

A Critical Study of the Relationships between the Japanese Ideas of
English and English Language Teaching in Japan in the 1980s-2000s:
Focusing on the Influence of Media Images of English

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Abstract

A Critical Study of the Relationships between the Japanese Ideas of English and
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by

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The purpose of this study is to make a critical examination of the relationships between the Japanese ideas of English and English Language Teaching (ELT) mainly in secondary schools in Japan by analyzing the various media such as TV dramas, English textbooks and governmental documents that appeared in the 1980s-2000s, based on the theoretical framework of a communication theory developed by a German sociologist, Niklas Luhmann.

I have proceeded with the analysis by focusing on the following three topics related to the Japanese ideas of English: (1) transformations in the Japanese ideas of English; (2) the instrumental idea of English as a tool of communication; and (3) the idea of English as an International Language (EIL) and as the International Language (ETIL).

The analysis is undertaken by examining the governmental documents such as *The Course of Study (Gakusyu Shido Yoryo)* and the second report of the Ad Hoc Council on Education (*Rinkyoshin, dainiji toshin*), the TV dramas including *Kizuna--Tatta Hitotsu no Aoi Sora (Ties--The Only One Blue Sky, NHK, 1987)*, *San nen*

B gumi Kinpachi Sensei, dai hachi shirizu (Master Kinpachi, Junior High School Third Year, Class B, the Series' Eighth season, TBS, 2008) and *Furu Suingu* (Full Swing, NHK, 2008), *Doragon Zakura* (Dragon Cherry, TBS, 2005), and 36 English textbooks used in high schools in Japan during the period of the 1980s-2000s.

These decades were targeted because of the following two reasons. First, during this period, the critical argument about the hegemony or power of the English language developed and expanded in Japan and abroad through the studies of the Japanese as well as the Western scholars. An increasing number of arguments against the hegemony or power of the English language brought about a great interest in the issue such as the idea of EIL (e.g., Smith, 1976, 1981; Hino, 1988, 2001) as well as other metalinguistic issues that had been overlooked for many years, such as inequalities among languages, especially in connection with minority languages and endangered languages across the world.

Second, the problems of overseas returnees (*kikokushijyo*) came to the surface and were often covered by the media along with the increase in the numbers of *kikokushijyo* since the beginning of the 1980s, when not many Japanese people had contact with the non-Japanese people coming from abroad in their daily lives. Some of the Japanese people could experience different cultures and languages by having contact with *kikokushijyo*, who could demonstrate “living English,” or “*Ikita Eigo*,” referring to the “real” English spoken by native speakers of English.

The primary results of the analysis are in the following:

First, the Japanese ideas of English transformed from that of inferiority complex toward English language to that of the acceptance of English between the 1980s and 2000s based on the analysis of the relationship between *kikokushijyo* and Japanese teachers and students by examining the three TV dramas about *kikokushijyo*. It has also

been found out that in connection with ELT in schools, the Japanese ideas of English is divided into the conflict between *Ikita Eigo*, or “living English,” and “*Juken Eigo*,” referring to the idea of English that places much emphasis on grammar for passing the entrance examination, or “*Gakko Eigo*,” the idea of English as a school subject. This conflict causes a lot of confusion in schools in terms of what should be the goals of ELT and how English should be taught.

Second, by analyzing the second report of the Ad Hoc Council on Education and a TV drama in the 2000s, the study recognizes that there is a power operating in the Japanese society which promotes the idea that “English is a tool for communication,” the instrumental idea of English. Also, by applying Niklas Luhmann’s social systems theory, I have revealed the process in which the learners of English are manipulated by different ideas of English and lured into learning it. The instrumental idea of English is serving as a base for social inequalities, possibly creating a new type of “inferiority complex” toward English in Japan as people are too often ranked according to their abilities of communication in English.

Third, through an analysis of English textbooks used in high schools by focusing on the ideas of EIL, or “English as an International Language” and ETIL, or “English as ‘the’ International Language,” three ideologies were delineated in the English textbooks. They are: (1) the ideology of English as a passport to success which is exemplified in the statements about Japanese people in the textbooks conveying the message that “English equals success”; (2) the ideology of Western Universalism is found in the Western-centered perspective in which the topics of international cooperation are treated in the textbooks; and (3) the ideology of English as “a priority language” which is demonstrated in many conversation practices in the textbooks. In other words, the use of English is prioritized by the ideology of English as “the” only international language.

The implications coming from this study include the following: first, there are plenty of ideas of English in Japan such as *Ikita Eigo*, *Juken Eigo*, *Gakko Eigo* and so on that create different and often conflicting goals of learning English; second, the media such as curriculum guidelines, TV dramas and textbooks all interrelate with the Japanese ideas of English affecting, directing, sometimes confusing ELT in Japan; third, by understanding the relationships between the Japanese ideas of English and ELT in Japan which is, in fact, controlled by a few power sources, producing and reproducing the ideas of English, the Japanese people may be able to look at English and ELT in Japan more objectively and come to better terms with English as well as other languages than they do today.

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The responsibility for the final formulation and any errors that it may concern is entirely mine.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In this Introductory Chapter, I shall discuss the following to preview the study.

(1) The Purpose of the Study, (2) The Definition of “The Japanese Ideas of English,” (3) The Rationale for the Study, (4) The Data, (5) Why 1980s-2000s?, (6) Japan as a Country of the Expanding Circle, (7) The Significance of the Study, and finally (8) The Structure of the Study.

1.1 The Purpose of the Study

It is about 150 years since people started to learn English in Japan. Since then, the Japanese ideas of English have repeated “the cycle of pro-English and anti-English” (Otani, 2007, p.141, translated by the author). Currently, Japan is experiencing a “pro-English” approach. One of the characteristics about the relationship between English and Japan is that Japan has never been colonized by the Western countries. Therefore, English and other foreign languages have not become essential languages for most Japanese people in the daily lives in Japan. Another characteristic is the Japanese often have similar ideas of English because the students learn English by using the same textbooks which are regulated by *The Course of Study*. This system is based on *Gakko kyoikuho* [The School Education Act, 1947].

As a result, students in Japan tend to study the similar contents and knowledge about English. On the other hand, some countries such as the UK, the US, Sweden, and so on do not have such a system. English textbooks in these countries have different topics and support materials are also different¹ (see Chapter 5).

However, since globalization is spreading today, language situations around the

world have become gradually different from those of the past; specifically, there is a growing recognition of the need for English as well as multilingualism, or using English without Western ways of thinking.

To handle this diverse situation, we must consider the following questions. What ideas about the English language do most Japanese people² have? How and where do these ideas originate? How do these ideas about English affect English Language Teaching (ELT) in Japan?

This study attempts to answer these questions by critically examining the selected media materials including governmental documents, English textbooks, and TV dramas that deal with ELT in Japan during the period between 1980s and 2000s, based on the theoretical framework of communication media theory developed by a German sociologist, Niklas Luhmann.

I shall especially examine the relationships between the Japanese ideas of English and ELT in Japan in terms of how the ideas of English held by the Japanese people influence the teachers, the learners and ELT in Japan as a whole.

1.2 The Definition of “The Japanese Ideas of English”

Let me, first of all, define what is meant by “the Japanese ideas of English.” They are representations of “images or impressions in the minds of most Japanese people about what the English language is like.”

The Japanese people have a variety of images and thoughts about English. For example, there is an expression, “*Ikita Eigo*,”³ literally meaning “living English.” This is an example of the Japanese idea of English which refers to “real” English spoken by native speakers of English which is considered by many Japanese people to be more effective in communication than “*Juken Eigo*,”⁴ or “English for entrance

examinations,” which is considered to be not very effective for communication with the English-speaking people.

In this study, I would like to clarify how these Japanese ideas of English are produced and diffused in Japan and how they affect ELT in Japan.

1.3 The Rationale for the Study

As *Monbukagakusho* (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, hereafter “MEXT”) shows in *The New Course of Study (Shin gakusyushido yoryo)* for senior high schools announced in March of 2009, English language classes should be taught in English. This teaching method will start in April of 2013.

However, many students in Japan still rarely have the chance to use English as a tool for normal communication in their daily lives. Although enabling learners to simulate communication in English in class may be beneficial, many of these learners are studying English simply to pass college entrance examinations or get good scores in various English language tests such as STEP (Society for Testing English Proficiency), TOEIC, and TOEFL. Indeed, the skills to use English are often needed and serve as the criteria when screening people during job hunting or for entrance examinations. Using English as a criterion to evaluate a person’s competence can lead learners to have an inferiority complex about using English correctly (Matsuno, 1990; Erikawa, 2009). What is worse, this complex toward English can actually prevent some English learners from studying English in a positive manner. Also, it is possible that many Japanese people tend to equate English with internationalization and develop the idea of English as the only and the most important international language for international communication.

More and more Japanese leading companies such as UNIQLO and Rakuten which

advance into foreign countries have started to adopt English as their official in-house language for communication even among Japanese speakers in Japan and emphasize the English ability when they hire people. Thus, the need for English as an international language has increased more than ever in Japan.

Such a change that stresses English more in language education is evident in Japan, following the demands of the business world. For example, more and more companies are setting up offices or shifting their plant activities overseas⁵—not only in the English-speaking countries but also in the non-English speaking countries including some Asian countries, where English is increasingly used in business.

A consideration we must make, however, is how the Japanese people should come to terms with the English language in Japan, where most Japanese are non-English speakers and learn English as a foreign language. Japan is one of EFL (English as a Foreign Language) countries where English is taught as a school subject, unlike ESL (English as a Second Language) countries where English is taught and used for daily communication.

The question for ELT in Japan is whether the Japanese people should learn English as the people in ESL countries such as India and the Philippines do.

Do the Japanese people want to accept English as their second language, or just want to learn it as a foreign language? Do they want to use English for daily communication and incorporate it in their daily lives? Or do they want to keep it at a distance? What should be the ultimate goal of learning English for most Japanese people?

To shed light on “the Japanese ideas of English,” it is important to answer these questions because these ideas serve as a base for how the Japanese people come to face with English.

1.4 The Data

Here I shall explain what kind of data I am going to use for analysis in this study. There are three kinds of data for this study: (1) TV dramas, (2) Governmental documents, (3) English textbooks. I shall argue that all these data are the representations of “media” according to Niklas Luhmann’s communication media theory and I will explain why in detail in Chapter 2.

I shall first analyze TV dramas in which overseas returnees, or returnee children (*kikokushijyo*) appear to explore the Japanese ideas of English by examining the attitude of Japanese people toward *kikokushijyo* as shown in TV dramas. Goodman (1992) points out the meaning of *kikokushijyo* is different from the word meaning returnees in other countries. Furthermore, Japanese *kikokushijyo* have an image that they can speak English very well even when they have not experienced living in an English-speaking country. Thus, to examine the meaning of the word of *kikokushijyo* and how it is used in Japan sheds light on the Japanese ideas of English and different cultures.

Then, I shall explore governmental documents such as curriculum guidelines, or *The Course of Study* (*Gakusyū shido yōryō*) and the second report (1986) by the Ad Hoc Council on Education (*Rinkyōshin dainiji toshin*), both of which have been issued by the Japanese government. They will be analyzed to discover what kind of English the government wants students to learn.

English textbooks for high schools students have been chosen for the analysis in this study for the following two reasons: (1) textbooks enable us to identify what ideas of English the authorities in Japan such as MEXT or companies have, (2) English has been chosen as the primary foreign language to be learned in most high schools in Japan.

1.5 Why the 1980s-2000s?

To explore the Japanese ideas of English, the period from the 1980s and the 2000s was targeted. These decades are significant because of the following two reasons. First, during this period, the critical argument about the hegemony or power of the English language, as Nakanishi (2001) points out, developed and expanded in Japan and abroad through the studies of Nakamura (1989), Tsuda (1990), Oishi (1990), Phillipson (1990) and Pennycook (1994). Furthermore, this argument about the hegemony or power of the English language brought up other issues such as the idea of English as an international language (e.g., Smith, 1976, 1981; Hino, 1988, 2001) and the issue about languages that had been overlooked for many years, such as inequalities among languages, especially minority languages, and endangered languages. Thus, it would be helpful to understand the relationship between English and ELT by exploring the changes in the ideas of English in these decades in Japan through various media such as TV dramas, *The Course of Study*, English textbooks, and so on.

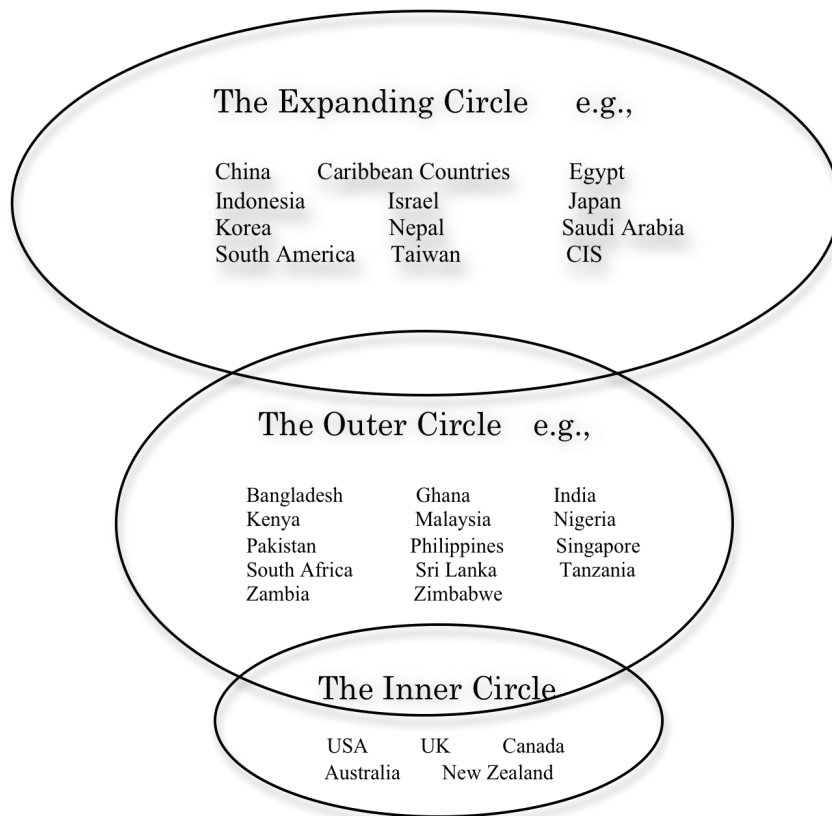
Second, with ELT in Japan, the problems of *kikokushijyo* have come to the surface and been covered by the media along with the increase in the numbers of *kikokushijyo* since the beginning of the 1980s. In those days, not many Japanese had contact with non-Japanese people and different cultures in their daily lives. However, *kikokushijyo* were people with whom the rest of the Japanese people could experience different cultures and languages, especially for *Ikita Eigo*. The encounter with the idea of *Ikita Eigo* that *kikokushijyo* speak, partially opened up the idea of seeing English as a tool of communication.

1.6 Japan as a Country of the Expanding Circle

I shall proceed with my discussion by seeing Japan as a country belonging to the

Expanding Circle, part of the Three Concentric Circles (Inner Circle, Outer Circle, Expanding Circle). It is a theory about the global spread of English developed by an Indian-born American sociolinguist, Braj B. Kachru.

Figure 1. Three Concentric Circles of Englishes (Kachru, 1985)



It is beneficial here to introduce the theory of the Three Concentric Circles of English developed by Kachru (Kachru, 1985).

According to Kachru, the Inner Circle includes the US, the UK, Ireland, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, where English is used as the first and primary language. The Outer Circle includes Singapore, India, Malawi and over fifty other territories, the countries where English is used as a second language. The Expanding Circle includes China, Japan, Greece, Poland, Korea, and other countries where English is used as a

foreign language. Kachru explains the three Circles as follows: The Inner Circle represents “the traditional base of English, dominated by the ‘mother tongue’ varieties of the language.” In the Outer Circle, “English has been institutionalized as an additional language.” In the Expanding Circle, or the rest of the world, “English is used as the primary foreign language” (Kachru, 1997, p.214). Following his definition, I regard Japan as one of the Expanding Circle countries, where most Japanese people are non-English speakers and learn English as a foreign language as well as a school subject.

1.7 The Significance of the Study

The significance of the present study can be summarized as follows.

I hope three aims can be achieved by analyzing the Japanese ideas of English through TV dramas, curriculum guidelines, and English textbooks for high schools in Japan.

First, the role and the influence of the “media” upon ELT in Japan will be analyzed. By looking at some materials of the media around us, we will be able to realize how the Japanese ideas of English can be drawn from the media like TV dramas. Although the data in this study are limited, I believe they are sufficient to suggest that there are indeed the effects of the media upon the formation and transmission of the Japanese ideas of English. Various media in Japan present a variety of ideas of English and influence Japanese learners in terms of how they study and use English and how they treat languages other than English.

Second aim is to understand what ideas of English the Japanese people have. The Japanese ideas of English that I will deal with in this study are: *Ikita Eigo*, *Juken Eigo*, “*Gakko Eigo*,” or “English as a school subject taught in schools” to be discussed in

Chapters 3,4, and 5, and also, “*dôgu toshitenô eigo*,” or “English as a tool of communication” to be discussed in Chapter 4, and furthermore, “*kokusaigo toshitenô eigo*,” “English as an International Language” (EIL) or “English as the International Language” (ETIL), which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

The knowledge of these ideas of English prevalent in Japan will help not only the teachers of English who are responsible for ELT in Japan, but also the general public in terms of making them become objectively aware of the ideas of English they themselves possess and based on that awareness decide on how they get along with English.

Third and the most important significance of this study will be concerned with the issue of the purpose of ELT in Japan. What should be the goal of ELT in Japan?

In 1.3 The Rationale for the Study, I have already raised a question concerned with the goal of ELT in Japan, namely, “Should the Japanese people learn English as the people in the ESL, or the Inner Circle countries such as India and the Philippines?”

In this study, I shall argue that ELT in Japan has been taking the direction toward that of the ESL or the Inner Circle countries by emphasizing the ideas of English such as *Ikita Eigo*, “English as a tool of communication,” and “English as the International Language.” Namely, ELT in Japan today seems to have set a goal of learning English as if it was a second language, and not a foreign language.

But I wonder whether ELT in Japan is taking a right direction.

I shall argue in this study by making an analysis of the media materials that having an ESL goal in Japan which is basically an EFL, the Expanding Circle countries will eventually result in the neglect of the awareness of languages other than English because of too much emphasis upon English. The philosophy of linguistic relativism and multilingualism should be incorporated in the goals of ELT in Japan.

I hope my argument in this study will help to broaden the perspective of ELT in Japan, especially in reference to its goals.

1.8 The Structure of the Study

The structure of this study is as follows.

First, Chapter 2 deals with the literature review on the studies of the Japanese ideas of English and also explains the theoretical framework and the methodology for this study.

Chapter 3 examines the Japanese ideas of English that have transformed from the inferiority complex toward English to its acceptance through the analysis of three TV dramas related to *kikokushijyo*. I shall explore the ideas of English that are expressed in the Japanese “media” and how the Japanese ideas of English have changed under the influence of the idea of English as an international language. I shall argue that there is a conflict among various Japanese ideas of English: a conflict between the idea of “living English” mainly used for communication (*Ikita Eigo*) and English that is focused on grammar for studying for an examination (*Juken Eigo*) or English as just a subject taught in schools (*Gakko Eigo*). By looking at this conflict, the cultural and social power of English that underlies and directs ELT in Japan will be disclosed.

Chapter 4 argues that there is a “power” operating in Japan which produces and reproduces the ideas of English which encourage the Japanese people to study English. I shall critically examine the idea of “English as a tool of communication.”

By analyzing curriculum guidelines, the second report of the Ad Hoc Council on Education, and a TV drama, I shall point out the specific problems that may arise because of the idea of “English as a tool of communication.” The idea of communication, or the “communication approach” was introduced into Japan in the

1970's and emphasized ever since. Its long-term effect will be considered through the analysis of the transformation of the Japanese ideas of English, *The Course of Study* and so on. The idea of "English as a tool of communication" seemed to cause both hope and anxiety among the Japanese people, namely, whether it will give a hope that communication will be easy if you speak English well, or it will make people timid and nervous because you cannot communicate well internationally unless they can use English as a communication tool fully. Thus, the idea of English as just a tool of communication may have created a new type of "inferiority complex" toward English.

Chapter 5 then explores the Japanese ideas of English that are reflected in English textbooks for senior high schools. *The Course of Study* (1999) demonstrates the goal of encouraging students to understand other languages and cultures and develop an ability to positively communicate through foreign languages. I analyze "languages and cultures" in the textbooks and the image drawn from them. In addition, the role of the narrative and the description of Japanese characters is studied. Through analyzing these areas of interest, I develop a recognizable construct of the Japanese ideas of English.

Chapter 6 will make a critical analysis of the idea of "English as 'the' International Language (ETIL)" in English textbooks intended for high schools. I shall focus on the meta-linguistic materials in English textbooks that strengthen the belief that English is the only and the best tool for international communication. Further, the model of English shown to students will be analyzed by discussing the problems caused by the use of native speakers of English as a model for ELT. In addition, I shall advocate for the incorporation of the idea of linguistic relativism into ELT in Japan.

Finally, Chapter 7 concludes the study by pulling together the arguments of the previous chapters to present an overview analysis and a future outlook regarding English for Japanese learners in the global age.

¹ For example, Germany has textbook authorization system, which is different among states. The comparison of each nation's system for textbooks: Retrieved March 26, 2013, from <http://www.kosonippon.org/temp/051012hikaku.pdf#search>

² In this study, “the Japanese” people means “the people who grow up and are educated under *Gakko kyoikuho* [The School Education Act, 1947].” In addition, to shed light on the ideas of English in Japan and the relationship with ELT, I shall develop analyses by defining “the Japanese” people as Japanese students studying the English language and the people around them such as their parents, English educators, editors of English textbooks and MEXT (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, *Monbukagakusho*). Besides, people who watch and receive some messages from mass media like TV dramas are also included in this grouping.

³ Saito (2007) says that the idea of “communication” was used to look down upon literature, grammar, translation and so on in ELT in the latter part of the Syowa period. At that time, some expressions such as “*eikaiwa*” (English conversation), “*Ikita Eigo*” (living English) and “*kokusai rikai*”(cross-cultural understanding) were added to the idea of “communication.” (p.188)

⁴ The term, “*Juken Eigo*” was first used as the title of the magazine, *The Juken Eigo* published in 1916 (Erikawa, 2008, p.21). According to Saito (2007), the origin of the idea of *Juken Eigo* would be from the magazine, *Eigo no Nihon* [English Japan] (1908). There was an article about “*Shiken ni desu na wabun eiyaku (sono ni)*”[The possible test questions of translation from Japanese into English] (p.32).

