfaiteurs). On lance le dé, si on arrive à une question, on doit y répondre. et si la réponse est exacte, on peut lancer le dé encore une fois; le joueur qui a le plus grand nombre de malfaiteurs gagne le jeu.
- **Les questions** sont basées sur l'âge légal à partir duquel on peut faire un certain type de choses.
- **Le numéro de téléphone de secours pour l'Australie** - ici c'est une plaisanterie. On parle de l'Australie comme "down under", c'est-à-dire là-bas en-dessous.
- On met **l'âge de seize ans pour fumer** (selon l'élève) parce qu'à cet âge-là on peut choisir pour soi-même.
- Selon l'élève **boire de petites quantités d'alcool** c'est bon pour la santé, mais fumer c'est toujours mauvais.
- Les **dessins de la prison** représentent une prison d'operette.

D8   Les émissions de télévision

- On veut **montrer ce qui marche à la télévision anglaise** à fin qu'on puisse comparer ça aux émissions français.
- **Sur la couverture** il y a **des boutons** 1, 2, 3, 4. Ça représente les chaînes différentes: (1) BBC 1; (2) BBC 2; (3) ITV et (4) Channel 4. Il y a deux compagnies. (BBC et ITV) et les deux ont deux chaînes différentes. Sur une télévision on choisit les boutons 1-4 pour trouver ces différentes programmes.
- **Les descriptions des programmes** ont été prises dans un magazine qui s'appelle "Radio Times" où l'on peut trouver tous les détails des programmes dans les médias.

D9   Word Search :
- **Les mots cachés** sont des types de programme; on doit les trouver.
- **Le mot cop** c'est comme un flic.

Appendix E

Punk image from *Arc-en-ciel 3*

E1 Arc-en-ciel

La fin des années 70: les punks

1 les cheveux en iroquois, teints en rose, orange ou vert
3 une épingle de sûreté
4 les lunettes de soleil en plastique
5 les badges
2 le collier de chien
6 la cravate étroite
7 le sac en plastique
8 les bretelles
9 les fermetures éclair
10 les sandales en plastique

Ann Miller
Liz Roselman
Marie-Thérèse Bougard

M·G·P

MARY GLASGOW PUBLICATIONS

PUPIL'S BOOK   PAGE 69

Appendix F

F1 Questionnaire answers

French pupils' answers to the questionnaire (B1)

Questionnaire

1_ Yes, it was very interesting.

2_ The cassette which explained the English laws.

3 _ 1_ About police:
First, we learned all the different laws people have to respect and for each laws, one example which was very useful.

2_ About St. Augustine's rules:
We think these laws are very strict and not funny at all.

3_ About the video:
It was very funny to learn the strict laws in this way

4_ school rules: we think it's old fashioned and very strict.

F1 (continued)

5 - no swearing
   - no chewing
   - no running
   - no Fighting

6 - Not at all.

7 - We can choose the diary we want. We can decorate it as much as we want.

8 - We don't like it. We think it's old Fashioned

9 - They're maroon

10 - skirts : grey
    trousers : black

11 - No, we don't.
12 - Yes, they're
13 - Yes, they do

14 - with the hats, the colours and shapes
    Uniforms in France are navy blue, but the english uniforms are bright blue.
    The French policemen wear a bullet proof vest; they also carry a gun.

15 - The types of radios, and truncheon, and guns are different

16 - Yes, it is

17 - To the left.

18 -

19 - Yes, we did. It helped us to understand the laws

20 - It's a good idea, and it's very interesting

Index