⁵ According to the data from JSBRI (Japan Small Business Research Institute) in 2006, the number of overseas subsidiaries of smaller businesses whose headquarters are in

Japan is 3,490, showing a 7.3% increase over the previous year. Similarly, in the case of major companies, the number of overseas subsidiaries is 12,880 showing a 2.3% increase.

Chapter 2

Literature Review and the Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, I shall first overview some previous studies about the Japanese ideas of English and then explain the theoretical framework and the method for this study by which I shall discuss the relationships between the Japanese ideas of English and English Language Teaching (ELT).

2.1 Literature Review

In this section, the literature review of the past studies on the Japanese ideas of English will be made by classifying them into the following three types: (1) Historical Studies, (2) Ideological Studies, (3) Studies focusing on the idea of English as an International Language (EIL).

2.1.1 The Japanese Ideas of English: Historical Studies

Several studies about the Japanese ideas of English have been made from the historical point of view (e.g., Nakamura, 1989, 1993, 2004a, 2004b; Saito, 2001, 2007; Erikawa, 2008, 2009). According to Saito (2007), it was after the Phaeton Incident in Nagasaki (1808)¹ that studying English language began, and it went into full swing after the Meiji Restoration (1868). English was studied out of necessity to negotiate with foreign countries. Also studying Western points of view, or the way of thinking was needed. In those days, not only the elite but also ordinary people leaped at English as “civilization language” (Saito, 2007, p.10). However, since the mid-Meiji period, the government changed its Westernization policy because of rising nationalism. English gradually became “a subject of special knowledge” (Nakamura, 1989, p.147) rather than

practical learning.

According to Saito (2007), in the Taisyo period, the opinion advocating doing away with English was expressed especially in 1924, because the anti-Japanese immigration law was enacted in the United States (p.94). On the other hand, the supporters of English emphasized “the cultural value of English or medium as import of culture” (ibid., p.104, translated by the author). English education was continued in Japan, however, English language became “a hostile language” (ibid., p.131) during the war. Furthermore, the new point of view that English was seen as a common language in the Great East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere (*daitoa kyoei ken*) was added (ibid., 2007).² After the end of World War II, English became popular again, which was studied with the textbooks such as *Let's Learn English* or *Jack and Betty*³ by the Ministry of Education (*Monbusyo*). Erikawa (2008) points out that in the 1960s, the period of rapid economic growth after the war, English textbooks come to deal with Japanese materials like “Mujina” by Yakumo Koizumi. From the analyses of English textbooks, Erikawa (2008) suggests that the global point of view and the idea of “useful English” also get increased (ibid., p.137).⁴ According to Erikawa (2008), the idea led to the establishment of *Eigo kyoiku kaizen shingikai* (English education improvement council, 1960) and “*Eigo ga tsukaeru Nionjin no ikusei no tameno senryaku koso* (The strategic concept to train Japanese people with a good command of English)”(2002).

2.1.2 The Japanese Ideas of English: Ideological Studies

I shall review the previous studies about the Japanese ideas of English from an ideological perspective. Nakamura (1989, 1993) investigates ELT in Japan and points out the ideology of textbooks and the relationship between English textbooks and the authors' philosophy or ideology. Since Japan is not colonized by Western countries, as

Nakamura (1989) argues, Japanese people accept English as “a subject of special knowledge”(p.147) with the image including Anglo-Saxon cultures and their fabulousness.⁵ Besides, people do not have to use English as an official language in Japan. This background of English leads to the idea of English language related to Anglo-Saxon cultures seeing foreign languages as English, an international language (ibid., 1989).

Matsuda (2002) analyzed junior high school textbooks in Japan to explore what kind of English is used as the model. She found the tendency to focus on English speakers within the Inner Circle by Kachru (See Figure 1 in Chapter 1) and their use of English.

Tsuda (2006) claims to protect the diversity of language and culture from the point of English hegemony, and proposes education to “restore the linguistic independence of the Japanese language to counter English’s becoming the world standard” (Tsuda, 2006, p.153, translated by the author). Yoshitake (2000) argues about foreign language education for cross-cultural communication from the lens of international English and English hegemony, making suggestions for future English education. He also criticizes that no analysis based on frequency of use of English in cross-cultural communication and power relationships was done, and suggests research on “power in cross cultural communication using English” (Yoshitake, 2002, p.92, translated by the author).

2.1.3 The Japanese Ideas of English: English as an International Language (EIL)

I shall review the studies about the Japanese ideas of English that regard English as an international language (EIL). Hino (1988), who is a pioneer of textbook research based on the concept of EIL, argues about the issue of nationalism issues in

cross-cultural communication education from his historical analyses. He also recommends a use of English beyond Western logic by using the speaker's own culture and philosophy instead of following Western point of view (Hino, 2005). Seargeant (2009) analyzes the English's position in Japan from the aspects of a linguistic system and ideology in Japan. She shows that the different forms of knowledge about language have an effect upon the way in which language is regulated within society, and suggests that ideas about language reflect the ideas people have about themselves as social beings (ibid., 2009). Smith (1981) advocates EIL and EIAL (English as an International Auxiliary Language) theory and states that the international language should not be associated with a particular culture (Smith, 1981; Hino, 2005).

2.2 Theoretical Framework

Having made a literature review of the studies on the Japanese ideas of English, I have discovered that there has not yet been a study that examines the Japanese ideas of English from the perspective of “media” and “communication.”

Therefore, in order to advance the discussion in this study, I have decided to employ the communication media theory developed by a German sociologist, Niklas Luhmann who is well-known for his social systems theory.

In this study, I shall assume there is a “power” which may affect the Japanese ideas of English especially in ELT: the “power” that drives people in Japan to study the English language.⁶ Although most people in Japan study English in education, English is not always used in their daily lives, because Japan is unlike the Outer Circle countries where English is used as the language of daily communication. In contrast, Japan, one of the Expanding Circle countries, is supposed to be relatively free from the pressure to master English.

However, many Japanese people feel positive about studying English. Indeed, English learners become motivated to learn for the purposes such as successes in entrance examinations and job hunting, but they are also driven by a variety of ideas of English such as “English is important,” and “English is the international language” and so on. English learners voluntarily and willingly choose from the categorized ideas of English like “living English” (*Ikita Eigo*), “school English” (*Gakko Eigo*) and “examination English” (*Juken Eigo*) and study English according to their purposes.

In this study, I shall employ Luhmann’s argument that “power” provides the choices for learners. To understand Luhmann’s idea, let us first review the theories of “power.” Traditional theories of “power” developed by Max Weber (1864-1920) and Harold Dwight Lasswell (1902-1978), for example, are based on a binominal opposition: political “power” exists by taking profits away from its followers. On the other hand, other scholars like Talcott Parsons (1902-1979), an American sociologist, define “power” as a skill to mobilize social asset to achieve a goal rather than a control-obedience dynamic, suggesting that “power” exists to contribute to the group’s common profit.

Taking a critical look at Parsons’ sociological systems theory, Luhmann tries to understand the structure of modern society based on the systems theory that analyzes the interactive relationship between “communication,” “social activity” and “interactive actions.” While Parsons limits the concept of “power” to political systems, Luhmann believes that various social agents exercise “power” through communication. He tries to establish a systematic theory of social systems based on the concept of “autopoiesis (self-creation).” According to this theory, a social system is composed of communication and acts as an autopoiesis system, where communication creates communication.

Applying Luhmann's theory of "power" to the situation in Japan where many people are driven to study English, we can see that people are forced to realize the necessity of learning English through a variety of social occasions and experiences including school education, workplaces, and the exposure to the media such as TV and the Internet.

Luhmann (1984/1995) defines "*media*" as follows: "the evolutionary achievements that enter at those possible breaks in communication and that serve in a functionally adequate way to transform what is improbable into what is probable" (Luhmann, 1984/1995, p.160). In other words, a lot of choices will be created and become focused by virtue of "media." For example, English textbooks in schools are an example of "media" according to Luhmann's definition, because the textbooks that are, in fact, adopted by each school or its teachers who spend much time with their students and understand their interests, will provide and focus on the particular ideas of English such as *Gakko Eigo* and *Juken Eigo*. The students will be able to choose one from those textbooks and learn English for their specific purposes. Actually, there is no such English as *Gakko Eigo* or *Juken Eigo* (what is improbable), but the school textbooks ("media") produce these ideas of English which will in turn make it possible and even encourage the students to learn English with a focused purpose of learning it.

Also, Luhmann suggests that "communication media" have "a motivating function." That is, people get motivated by "communication media" to study English for their own purposes, which are not always necessary, but imposed.

According to Luhmann, "communication media" can be formulated "when the *manner of one partner's selection* serves simultaneously as a *motivating structure for the other*" (Luhmann, 1973/1979, p.111). Luhmann argues that there is a "mutually motivating structure" in a society which is strengthened by virtue of "media." In other

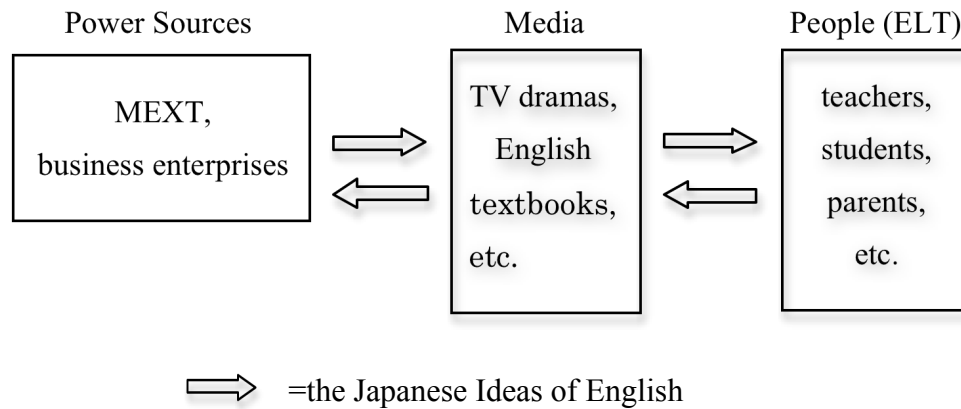
words, one person's choice stimulates and affects another person's choice, which is facilitated by a "communication media."

Let us apply this Luhmann's theory of "media" to the discussion of the idea of English. When the power sources such as MEXT, business enterprises, parents of English learners and so on want to encourage people to study English, they produce some reasons to lead them to study English, inviting them to study of their own motives. For this purpose, the power sources provide a variety of focused ideas of English such as "a tool for communication," "English for entrance examinations" and so on. As a result, learners can easily choose a certain purpose for studying English based on their own needs.

Thus, English is reduced to some focused and simple ideas of English such as *Ikita Eigo*, *Juken Eigo*, "English for TOEIC" and so on. This process can be named "reduction of complexity" which is Luhmann's fundamental idea of social systems theory (Luhmann, 1984/1995). In this process of "reduction of complexity," English is reduced to some focused and simple ideas of English that will encourage people to easily choose from these ideas of English and then study English according to them.⁷ The ideas of English created by the power sources will be transmitted to the Japanese people by means of a variety of "media" such as governmental documents, English textbooks, and TV dramas, affecting the contents and the direction of ELT in Japan.

Based on the theory of "reduction of complexity," the relationships between the Japanese ideas of English and ELT in Japan can be assumed as described in Figure 2.

Figure 2. The Relationships between the Japanese Ideas of English and ELT



The power source like MEXT, encourages high school students, for example, to study English through the “media” such as *The Course of Study* and English textbooks, focusing on the contents of learning appropriate for students and eliminating some unnecessary contents for school instructions. The “media” such as TV dramas and the Internet also provide certain images of the English language. While high school students study English through the “media” of textbooks, they choose from a variety of prepared ideas of English and study English in accordance with their choices. Then, the contents of the textbooks will be changed in response to the requests from the students. Taking into consideration various factors such as students’ requests and needs, and academic requirements, the power sources will modify the contents of learning. Thus, the process of “reduction of complexity” continues reproducing itself by sustaining “mutually motivating structure” among the power sources, “media,” and ELT including teachers, students, parents and the general public, as described in Figure 2.

Luhmann’s theory is very enlightening and very useful for the analysis of the ideas of English for the following two reasons.

First, Luhmann’s theory of “media” provides a new and social systems theory of

“media” which operates as a part of a social system and intertwines with other functions such as power sources and people in a society. This is very different from a traditional definition of “media” which regards them as a neutral and independent agent that only transmits the information and messages.

Second, Luhmann’s theory of “media” assumes the presence of “power” in a society. He argues that “power” produces and reproduces “media” by which certain ideas such as “ideas of English” are communicated endlessly, spread in a society, and accepted by the majority of people, resulting in the “mutually motivating structure” maintaining the original “power” and the produced “media.”

2.3 Method

To tackle the issues as mentioned above, I shall analyze the media such as TV dramas, the curriculum guidelines, the official governmental reports, and high school English textbooks.

There are useful data in the TV dramas because they reflect society and education in Japan. Especially in the dramas set in schools, or, school-life dramas (*gakuen dorama*),⁸ some issues of concern that the writer of the drama is interested in are depicted from his/her point of view.

In Chapter 3, I shall select three TV dramas. They are: *Kizuna–Tatta Hitotsu no Aoi Sora* (*Ties–the Only One Blue Sky*, NHK, 1987), *San nen B gumi Kinpachi Sensei, dai hachi shirizu* (*Master Kinpachi, Junior High School Third Year, Class B, the Series’ Eighth season*, TBS, 2008)⁹ and *Furu Suing* (*Full Swing*, NHK, 2008) in which *kikokushijyo* (overseas returnees) appear in schools. I shall proceed with my discussion by focusing on a number of conversations and comments in these dramas that involve the ideas of English.

Chapter 4 deals with the second report of the National Council on Educational Reform (*Kyoiku kaikaku kokumin kaigi*) which is an unofficial advisory panel to the prime minister, *The Course of Study* and a TV drama, *Doragon Zakura* (*Dragon Cherry*, TBS, 2005) which reflect the change in the policy of MEXT. In *Doragon Zakura* (2005) in which *kikokushijyo* appears, some conversations among teachers and students will be focused on and analyzed in connection with the conflict between *Ikita Eigo* and *Juken Eigo*. The analyses of the curriculum guidelines and the TV drama will be made to examine how the direction of English education imposed by the National Council on Educational Reform or MEXT affects ELT, especially in reference to the idea of “English as a tool for communication.”

In Chapters 5 and 6, English textbooks for senior high schools will be analyzed to reveal the direction of the Japanese ideas of ELT. In Chapter 5, I shall analyze some dialogues as well as the characteristics of the Japanese characters appeared in the textbooks. Also, some metalinguistic materials and settings of “conversation practices” will be focused on and analyzed in Chapter 6.

As described in Chapter 1, MEXT-approved textbooks for senior high schools are chosen for the analysis because these textbooks play an important role for students in shaping the Japanese ideas of English as presented by MEXT. Also, in high school textbooks, a wider variety of topics about languages such as the idea of “World Englishes” and “endangered languages” are included and therefore, high school textbooks provide more appropriate data for this study, compared to junior high school textbooks which are very limited in terms of content and vocabulary.

¹ A British ship pillaged food in Nagasaki pretending a Dutch ship in 1808.

² Sanki Ichikawa (1886-1970), an English scholar, argued that “English was not only a national language of Britain and America but also the language used in Thailand, Burma, India, Philippines and Australia” (Saito, 2007, p.135, translated by the author).

³ The textbook, *Let's Learn English* was the first textbook made by *Monbusyo*, and it was used in Junior high schools which were started in 1947. In the following year, *Jack and Betty* was published. It is famous for its content of the life of middle-class people in the U.S. which many of Japanese people seemed to adore in those days (Erikawa, 2008, p.133).

⁴ *Nihon Keizai Dantai Rengokai (Nikkeiren)*, or Japan Business Federation announced “A request by the industry for English language ability of graduates from a new-system university (*Shinsei daigaku sotsugyosya no eigo gakuryoku ni taisuru sangyokai no yobo*” in 1955 and requested a countermeasure against a decline in academic standards and conversion into studying “useful English.”

⁵ According to Nakamura (2004), to universalize English and spread its fabulousness supported English dominance and disdain for other languages.

⁶ Ahearn (2012) points out that “power” has an aspect of “the socioculturally mediated capacity to act,” or “agency” (p.261).

⁷ As to studying English, the process of “reduction of complexity” is peculiar to the Expanding circle countries like Japan compared to the Outer circle countries, because in the former countries, English is not always used as an official language. The necessity of learning English is created through the process of “reduction of complexity” in the Expanding Circle countries. On the other hand, English is used as an official language and necessary language for the daily lives in the Outer circle countries. Thus the process of “reduction of complexity” to motivate people to study English is

not so strong.

⁸ Taking TBS (Tokyo Broadcasting System) as an example, there were 258 dramas broadcasted on TV in the 1980s. Among them, dramas set in schools are called “*gakuen dorama*” in Japan, which deal with the story of students and teachers, establishing one of genres, such as detective genre (*keijimono*), soap opera (*renai dorama*). Out of them, there were 20 dramas set in schools in the 1980s.

[1980s: approximately 7.8% (20 “*gakuen dorama*” out of 258)]

- e.g. • *San nen B gumi Kinpachi Sensei dai ni shirizu* (*Master Kinpachi, Junior High School Third Year, Class B, the Series' Second season*, 1980).
- *Ichi nen B gumi Shinpachi Sensei* (*Master Shinpachi, Junior High School First Year, Class B*, 1980).
 - *Ni nen B gumi Senpachi Sensei* (*Master Senpachi, Junior High School Second Year, Class B*, 1981).
 - *Sukuru Wozu* (*School Wars*, 1984).
 - *San nen B gumi Kanpachi Sensei* (*Master Kanpachi, Junior High School Third Year, Class B*, 1982).
 - *Serahuku Dori* (*A Sailor Suit Street*, 1986).

Retrieved November, 11, 2012 from <http://www.tbs.co.jp/tbs-ch/genre/drama/newer-1980-1.html>

[1990s: approximately 1.7% (6 dramas out of 347)]

- e.g. • *Koko Kyoshi* (*A High School Teacher*, 1993).
- *San nen B gumi Kinpachi Sensei dai yon shirizu* (*Master Kinpachi, Junior High*

School Third Year, Class B, the Series' Forth season, 1995).

San nen B gumi Kinpachi Sensei dai go shirizu (Master Kinpachi, Junior High

School Third Year, Class B, the Series' Fifth season, 1999).

Retrieved November, 11, 2012 from <http://www.tbs.co.jp/tbs-ch/genre/drama/newer-1990-1.html>

[2000s: approximately 1.8% (8 dramas out of 451)]

e.g. • *San nen B gumi Kinpachi Sensei dai nana shirizu (Master Kinpachi, Junior High*

School Third Year, Class B, the Series' Seventh season, 2004).

• *Doragon Zakura (Dragon Cherry, 2005)*

• *Sensei Do (Way of Teachers, 2006).*

Retrieved November, 11, 2012 from <http://www.tbs.co.jp/tbs-ch/genre/drama/newer-2000-1.html>

⁹ The drama, *Kinpachi Sensei* was broadcasted in 2007. However, its DVD version released in 2008 is used as data in this study.

Chapter 3

“*Kikokushijyo*” and the Transformation in the Japanese Ideas of English:

From An Inferiority Complex to Acceptance of English Language

This chapter takes up the Japanese ideas of “*kikokushijyo*” (overseas returnees) as a way of exploring the relationships between the Japanese ideas of English and English Language Teaching (ELT).

3.1 “*Kikokushijyo*” in Japan

The topics included in this section are: (1) What does *kikokushijyo* mean to the Japanese people?, (2) Prejudice toward *kikokushijyo*, (3) The relationship between *kikokushijyo* and the Japanese ideas of English, and (4) Special status assigned to *kikokushijyo*. To discuss four topics, conversations between *kikokushijyo* and the Japanese students as portrayed in television dramas will be examined.

3.1.1 What does *Kikokushijyo* Mean to the Japanese People?

This section addresses what *kikokushijyo* means to the Japanese people through an overview of the process in which they have been accepted in Japan based on the definition of the word “*kikokushijyo*” as well as an education system focused on them in Japan.

3.1.1.1 The Definition of *Kikokushijyo*

First, we can see that the Japanese ideas of *kikokushijyo* are drawn from the name “*kikokushijyo*” itself. As *kikokushijyo* were often called “*hen Japa*,” and “*han Japa*” meaning a strange Japanese or a half-Japanese (Osawa, 1986, p.73) whose behaviors

were different from other Japanese people, we can find that there is an idea among the Japanese that perceives these individuals as being different from the rest of the Japanese people.

Kiikokushijyo is explained in dictionaries, for example, as being “a child who has spent many years abroad and returned to Japan because of their parents jobs,” (*Kojien* 5th ed., Iwanami Syoten, translated by the author), or “a school child who has returned from abroad; a returnee 「[sic] school child [student]” (*Shin Waei Daijiten* 5th ed., Kenkyusya). Returnee is explained in one of the English dictionaries as “a person who returns to their own country, after living in another country (*Oxford Advanced Learner’s English Dictionary*, 7th ed.).

However, the definition of “*kikokushijyo*” and “returnee” in Japan is different from that of the same word outside of the country. According to Goodman (1992), there is no similar particular category of returnees outside of Japan and no words that represent that same definition. As for the term *kikokushijyo* used in Japan, we surmise there is a tendency to view those Japanese people with cross-cultural experience as a special category of people. Further, although returnees are not always the children returning from the English-speaking countries, many Japanese people tend to believe that *kikokushijyo* can speak English.

Goodman (1992) defines *kikokushijyo* as “a Japanese aged 20 years old or younger who has stayed abroad for more than at least three months because of their parents’ job and continues to study in the major education system in Japan after he/she returns” (p. 5, translated by the author). Following this definition, this research will examine why the term has developed into an image that this group of people are the children who can speak English fluently because they return from the English-speaking countries.¹

In addition, Sohue (1980) points out that “*kikokushijyo*” cannot be generalized as just one word in Japan, given the extensive variability among returnees, such as the countries of residence, length of stay, age, type of school to which they return, and the area. These factors can affect life adjustment and academic development in Japan (ibid., 1980), which also results in other names being used for these individuals, such as *kikokusei*, *kikokujido*, and *kaigaishijyo*.

3.1.1.2 Historical Process of Accepting *Kikokushijyo* in Schools in Japan

Kikokushijyo were accepted in schools as being different students from the rest of the students in Japan. Since the 1960s, the number of *kikokushijyo* has increased with the further increase of people working overseas. Once these Japanese children returned from abroad, they were often called *kikokushijyo* or *kikokusei*. They were treated separately at school because their way of thinking, their behavioral patterns, and what they had studied abroad differed from those for students educated fully in Japan (A. Nakanishi, 2001).

According to *Kaigaishijyo Kyoikushi* (The education history of returnees, 1991), *kikokushijyo* existed before World War II; however, they became more of a social problem in Japan after the war due to their increased numbers. In the postwar era, Toho Girls’ Junior High School in Tokyo began to accept *kikokushijyo* in 1959. In those days, few Japanese schools or supplementary schools existed overseas. Therefore, *kikokushijyo* were perceived to have fallen behind academically, especially in Japanese language, and they were thus forced to enter lower grades than others in their same age group. The education for *kikokushijyo* emphasized *tekio kyoiku* (adjustment education), or *gaikoku hagashi* (integration education too remove the experiences and values that returnees learned abroad and force them to assimilate with the Japanese

people and its culture). In light of the increasing number of *kikokushijyo* and their related issues, in 1974 *Cyukyoshin* (The Central Education Council) and *Kaigaishijyo kyoiku suishin no kihonteki sesaku ni kansuru kenkyukyogikai* (an association for returnees) established a policy in 1975 that was aimed at *kokusai rikai kyoiku* (international understanding education) to enable the returnees to apply what they had learned abroad at home in Japan and make the most of their situations not only for the *kikokushijyo* themselves, but also for the schools they entered.

Table 1 highlights the changes that occurred when dealing with *kikokushijyo* in schools.

Table 1

A Comparison of Priority Issues in Pilot Schools and Returnee Education and Study

Priority Issues of Returnee Education	Before 1980	1981–85	1986–90	Total
<i>tekio kyoiku</i>	36 (56%)	20 (31%)	8 (13%)	64
<i>kokusai rikai kyoiku</i>	10 (16%)	20 (31%)	34 (53%)	64

(*Kaigaishijyo Kyoikushi* [Returnee education history], 1991, p. 253)

Table 1 shows that the number of school that provided *tekio kyoiku* for *kikokushijyo* decreased in the 1980s. On the other hand, *kokusai rikai kyoiku* which takes an advantage of the knowledge that *kikokushijyo* learned abroad increased in school education.

However, the data above does not always represent the actual conditions of each school. Some of these schools continued to practice *tekio kyoiku* with returnees even in the 1980s (*Kaigaishijyo Kyoikushi* [Returnee education history], 1991).

3.1.2 Prejudice toward *Kikokushijyo*

As mentioned before, the definition of the word “*kikokushijyo*” in Japan is different from “returnee” used outside of Japan. Therefore, to focus on Japan-specific definition of *kikokushijyo* and analyze how the Japanese people see them will provide a helpful clue to the Japanese ideas of English.

Despite the increased number of *kikokushijyo*, many Japanese did not have the opportunities to have direct contact with them in their daily lives in the 1980s. Therefore, the mass media such as television and newspapers, played an important role in creating an image of *kikokushijyo*.

What was the image of *kikokushijyo* that was shown by the mass media? For example, although *kikokushijyo* were not always from English-speaking countries, there was a presumption that they were from the English-speaking countries. Such ideas often come from the mass media. For example, Mie Yamaguchi² and Ayako Kisa are famous female announcers for the CNN Headline news program (TV Asahi, 1987-1999). The former is from an international school in Japan, and the latter is a *kikokushijyo* from the United States. These women were called “*bairingyaru*,” or “bilingal,” derived from the word *bilingual* in English, which is a combination of the word, *bilingual* and *gal* and refers in Japan to girls who speak English well. Mie Yamaguchi was known as the first bilingal in Japan.

However, there are almost an equal number of boys and girls who are *kikokushijyo* (*Kaigaishijyo Kyoikushi, shiryohen* [Returnee education history], 1991, p. 253). They come not only from the English-speaking countries but also from the non-English speaking countries such as China, Korea and Belgium (*Kaigai shijyo kyoiku no gaiyo* [An outline of returnee education: MEXT (n.d.)]; yet the image drawn

from the word, bilingual, gives us the image of a girl speaking English like a native speaker.³

By using Luhmann's (1984/1995) theory of the "reduction of complexity," I shall examine how an image of *kikokushijyo* was consolidated into a bias through the process of reduction of complexity. What kinds of Japanese ideas about English can be drawn from an analysis of the relationship between *kikokushijyo* and other Japanese people?

To answer these questions, three TV dramas, *Kizuna–Tatta Hitotsu no Aoi Sora* (*Ties–The Only One Blue Sky*, NHK, 1987), *San nen B gumi Kinpachi Sensei, dai hachi shirizu* (*Master Kinpachi, Junior High School Third Year, Class B, the Series' Eighth season*, TBS, 2008) and *Furu Suingu* (*Full Swing*, NHK, 2008) depicting *kikokushijyo* between the 1980s and the 2000s are analyzed. This time period is chosen because the first drama that focused on *kikokushijyo* was broadcasted in Japan in the 1980s, when some troubles about *kikokushijyo* emerged. By focusing on these three dramas, I will reveal the changes in the Japanese ideas of English that have occurred over time. Further, I will explore the possibility that, in some TV dramas, English ideology or certain kinds of discourse are actually reproduced in English classes. The transformations in the Japanese ideas of English will also be analyzed to explore the relationships of curriculum methods with English education.

3.1.3 The Relationship between *Kikokushijyo* and the Japanese Ideas of English

Although a large number of leading studies have been carried out to explore the domination of English and the Japanese ideas of English, very few attempts have been made to examine the Japanese ideas of English as they relate to *kikokushijyo*. Recent studies on *kikokushijyo* have focused on how *kikokushijyo* blend into Japanese classes or how they maintain their foreign language ability as well as their identities from a

kikokushijyo point of view. Several studies have been conducted, however, that have explored the relationship between *kikokushijyo* and students in the classroom in Japan and the image of *kikokushijyo* presented in the mass media (Sato, 1995; Shibuya, 2001; Tomo, 2001).

At Japanese schools, many students struggle with the English language every day. Suppose that one day these Japanese students suddenly met a transfer student who physically resembled a Japanese like themselves. How would they react to the new classmate when he/she suddenly used English easily in a foreign manner that was completely different from the way many Japanese people behave? Such a student was called *hen Japa* or *han Japa*, meaning a strange Japanese or a half-Japanese (Osawa, 1986, p. 73). Indeed, in the drama *Kizuna* (1987), a returnee boy was called by just such a name when his classmates bullied him because he spoke a natural easy English.

As suggested by the name, *hen Japa* or *han Japa*, and *kikokushijyo* were once seen as persons with a defect because they often were not able to use Japanese language properly or behave like the typical Japanese people did.

According to *Kaigaishijyo kyoikushi hensan iinkai* (The editorial committee of the history of education of returnees, 1991), the thinking and behavior of *kikokushijyo* differed from the average Japanese students and thus perceived as a defect in the late 1960s. The *kikokushijyo* were regarded as inferior, and assimilation into Japanese education was strongly then carried out. For example, their Japanese language ability and fundamental knowledge about Japanese culture were examined closely to tear apart and discard their experience abroad and encourage these returning students to assimilate properly into the Japanese culture. In short, *gaikoku hagashi*, gradually became a problem in Japanese schools. However, in the 1970s, the education for *kikokushijyo* was transformed into an acceptance of what they had acquired during their stay abroad,

especially their English ability. In the 1980s and later, that tendency was accelerated with more international understanding of education.

In the 1980s, international education became more important because of rapid internationalization not only in the economy, but inside the schools. The organization of the Ad Hoc Council on Education (*Rinji kyoiku shingikai: Rinkyoshin*) indicated the importance of international education in its first recommendations (*daiichiji toshin*) in 1985. A. Nakanishi (2001) points out that from the early 1980s, the interest in understanding international education has grown because of the increase in *kikokushijyo*.⁴

However, as mentioned already, English does not seem to be an essential language for many Japanese people in their daily lives; rather, it is a language used for demonstrating their academic skills (Nakamura, 1989). This focus differs from, for example, Singapore, one of the Outer Circle countries. It is one of the multilingual countries where English is the language that unites the country. Out of the four official languages designated in Singapore, English is the first official language. Although it is the mother tongue of none of the ethnic groups there, it is used to encourage the integration of many different cultures (Honna, 1998).

On the other hand, Japan has accepted English as a form of special knowledge with an image that English is superior to other languages (Nakamura, 1989). To have a good command of English is seen as one of the standards by which Japanese people are evaluated. Therefore, if the *kikokushijyo*'s overseas exposure and language ability are regarded as factors for determining an inferior-to-superior relationship between *kikokushijyo* and other students, students' response to *kikokushijyo* can be regarded as one of the indicator of the Japanese ideas of English.

In addition, the notion of communication was introduced to Japan through

Anglo-American applied linguistics and then spread throughout English language education in Japan (Saito, 2007, p. 175). As a result, the ability of communicating fluently in English was added to the Japanese ideas of English, and at the same time, the image of *kikokushijyo* being fluent speakers of English was also created.

3.1.4 Special Status Assigned to *Kikokushijyo*

In addition to *kikokushijyo*, ethnic Koreans, ethnic Chinese, the Ainu people, and others also live in Japan as minority groups. However, these people rarely appear in the media (e.g., TV dramas). According to Goodman (1992), the parents of *kikokushijyo* tend to have a high social status in the Japanese society, which means they can influence the mass media as well as the educational system. As a result, *kikokushijyo* are given preferential treatment, for example for financial aid and special entrance examinations designed only for them (ibid., 1992). Such cases seem to make the social status of *kikokushijyo* superior to that of other students in Japan. Whether these children are from English-speaking countries or not, they are often associated with English language as mentioned before. For example, many of the *kikokushijyo* appearing in the Japanese media such as magazines and TV programs speak English fluently. Sometimes the image that *kikokushijyo* who reads the news with her legs crossed is shown in the news program. Other Japanese announcers rarely read the news in such a manner.

In addition, it was reported that, after watching the drama *Kizuna* (1987), many viewers sent critical responses about the bullying of the *kikokushijyo* and the way his homeroom teacher mis-treated him, which suggests that the drama about *kikokushijyo* can generate sympathy for them and influence its audience.

The status of *kikokushijyo* for receiving special treatment mentioned above leads to bullying and envy toward *kikokushijyo*. Based on the results of questionnaires

administered to *kikokushijyo*, Miyachi (1990) points out that the reasons for such envy or bullying is based on the Japanese inferiority complex toward Westerners and include the fact that students in Japan think that *kikokushijyo* know what other students do not know or they see the attitude of *kikokushijyo* as being too smart or high-handed. The next section analyzes the dramas related to *kikokushijyo* to examine how *kikokushijyo* and those around him/her are portrayed in that media.

3.2 An Overview of TV Dramas about *Kikokushijyo* in 1980-2000s

The three TV dramas to be analyzed in this chapter are *Kizuna–Tatta Hitotsu no Aoi Sora* (*Ties–the Only One Blue Sky*, NHK, 1987), *San nen B gumi Kinpachi Sensei, dai hachi shirizu* (*Master Kinpachi, Junior High School Third Year, Class B, the Series’ Eighth season*, TBS, 2008) and *Furu Suingu* (*Full Swing*, NHK, 2008).⁵ Their viewer ratings are shown in Table 2.

Table 2.

Average Household Viewership Rating in the Kanto Area by Video Research, Ltd.

Drama	Viewer Rating	Highest Rating	Target of the Analysis
<i>Kizuna</i> (1987)	12.8%		
<i>Kinpachi Sensei</i> (2007) ⁶	10.4%	13.9%	Episode One: 13.9%
<i>Furu Suingu</i> (2008)	11.7%	14.1%	Episode Four: 14.1%

Other TV dramas in the 1980s other than *Kizuna* (1987) were *Akai Shuto* (*Red Chute*, KTV, 1986-1987) about *kikokushijyo* from Brazil and *Dokyusei wa 13 sai* (*A Classmate is 13 years old*, Fuji TV, 1987) about *kikokushijyo* from the United Arab Emirates; these dramas are not available now. In the 2000s, *Doragon Zakura* (*Dragon*

Cherry, TBS, 2005), was broadcasted; it will be analyzed in Chapter 4. It is about *kikokushijyo* from the United States. *Hanazakari no Kimitachie~Ikemen♂Paradaisu* (*Dear Young Guys~the ♂Paradise of Handsome Boys*, Fuji TV, 2007) is also about *kikokushijyo* from the United States.

In 1987 when *Kizuna* was broadcasted, a small number of schools that were attached to national universities as well as many local schools began to accept *kikokushijyo*. As a result, Japanese students gradually had a chance to meet and interact with them. Since then, however, some issues related to *kikokushijyo*, such as bullying, have emerged. Therefore, the drama presents the relationship between *kikokushijyo* and Japanese students then.

In the 1990s, *kikokushijyo* started to appear in “trendy dramas” such as *Tokyo Love Story* (Fuji TV, 1991), which is based on Fumi Saimon’s cartoon. Although its heroine, who is *kikokushijyo*, is originally written as being from Zimbabwe, she is from Los Angeles in the story for the TV version. Why was the heroine’s home changed from Zimbabwe to Los Angeles? The change suggests some kind of preference for the West. In addition, the image of the heroine as *kikokushijyo* from the United States would be easier for viewers to understand than the image of a woman from Zimbabwe. The heroine is portrayed as a bright, cheerful office worker; being *kikokushijyo* has little to do with the plot. Fewer negative images of *kikokushijyo* and fewer ideas of English are evident in this drama than in *Kizuna* (1987). There seems to be no TV dramas related to *kikokushijyo* in the schools. Therefore, TV dramas from the 1990s are not discussed in this paper.

Moving on to the 2000s when *Kinpachi Sensei* (2008) and *Furu Suingu* (2008) were broadcasted, Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi proposed making English the second official language of Japan in 2000. The Education Ministry (*Monbusyo*) then published

“The National Action Plan to Cultivate ‘Japanese with English Abilities’” (2003 Action Plan). In the entertainment business as well as the business world, being *kikokushijyo* was gradually regarded as a status symbol and a sign of internationalization.⁷ Thus, there seemed to be significant changes in the Japanese attitude toward English language drawn from these media presentations, thereby giving us some hints for analyzing the transformation in the Japanese ideas of English.

3.3 *Kizuna* (1987) and *Kikokushijyo* in the 1980s

In this section, the TV drama, *Kizuna* is analyzed to shed more light on the relationships between the Japanese ideas of English and *kikokushijyo* from three perspectives: (1) Why Do the Japanese Students develop the Inferiority Complex toward *Kikokushijyo*?, (2) The Conflict between “*Ikita Eigo*” (“Living English”) and “*Gakko Eigo*” (“School English”), and (3) *Gaikoku Hagashi*: Denial of *Kikokushijyo* and Imposition of “Japaneseness.”

3.3.1 Why Do the Japanese Students Develop the Inferiority Complex toward *Kikokushijyo*?

Kizuna, based on the non-fiction book *Tatta Hitotsu no Aoi Sora—Kaigai Kikokushijyo wa Gendai no Sutezo ka* (*The Only One Blue Sky: Are Returnees Abandoned Children in the Modern Japan?*, Osawa, 1986), is the story of *kikokushijyo* from the United States. Osawa, the author, interviewed some parents of *kikokushijyo* and compiled their experiences in Japan after coming back from abroad.

Its plot is as follows: Tomoya Yano, who stayed in the United States for seven years, comes back to Japan alone, leaving his parents behind. He enrolls in the second year of a Japanese junior high school and is severely bullied by his classmates. He ends

up with a stomach ulcer and ultimately decides to go back to the United States.

On the first day of junior high school, Tomoya is scolded by his grandfather for sitting cross-legged on the sofa in the principal's office. This scene highlights how he is likely to behave differently because of his experiences in the United States. In short, the scene suggests that his behavior is indeed different from that of his fellow Japanese students.

The following scene (1) shows Tomoya introducing himself to his classmates. At first, the Japanese students seem to be friendly to Tomoya. However, they begin to express a negative attitude toward Tomoya because of his self-introduction in native-like English. (Note: Dialogues and conversations in the dramas will be quoted in Japanese, followed by English translated by the author.)

(1) 先生： アメリカの、フロリダから転校してきた矢野友也君です。

生徒たち： わー！（口々に歓声を上げる。）

先生： 今日からみんなと一緒に勉強しますから、仲良くしてあげてね。

（生徒たちはざわついているが、笑顔で好意的な雰囲気）

友也： あの一、自己紹介してもいいですか。

生徒A： 日本語しゃべれるよー。

先生： 自己紹介？どうぞ。

友也： 次の時間英語ですから英語でやります。

生徒たち： えー？

（先生は笑顔のまま、えー？という驚きの表情で生徒たちを見回す）

生徒たち： 英語で一？そんない。

（生徒たちはざわつき、うさんくさそうな目つきになる）

友也： （先生に向かって） いけませんか？

先生： ううん、いいわよ、やってみて。

（生徒たちは相変わらずざわついている）

友也： Hello, everyone. My name is Tomoya Yano. I've lived in St.
Augustine in Florida for seven years. My parents are still there.
〔後略〕

先生： えー、ちょっとちょっと。もう少し静かに聞きなさいよ。
ヒヤリングのいい機会じゃない？ね？矢野君、もう少しゆ
っくりしゃべって。

友也： （照れ笑いを浮かべ、頭をかく仕草） St. Augustine is only 80 km
away from the Cape Canaveral Space Center. 〔後略〕

生徒A： わかんねー、わかんねー、わかんねー。

（友也はだまって先生の顔を見る。）

先生： あ、どうぞ。

友也： Now, I'd like to talk about some of the experiences that I had in
Florida. 〔後略〕

生徒B： 何言ってるんだよー。

生徒C： ほー。

生徒D： 何言ってるんだよー。

友也： 静かにしてください！

生徒たち： おー。

生徒A： アメ公が怒ってるぜー。

生徒たち： ヤンキー野郎が。（口々に野次を飛ばす）

(translation)

Ms. Akazawa: This is Tomoya Yano from Florida, America.

Students: Wow! [The students give a cheer.]

Ms. Akazawa: Now, he is going to be our classmate. Be friends with him, everybody.

[Students are still buzzing, but seem to be happy and smiling.]

Tomoya: Can I introduce myself?

Student A: Oh! He can speak Japanese!

Ms. Akazawa: Introduce yourself? Fine.

Tomoya: I'm introducing myself in English because the next class is English.

Students: What?

[Ms. Akazawa looks around at the students in surprise, but she keeps smiling.]

Students: In English? No kidding!

[Students buzz and glance furtively at the new classmate.]

Tomoya: Can't I?

Ms. Akazawa: Well, it's OK. You can try.

[Students are still buzzing.]

Tomoya: Hello, everyone. My name is Tomoya Yano. I lived in St. Augustine in Florida for seven years. My parents are still there....

Ms. Akazawa: Hey, guys. Listen more carefully. It's a good chance for you to practice listening to English, right? Yanokun, speak more slowly.

Tomoya: [scratching his head with a shy smile] St. Augustine is only 80 km away from the Cape Canaveral Space Center....

Student A: I can't understand you at all.

[Tomoya looks at Ms. Akazawa in silence.]

Ms. Akazawa: Well, go ahead.

Tomoya: Now, I'd like to talk about some of the experiences that I had in Florida....

Student B: What on earth is he talking about?

Student C: Oho.

Student D: What on earth is he talking about?

Tomoya: Be quiet, please!

Students: Oh.

Student A: That Yankee is getting angry.

Students: Damned Yankee!

[Students began booing him.]

In this scene, the students changed their attitude toward Tomoya during his

introduction. Students gave a cheer at first. Some were even smiling as they talked about him. The fact that he was a new classmate coming from the United States did not lead to their feelings of opposition to him.

However, as soon as he introduced himself in English, the other students' attitudes changed. Their change in attitude could be explained as follows. Although Tomoya looked like a Japanese student from his appearance, he had a very active attitude, such as volunteering to introduce himself in English. Yet his classmates would not even listen to his fluent English. He simply introduced himself in English. The students' negative reaction toward him, however, did not necessarily mean that they rejected him as a new classmate. His strong English ability and his behavior that was so different from that of Japanese students stimulated the students' feelings of inferiority toward him, resulting in strong feelings of dislike, because Tomoya could speak English, while the Japanese students couldn't. This gap would lead students to believe they were ranked lower than this *kikokushijyo*.

In scene (2), Tomoya's grandfather visits Ms. Akazawa as he worries about his grandson being bullied. Ms. Akazawa explains her classroom students' inferiority complex because of their lower English skills and implies that this complex has something to do with their feelings of dislike toward Tomoya. The teacher's remarks in the next scene show that even the teacher regards Tomoya's ability to speak English fluently as a problem.

- (2) 「矢野君が英語に関しては、学力が飛び抜けてあるからですよ。まだまだ be 動詞の変格活用すら飲み込めてない子が多いんですから。」

(translation)

Yanokun's English ability is too high. In contrast, many of the students have

not yet understood and even the irregular conjugation of a substantive verb.

Ms. Akazawa's comment that "Yanokun's English ability is too high" reveals that his English is regarded as strong evidence of his overall academic ability. In fact, when Tomoya argued about her explanation of English expression in class, Ms. Akazawa thought that she was criticized for her way of teaching English in front of other students and rejected his opinion (See 3.3.2). In addition, the idea drawn from Ms. Akazawa's comments can be the cause for bullying Tomoya is significant point of the Japanese idea of English.

As Tomoya's classmates do not understand his English, they repeatedly say they cannot understand him and thus reject him. Why does the great gap in English ability lead to the feelings of dislike toward him? Why does it lead to the Japanese students' having an inferiority complex toward Tomoya?

The English ability is often used as a criterion for evaluating people's abilities in entrance examinations to high schools, universities, the job hunting and so on. Due to the beliefs that "English skills are necessary in the age of globalization," or "English is important because it is an international language," many people accept and view English ability as one of the standards for evaluating people highly.

English is also regarded as a symbol of wealth in Japan where—based on the premise that English is an excellent language (Nakamura, 1989)—the Anglo-Saxon culture is strongly emulated. This aspect will be discussed in Chapter 5.

3.3.2 The Conflict between "*Ikita Eigo*" ("Living English") and "*Gakko Eigo*" ("School English")

In addition to the fact that English is associated with high intellectual academic ability, Tomoya's native-like "*Ikita Eigo*" ("living English," referring to "natural"

English which native speakers of English speak) is regarded as the opposite to “*Gakko Eigo*” (“school English,” which focuses on English grammar) and “*Juken Eigo*” (entrance-exam English).

According to Saito (2007), there are two opposing aspects to English. One is *Gakko Eigo* (or *Juken Eigo*), the English focused on grammar and translation, and the other aspect is the idea of English for “communication.”⁸ Orito (2007) warned that English is classified into either *Gakko Eigo* or *Eikaiwa* (English that focuses on conversation), despite the fact that English is just one language. He voiced concern that the Japanese people might be confused and tossed about by such “an easy advertising statement” about English.

However, not many Japanese people have opportunities to come into contact with *Ikita Eigo* in their daily lives except through the mass media or English conversation classes with native speakers of English. Meanwhile, Miyachi (1990) points out that the *Ikita Eigo* that the *kikokushijyo* use isolates them from the Japanese students around them because there is a big gap between English ability of *kikokushijyo* and that of the Japanese students. Besides, the English language that *kikokushijyo* learned through their overseas experiences and English as a school subject that the Japanese students learn in the classroom is vastly different (p.12). For these reasons, Japanese students often experience uncomfortable feelings toward *Ikita Eigo*⁹ spoken by a returnee, which often makes *kikokushijyo* isolated.

In *Kizuna* (1987), a girl, another *kikokushijyo* suggests that Tomoya join with other Japanese students to avoid being bullied. At first, she does not speak with him to hide the fact that she was a *kikokushijyo*. In scene (3), she gives him advice to join other Japanese students and stop using *Ikita Eigo* after he is bullied by his classmates.

(3) 友也： けいこ、どうやってみんなと仲良くなれたの？

けいこ：あのね、私も最初から今みたいになれたわけじゃないの。でも日本にいる限りしょうがないの。でなきゃ生きていけないんだもの。だから、友也君の参考のためにはね、まず英語の時間、リーダーを読むときは、日本語読みにするの。

友也： 日本語読み？

けいこ：そう。日本人が発音するように、わざと下手な発音にするのよ。そうするとみんなの態度ががらっと変わるわ。

友也： それだけで？

けいこ：あの人たちはね、アメリカ人が英語をしゃべるのは抵抗がないのだけど、私たちみたいな日本人の顔をした人間がきちんとした英語をしゃべると許せないのよ。

友也： そーか。

けいこ：テレビなんかもみんなが見てるものを見て、歌手の名前を覚えるの。そしてね、アメリカのことなんか忘れたみたいな顔をして、絶対口に出さないこと。

(translation)

Tomoya: How did you manage to make friends with Japanese classmates?

Keiko: Listen, I could not work well from the get-go or manage to get along with them at first either. But I managed it because I had to as long as I live in Japanese society. So Tomoya, all you have to do is to read an English book with a Japanese accent in the English reading class.

Tomoya: Read it with a Japanese accent?

Keiko: That's right. You should use poor English pronunciation on purpose. Then people around you will change their attitude the moment they hear your bad accent.

Tomoya: Is that all?

Keiko: Japanese don't mind if American people speak English at all.

However, they never approve of Japanese-face people like us speaking English fluently.

Tomoya: I see.

Keiko: Watch TV programs and remember the names of singers the way they do. And you pretend to have completely forgotten America. You never talk about it.

As this conversation clearly illustrates, *kikokushijyo* feel forced to hide their true identities and adjust to the people around them (Ebuchi, 1986). A 1974 field survey on *kikokushijyo* in Japan by *Monbusyo* shows that *kikokushijyo* were exceptionally taught about how to adjust to life in the classroom and the group in schools as well as how to create desirable personal relationships in school (43-55% *kikokushijyo* were in elementary school, 38% were in junior high school in Japan: *Kaigaishijyo kyoikushi hensan iinkai*, 1991, p.275). We can see that making the *kikokushijyo* assimilate into the Japanese culture was perceived to be an important factor then. However, what *kikokushijyo* learned while abroad, such as their ways of thinking and their language abilities, might be an obstacle to getting along with people around them in Japan.

Furthermore, the idea of *Gakko Eigo* was created to compete with *Ikita Eigo* that *kikokushijyo* uses. Therefore, students are encouraged to study *Gakko Eigo* instead of *Ikita Eigo*. Scene (4) from the English class shows the dichotomy between *Ikita Eigo* and *Gakko Eigo* produced in schools.

(4) (生徒が黒板に Please teach me the way to the library. と書く。)

赤沢先生：はい。えー、Please teach me the way to the library. 西村さん、

よくできたわね。じゃあ、次は…。

友也：先生、先生、いいですか。

先生：何？

友也：あの、日本語の「教える」を、英語の“teach”に置き換えて使

うのはおかしいです。道を教えてという場合は、アメリカでは普通 “tell” を使います。

先生：立って言いなさい。

友也：それに人にもものを尋ねるときには、失礼にならないように、

“Excuse me. Could you tell me~?” とか、“Would you please tell me~?” とか、丁寧な言い方の方がいいと思います。

(生徒たち、口々に野次を飛ばし始める)

先生：矢野く一ん。私は別にここで英会話を教えているわけじゃないんだから。文法に則ったアカデミックな英語を教えるんです。

友也：でも “teach” というのは、先生か生徒に知識を教えたり、技術を教えたり、そういう重い意味であって、道を教えてという場合は使わないんですよ。

(translation)

[During class, a student is told by Ms. Akazawa to write an English sentence, “Please teach me the way to the library.” on the blackboard. The student completes her task and returns to her seat.]

Ms. Akazawa: OK. Well, Please teach me the way to the library. Well done, Nishimura san. And next....

Tomoya: Excuse me, excuse me! Can I ask you a question?

Ms. Akazawa: Yes?

Tomoya: Uh, it is strange to use the word, “teach” when we want to say “*oshieru*” in English. In America, “tell” is used when they ask someone to give a direction.

Ms. Akazawa: When you ask me something, you must stand up.

Tomoya: And when we ask someone something, we should use more polite expressions such as “Excuse me. Could you tell me~” or “Would you please tell me~?” so as not to be rude to someone.

[hoots and booing from the rest of the students]

Ms. Akazawa: I am not teaching English conversation now, but rather academic and grammatical English.

Tomoya: But “teach” is used when a teacher provides students with

knowledge or skills. As “teach” is different from “tell,” they don’t use it when asking for directions.

Scene (4) above shows the conflict between *Ikita Eigo* and *Gakko Eigo*. Besides, *Gakko Eigo* is used to overcome a threat to *Ikita Eigo* and *kikokushijyo* who speak *Ikita Eigo*.

We can see that Tomoya’s demeanor is not following the pragmatic rules of classroom behavior in Japan. First, he asks the teacher a question while remaining seated. Second, he interrupts her, begins his question, and provides his opinion. What is evident in scene (4) is that Tomoya behaves in an American style of classroom communication that is different from the style of Japan. For example, students in Japan have to sit still during class. If a student has a question to ask, he/she has to raise his/her hand and ask the teacher’s permission to speak; only then can he/she stand up and ask the question.

According to Goodman (1992), teachers in Japan are not used to being criticized or judged by students, especially during class and in front of many students; they sometimes see a student with a different behavior as being a “subversive element” (Goodman, 1992, p.42). What Tomoya did during English class was a behavior that, as mentioned by Miyachi (1990), parents repeatedly tell their children not to engage in. In addition, such a behavior differs from accepted Japanese behaviors and thus seems to be an object of *gaikoku hagashi* (to wipe away what the returnees learned abroad and force them assimilate into the Japanese way of thinking). Therefore Ms. Akazawa needed to reject and deny Tomoya’s behavior in front of the students by using *Gakko Eigo* and overcame him. In short, the conflict between *Ikita Eigo* and *Gakko Eigo* equals the struggle between Japanese teachers and *kikokushijyo*.

In scene (5), Ms. Akazawa argues about Tomoya’s question that relates to the

English expression from the previous scene:

(5) 先生： だけど、それはアメリカでの話でしょ。ここは日本だから。

生徒たち： そうだよー。

友也： でも英語はアメリカのことばですよ。アングロサクソンの言葉です。

生徒たち： 知らねーよ、そんなの。何言ってんだよ。

友也： 日本でもそういう英語を教えるべきじゃありませんか。

先生： わかりました。矢野君。あなたが教えてくれなくてもいいのよ。もし英語の授業が気に入らないんだったらば、授業中は静かにしててちょうだい。

(translation)

Ms. Akazawa: But that is the case in America, isn't it? We are in Japan.

Students: That's right.

Tomoya: But English is the language of America. It's Anglo-Saxon language.

Students: I don't care. What on earth are you talking about?

Tomoya: I think such English should be taught in Japan as well. Right?

Ms. Akazawa: That's enough. You don't have to teach me English, Yano kun. If you don't like my English class, keep silent in class.

In this scene, the teacher denies the *Ikita Eigo* that Tomoya has learned. Ms. Akazawa denies Tomoya's question in front of the other students saying "That is the case in America, isn't it? We are in Japan." As clearly stated by Tomoya, "English is the language of America. It's Anglo-Saxon language." This English is so-called *Ikita Eigo*. What is drawn then from scene (5) is that English that focuses on English grammar, or *Gakko Eigo* (which Ms. Akazawa teaches), and *Ikita Eigo* are greatly

different from each other. In short, a strong conflict between *Ikita Eigo* and *Gakko Eigo* is portrayed here. Scene (5) suggests that the English teacher as well as students regard *Gakko Eigo* more important than *Ikita Eigo*. Besides, they would not accept Tomoya's behavior that is foreign to them, neither would they try to understand another culture.

This argument between Tomoya and Ms. Akazawa ends with Ms. Akazawa's denial of *Ikita Eigo*. As for *Ikita Eigo*, people who speak fluent English, especially *Ikita Eigo* like native speakers do, are often highly praised in Japan as in the previous example of "bilinguals." On the other hand, this *Ikita Eigo* is denied in schools as it is not regarded as appropriate for *Gakko Eigo*. Therefore, the students who are good at *Gakko Eigo* can be viewed as being superior to *kikokushijyo* who can speak *Ikita Eigo* because the teacher emphasizes the importance of "academic and grammatical" *Gakko Eigo* that is more appropriate for ELT in schools. Ms. Akazawa's comment, "I am not teaching English conversation now, but rather academic and grammatical English (scene 4)" proves her performance. This conflict between *Ikita Eigo* and *Gakko Eigo* will be shown to the students by the teachers.

In 1987, when this drama was broadcasted, English was an optional subject in junior high schools. However, English became a virtually compulsory subject, as the number of schools that made English one of the subjects for their entrance exams increased after 1955 (Nakamura, 2004). In fact, in the revised edition of *The Course of Study* in 1998, English became a compulsory subject in junior high schools. Since English is a required subject to take to pass entrance exams, *Gakko Eigo* became more important than *Ikita Eigo*. As a result, the ability to speak *Ikita Eigo* then tends to be seen as unimportant.

Thus, the mass media shows through TV dramas the dichotomy between *Ikita Eigo* and *Gakko Eigo*, where the latter becomes superior to the former because the

former is less important than the latter, especially for the students who will need to take entrance exams.

The superiority of *Gakko Eigo* invited the criticism that ELT in Japan is useless or impractical. To this criticism, several reasons have been presented to explain the inherent limitations when improving students' English ability in ELT. First, there is not much time set aside for English classes. Second, English can be said to be a more difficult language to learn for Japanese people than Korean, Chinese, Kiswahili etc., because of the linguistic distance between Japanese and other languages (Inoue, 2000; Otani, 2007).¹⁰ However, such data is rarely shown by the media to the Japanese people.

In addition, Tomoya's behavior becomes a potential threat to the English teacher in the Japanese school (Goodman, 1992) as mentioned before. Because of the Western-oriented point of view *kikokushijyo* learned while immersed in the cultures of English-speaking countries, they might become a potential threat to English teachers as stated. According to Goodman (1992), Japanese teachers are not used to being criticized or questioned in front of their students, particularly in an English class, when the ability of *kikokushijyo* is visible in their pronunciation. Accordingly, teachers might regard *kikokushijyo* as a "subversive element" that disrupts their classes. As a result, teachers use *Gakko Eigo* as way to overcome *Ikita Eigo* that represents *kikokushijyo* and maintain the order of the English class.

Minoura (1990) points out the cultural differences between American schools and Japanese schools: Japanese elementary education focuses on acquiring knowledge, while American schools focus on nourishing students' ability by giving students materials based on their ability and encouraging students to offer comments or ask questions during class, but delivering few lecture-styled classes. Minoura (1990) asserts

that children growing up outside of Japan often fail to learn appropriate Japanese manners or ways of thinking that are common in Japan.

Obviously, Tomoya was educated in an American elementary school, which has different “meaning systems” (Minoura, 1990, p. 202) from Japanese schools. For example, he interrupts his teacher with a question about English in class by saying, “Excuse me, excuse me, can I ask you a question?” The teacher does not give a prompt reply to him, but instead says, “Stand up and ask me.” Although he just wants to ask a question about English, she regards his attitude as a personal criticism of her. Then she rejects him by saying, “If you don’t like my English class, keep silent in class.” This miscommunication tells us that Tomoya and Ms. Akazawa have different “meaning systems” for the relationship between students and teachers. As a result, their intercultural communication fails.

In Japan, the hierarchical relations between teachers and students are clearly established, and classes are usually teacher-centered. As Takano (2008) explains, “the more authoritarian the relationship is among people, the more harmonized they become” (p. 91, translated by the author). It is undeniably difficult for students to ask teachers questions during class. Therefore, if students have a question, they tend to reserve it until after class. Although Tomoya tries to continue with his comments, he is ultimately rejected by the teacher. This scene indicates that the cultures in the English-speaking countries are clearly symbolized by Tomoya’s behavior.

Thus, we can see that the idea of *Ikita Eigo* is still likely not to fit into the hierarchy social structure of Japanese culture practiced in the Japanese schools. Yet despite being bothered by feelings of strangeness toward *kikokushijyo*, the teachers and students are still interested in learning English. This ambivalent attitude toward English can be regarded as operating in the formation of the Japanese ideas about English.

3.3.3 *Gaikoku Hagashi*: Denial of *Kikokushijyo* and Imposition of “Japaneseness”

In his school, Tomoya is not just regarded as a student who has previously lived in America and thus is good at speaking English, but rather a *kikokushijyo* who behaves differently from other Japanese students. Ms. Akazawa’s remark that “he is not Japanese” is often used to attack *kikokushijyo* and impose “Japaneseness” on him. As a result, the Japanese people do gain an advantage over *kikokushijyo*. Nakatsu (1976), who herself was a *kikokushijyo*, described her experience at being ordered to become “a perfect Japanese” and “a Japanese girl” as soon as she came back from the Soviet Union in 1936. To date, there has still been no significant change in the lack of consideration for *kikokushijyo* perspectives, and they are expected to assimilate into Japan and behave as a Japanese. This tendency, indeed observed in Japan, leads to the ultimate denial of *kikokushijyo* and their *Ikita Eigo*, by regarding them as outcasts that are lower than the average Japanese and not knowing the expected Japanese manners. They are sometimes called *hen Japa*, who are different and strange by the Japanese standard.

However, the final report of the Ad Hoc Council on Education did emphasize internationalization (*Kaigai shijyo kyoikushi hensan iinkai*, 1991). Further, in the revised Ordinance for Enforcement of the School Education Act (*Gakko Kyoikuho Seko Kisoku*) in 1988, returnee-consciousness was included in the general provisions for *The Course of Study* (1989) as follows:

When teaching students who have returned from overseas, teachers should find appropriate ways to include the student’s life experience during living overseas and help the students adjust to school life.

Although the relationship between *kikokushijyo* and internationalization is not clearly identified here, the statement, “the special qualities of returnees should be utilized for international education” (*Kaigai shijyo kyoiku hensan iinkai*, 1991), has that implication. We can see similar changes in the Japanese ideas of English in some TV dramas that depict *kikokushijyo*. The next section analyzes these dramas produced in the 2000s.

3.4 Accepting *Kikokushijyo*: Analyzing Two Dramas in the 2000s

This section analyzes two TV dramas produced in the 2000s: *Kinpachi Sensei* (2008) and *Furu Suingu* (2008). As the 1980s developed economically in terms of an international society, Japan enjoyed favorable business conditions (i.e., the “bubble economy”) well into the 1990s. In the 2000s, under the label “*gaikokugo kaiwa*,” foreign language conversation, or “*eikaiwa*,” English conversation was introduced into the curriculum for elementary schools. MEXT also proposed “the strategic plan to cultivate ‘Japanese with English abilities’” on July 12, 2002.

This section analyzes conversations between *kikokushijyo* and the teachers and students surrounding them in the TV dramas *Kinpachi Sensei* (2008) and *Furu Suingu* (2008) both produced in the 2000s, comparing them with *Kizuna* (1987) broadcasted in the 1980s.

3.4.1 *Kinpachi Sensei* (2008): *Kikokushijyo* as a Valuable Resource for Japan

Ryoko Kanai, who appears in the first episode of *Kinpachi Sensei* (2008), is a *kikokushijyo* who lived in London for five years. On the surface, she seems to present no differences in her behavior from that of other Japanese students except for her English ability. Ryoko is told to speak English during a homeroom activity. In scene (1),

the homeroom teacher, Kinpachi, is returning painting assignments to the students.

(1) (亮子に返却する番になる。)

金八先生：はい、入選おめでとうございます。金賞、ぜひがんばってくださいね。

(生徒たち、口々に「亮子！おめでとう！」と言う。)

先生：　なあ、なあ、なあ、なっ。帰国子女の亮子です。せっかくのチャンスですから、この喜びを、英語で語っていただきましょう。

生徒A：　おー。

生徒B：　英語で一。

生徒C：　よっしゃ！

亮子：　Thank you so much. That's such a pleasing result to hear.

先生：　なるほど、なるほど！なーるほど！

(生徒がやがやしている。)

生徒A：　何言ってるのかわかんねーよ。

先生：　いやいや、先生、だいたいわかったよ。はい！ね！素晴らしいスピーチだったんで、みなさんでね、おめでとうっていうのを英語で言ってあげましょう。

(translation)

[Ryoko's turn to receive her assignment]

Kinpachi: Well, congratulations on your prize picture. The Gold Award. Good luck to you.

[Other students say, "Congratulations! Ryoko!"]

Kinpachi: Hei, hei, hei, hei. As Ryoko is a returnee, shall we ask her to express her joy on receiving the award in English? It's a valuable chance for us.

Student A: Oh.
 Student B: In English?
 Student C: Good idea!
 Ryoko: Thank you so much. That's such a pleasing result to hear.
 Kinpachi: I see, I see. Oh, I see!
 [Students are buzzing]
 Student A: What on earth is she talking about?
 Kinpachi: Well, I understand almost all of her comment. She has made a wonderful speech, so let's say "Congratulations" to her in English.

In scene (1), when Ryoko is asked to speak English in front of her classmates, she does not seem to hesitate. Yet neither Kinpachi nor her classmates understand her native-like English well. However, no feelings of inferiority complex toward English and a sense of disgust toward her are shown in the scene.

The National Association to Press Forward with Basic Measures for Returnees' Education (*Kaigaishijyo kyoiku suishin no kihonteki sesaku ni kansuru kenkyu kyogikai*, 1991) suggested that schools should take advantage of *kikokushijyo's* experiences and abilities abroad:

The state of education for returnees is not only to encourage them to assimilate into education in Japan, but also to encourage them to keep and bring out their ability that they acquired abroad... (p. 106).

The Japanese government gradually became more positive about accepting *kikokushijyo's* experiences and language skills and sought to protect and utilize them instead of touting so-called *gaikoku hagashi*, or removing their foreigner-like behaviors or ways of thinking from *kikokushijyo*. As a result, we find that schools became increasingly conscious of accepting *kikokushijyo* in these dramas.

In another episode of *Kinpachi Sensei* (2008), Ryoko is portrayed as a

kikokushijyo who helps translate an English letter into Japanese for a classmate who is not good at English. She encourages the classmate to join an English speech contest and helps him practice English. In the drama, Ryoko's skills of English are often shown as just one of her personal traits, like being good at baseball or math. The teacher, Kinpachi, highly regards Ryoko's English ability not just because of her *kikokushijyo* background, but also because of her good personality, which he acknowledges in front of his students in scene (1). The teacher's affirmative attitude toward her leads his students to see her English ability in a favorable light. This outcome is in a direct contrast to Ms. Akazawa in *Kizuna* (1987), who thought that Tomoya's English ability was not appropriate for *Gakko Eigo*.

Scene (2) demonstrates that Ryoko's English ability is being used as a valuable resource in her junior high school. The teacher, Kinpachi, tells other teachers in the teachers' room that Ryoko was elected class representative for the English speech contest.

(2) 金八先生：あの一、スピーチコンテストの3Bの代表なんですが、金井亮子に決まりましたんで、よろしくお願いします。

先生A（英語担当）：それはよかった。彼女なら優勝間違いなしですかね。

先生B：金井さん、たしか、イギリスからの帰国子女ですよ。

金八先生：そうです。お父さんの仕事の関係で、小学校3年から中学校1年まで5年間ロンドン暮らしだそうです。

先生C：ほお。

先生A：あとはスピーチの内容ですねー。それは私が指導しますよ。彼女が優勝すれば、桜中の英語のレベルが高いこと、さら

にアピールできますよ。

先生C： おし！

金八先生： 副校長、副校長、生徒は広告塔じゃありませんからね。だ
いたい、そのスピーチコンテストの意義と申しまして…。

(translation)

Kinpachi: Ah, Kanai Ryoko was elected class representative for the English speech contest.

English Teacher A: That's great. She should win the top prize for sure.

Teacher B: Miss Kanai, she is a returnee from England. Right?

Kinpachi: That's right. She lived in London for five years, from the third grade to the seventh grade because of her father's job.

Teacher C: Oh.

Teacher A: The only problem would be the content of her speech. I will give her some advice on it. If she wins, we can make even more of a public appeal that we offer a high-level English education at Sakura Junior High School.

Teacher C: Good!

Kinpachi: Vice Principal! Students should not be used for advertising our school....

Goodman (1992) suggests that Japanese teachers have competing opinions about how they should respond to *kikokushijyo*: Encourage them to re-adapt to Japanese culture or see them as valuable national resources. The former opinion is shown in the drama *Kizuna* (1987) while the latter appears in *Kinpachi Sensei* (2008). Teacher A's comment in scene (2) that "if she wins, we can make a public appeal even further now that we have a high-level English education" shows that Ryoko's English ability is regarded as a valuable resource for their junior high school. On the other hand, Kinpachi does not agree to use her as an advertisement to demonstrate the high level of English education there.

Here we see a stereotype, namely, that *kikokushijyo* can be seen not just as

ordinary children, but special children who are good at English. In response to this stereotype, Kinpachi argues that students should not be used for advertising the school. Teacher A is shown to evaluate *kikokushijyo* not from the point of personality, but in terms of English ability. His way of dealing with *kikokushijyo* also tells us that one's English ability can be used as a criterion for evaluating people. This idea seems to have a lot to do with the Japanese idea of English which regards English as an asset and valuable resource. In other words, there is a positive attitude among the Japanese people toward English. Further discussion about this idea will be presented in the next chapter.

Sato (1995) points out that, because of the mass media reports about *kikokushijyo* being “the symbol of internationalization”(p.73), the stereotype of *kikokushijyo* was reinforced and established among the people. According to Sato (1995), the image of returnees changed from negative to positive as internationalization progressed in Japan. The image of *kikokushijyo* in the 1980s was “the object of rescue”—in other words, *kikokushijyo* should be made to assimilate into Japanese culture because they did not know Japanese culture and manners. However, they became “the symbol of internationalization” in the 1990s (Sato, 1995, p. 49).

In *Kinpachi Sensei* (2008), *kikokushijyo* is described in a more positive manner than in the 1980s. Although the stereotype of *kikokushijyo* is still evident, the drama suggests that each *kikokushijyo* have their own experiences and points of view or personalities that developed during their stay abroad. Furthermore, such views of their personalities should be considered carefully. In several scenes in *Kinpachi Sensei* (2008), Ryoko tells her friends about her experiences abroad; she was once racially abused during her stay in London and she learned about cultures that were different from those of Japan.

After *Kinpachi Sensei* (2008), *kikokushijyo* are not always portrayed negatively in

TV dramas, and their language ability was regarded as one of their unique skills. In addition, the drama does not seem to focus on the behavioral dissimilarities of *kikokushijyo*, even if they do behave differently from other students. As an increasing number of *kikokushijyo* play an important role in the media today, they become more familiar to the Japanese people. In the business community, the number of companies that employ *kikokushijyo* has increased. According to Sato (1991), companies want *kikokushijyo* so as to “make use of the international sensibility” (p.243, translated by the author) they possess. Also, they can communicate well with non-Japanese people with their good language skills. The favorable image toward *kikokushijyo* has become familiar. The change from a negative to a positive image suggests that the Japanese ideas of English changed from an having inferiority complex toward English shown in *Kizuna* (1987) to the acceptance of English and different cultures as an asset as we see in *Kinpachi Sensei* (2008).

3.4.2 *Furu Suingu* (2008)

3.4.2.1 Accepting Multiculturalism

This section explores how *kikokushijyo* is portrayed in the drama, *Furu Suingu* (2008) compared to their image in previous dramas to further explore the Japanese ideas of English. This drama is based on the true-life story of a former professional baseball coach who became a high school teacher when he was fifty-nine. In the fourth episode of the series, the loneliness of *kikokushijyo* and an English teacher’s conflict are shown. This drama also deals with the traditional theme about *kikokushijyo* and bullying, and an English teacher’s conflict with *kikokushijyo*. However, the drama does not simply use the stereotypes of *kikokushijyo*; rather, it portrays a student who suffers from loneliness while in an unfamiliar culture. In addition, it does not describe a teacher–returnee

rivalry, but rather the teacher's willingness to accept and protect her. Furthermore, the instrumental idea of "English as a tool of communication" and the Japanese teacher's positive idea that communication in English is wonderful are both shown in this drama.

At the beginning of the fourth episode, some students are making fun of their teacher of English by making *kikokushijyo* speak English fast to the teacher. The *kikokushijyo*, Mizusawa from New York, returned to Japan when she was in junior high school. Her classmates tell her to ask the teacher questions fast in English that the teacher cannot understand what she says. Mizusawa has no choice but to do that against her will because she is afraid of being bullied by her classmates. She has experiences of being bullied before in Japan.

In scene (1), some of the students feel sorry for their English teacher and tell another teacher about the situation.

(1) 生徒A：2学期から、英語の授業で、水沢さんが太田先生に質問するようになったと。毎回必ず。

(生徒Aの回想シーン。英語の授業中、水沢が黙って挙手している。)

生徒B：太田せんせーい。水沢が質問ですよー。

生徒C：ほら、早くあててやれよ。

先生：水沢さん、どうぞ。

水沢：（英語で話し出す）If we take that sentence, and change it that something like this....

(英語が聞き取れず青ざめていく太田先生)

生徒A：水沢さんは帰国子女じゃけん、すっごい早口の英語で。太田先生、いつも全然聞き取れんくて。

(translation)

Student A: In the second school term, Miss Mizusawa began to ask Mr. Ota some questions in every English class.

[Student A is remembering how Mizusawa silently puts her hand up in English class.]

Student B: Mr. Ota, Mizusawa is asking you a question.

Student C: Hey, why not call on her quickly?

Mr. Ota: Miss Mizusawa, please go ahead.

Mizusawa: [She begins to say something in English.] If we take that sentence, and change it to something like this....

[Mr. Ota turns pale because he cannot understand her English.]

Student A: Since Ms. Mizusawa is a returnee, she speaks English very fast. Mr. Ota can't always understand her.

As previously mentioned, a teacher–returnee conflict is shown in this drama. The Japanese students around Mizusawa force her to assimilate into their group, which takes a hostile attitude toward Mr. Ota. Mizusawa, who does not really want to bother her teacher, Mr. Ota, is obliged to make fun of him. Having been bullied by her classmates when she was a junior high school student in Japan, Mizusawa is afraid of having a similar experience again.

Meanwhile, Mr. Ota cannot understand the student's English and feels deflated and wants to avoid talking to *kikokushijyo*. As a result, his escapist behavior further encourages the students to make fun of him. Mizusawa, who is understood by nobody and feels more and more lonely, then speaks nothing other than English. She eventually closes her mind to those around her. Here, we see that her English is used as a tool for a refusal of communication with other Japanese.

Like *Kizuna* (1987), this drama depicts a teacher who cannot accept *kikokushijyo*. However, thanks to his colleague's advice, Mr. Ota comes to notice that Mizusawa is not attacking him through her own will but, to the contrary, she is asking him for help. The following flashback (2) shows Mizusawa asking Mr. Ota for help.

(2) 水沢 : Can't you see what's going on? I'm just as a loser as you are. I just want you to catch me.

太田先生 : は…、僕を、責めてたわけじゃなかったんだ。彼女は僕に助けを。英語で僕に助けを。何度も何度も “catch me” って。こんな僕に助けを。

(translation)

Mizusawa: Can't you see what's going on? I'm just as much of a loser as you are. I just want you to catch me.

Mr. Ota: Oh.... She didn't intend to blame me. She was asking me for help. Asking me for help in English. She said, “catch me” many times. Asking me for help.

In this drama, “catch” or “can you catch me?” are keywords shown over and over again. The previous dramas about *kikokushijyo* such as *Kizuna* (1987) and *Doragon Zakura* (2005), and an essay written by Nakatsu (1976), often show the image of Japanese people who are closed and not open and behave coercively toward *kikokushijyo*. In *Furu Suingu* (2008), however, we see that a Japanese teacher is trying to understand and protect those *kikokushijyo* who grew up in a different culture.

3.4.2.2 Developing the Instrumental Idea of English

The following scene (3) tell us that the Japanese idea of “English as a tool of communication” is actually quite common throughout Japan.

(3) (英語の時間)

太田先生 : 信じられないかもしれないけど、これでもぼくね、大学1年の時に、ヨーロッパを、リュックをかついで一ヶ月、旅したこと

があるんだ。ユースホテルや、安宿で、いろんな国、いろんな人種の人たちと出会った。は…。びっくりした！世界には、いろんな言葉が、あふれてるんだなって。あ…。片言の英語が結構役立って、言葉が通じると、気持ちまで伝わったような喜び、何度も味わって。その旅で、決心したんだ。将来は、英語の教師になろうって。子供たちに英語を教えて、言葉の持つてゐるいろんな感情、少しでも知らせたい、違う国の人たちと、気持ちが伝わる喜びを、少しでも、知らせたいって。は…。コミュニケーションは、キャッチボールと同じです。何でもいい。少し、英語で話してみませんか。は…。I just want you to catch my ball. And say something in English.

生徒B： え？の？

太田先生： Can you catch my ball?

生徒B： あ…。キャッチ、したら、よかと？

太田先生：（生徒に促して） Yes, I can.

生徒B： Yes, ...I can.

太田先生： OK. Your turn. Say something in English.

生徒B： English で？ English で…。 I, I, I, ...I....

太田先生： Relax. Anything is OK.

生徒B： I...like...music. I...play...guitar. I...wonto [sic]...musician.

太田先生： I want to be a...

生徒B： I want...to be a... musician.

太田先生： Did you catch that? みんな、わかった？あの、音楽家になりたいって。

生徒C： そんなん、中学英語やー。なあ。

〔中略〕

(英語のゲームが続く中、水沢にボールが渡される。)

太田先生：水沢さん、Your turn.

水沢：Yes, ...I can.

太田先生：Go ahead.

水沢： Whatever, everything's gonna be over in just six more months. Do
you get what I'm saying?

太田先生：これは、高林先生の受け売りなんだけどね。キャッチボールの
基本は、まず、キャッチできる距離まで、近づくことなんだ。
相手をよく見て、ボールをよく見て。もう一度、言ってください。
今度は絶対にキャッチして見せます。I want to catch you...,
catch your fears, and help you. I want you to trust me. And give me
another chance. 〔中略〕

(水沢は、いじめられるのを恐れて不本意に太田先生を困らせたことを謝
罪する。)

太田先生：You were always trying to tell me that. But I didn't realize. I'm
sorry, too. I'm not an excellent teacher nor a strong man. But now
I've caught your fears, and your feeling, right here. Don't
apologize. You just stay the way you are. And if you ever fly into
trouble, tell me, anytime. I'll protect you with all my strength.
全力で、守ります。

水沢：ありがとう。先生。

(教室の生徒たち、二人に拍手を送る)

(translation)

[In English class, Mr. Ota is telling his students about his experience.]

Mr. Ota: I've been to various places in Europe in my freshman year at university with my pack on my back for a month. I met many kinds of people in youth hostels or cheap hotels. Well, I was surprised! How many languages there are in the world! Ah...I could only speak a few words in English, though they helped a lot in communicating with them. When I made myself understood in English, I became happy, as if I could tell them my feelings many times.... Oh...Communication is the same as playing catch. Anything is OK. Why don't you say something in English? Ah... I just want you to catch my ball. And say something in English.

[Mr. Ota throws a ball to a student. He catches it. At last, the ball is passed to Mizusawa.]

Mr. Ota: *Mizusawasan*. Your turn.

Mizusawa: Yes,...I can.

Mr. Ota: Go ahead.

Mizusawa: Whatever, everything's gonna be over in just six more months. Do you get what I'm saying?

Mr. Ota: That's what Mr. Takabayashi told me. The basics of playing catch is to get close enough to someone to catch the ball. Look at him/her carefully, look at the ball carefully. Say it again, please. Now I will absolutely catch you. I want to catch you, ... catch your fears, and help you. I want you to trust me. And give me another chance.

[Mizusawa apologizes to him that she annoyed him against her will, as she was afraid of being bullied. Mr. Ota is talking to her in English.]

Mr. Ota: You were always trying to tell me that. But I didn't realize. I'm sorry, too. I'm not an excellent teacher or a strong man. But now, I've caught your fears, and your feeling right here. Don't apologize. You just stay what you are. And if you ever fly into trouble, tell me, anytime. I'll protect you with all my strength. I will protect you with all my might.

Mr. Ota is shown as an enthusiastic English teacher who wants to share with his students the idea of "English as a tool of communication" and communication and understanding each other. In addition, the drama emphasizes not the use of English, but instead it asserts that they should try to approach someone until they can understand that individual. In short, the drama shows not only the feelings of strangeness or resistance

toward *kikokushijyo* due to Japanese students' inferiority complex about English, but also the attitude needed to accept and protect them.

As Mr. Ota says, "the basics of playing catch is to get close enough to someone to catch the ball," indicating a new attitude toward communication for the Japanese. Kobashi (1990) explains that "European people work very hard on trying to communicate with each other. Japanese people, however, think it's normal to understand each other in languages" (pp. 40-41, translated by the author). In the drama, Mr. Ota proposes what cross-cultural communication should be like: "we need to walk up to someone to understand them instead of giving up and avoiding communication even if they cannot speak correct English."

The positive attitude toward communication in this drama might lead the Japanese to reduce their inferiority complex toward English. However, the essential problem still remains. In other words, the fact that English is an Anglo-American language goes out of people's minds because English is seen now as more of a neutral linguistic tool that is not associated with a particular culture. Thus, the ideology of "English as the only international language" will come about, which will be discussed in chapter 6.

3.5 Transformations in the Japanese Ideas of English between the 1980s and 2000s

By comparing and analyzing the three different TV dramas from the 1980s to 2000s, we can see a clear change in the Japanese ideas of English: a change from an inferiority complex toward English to a more positive acceptance of English.

First, the attitude toward *kikokushijyo* had a major shift, from getting rid of their experiences and ways of thinking developed in foreign countries and forcing them to assimilate into the Japanese culture to accepting them as a valuable communication and

cultural resource for Japan.

In 1989, the Ministry of Education [*Monbusyo*] describes how to treat *kikokushijyo* as follows:

It is necessary to educate those children living abroad to be a Japanese citizen with rich international background. Also needed is to ensure appropriate educational opportunities, when they return, which could develop what these children have acquired [*sic*] abroad.

(Japanese Government Policies in Education, Science and Culture)

What is drawn from the policy above is that the way to treat *kikokushijyo* in schools is changed : *kikokushijyo* must be accepted instead of being assimilated into Japan.

In addition, the Emigration Council of the Foreign Ministry (1988) encouraged high schools, universities, and the business community to accept as many *kikokushijyo* as possible (The Committee of the Returnees Education History (*Kaigai shijyo kyokushi hensan iinkai*, 1991). Previously, *kikokushijyo* were regarded as disadvantaged children who needed help. However, as the number of *kikokushijyo* increased, the principles of guidance by MEXT toward them changed to individually target teaching and encouraging more social interaction with them. As a result, schools started to accept them and explore the possibility of *kikokushijyo* as a valuable resource. Such changes (i.e., from refusal to acceptance) are reflected in the TV dramas of the 2000s. In *Kinpachi Sensei* (2008), Sakura Junior High School accepts *kikokushijyo* as well as their *Ikita Eigo* and the different cultures. Further, we can see the prevalence of the idea of “English as a tool of communication” as evidenced in *Furu Suingu* (2008). In this way, the idea of English as the language and symbol of the English-speaking

countries has changed into the idea of English as a tool for international communication.

3.6 The Ideas of English and the Power of English

Here I would like to discuss the problems involved in the ideas of English, such as *Ikita Eigo*, *Gakko Eigo*, and “English as a tool of communication,” all of which are presented in the three dramas examined above, especially in connection with the power of English.

Today, English is no doubt the language of power (Phillipson, 1992; Tsuda, 2006). However, these ideas of English portrayed in the dramas are produced without realizing this fact. The idea of “English as a tool of communication” was separated from the power of English which benefits the English-speaking countries. The joy of communicating in English with people from different cultures, as Mr. Ota told his students, comes from using the mother tongue of the English-speaking countries which is foreign to the Japanese. What’s more, “as long as there is a difference in the level of proficiency between people, there would be a power and unequal relationship among them” (Saito, 2007, p. 217, translated by the author). These problems arising from the power of English are not shown in these dramas.

By citing just a small amount of data from international English language tests like the TOEFL, the mass media continues to report that the Japanese people lag behind China or Korea in terms of English ability (Terashima, 2005, p. 11), thereby creating a sense of crisis that the English proficiency of Japanese people is “the worst” in the world. There is a possibility that the Japanese people are not good at English because of “the linguistic distance between Japanese and English, and whether learners experienced colonial rule by Western countries or not” (Otani, 2007, p. 40, translated by

the author). Although such information is not shown to audiences, such a sense of crisis is created to push the Japanese people into learning English and put pressure on schools. What we have to consider then is, as Terashima (2005) explains, that ELT in Japan is promoted as well as affected by the demands of the business community which wants more English-speaking employees.

English undoubtedly plays an important role as an international language. However, over-emphasizing English makes people think it is easier to communicate with foreigners only if they can use English (Oishi, 1990). In addition, Lummis (1976) explains that “people who study only English conversation are good at asking the way to a station, or the price of products when shopping. But such activities are not real communication” and as such, “English conversation becomes an obstacle to communication” (p.32, translated by the author).

Despite these contradictions about the relationship between English and the idea of communication, they spread through the media and become accepted by the society. The image that *kikokushijyo* from English-speaking countries can speak “an international language” and “English as a tool of communication” are often shown through many TV dramas.

3.7 Summary

In this chapter, I have discovered the transformation in the Japanese ideas of English by examining the three TV dramas about *kikokushijyo*.

In *Kizuna* (1987), the two sides of the conflict between English, *Gakko Eigo* and *Ikita Eigo*, resulted in an invisible inferiority complex appearing among Japanese students. As a result, the Japanese people near *kikokushijyo* tended to force them to assume “Japaneseness.” Although the meaning is ambiguous, the idea of “Japaneseness”

was misused to discriminate against *kikokushijyo* and make them feel inferior to their classmates. In the classrooms of the 1980s, the idea of English that connected English with an inferiority complex and the imposition of “Japaneseness” to lessen that complex was produced and then reproduced.

On the other hand, in *Kinpachi Sensei* (2008) and *Furu Suingu* (2008), produced in the 2000s, the manner for treating *kikokushijyo* became more positive. There is still the idea in these dramas that *kikokushijyo* symbolizes “internationalization” and *Ikita Eigo*; however, the focus is now more on what *kikokushijyo* experienced and learned abroad and more approval of them than in the 1980s. In other words, the Japanese classroom culture (i.e., a miniaturized version of Japanese society) came to accept a different perspective of *kikokushijyo* that was unfamiliar to most Japanese people. As a result, the dramas came to accept the existence of different cultures more and regard English as a useful resource. In addition, *Furu Suingu* (2008) focused not only on stressing the idea of English as a convenient tool for communication, but also on asking what interpersonal communication should be.

I have also argued that the power of English becomes forgotten as the Japanese ideas of English changed from that of having an inferiority complex toward English to that of a more positive acceptance of English. The use of English as an international language benefits the English-speaking countries and results in inequalities in communication. This fact about the power and dominance of English has been entirely forgotten and overlooked in the dramas discussed in this chapter.

¹ For example, here is a scene that shows people have an image that *kikokushijyo* can speak English fluently because they return from the English-speaking countries. The

following is a scene from a work of non-fiction, *Tatta Hitotsu no Aoi Sora—Kaigai Kikokushijyo wa Gendai no Sutego ka* (*The Only One Blue Sky: Are Returnees Abandoned Children in the Modern Japan?*, Osawa, 1986) discussed in this study.

A hero, Tomoya who is *kikokushijyo* from the United States transfers to Japanese junior high school. His homeroom teacher, Mr. Kobayashi suggests his idea to the principal that Tomoya should introduce himself in his classroom in English. The principal responds with the following:

校長：「小林先生、それはいい考えた。生徒もナマの英語を聞く絶好のチャンスとなる」(p. 36)

(translation)

principal: Mr. Kobayashi, that's a good idea. It must be a big chance for students to listen to real English.

² Mie Yamaguchi reported news sitting cross-legged during the program. Her looks and way of reporting news highlighted the differences between herself and other announcers in Japan, who give their reports standing stiffly at attention or seated at a desk (Retrieved October, 14, 2012, from <http://www.daily.co.jp/gossip/article/2012/03/10/0004871997.shtml>).

³ *Kikokushijyo* is often associated with girls rather than boys. A word “*shijyo*” meaning “children” that is used in “*kikokushijyo*” gives an image of a girl because the word “*shijyo*” also means “a girl; a young woman” (*Shin Waei Daijiten* 5th ed., Kenkyusya) that is used, for example, as “*ryôke no shijyo*” (daughter of a decent family). Besides, more than 70% of *kikokushijyo* featured in magazines are women (Sato, 1995b, p.77). Minami (2002) points out the possibility that expatriate families with sons will not take them abroad as they grow older, because they worry about the entrance examinations to

senior high schools and universities in the future (p.40).

⁴ A. Nakanishi (2001) explained that halfway through the 1980s the number of *cyugoku kikoku koji shijyo* (children whose parents are Japanese orphans left behind in China) increased. They are considered to be different from “returnees” because they do not use Japanese at home. Therefore, every school that accepted them needed to teach them the Japanese language. In the 1990s, the number of children of second-generation Japanese-American people or non-Japanese children increased. Therefore, he pointed out the origin of the international education understanding in Japan was returnees.

⁵ The synopsis of each drama is as follows:

1. *Kizuna* (1987)

The main character, Tomoya Yano, who was in America for seven years, comes back to Japan alone and before his parents, entering the second year of junior high school. He is severely bullied by his classmates, which leads to a stomach ulcer. He goes back to America in the end. The drama includes one other *kikokushijyo*, Keiko, who is also from the United States. However, she is portrayed differently than Tomoya: She hides her background as a *kikokushijyo* and advises him to assimilate into Japanese culture and imitate Japanese students’ attitudes, because she thinks that is the best way for *kikokushijyo* to avoid being bullied in school.

2. *Kinpachi Sensei* (2008)

Episode One includes *kikokushijyo*, Ryoko, from Australia. She lived there for five years (from third grade in elementary school to the first year of junior high school). Her behavior is no different from that of her classmates. In the drama, her *kikokushijyo* background is seen as a property of classmates and her school.

3. *Furu Suingu* (2008)

In Episode Four, *kikokushijyo*, Mizusawa, from the United States is portrayed. This character was born in New York and returned to Japan and entered junior high school there. She is bullied. In the drama, she is forced by her classmates to make fun of an English teacher's poor listening ability because she wants to avoid being bullied. Further, she is impenetrable to other people. However, thanks to the English teacher's efforts, she finally opens her heart to the teacher and her classmates and apologizes for what she did to him. The *kikokushijyo* is portrayed as being weak in the story, and her English teacher thus must protect her.

⁶ *Kinpachi Sensei* was broadcasted on TV in 2007.

⁷ Nagamine (2012) explains that Japanese companies needed to become globalized due to high economic growth and the strong yen: in other words, they needed human resources to be internationalized. *Kikokushijyo* who grew up and were educated overseas attracted attention because they can fulfill a role appropriate to the needs of companies that want such people urgently (p.2).

⁸ Saito (2007) also points out that the word "communication" is a problem because "it is used as a slogan to get rid of study of grammar or reading English" (p. 188, translated by the author).

⁹ In order not to be viewed as special and isolated by their classmates, some parents are likely to tell their children not to point out the mistakes their teachers make if they finds the English teacher is wrong (Miyachi, 1990).

¹⁰ Inoue (2000) shows the data of the relative difficulty level of languages provided by Daigaku Syorin (n.d.), a Japanese publisher, that, English, Arabic, Russian, Hindi and Urdu are the most difficult languages to study for Japanese people.

Chapter 4

The Instrumental Idea of English and Conflict between *Ikita Eigo* and *Juken Eigo*

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter 3, I have argued that the power structure of English dominance becomes forgotten and less visible as the Japanese ideas of English change from an inferiority complex toward the positive acceptance of English. Several conclusions were made from the analysis of the dramas and the curriculum guidelines. For example, some factors—such as English snobbism, which might affect the Japanese ideas of English and cause Japanese people to hesitate in using English—change into a positive way of thinking about English as a tool that is separated from its culture or thought. However, this “idea of English as a tool” might also discourage people from using English because the precision in the use of English would be demanded in learning English, which would make teachers and students highly afraid of making mistakes and hesitate to use English.

This chapter explores these problems from the perspective of the conflict between *Ikita Eigo* and *Juken Eigo*. In other words, *Ikita Eigo* (i.e., “living English,” “conversation English,” or “communication English” used by native speakers of English) has become included in ELT as a required ability, although *Juken Eigo/Gakko Eigo*, focused in particular on grammar, is still needed for passing university entrance examinations. However, these two kinds of English are often categorized as different Englishes in English Language Teaching (ELT).

The idea of communication as a teaching method in English pedagogy, or the communicative approach,¹ was introduced in Japan in the 1970s. The communicative approach (also called communicative language teaching) developed mainly in the UK

and European countries as a comprehensive pedagogy of Foreign Language Teaching (FLT). It has also created a significant trend in FLT in Japan. Naka (2006b) points to the reinforcement of practical English and the implied English superiority, as shown in *The Course of Study*. In addition, Hatakeyama (1995) points out that, in 1989, the term “communication” appeared in *The Course of Study* for the first time, although it was carelessly used, without a definition being provided or its relation to language education being sufficiently validated.

As mentioned in Chapter 2, there are some power sources in Japan which gives the direction to ELT. One of such sources, like MEXT, divides the English language into categories such as *Ikita Eigo* and *Juken Eigo*. It informs students that *Ikita Eigo* is for international communication and *Juken Eigo* is for the entrance examination into a university. Through the media such as *The Course of Study* and TV dramas, the importance of *Ikita Eigo* for international communication is communicated to English learners. In this way, ELT in Japan is directed toward the reinforcement of English for international communication; thus, students are also driven to learn English for their own purposes.

Based on Luhmann’s theory, factors such as TV dramas, textbooks and the various opinions of Japanese people that mention the need for English can be considered as “media.” An example is English education in high schools. The content of English or the purpose for studying English is determined by the media of English textbooks. High school students then choose to study *Juken Eigo*, *Ikita Eigo*, or English for the Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) according to what fits their need and purpose. The power of English, or “reduction of complexity,” appears in this process.

In this chapter, I define “the instrumental idea of English” as the idea of English

that believes that English is not a school subject, but a useful tool for international communication. To clarify the relationship between the instrumental idea of English and ELT in Japan, two hypotheses are proposed: (1) English conversation-centered ELT is spread and authorized by the instrumental idea of English and (2) the conflict between *Ikita Eigo* and *Juken Eigo* causes confusion in ELT.

4.2 The “Media”: *Rinkyoshin*, *The Course of Study*, and *Doragon Zakura* (2005)

To advance my argument, in this chapter, two kinds of media are analyzed—namely, (1) official government reports, such as the Japanese Ad Hoc Council on Education (*Rinji Kyoiku Shingikai: Rinkyoshin*)² and *The Course of Study*, and (2) a TV drama. These two kinds of media will be analyzed in order to clarify how official government reports work as power source as well as how the two opposite ideas of *Ikita Eigo* recommended by the government and *Juken Eigo* still needed in high schools cause confusion in ELT.

In ELT and *The Course of Study* for high schools, *Ikita Eigo* (i.e., “communication English”) and *Juken Eigo* are clearly shown compared to the English within junior high schools. In addition, The Second Report, a “re-examination of foreign language education” from the Ad Hoc Council on Education (1986), includes third-party institutions’ certificate tests and entrance examinations for the university. In short, high school students are judged not only by the entrance examinations, but also by certification tests such as Society for Testing English Proficiency (STEP) and TOEIC. The results of these tests can be submitted and utilized for entrance examination to enter a university through the recommendation system. Therefore, in this chapter, as an example of certification tests, the STEP test is also reviewed.

I shall first explore the 1971 report by the Ad Hoc Council on Education. Tanabe

(2003) points out that the report of the Ad Hoc Council on Education “criticizes the inefficiencies of English education” (p. 16, translated by the author) and presents a proposal that demands great changes in the educational system and curriculum. In this chapter, I discuss how this report influenced the high school curriculum guidelines and textbooks, transforming them into communication-oriented education.

I shall then analyze a particular TV drama and a movie to determine how the media such as TV and films portray English education in high schools and the Japanese idea of English. Tollefson (1995) points out the strong social and political influence on the classroom situation, indicating that the Japanese ideas of English and communication described in a school drama can be regarded as reflecting the current situation of English education in Japan. Chapter 3 discussed three dramas—namely, *Kizuna* (1987), *Kinpachi Sensei* (2008), and *Furu Suingu* (2008). This chapter examines *Doragon Zakura* (2005), a high school life story, and *Darin wa Gaikokujin* (My Darling is a Foreigner), screened in 2010 in Japan. *Doragon Zakura* (2005) was selected for two reasons. First, it clearly contrasts English for entrance examinations and English as a communication tool. By analyzing this drama, I shall argue that the instrumental idea of English for English learning is reflected in the drama. Second, several scenes depict the Japanese people’s ideas of English. In addition, the movie, *Darin wa Gaikokujin* (2010) will be used as an example to discuss the Japanese idea of English drawn from the media.

4.3 The Origins of the Instrumental Idea of English in Japan

4.3.1 Three Official Government Reports in the 1970s–1980s

The direction of ELT was politically reinforced in the years around 1980. The “46 Reports” (1971) by the Central Council for Education presented four points to improve

the curriculum in higher education. For example, the report stated that “foreign language education should be an effort to teach skills to utilize it in international interactions”(translated by the author), specifically emphasizing the improvement of the skills to effectively utilize the English language. The 1974 report entitled “Educational, academic and cultural international exchange” prioritized the improvement of foreign language education as an “important policy for promoting international exchange” and stated that the improvement of “foreign language skills as *a communication tool* [italics added] (*komyunikeisyon no syudan*) for citizens” is a big challenge for the future (*Kyoiku jijyo kenkyukai* [Research group for educational situation], 1992, p. 274, translated by the author). Here, English is defined as a communication tool or a tool in foreign language education.

However, the prime minister at that time, Nakasone, was not satisfied with this policy and founded the Ad Hoc Council on Education in 1984 as well as published the Second Report about Education Reform (1986). According to the report, “the educational goal for the 21st century” is the creation of “the Japanese in the world,” which requires “the training of *international communication* (italics added) skills to understand and communicate well in diverse cross-cultural environment” (*Kyoiku jijyo kenkyukai*, 1992, p. 137).

Chapter 1 of The Second Report, entitled “Part 3: Re-examination of foreign languages,” stated that in junior high schools and high schools “too much emphasis is placed on teaching grammar and reading comprehension.” As for universities, it stated that there is not enough practical skills training. It suggested that English as a tool, rather than as knowledge, is prioritized. It also suggested that the results of certificate examinations, such as the TOEFL, should be included in the grading of entrance examinations. This way, English skills outside of the curriculum guidelines that regulate

the amount of vocabulary and the particular grammar rules will be also evaluated. Thus, English learned at school and English abilities for certificate exams are equally evaluated.

The report also indicated the need to “utilize foreigners or Japanese people who studied at overseas universities” in junior high, high schools, and universities. In fact, the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme began in 1987, and assistant language teachers (ALTs) have come to Japan through the program since then. These will be discussed later.

“Chapter 5: Reformation to respond to changes of the times” of the Third Report about Education Reform (1987) proposed simplifying and reexamining the ELT curriculum by concluding the need to nurture the desire to voluntarily communicate one’s opinions in an effort to “learn English as an international common language for wider communication.” It also proposed directing ELT toward focusing on English conversation skills, referred to as “communication English.” According to Tanabe (2003), these reports from the Ad Hoc Council on Education have become the basis of the current curriculum guidelines and the starting point of the “training of practical communication skills” (p. 17) that are dominant in the present ELT in Japan.

4.3.2 *The Course of Study* and Conversation-Centered ELT

This section examines *The Course of Study* to understand the shift in focus on communication as evident in the suggestions by the three official government reports previously discussed.

According to Naka (2006a), the phrase “to nurture the attitude to voluntarily communicate in a foreign language” was first used in the goals of foreign language education in *The Course of Study* in 1989—the same year that English became

mandatory in junior high schools. Naka (2006a) also points out that the word *communication* appeared in 1989 for the first time in the history of *The Course of Study*.

In the main statement regarding the reformation of foreign language courses in *The Course of Study* in 1998, the word *practical* is added to the word *communication*, as in “nurture practical communication skills in foreign language.” This is more clearly stated in the following sentence: “Considering that English is international and widely used as a communication tool, English is a mandatory subject.” Thus, the link between “communication” and “English” is further strengthened.

For example, the goal of the subject, “Oral Communication I,” introduced into English education in high schools in 1994, is “to nurture the attitude to voluntarily initiate communication as well as to train the basic skill to understand and communicate information or thoughts about daily life through listening and speaking English.” This goal is evident in the following dialogues presented in a textbook for first-year high school students.

(1) Lesson 1 Meeting People

Ken: Aya, this is John.

Aya: Hi, John. Nice to meet you.

John: Nice to meet you, too.

Aya: Where are you from?

John: I’m from New Zealand.

Aya: Where do you live?

John: In Wellington.

Aya: Really! How nice! I hear it’s a beautiful city.

John: Oh, yes. It’s great. <The rest is omitted.>

(2) Key Expressions

1 A: Where are you from?

B: I'm from ①New Zealand.

2 A: Where do you live?

B: In ②Wellington. <The rest is omitted.>

(On Air Communication I, p. 5)

In the classrooms, to train “the basic skill to understand and communicate information or thoughts about daily life,” students can listen to these expressions and repeat them to practice pronunciation or practice key expressions in pairs by replacing the underlined words with other words. For example, in key expressions (1), students are shown other countries such as Japan, the USA, Australia, and Indonesia. In addition, the key expressions do not include any rules of grammar and vocabulary for high school freshmen.

The next dialogue is from a textbook for STEP.

(3) A: Do you think I should invite Sam to my party?

B: It's () you. It's your birthday party, not mine.

1 down for 2 up to 3 out on 4 over by

(First-stage test of Level 2 of STEP on June 13, 2010)³

In this dialogue, the answer “Yes I do” is not wanted, but rather the answer “It's up to you” is. By studying such dialogues patterns, learners are supposed to learn various expressions that are appropriate for the situation.

However, in the current classroom environment, there are various problems in

terms of these dialogues. In fact, the method was unpopular during the late 1980s and early 1990s because it often became a monotonous practice. It was difficult for learners to master English despite repeated practice, and it was difficult to understand grammar only by means of repetition drills using fixed phrases (Saito, 2007, p. 169). However, as Hidashi (2007) points out, saving information by memorization is still considered to be important for foreign language learning in Japan.

Although the patterned practice of vocabulary and phrases has become unpopular in the Japanese classrooms, practicing English expressions by putting basic forms into certain patterns would be effective. However, if the patterned practice also requires the Western style of communication, depending on interactions between teachers and students in the classrooms, such a style presents a challenge in education in Japan because of the differences in teaching styles. Suppose students who are asked to be obedient learners in a lecture-based learning environment are suddenly encouraged to actively speak up or participate in a class. What would happen to them? They could not sit quietly anymore. Rather, they would have to become outspoken learners, making eye contact with the teacher. In Japan, students do not always ask questions of teachers or speak their opinions in class because such behavior is regarded as destructive of the teacher–student harmony due to hierarchical relations between teachers and students in class (Minoura, 1990, p. 207). This harmony or *wa* is emphasized studies of the Japanese people (*nihonjinron*), in which some characteristics of the Japanese such as homogeneity (*toshitsusei*), groupism (*syudansyugi*), exclusivity (*haitasei*), hierarchy (*jyoretsu*), etc. are discussed (Goodman, 1992; Minoura et al., 1979/1984). These characteristics, as Katagiri (2005) remarks, are shared among the Japanese participants in a communication activity, and they are expressed in the communicaiton between teachers and students in Japan. If foreign teachers from the English-speaking countries

are not familiar with the teaching style displayed in most Japanese classrooms, the gap between foreign teachers and Japanese students in terms of their communication styles would bring the clash between them.

Communication in English is effective in a low context culture (Hall, 1959), yet in Japan's high context culture, where "unspoken understanding" or "reading between lines" is expected, there is a resistance to or a sense of discomfort with the Western style of communication, which requires active expression of intentions and opinions. The uneasiness may be an obstacle for students to learn communication English effectively. "Chapter 7: English conversation" of *The Course of Study* released in 2009 also clearly mentions learning and understanding of the "phonetic characteristics of English, such as rhythm and intonation or speed and volume of the voice," as well as "the role of the non-linguistic communication media such as gestures."

Although it would not be easy to teach "communication English," students are to study "communication English" as it is included in the English language curriculum. In other words, "communication English" is already a part of the curriculum or "system," as Luhmann (1984/1995) calls it. That is, students choose to study "communication English" and then learn it according to their purposes. Furthermore, whether they can understand or utilize it as a tool is to be gauged through testing, and the result is clearly expressed in the format of "pass" or "fail." Thus, studies in preparation for the entrance exam or certification exam can motivate students to study English or to learn "communication English." Power operates in the direction of promoting the conversation-centered ELT, which will encourage students to study "communication English" positively to reach their goals.

4.4 The Difficulties in Conversation-Centered ELT

4.4.1 *Doragon Zakura* (2005)

Thus far, this chapter has examined how the conversation-centered ELT originated and what problems have emerged. This section further explores the difficulties in teaching “communication English” in the Japanese classroom by analyzing a TV drama.

Considering English as a tool, or the instrumental idea of English, might restrict various opportunities of English learning because a tool is purpose-oriented and its application is limited. Furthermore, a tool needs the ability to use it correctly. Therefore, some people might be reluctant to use English unless they can use it perfectly. Others might not put much effort into learning English for purposes other than their own. This section examines dialogues between teachers and students in a TV drama to understand the confusion and conflict caused by the instrumental idea of English in classroom communication.

The TV drama *Doragon Zakura*⁴ aired in 2005 is the story of a lawyer, Mr. Sakuragi, who becomes a high school teacher and helps students with low grades (deviation score 36) get accepted into Tokyo University, the most prestigious university in Japan. He does this within one year by restructuring the financially troubled high school. In the drama, Mr. Sakuragi organizes a special program course for the third-year at-risk students to help them pass the entrance examination of Tokyo University. Mr. Sakuragi declares to an English teacher, Ms. Ino, who wants to teach students not only English for exams but also English for everyday life, that there is no need for everyday English; rather, what the special program students need is English sufficient enough to be accepted into Tokyo University. This remark represents Mr. Sakuragi’s idea of English—that English is a tool for being accepted by the desired university, which is in

conflict with the current curriculum guideline of “deepening the understanding of the language or culture, and fostering the attitude toward communication through a foreign language.” In short, English is only a tool to pass the entrance exam for the special program students.

Ms. Ino disagrees with Mr. Sakuragi’s teaching policy and criticizes an instructor whom Mr. Sakuragi hires for the special program. The instructor, Mr. Kawaguchi, has a teaching style that uses singing and aerobics. In response to Ms. Ino’s criticism, Mr. Sakuragi suggests comparing the English skills of Ms. Ino’s students and those of Mr. Kawaguchi’s students. Over a period of three days, the students take an English essay test that simulates the entrance exam for Tokyo University. Students from the special class and Ms. Ino’s students, who had lived overseas, compete against each other.

In Japan, ELT in schools is often criticized as it is responsible for most students’ lack of communication skills. A 2007 governmental document entitled “1. The current situation and issues in English education at elementary school” concludes that the average TOEFL score for Japanese students ranks second from the bottom in Asian countries despite English being a compulsory course in elementary schools in non-English speaking countries in Asia. (*Cyuo Kyoiku Shingikai*, 2007). However, the document claims that enthusiasm exists for the English language. Such enthusiasm about English might become an obstacle to active English usage or could accelerate the inferiority complex Japanese people have toward English, consequently resulting in the negative attitude toward English.

The following scene describes the reluctance of the special program students toward English learning because they have been encouraged to build a perfectionist attitude to their English. Mr. Kawaguchi asks the students in the special program the following questions:

(4) 川口先生：ね、矢島君、君はローラースケートできる？

矢島：　　まあ、滑るだけなら。

川口先生：ああ。水野さん、あなた水泳できる？

水野：　　25 メートルぐらいなら、平泳ぎで。

川口先生：ああ。みんな運動ならちょっとできると？できるっていうの
よ。どうして、英語だとできるって言わないんだろう？

生徒達：　はあ。

川口先生：日本人は不思議なことにね、外国語になるととたんに完全主
義者になってしまう。たとえば、ああ、英語が得意なはずの、
英語の先生ですら、自分の英語力にコンプレックスを持って
いたりする。外国人とネイティブの発音でべらべらと会話で
きないと、英語出来ます！と胸をはれないと、思っている。
それにひきかえ、うーん、たとえばアメリカ人に、日本語出
来るか？って聞くと、Yes!

(外国人が数人画面に登場し、口々に sushi, ninjya, karaoke,
sento と言う。) どうだ！すげえだろってな顔して言ってる。

生徒 A：　わかった！要はさ、気の持ちようってこと？

川口先生：そうなんだよ！だから、堂々と君たちも胸をはって、English
is my second language. Oh, you are very pretty! どんどんどんど
ん開き直って、英語を使えばいいんだ。言葉ってのは、使え
ば使うほど、身につくんだから。

(translation)

Mr. Kawaguchi: Hey, Yajimakun, can you roller skate?

Yajima :　　Yeah, but just to skate.

Mr. Kawaguchi: Mizunosan, can you swim?

Mizuno : Well, about 25 meters in the breast stroke.

Mr. Kawaguchi: Hmm, so you say you can play a sport if you can play a little.
Why don't you say you can speak English even if you can speak a little?

Students: Well...

Mr. Kawaguchi: It is strange that Japanese people suddenly become perfectionists when it comes to foreign languages. For example, even an English teacher, who should be good at English, has an inferiority complex about his or her English skills. You believe that you cannot say you can speak English confidently unless you can talk like a native speaker. On the other hand... let's see... if you ask an American if they can speak Japanese, they would proudly say "YES!" [several foreigners appear on screen, saying *sushi*, *ninja*, *karaoke* and *seno*].

Student A: I got it! So it is about how you feel about it, right?

Mr. Kawaguchi: That's right! So, you should feel comfortable speaking English. Say "English is my second language!" "Oh, you are very pretty!" Don't be shy. The more you use it, the more you will learn the language.

Mr. Kawaguchi teaches his students that English is not a question to solve but a language to use, encouraging them to use English "without hesitation" as a second language. The idea of English drawn from Mr. Kawaguchi's comment is that Japanese students are likely to be perfectionists about English. As stated by Matsuno (1990), studying English means solving English questions or quizzes in schools in Japan. Mr. Kawaguchi mentions that "people become perfectionists when it comes to foreign languages" and that "people think they should not proudly say they can speak English unless they can communicate with foreigners." Such prejudices cause a lack of confidence; as a result, people might try to avoid communication, even in urgent situations.

What kind of English education could the high school students in *Doragon Zakura* (2005) have expected to receive at junior high school? A review of *The Course*

of Study for junior high school from 1998 can give some telling insights. First, let us focus on English pronunciation. The goal of English class is shown as “(a) to become familiar with basic English sounds such as accent, intonation and breaks, and (b) to speak one’s thoughts and feelings and to be understood correctly.” Naka (2006a) highlights Cook’s (1999) criticism that setting a goal to be able to speak English like a native speaker is not only hard to achieve, but might “invoke a student’s inferiority complex toward native speakers” (p. 28, translated by the author). Japanese people have believed that native English speakers will not understand a Japanese person’s English because of bad pronunciation. Naka (2006a) also points out the problems of worshipping native speakers. In short, the problem makes Japanese people hesitate in using English unless they can use English like native speakers of English.

Second, passive communication might be encouraged in a culture where reading between the lines is expected and is considered rude to keep rephrasing the teacher’s words or asking until the meaning becomes clear, in the communication between teachers and students in class. According to Jorden (2009), the Western people think that languages are the most delicate means of communication that human beings use (p. 373, translated by the author). Meanwhile, Japanese people take it for granted that languages are so ambiguous that they even claim that perfect communication will be realized without the use of language (ibid., 2009, p. 373, translated by the author). When Japanese people communicate in a high-context culture framework, they might not always use language, whether it is Japanese or English.

When Japanese people learn a language that is different from Japanese, it would be important for them to know that every language has its own idea of language and culture, which is not always the same or similar to that of Japanese. It would also be important for them to accept the differences among languages, not only following the

style of each language but also understanding and respecting its own idea of language and communication style.⁵

Although such problems still exist, The Second Report by the Ad Hoc Council on Education, for example, found that learning is “significantly ineffective in spite of a long-term effort.” The document entitled “A Strategic Plan to Cultivate ‘Japanese with English Abilities’” (2002) — based on *Keidanren* (the Federation of Economic Organizations) and “Human resource development in the age of globalization” (Mizuno, 2008)—indicated the need to “drastically improve English education for Japanese people.” According to the strategic plan, the ability to speak, read, write and listen in plain English for greetings, etc., is required before graduating from junior high school in level three of STEP, on average. After graduating from high school, students should have the ability to deal with everyday affairs and thus, pre-level two and level two, on average, is required. As has been noted, English language ability, particularly the ability to speak English, is important for acquiring communication ability in English. The problem is whether the difference in communication style derived from the difference of culture becomes an obstacle for students who are studying English. Such a problem is not considered sufficiently; ELT is anticipated to be high-quality education.

However, as Matsuno (1990) points out, although it is believed that what people learn at school is not always useful after graduation, English language is seen as a subject that should be useful in people’s daily lives or in business (p. 30). He also warns that the standards outside of school are also used in addition to evaluation within ELT (p. 30).

As previously mentioned, *Gakko Eigo*, or English language taught in schools, is different from *Ikita Eigo* (living English). However, *Gakko Eigo* is useful for entrance or employment examinations. Outside of traditional schools, English conversation

schools undertake a role to teach *Ikita Eigo*. These days—since *Gakko Eigo* has been criticized as being useless not only by the mass media, but also by the business community, students’ parents, and many other group of people—*Ikita Eigo* is required to be included in the school curriculum.

4.4.2 *Juken Eigo* over *Ikita Eigo*

In the following scene in *Doragon Zakura* (2005), which takes place in the classroom of Ms. Ino and Mr. Kawaguchi, the difference between their teaching styles becomes clear. The scene also conveys the prejudiced message that a student who lived overseas has high-level English skills but lacks sufficient grammatical skills in writing English essays. In this scene, Ms. Ino uses a white board to explain an English question to her student, Kuriyama who is a *kikokushijyo*, studying English silently.

- (5) 井野先生：今の栗山君に足りないのは、文法の力よ。だからこの3日間で徹底的に文法をたたきこみます。(画面には、「重要文法事項」のプリントが映し出されている。)あと、スラングは禁止。正しい、フォーマルな英語を心がけてね。
- 〔中略〕 S demands that、この形は仮定法現在の用法を用いるのよ。だから that 節の中では、動詞は should+原型になるから気をつけて。

(translation)

Ms. Ino: You need to know the grammar, Kuriyama kun. So I will give you an intensive grammar lesson for three days. [Screenshot of a handout of “important grammar” on screen.] Also, you cannot use slang. Try to use correct and formal English, “S demands that” ... this form requires conditional type 1. So be careful because the verb in that clause should

be “should” and an infinite verb.

The next day, Kuriyama becomes dissatisfied with Ms. Ino’s grammar explanation, arguing with her. However, Ms. Ino reproves him, saying, “This is not English conversation. This is English for the entrance exam.”

Unlike Ms. Ino, Mr. Kawaguchi does not use desks and chairs in the classroom. Instead, he makes the students repeat key expressions while they are doing aerobics to English songs.

(6) 川口先生：（踊りながら）I can’t help falling in love with you. はい！

生徒達： （踊りながら）I can’t help falling in love with you.

川口先生： can not help ほにやらら（～）ing. はい！

生徒達： can not help ほにやらら（～）ing.

川口先生： なになに（～）せずにはいられないっ！

生徒達： なになに（～）せずにはいられない。

(translation)

Mr. Kawaguchi: [dancing] I can’t help falling in love with you. Your turn!

Students: [dancing] I can’t help falling in love with you.

Mr. Kawaguchi: cannot help blah blah-ing. Come on !

Students: cannot help blah blah-ing.

Mr. Kawaguchi: cannot help blah blah-ing!

Students: cannot help blah blah-ing.

In Ms. Ino’s style, the teacher takes the initiative in the class, during which students are listening to the teacher’s instruction or explanation. Although Ms. Ino believes that Kuriyama, who has lived overseas, has high-level English skills, she thinks that his grammar skills are not strong enough to perform well the English essay competition. She also denies Kuriyama’s conversational English skills, telling him that

what is needed to do well in the English essay competition is not conversational English, but written English, or English for entrance examinations. Ms. Ino does not consider conversational English skills to be equal to the knowledge of English grammar.

In this drama, the conflict in English education is shown to the audience. In short, although *Ikita Eigo* is important, what is really necessary is *Juken Eigo*, or English for entrance examinations. As we can see, different types of English are selected as necessary in schools. In this scene, the winners of this competition were the special program students, who wrote essays using key expressions. Kuriyama knew more expressions, but he made grammatical errors. In addition, Kuriyama lost the competition because Ms. Ino did not know the rules of grading essays for Tokyo University's entrance exam.

The following is the scene where Mr. Kawaguchi and Mr. Sakuragi talk to the special program students about a strategy for the English essay test of Tokyo University:

(7) 川口先生：東大英作文の採点は、減点法。だから、自分の知ってる単語と構文を使って丁寧に書き込んでいけば、君たちの英語力で、きちんと勝負できるのです！

桜木先生：今の川口先生の話には、もう一つ大事な教訓が含まれている。矢島、おまえなんでわかるか。

矢島：え？

桜木先生：情報は力だということだ。知るか知らないか、たったこれだけの違いで、有利か不利かの差が出来る。東大英作文の採点が減点法であるということを、知っている者と知らない者とは、実力以上に、大きな点差をつける。

(translation)

Mr. Kawaguchi: The English essay of Tokyo University's entrance exam is graded by deducting points. So you can score a high grade, as long as you write carefully using vocabulary and grammar that you know for sure!

Mr. Sakuragi: Mr. Kawaguchi just gave you another important lesson. Yajima, do you know what it is?

Yajima: Huh?

Mr. Sakuragi: Information is power. If you have the information or not... only this small difference gives you an advantage. If you know that the English essay test of Tokyo University is graded by point deductions, you will have the advantage to get a higher score than your actual ability.

Mr. Sakuragi emphasizes the importance of knowing the particular grading system of the entrance exam to Tokyo University. In addition to English skills, thus the students who want to pass the exams for Tokyo University have to master the appropriate method of studying English, such as writing correct English sentences focusing on grammatical accuracy. Whether Tokyo University in fact uses this way of deducting points for English essays on its entrance exam is never disclosed. However, what we see in the drama is the confusion between English for entrance examinations and “communication English,” the latter being emphasized by *The Course of Study*, as follows:

To develop students' communication abilities such as accurately understanding and appropriately conveying information, ideas, etc., deepening their understanding of language and culture, and fostering a positive attitude toward communication through foreign languages.

(Section 13 English, Article 1 Overall Objective)⁶

It also presents the conflicting interpretations of English for entrance examinations and communication English. Furthermore, the question for English education is what kind of English should be taught in Japan.

Next is the analysis of the students' actual answers on the English essay test. The students are asked to apply English phrases to a four-frame comic strip. The comic strip is about a student who oversleeps and is late for school. His teacher scolds him for being late. After sitting at his desk, the student panics, realizing he also forgets his homework. From the character's monologue and dialogue with the teacher, the students need to create English phrases that will fit each scene. In the following scene, Ms. Ino and Mr. Kawaguchi are grading the test. Ms. Ino grades the special program students and Mr. Kawaguchi grades Kuriyama.

The answers of the special program student and Kuriyama are shown on screen as follows:

- (1) The special program student: The alarm clock is noisy. But I don't want to get up. I will sleep again....
- (2) Kuriyama: If I had got up a little while ago. I would have enough time to prepare for school and would feel as [*sic*]

Whereas Kuriyama scores only seven points, all the students in the special program scores more than 10 points.

This scene suggests two things. First, the students are asked to communicate in English, but when communicating in English as a tool, such communication is limited within the structure of the English language.⁷ The students are forced to choose their answers from whatever key expressions they have memorized. Although they can

express themselves in many different ways in Japanese, they have no choice but to apply “first-year English” from junior high school, as Mr. Ino says. A student who memorizes many expressions is regarded as good at English, but these are the expressions which are not of their own. Therefore, the meaning of a certain Japanese word might not be in the English vocabulary.

Second, spelling mistakes and grammatical mistakes cause Kuriyama to lose the competition. The question is to create a character’s remarks in English, which shows that communication English is included in the entrance exams for Tokyo University. Kuriyama, who has lived overseas and thus has high-level conversational English skills, expresses his natural feelings better than the special program students, yet more points are deducted because of his grammatical errors. Thus, communication English for entrance exams still requires grammatical consideration.

The scenes presented in this section have allowed for an exploration of the conflict between *Ikita Eigo* and *Juken Eigo*. The problems identified will be examined in the next section.

4.5 Problems in Conversation-Centered ELT with “the Instrumental Idea of English”

As has been already presented, the process of prioritizing English conversation skills based on the “instrumental idea of English” has been recognized through an analysis of the documents issued by the Ad Hoc Council on Education, *The Course of Study*, and a TV drama. Although communicative skills are prioritized, the lack of understanding of communication itself and the problems resulting from conversation-centered ELT have been also discussed.

Erikawa (2008) points out that the government started to directly fulfill the

requests from the economic world regarding English education (p. 41). *The Course of Study*, which was created to respond to the requests of the economic world and its citizens, for example, defines the maximum number of vocabulary words to be learned in high school as 2,700. Is this number enough to train communication skills and to “understand and convey information or thoughts properly,” as defined in current high school curriculum guidelines for foreign language education? It might be sufficient for scenes from oral communication classes, such as introducing oneself or shopping.

However, it is necessary not only to convey one’s intentions, but also to understand the intention of others. Communication should be established through interactions with others, using various expressions. When communicating with the English speakers, Japanese people’s communication is limited in terms of expressions and vocabulary that they learned. As such, it is not possible to communicate with English speakers equally. The communication gap is inevitable.

In addition, including communicative skills in ELT as one of the goals might result in a new inferiority complex toward English, causing the fear and anxiety—the complex of using English as a tool. The next analysis demonstrates the problems of the instrumental ideas of English in current ELT. *Doragon Zakura* (2005) highlights the conflict and confusion caused by the instrumental idea of English. The drama illustrates a debate between English communication and *Juken Eigo*, which demands strong knowledge of grammar and syntax. Kuriyama can express himself in English better than the special program students, but he does not score as well on the test because of his spelling mistakes and incomplete sentences, which would not be a serious problem in daily communication. The drama describes the limitation of worshipping “communication English” and its gap from reality in Japan.

The Second Report (1986) referred to “nurturing international communication

skill” for developing “instrumental communication”; it reduced English to “communication English” while English conversation gained recognition and power. Luhmann (1986) explained that “communication media can always be formulated when the manner of one partner’s selection serves simultaneously as a motivating structure for the other” (p. 111). By including “communication English” in *The Course of Study* and building a social environment in which English knowledge will give people an advantage, students are very much motivated; thus, the goal of power sources who tried to make them study English is achieved. However, there is still confusion between English for *Juken Eigo* and *Ikita Eigo* in education field, and prioritizing English conversation might accelerate the ideas of English such as “English as the international language” (to be discussed in Chapter 6), which results in the biased world-view that “English is the world” and the “disinterest or ignorance of the ‘non-English-speaking world’” (Tsuda, 2003, p. 202, translated by the author).

Second, the negative effect of regarding English as a tool is pointed out: If a person has no confidence in using the tool perfectly, he/she might not use it willingly. Communication does not always need languages. For example, to convey messages with gestures is also a way to communicate with each other. Kobashi (1990), as mentioned in Chapter 3, describes people who are afraid of not being able to use the tools—in short, to speak English correctly and avoid even listening to another person. According to Kobashi (1990), a Dutch, who visited a souvenir shop in Kamakura asked a sales clerk “*ikuradesuka?*” (How much is it?). However, the sales clerk timidly said, “I can’t speak English” in English. Kobashi was disappointed because the clerk did not even listen to her Japanese (1990, pp. 40–41).

A similar episode is often shown in the Japanese movies. For example, in the movie *Darin wa Gaikokujin*, which was released in 2010, Tony, an American, asks a

Japanese businessman for directions using the Japanese language. His response to Tony shows a stereotypical Japanese person who meets a foreigner.

(8) トニー： あの時、すみません。ちょっと道聞きたいんですけど。

日本人男性：あのね、私だめよ、英語だめ。

トニー： ぼく、日本語わかりますから。

日本人男性：しゃべれな～いの、英語、OK？ ごめんね。

トニー： そんなこと言わんといて。僕、ほんまに困ってるんですわ。4丁目ってどこでっか？

日本人男性（戸惑いながらもトニーに向かって微笑む。）ああ、4丁目ね。そこまっすぐ行って、左曲がったところ。

トニー：おおきに、えらい助かりましたわ。

日本人男性：（にこにこしながらトニーを指差して）日本語うまいねえ。

(translation)

Tony: Excuse me, can you tell me the way to...?

Japanese man: Well, I can't speak English.

Tony: I can speak Japanese.

Japanese man: Listen, I can't speak English. OK? Sorry.

Tony: Please don't say so. I really need help. Where is the fourth street?

Japanese man: [Looking at Tony's face with bewilderment, he smiles.] Oh, the fourth street? Go down the road over there and turn left. The fourth street is there.

Tony: Thank you very much for your kindness.

[The Japanese man points at Tony with his finger, smiling.]

Japanese man: You speak Japanese well, don't you?

In this conversation, the Japanese man refuses to talk with Tony due to his lack of English-speaking skills and even refuses to attempt to understand Tony. However, when Tony begins to speak Japanese in the *Kansai* dialect, the Japanese man begins to listen

to him with bewilderment.

Two similarities are apparent in the Kobashi's episode and the movie scene. First, both Japanese people would answer the foreigners' questions if they could communicate in Japanese. Second, although each foreigner speaks in Japanese from the beginning, the Japanese people do not even bother to listen to them. Tsuda (2006) remarks that Japanese people tend to think that they must use English when they meet foreigners, even in Japan—especially when they meet Western people (p.137). Thus, these episodes show that, when some Japanese people are spoken to in English, they often avoid the communication itself because they are limited in English skills. They become afraid of using English incorrectly. They put a blame on themselves for not being able to use it properly.

Following the guidelines requested by MEXT that English is a communication tool, ELT in Japan is focused on improving English conversation skills. However, “communication English” is still no more than patterned practices in the classroom and there are not many opportunities or necessities to utilize “communication English” as a tool in daily life. Furthermore, the ability to utilize a tool is finally evaluated by written tests. Therefore, using “communication English” also requires accuracy, which might accelerate learners' inferiority complex toward English.

Third, using English as a tool causes limitation to expressions on the point of Japanese language learning is influenced by the person's linguistic knowledge and cultural background. Even if English is used merely as a tool, there is a difference in the meaning of communication between high-context culture and low-context culture (Hall, 1959). *Ikita Eigo* and *Juken Eigo* refer to different types of English used by the English-speaking people. Therefore, it would be difficult for us to translate every Japanese word into English accurately. The students in the drama, *Doragon Zakura*

(2005) expressed their ideas in a limited manner in the English essays by applying key expressions that they had learned, but they might have been able to express their ideas better by using their mother tongue. That is, when Japanese people communicate using English as a tool, their expression will be limited because their communication is only within the framework of English, which is a language foreign to them.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has examined the problems with the instrumental idea of English, focusing on the power of prioritizing English conversation. Two hypotheses were developed: (1) English conversation-centered ELT is spread and authorized by the instrumental idea of English and (2) the conflict between *Ikita Eigo* and *Juken Eigo* causes confusion in ELT. Based on the analysis on two kinds of media—official government reports, such as the Japanese Ad Hoc Council on Education (*Rinkyoshin*) and *The Course of Study*, and a TV drama and a movie—several results were clarified.

First, the direction of ELT was politically reinforced in the years around 1980 by the “46 Reports” (1971) as well as The Second Report (1986). In particular, the latter suggested that English as a tool, rather than as knowledge, was prioritized clearly. The report was the basis of current curriculum guidelines and the starting point of the concept of communication English (Tanabe, 2003).

Second, despite the idea of studying English as a tool of communication, as proposed by the government, the conflict between *Ikita Eigo* and *Juken Eigo* is shown in the drama. Teachers and high school students in the drama had to focus on *Juken Eigo* to pass university entrance examinations. This story implies the confusion and difficulty in ELT that emphasizes not only communications skill building but also the successes in entrance examinations. The drama also indicated that the instrumental idea

of English often caused people to develop an inferiority complex toward English due to the fear of not being able to use it correctly.

As a result, as the instrumental idea of English develops in Japan, English has reduced its complexity through media, motivating students to match the intention of educators. One of the main results is the prioritization of English conversation skills, which shows the power of English conversation. Furthermore, although technical aspects are focused on, communication itself is not understood sufficiently, and there are various problems regarding communication skills. There is a possibility of another new inferiority complex toward English, as English communication skills become an evaluation target.

In ELT focusing on communication skills, conflicts and limits of English conversation practice have been identified: the issues of attitudes toward communication (due to the differing cultural backgrounds) and the dilemma between *Ikita Eigo* and *Juken Eigo*. In *Doragon Zakura* (2005), Mr. Sakuragi, who regards the entrance exams as more valued by society, expressed the importance of grammatical and syntax skills over communication skills. The analysis of this drama confirmed that it describes the conflict between belief in conversational English and the reality in Japan, suggesting the Japanese people's ideas of English and issues in the English educational field.

When considering active and effective English learning for Japanese students, there are problems and obstacles with the instrumental idea of English. Instead of using English as a tool and focusing on the improvement of its utilization, alternative approaches to ELT are possible. For example, "meta English education" (Tsuda, 2006) whose goal is to go beyond the instrumental idea of English and try to build a personality through ELT, the concept of Japanese-specific cross-cultural

communication skills, linguistic relativism, and so on. These ideas should also be incorporated into ELT in Japan.

In the next chapter, high school textbooks will be examined to identify the attitudes that English learners (especially those in high schools) have toward English and foreign cultures.

¹ According to Tanaka (1997), the communicative approach evolved from English for specific purposes (ESP). The purpose of ESP is to offer language education to meet the language needs for immigrants looking for a job. The basic concept of ESP is applied to the communicative approach (Tanaka, 1997, p. 11).

² The Ad Hoc Council on Education, the organization formed by Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone in 1984, solidified the requests for reform that originated from criticism of the Central Council for Education's Report in 1971 entitled "Basic Policy for Comprehensive Expansion of Future School Education (hereafter, "46 Report" [*yon roku toshin*]).

³ In this study, level 2 is analyzed because it is an attainment target of high school.

⁴ Average household viewership rates in the Kanto area, as obtained by Video Research Ltd., are as follows: viewer rating (16.5%), highest rating (20.3%), and target of the analysis (episode 6: 17.9%).

⁵ Hall (1993) states that communication is impossible without languages, so that cultures and communication depend on language as well.

⁶ http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/new-cs/youryou/eiyaku/_icsFiles/afieldfile/2012/10/24/1298353_3.pdf

⁷ In the Outer Circle countries, such as Singapore and India, English with a strong

accent is often used. Such Englishes are called Singlish, or Singaporean English, or Hinglish, with a Hindi accent. As many of the people in such countries have to use English as a tool of communication in their daily lives, their English gradually changes. This case is different from that of Japan. Singlish includes Chinese dialects with Hokkien, Cantonese, Malay, and so on. Thus, English spoken in Singapore becomes a unique English (i.e., Singlish) (Tajima, 2007). However, the government of Singapore does not officially recognize Singlish because it sometimes leads to a communication gap between people. The government started the “Speak Good English Movement” in 2000 (Honna, 2000; Tajima, 1997). Seeing how the movement is carried out would be of some help for the future of English in Japan.

Singlish is used as the tool of communication not only with foreigners, but also with Singaporeans, as Singapore is a multilingual society. For these reasons, English in Singapore, or Singlish, has become easier to use, depending on people’s needs or their way of thinking. On the other hand, in Japan, English is studied and used following the rules of English-speaking countries. Thus, Japan’s domestic situation is also different from that in Singapore. Still, how English is used or the idea of English would be relevant to English education.

Chapter 5

The Japanese Ideas of English Reflected in English Textbooks for Senior High Schools

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will examine current English textbooks authorized by MEXT as a target of the analysis based on the assumption that descriptions and contents related to Japanese people are treated or narrated from the English-speaking world's point of view. In particular, remarks and descriptions of Japanese people in textbooks will be the main target of the analysis based on the theoretical structure of the “reduction of complexity” of the social system theory by Luhmann (1984/1995) as explained in Chapter 2. Textbooks will be analyzed because they are compiled based on *The Course of Study*, which directs ELT in Japan.

This chapter includes the following: (1) Current Research on English Textbooks, (2) The Japanese People as portrayed in English Textbooks, (3) Three Ideologies in English Textbooks.

5.2 Current Research on English Textbooks

English textbooks in Japan have been analyzed from various aspects, including linguistic skills, inter-cultural communication skills, and Japanese values. Erikawa (2009) and Nakamura (2004) point out a connection between English textbooks and their authors' philosophy. Tsuda (1990) argues that the theory of international English is often interpreted as “the instrumental idea of English as a tool of communication.” He claims, however, that “a language is

not just a tool or media of communication” (pp.68-69, translated by the author). His argument is important in analyzing English textbooks in this chapter because there is a question in ELT in Japan, as mentioned before, whether the Japanese people should learn English like the people in the Outer Circles countries where people use English as a tool of communication.

Hino (1988), the pioneer of textbook analysis from the perspective of English as an International Language (EIL), discusses nationalism issues or “the movement toward the recognition of non-native varieties of English,” (p.309) in cross-cultural education through a historical analysis of Japanese-English textbooks. Following this argument, Matsuda (2002, 2003) points out the “tendency to put priority on English speakers in the Inner Circle (Kachru, 1985) and their usage of English” in English textbooks for junior and high schools in Japan (Matsuda, 2002, p.182). Matsuda further discusses “the ownership of English” (2003, p.483). The present study draws on the idea of “awareness of English varieties” as suggested by Matsuda (2003). Based on these previous studies and the analysis of the statements and descriptions of Japanese people in high school textbooks, the Japanese ideas of English reflected the way topics related to Japan/Japanese people are chosen and edited will be examined.

In this chapter, high school English textbooks will be analyzed to delineate how the image of English is shown to learners. Unlike junior high schools, where English is generally mandatory, *The Course of Study* for high schools allows students to choose foreign languages other than English. However, few high schools offer other foreign language courses. As mentioned in Chapter 2, such a situation would lead students to study only English as a foreign language as we can see the situation from the data of the National Center

Test for universities in 2012: Approximately 99.84% of students chose the English test in Japan (see Chapter 1).

In the process of studying English, students select or eliminate English such as *Juken Eigo* (English focused on grammar), and English for STEP, and students select ones that fit their needs or purpose. In this way, people can gain support to set the direction by—as Luhmann (1984/1995) termed it—reducing complexity.

Textbooks present topics selected from various points of view. Students understand these textbooks using perspectives that they have developed by making choices and subsequently reproduce communication or action based on their understandings. If the textbooks are already influenced by the English-related ideology when they are provided to students, this ideology would represent the Japanese ideas of English or foreign culture.

In this chapter, MEXT-approved textbooks for English I and English II are analyzed; the former one is a compulsory subject for high school students in Japan (36 different kinds of textbooks are currently used in Japanese high schools) while the latter—the next level of English II (36 different kinds)—is an optional subject (see Table 1, Table 2). In order to focus on statements or descriptions of Japanese people, the top seven kinds of textbooks selected by schools for English I and English II were examined in an effort to understand the Japanese ideas toward English.

From these textbooks, I will take up the chapters that deal with Japanese people or topics related to Japan. I will especially focus on the descriptions or statements of the Japanese person to analyze the Japanese ideas of English. Scenes and situations for conversation exercises with dialogue between

Japanese and foreign characters will be also examined. For comparison, some of the current textbooks for Japanese language approved by MEXT will be analyzed as well, based on the perspective of success, dreams, and wealth. These Japanese language textbooks to be analyzed will be top textbooks adopted in high schools in Japan.

High school students in Japan are obliged to study language subjects—not only English, but also Japanese language. As Japanese language textbooks are also compiled by Japanese people, it would be useful to overview and compare English textbooks and Japanese textbooks to identify the ideas of languages emphasized in each textbook. The English textbooks to be analyzed are indicated in Tables 3 and 4.

Table 3.

The Number of English I Textbooks Adopted by MEXT in Japanese High Schools in 2010

Ranking	Publishers	Title	Number of Textbooks	Share
1	Sanseido	<i>Crown English Series I</i> New Edition	119,326	9.3
2	Tosyo	<i>All Aboard! English I</i>	106,449	8.3
3	Tosyo	<i>Power On English I</i>	93,898	7.3
4	Kirihara	<i>Pro-Vision English Course I</i> New Edition	85,151	6.6
5	Suken	<i>Big Dipper English Course I</i>	68,618	5.3
6	Saiseido	<i>Vista English Series I</i> New Edition	67,890	5.3
7	Buneido	New Edition <i>Unicorn English Course I</i>	55,582	4.3
8	Kirihara	<i>World Trek English Course I</i> New Edition	55,217	4.3
9	Tosyo	<i>Prominence English I</i>	52,462	4.1
10	Daiichi	<i>Vivid English Course I</i> New Edition	50,165	3.9
11	Daiichi	<i>Viva English! I</i> New Edition	48,244	3.8
12	Suken	Revised <i>Polestar English Course I</i>	47,398	3.7
13	Sanseido	<i>Exceed English Series I</i> New Edition	44,728	3.5
14	Buneido	New Edition <i>Powwow English Course I</i>	42,053	3.3
15	Taisyukan	<i>Captain English Course I</i> Revised	33,172	2.6
16	Keirinkan	<i>Element English Course I</i>	31,125	2.4
17	Kairyudo	Revised Edition <i>English Now I</i>	30,967	2.4
18	Keirinkan	<i>LovEng. English Course I</i>	25,656	2.0
19	Zoshindo	<i>Mainstream English Course I</i> Second Edition	25,652	2.0
20	Kyosyutsu	<i>Lingua-Land English Course I</i> Revised Edition	24,918	1.9
21	Ikeda	Revised Edition <i>Daily English Course I</i>	22,884	1.8
22	Taisyukan	<i>Genius English Course I</i> Revised	22,269	1.7
23	Daiichi	<i>Voyager English Course I</i> New Edition	20,906	1.6
24	Zoshindo	<i>New Stream English Course I</i> Second Edition	16,837	1.3
25	Buneido	New Edition <i>Surfing English Course I</i>	16,401	1.3
26	Kirihara	<i>New English Pal I</i> New Edition	16,308	1.3
27	Keirinkan	<i>Acorn English Course I</i>	14,587	1.1
28	Sanyu	<i>New World English Course I</i>	10,582	0.8
29	Sanyu	<i>Cosmos English Course I</i>	10,241	0.8
30	Kairyudo	Revised Edition <i>Sunshine English Course I</i>	8,465	0.7
31	Kyosyutsu	<i>Magic Hat English Course I</i>	7,165	0.6

32	Obunsysa	<i>Step English I</i> Revised Edition	4,083	0.3
33	Obunsysa	<i>English Navigator I</i>	2,299	0.2
34	Kaitaku	<i>New Legend English I</i>	2,023	0.2
35	Sukuri	<i>Screenplay English Course I</i>	1,204	0.1
36	Ikeda	<i>Onstage English Course I</i>	1,201	0.1
Total			1,286,126	100.0

Tosyo: Tokyo Syoseki, Kirihara: Kirihara Syoten, Suken: Suken Syuppan,

Daiichi: Daiichi Gakusyusya, Kyosyutsu: Kyoiku Syuppan, Ikeda: Ikeda

Syoten, Sanyu: Sanyusya, Kaitaku: Kaitakusya, Sukuri: Sukurin Prei

Table 4.

The Number of English II Textbooks Adopted by MEXT in Japanese High Schools in 2010

Ranking	Publishers	Title	Number of Textbooks	Share
1	Sanseido	<i>Crown English Series II</i> New Edition	113,460	9.9
2	Sanseido	<i>Vista English Series II Step One/Step Two</i> New Edition	82,054	7.2
3	Kirihara	<i>Pro-Vision English Course II</i> New Edition	79,983	7.0
4	Tosyo	<i>Power On English II</i>	76,523	6.7
5	Tosyo	<i>All Aboard ! English II</i>	63,321	5.6
6	Suken	<i>Big Dipper English Course II</i>	62,354	5.5
7	Buneido	<i>New Edition Unicorn English Course II</i>	56,387	4.9
8	Kirihara	<i>World Trek English Course II</i> New Edition	54,009	4.7
9	Tosyo	<i>Prominence English II</i>	50,002	4.4
10	Daiichi	<i>Vivid English Course II</i> New Edition	48,099	4.2
11	Sanseido	<i>Exceed English Series II</i> New Edition	46,590	4.1
12	Suken	<i>Revised Polestar English Course II</i>	42,519	3.7
13	Keirinkan	<i>Element English Course II</i>	36,379	3.2
14	Buneido	<i>New Edition Powwow English Course II</i>	34,646	3.0
15	Daiichi	<i>Viva English! II</i> New Edition	30,018	2.6
16	Zoshindo	<i>Mainstream English Course II</i> Second Edition	24,269	2.1
17	Keirinkan	<i>LovEng. English Course II</i>	24,088	2.1
18	Daiichi	<i>Voyager English Course II</i> New Edition	20,976	1.8

19	Kairyudo	Revised Edition <i>English Now II</i>	20,910	1.8
20	Taisyukan	<i>Captain English Course II</i> Revised	19,771	1.7
21	Zoshindo	<i>New Stream English Course II</i> Second Edition	19,689	1.7
22	Taisyukan	<i>Genius English Course II</i> Revised	19,682	1.7
23	Buneido	New Edition <i>Surfing English Course II</i>	17,680	1.5
24	Kyosyutsu	<i>Lingua-Land English Course II</i> Revised Edition	17,265	1.5
25	Ikeda	Revised Edition <i>Daily English Course II</i>	14,867	1.3
26	Kirihara	<i>New English Pal II</i> New Edition	13,156	1.2
27	Keirinkan	<i>Acorn English Course II</i>	10,642	0.9
28	Sanyu	<i>Cosmos English Course II</i>	7,826	0.7
29	Sanyu	<i>New World English Course II</i>	7,239	0.6
30	Kyosyutsu	<i>Magic Hat English Course II</i>	6,305	0.6
31	Kairyudo	Revised Edition <i>Sunshine English Course II</i>	6,203	0.5
32	Obunsya	<i>Step English II</i> Revised Edition	5,220	0.5
33	Kaitaku	<i>New Legend English II</i>	3,257	0.3
34	Obunsya	<i>English Navigator II</i>	2,548	0.2
35	Ikeda	<i>Onstage English Course II</i>	1,484	0.1
36	Sukuri	<i>Screenplay English Course II</i>	1,240	0.1
Total			1,140,661	100.0

What will high school students learn from textbooks? Those who have already developed certain ideas of English will reinforce their understanding and knowledge of English by interpreting the statement and description of Japanese people in their textbooks. This research examines how studying with these textbooks will reinforce students' knowledge and understanding about English and what kind of ideas of English will be reproduced.

Table 5.
Contents of Textbooks

Pub.		Title	Topic			
		English I/II	Introduction of Japanese/Japan, Interviews			Conversation Practice
			Related to Japan	Success	International Contributions/Peace	
1	SA	<i>Crown I</i>	Yonaguni Island	Michio Hoshino (photographer)		Ann, Laurie, Jeff (US), José, Kukurit (Thai), Kalei Kealoha, David, Ai-ling, Ahmed (Iran), Seung-mi (Korea)
2	TO	<i>All Aboard! I</i>	Atomic Bomb	Ai Fukuhara (athlete)		Tony, Ms. Green, Nadia
3	TO	<i>Power On I</i>		Hideki Matsui (athlete)		Amy, Tom
4	KI	<i>Pro-</i>	childhood		Tetsu Nakamura	Peter, Justine, Mary,

		<i>Vision I</i>	cancer		(doctor, Afghanistan)	Jeffrey, Beth, Joseph, Emily
5	SU	<i>Big Dipper I</i>	Syowa Station in Antarctica	Osamu Tezuka (cartoonist), Akiko Oshidari (actress)		Jenny, Jim, Bob, Ann, Chris, Tony
6	SA	<i>Vista I</i>		Akiko Oshidari (actress)	Tetsuko Kuroyanagi (land-mine issues)	Bob (US), Fatima (Malaysia), Amy, Nam (Vietnam)
16	KE	<i>Element I</i>		Senichi Hoshino (pro-ball manager), Tsutsumi (ESCO)		Lucy
1	SA	<i>Crown II</i>			Tomoko Kanto (Doctors [Without Borders] Sri Lanka), Ryuichi Sakamoto (Africa, land-mine issues)	Dick, Silvia, Bob, Ben, Paula, Marco, Mary (US), Pun (Cambodia), Rose, Sam, Judy, Tom
2	SA	<i>Vista II</i>			Chizuru Azuma (Friedensdorf International)	Ms. Lee, Fatima (Malaysia), Boyze
3	KI	<i>Pro-Vision II</i>				Adam, Peter, Ken, Bob, Jim, John
4	TO	<i>Power On II</i>		Takayuki Ohira (planetarium projector)		Yang (China), Tom
5	TO	<i>All Aboard! II</i>	Monsters	Koyata Aso (<i>katsubenshi</i>)		
6	SU	<i>Big Dipper II</i>	<i>Rakugo</i> , Hiroshige Utagawa (<i>ukiyo</i> e artist)	Mitsuko Masui (director of Zoorasia)	Hidetoshi Nakata (attitude toward foreign languages)	Tom, Jenny, Tony, Ann
10	DA	<i>Vivid II</i>	Atomic	Ryoko Tani		Jim, ALT, Susan, Bill,

			Bomb	(Judo wrestler), Kenichi Horie (marine adventurer), Akira Kurosawa (movie director)		Judy
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SA: Sanseido, TO: Tokyo Syoseki, KI: Kiriara Syoten, SU: Suken Syuppan, KE: Keirinkan,

DA: Daiichi Gakusyusya.

Note: The conversation practices from in settings abroad are excluded. A person's country, when clearly stated, is shown.

Table 6.
Contents of Japanese Textbooks

1. Contemporary writings

	Contemporary writings
Critical essay	<i>Mono to Kotoba</i> , Takao Suzuki
Novels	<i>Rashomon</i> , Ryunosuke Akutagawa
Poetry	<i>Ishi No Ue</i> , Tatsuji Miyoshi
Essays	<i>Zai No Inochi</i> , Aya Koda

2. Classic literature

	Classic literature
Basic classic literature	<i>Chigo no Sorane : Uji Syui Monogatari</i>
Essay	<i>Tsureduregusa</i> , Yoshida Kenko
Stories	<i>Taketorimonogatari</i>

Diary	<i>Tosa Nikki</i> , Kino Tsurayuki
Military epic	<i>The Tale of Heike</i>
<i>Waka</i> Poetry and seventeen -syllable verse	<i>Manyosyu</i>
Essay	<i>Kagetsu Soshi</i> , Sadanobu Matsudaira

3. Chinese classics

	Classic literature
Basic Chinese classics	<i>Koji Sanben</i>
History	<i>Senjyu Kaishi</i>
Chinese Poetry	<i>Syunmo</i>
Narrative literature	<i>Tendai Jijyo</i> , Liu Yiqing
Thoughts	<i>Rongo</i>
Essay	<i>Cyu Cyo no Chi</i> , Ko Mai

Table 7.
Comparison between English Textbooks and Japanese Textbooks

	The way each character is treated	Topics each character tells
English textbook	Focused on a particular Japanese person who is currently active	Success, dreams or wealth
Japanese textbook	No topic focuses on a particular person	Philosophy about human beings, self-cultivation

5.3 The Japanese People in English Textbooks

5.3.1 English Associated with Success, Dreams, and Wealth

Table 5 shows the English textbooks, English I and II, which were sold over 60,000 copies (each of their market share was more than 5%) in high schools in Japan in 2010. *Element I* which ranks 16th (3.2%) and *Vivid II* which ranks 10th (4.2%) are also included because the materials in these textbooks are useful in terms of exploring the Japanese ideas of English.

The topics that are related to a success story are chosen from these 14 kinds of textbooks. As Table 5 clearly indicates, many Japanese characters appearing in the textbooks are described in relation to success, dreams, or wealth.

Each of them tells their personal success story. For example, the baseball coach Senichi Hoshino, responding to an interview by a high school student, said that he started to have a dream when he thought, “one day *I shall earn a lot of money* [italics added] and give my mother an easy life” (p. 32). He also discussed the importance of having a dream in Scene (1) as follows:

- (1) Having a *dream* makes you strong. A dream gives you the energy to go on. In the end, achieving it or not doesn't matter. The course of action you choose is important. How much have you tried? How eager have you been to *succeed*? Of course you'll experience problems. But every time you get over one, you will become a little stronger. That's life. (italics added)

(Dreamers, Achievers: *Element I*, p. 36)

In his remarks, the expressions, “I shall earn a lot of money,” “dream,” and “succeed” share his goals through the English language. However, there are few materials in which famous people such as athletes and people working abroad talk about “dream” or “success” in Japanese language textbooks. This will be discussed later.

Table 5.
Contents of Textbooks

Pub.		Title	Topic			
		English I	Introduction of Japanese/Japan, Interviews			Conversation Practice
			Related to Japan	Success	International Contributions/Peace	
1	SA	<i>Crown I</i>	Yonaguni Island	Michio Hoshino (photographer)		Ann, Laurie, Jeff (US), José, Kukurit (Thai), Kalei Kealoha, David, Ai-ling, Ahmed (Iran), Seung-mi (Korea)
2	TO	<i>All Aboard! I</i>	Atomic Bomb	Ai Fukuhara (athlete)		Tony, Ms. Green, Nadia
3	TO	<i>Power On I</i>		Hideki Matsui (athlete)		Amy, Tom
4	KI	<i>Pro-Vision I</i>	childhood cancer		Tetsu Nakamura (doctor, Afghanistan)	Peter, Justine, Mary, Jeffrey, Beth, Joseph, Emily
5	SU	<i>Big Dipper I</i>	Syowa Station in Antarctica	Osamu Tezuka (cartoonist), Akiko Oshidari (actress)		Jenny, Jim, Bob, Ann, Chris, Tony
6	SA	<i>Vista I</i>		Akiko Oshidari (actress)	Tetsuko Kuroyanagi (land-mine issues)	Bob (US), Fatima (Malaysia), Amy, Nam (Vietnam)
16	KE	<i>Element I</i>		Senichi Hoshino (pro-ball manager), Tsutsumi (ESCO)		Lucy
		English II				
1	SA	<i>Crown II</i>			Tomoko Kanto (Doctors [Without Borders] Sri Lanka), Ryuichi Sakamoto (Africa, land-mine issues)	Dick, Silvia, Bob, Ben, Paula, Marco, Mary (US), Pun (Cambodia), Rose, Sam, Judy, Tom
2	SA	<i>Vista II</i>			Chizuru Azuma (Friedensdorf International)	Ms. Lee, Fatima (Malaysia), Boyze
3	KI	<i>Pro-Vision II</i>				Adam, Peter, Ken, Bob, Jim, John
4	TO	<i>Power On II</i>		Takayuki Ohira (planetarium projector)		Yang (China), Tom
5	TO	<i>All Aboard! II</i>	Monsters	Koyata Aso (<i>katsubenshi</i>)		Ms. Green
6	SU	<i>Big Dipper II</i>	<i>Rakugo</i> , Hiroshige Utagawa (<i>ukiyo</i> e artist)	Mitsuko Masui (director of Zoorasia)	Hidetoshi Nakata (attitude toward foreign languages)	Tom, Jenny, Tony, Ann
10	DA	<i>Vivid II</i>	Atomic Bomb	Ryoko Tani (Judo wrestler), Kenichi Horie (marine adventurer), Akira Kurosawa (movie director)		Jim, ALT, Susan, Bill, Judy

SA: Sanseido, TO: Tokyo Syoseki, KI: Kiri-hara Syoten, SU: Suken Syuppan,
KE: Keirinkan,
DA: Daiichi Gakusyusya.
Note: The conversation practices conducted abroad are excluded. A person's
country, when clearly stated, is shown.

In addition, Akiko Oshidari, a handicapped actress, spoke to the students of schools for hearing-impaired children (*Big Dipper I*, p. 58). In scene (2), it is clear that she tries to encourage students to have dreams as follows.

(2) She said to them, "Give it a try. Maybe you'll do well" (p. 54).

"Life is full of adventures. Never give up, and have more guts!" These are the mottos kept in Akiko's mind. "I don't like to think about the things I can't do.... I want people around me to change and I also want to change and grow." By making the most of her abilities, she hopes that other deaf people will follow suit. "I believe dreams are for everyone."

(Dreams Are for Everyone: *Big Dipper I*, p. 58)

Oshidari, who is deaf, went through auditions to become an actress to change the dark and sad image of deaf people on TV. In her interview, she responded to a question from deaf students asking if they can also be actors, answering that they should persevere and explaining that dreams are for everybody.

Michio Hoshino, a photographer (*Crown I*), realized his dream of going to the US when he was 16, and Kenichi Horie, who completed a solo around-the-world-tour without stopping at any port (*Vivid II*), traveled across the Pacific Ocean when he was 23. These Japanese people made an effort to realize their dreams in their early 20s and can serve as role models for students

of the same age. It can fuel students' aspirations toward their futures.

Like these examples of Japanese-related materials, which account for about 30 percent of all the materials, many Japanese people appearing in English textbooks are related to their own success stories linked to dreams or wealth, and they talk to students in English. Do other language textbooks that high school students study also deal with the similar contents?

In Japan, high school students are due to study Japanese language as a compulsory subject. In order to examine whether Japanese language textbooks include the similar contents to those of English textbooks, current MEXT-approved Japanese language textbooks for high schools will be analyzed.¹ Among the most popular textbooks, three textbooks will be chosen because they are helpful for knowing which topics are addressed in non-English language textbooks in Japanese high schools: Japanese textbooks, *Kokugo*, (1) *Kotogakko Shintei Kokugo Sogo Gendaibun hen • Koten hen* [*High school new general Japanese: contemporary writings and ancient writings*](Daiichi Gakusyusya, adopted in 11.2% of high schools in Japan), (2) *Kotogakko Kaiteiban Kokugo Sogo* [*High school revised edition general Japanese*](Daiichi gakusyusya, 9.2%), (3) *Kokugo Sogo Kaiteiban* [*High school revised edition*](Kyoiku Syuppan, 6.2%). These are three of the top adopted textbooks (more than 6%) in Japanese high schools.

These textbooks are generally divided into three categories: contemporary writings, classic literature, and Chinese classics. In addition, the same or similar materials are often used. Table 6 highlights some of the contents of Japanese textbooks.

Table 6.
Contents of Japanese Textbooks

1. Contemporary writings

	Contemporary writings
Critical essay	<i>Mono to Kotoba</i> , Takao Suzuki
Novels	<i>Rashomon</i> , Ryunosuke Akutagawa
Poetry	<i>Ishi No Ue</i> , Tatsuji Miyoshi
Essays	<i>Zai No Inochi</i> , Aya Koda

2. Classic literature

	Classic literature
Basic classic literature	<i>Chigo no Sorane : Uji Syui Monogatari</i>
Essay	<i>Tsureduregusa</i> , Yoshida Kenko
Stories	<i>Taketorimonogatari</i>
Diary	<i>Tosa Nikki</i> , Kino Tsurayuki
Military epic	<i>The Tale of Heike</i>
<i>Waka</i> Poetry and seventeen -syllable verse	<i>Manyosyu</i>
Essay	<i>Kagetsu Soshi</i> , Sadanobu Matsudaira

3. Chinese classics

	Classic literature
Basic Chinese classics	<i>Koji Sanben</i>
History	<i>Senjyu Kaishi</i>
Chinese Poetry	<i>Syunmo</i>
Narrative literature	<i>Tendai Jijyo</i> , Liu Yiqing
Thoughts	<i>Rongo</i>
Essay	<i>Cyu Cyo no Chi</i> , Ko Mai

The materials in Table 6 have been examined in comparison with English textbooks in terms of how characters in the stories are depicted as well as how success is written in the stories. The results are shown in Table 7.

Table 7.

Comparison between English Textbooks and Japanese Textbooks

	The way each character is treated	Topics each character tells
English textbook	Focused on a particular Japanese person who is currently active	Success, dreams or wealth
Japanese textbook	No material focuses on a particular person	Philosophy about human beings, self-cultivation

Table 7 indicates a strong contrast in the contents between English textbooks and Japanese textbooks. The English textbooks focus on individuals and have them talk about dreams and successes, while the Japanese textbooks do not present the particular individuals, but instead present the topics of self-cultivation that are philosophical and related to personal development. Whereas English textbooks include originally written essays about environmental issues, introductions to foreign cultures, or interviews with currently active people, Japanese textbooks deal with classic and traditional literatures and essays. In addition, the level of difficulty in terms of the contents and vocabularies is higher in Japanese textbooks than that of English textbooks.

What is drawn from the comparison is that English textbooks tend to show and tell students the image of success through studying English compared to Japanese textbooks that show philosophy about human beings and self-cultivation.

5.3.2 The Materials Discussing International Cooperation

In this section, the statements and descriptions of Japanese people who are

engaged in the international cooperation will be discussed. The discussion argues that the topics about international cooperation in English textbooks are presented according to the Western perspective. However, there are some characters in the materials who criticize the danger of seeing the local circumstances from the Western or Japanese perspective. Thus, there is some conflict in how to treat international cooperation in English textbooks, which is also a problem in the cross-cultural understanding education (Ishikawa, 1998). This will be discussed in 5.4.2.

The following examples of statements (3) are about Dr. Tomoko Kanto, who is engaged in medical activities in Sri Lanka as a doctor for Médecins sans Frontières (MSF). According to Kanto, each region has a different cultural status and that it is dangerous to judge based on Western or Japanese perspective. She also talks about acting on one's confidence and principles:

- (3) We had to think about the local situation, because looking at the situation through Western or Japanese eyes could lead us to make wrong decisions. (p. 37)

Crossing the border takes a lot of courage, but I would like you to follow your own idea of what is right. You might find yourself in the minority, but have confidence in yourself and have the courage to put your beliefs into action.

(Crossing the Border—Médecins sans Frontières: *Crown II*, p. 39)

The next statements (4) are about Dr. Tetsu Nakamura, who is engaged in

projects to build wells and establish medical practices in Pakistan.

(4) There were a lot of differences in customs between the local people and the Japanese volunteers. These differences made it difficult for Dr. Nakamura to help the local people in the beginning (p. 119).

Dr. Nakamura always tried to think about local customs when he helped the people. With this sincere attitude he began to build a relationship of trust with them (p. 119).

He chose to use local traditional tools again so that the people would not have to wait to have the canal fixed with foreign aid if it were damaged. In this way, they are able to handle it by themselves at any time (p. 123).

Everybody joined the project with hope for the future. Together they shared a dream of connecting the people to a better life.

(Living Together: *Pro-Vision I*, p. 124)

The statements (3) and (4) show the inherent difficulty in understanding foreign cultures and the importance of patience, openness, and respect for foreign cultures. They also highlight the considerations for the independence of the local people concerned. The statements (4) describe Nakamura and the local people from different cultural backgrounds facing difficult situations, working together toward their hopes for the future and their dreams. According to *The Course of Study* (1999), “raising interest in language and culture, and

developing respectful attitudes to these elements” is important (Curriculum Design and Treatment of the Contents).² As the statements (4) says that “Dr. Nakamura always tried to think about local customs when he helped the people. With this sincere attitude he began to build a relationship of trust with them (emphasis added by the author, p. 119), his story certainly conveys the message that it is important to offer international contributions with such an attitude.

The landmine problem is also selected as a topic related to international cooperation. Let us look at the statements (5) of Ryuichi Sakamoto, who joined an anti-landmine activity and made a CD called “Zero Landmine” as part of the activity. Sakamoto talked about the landmine problem on an American talk show and said that he knew about the landmine problem before but it was not until he saw a TV program about British Chris Moon, who lost his arms and legs during his demining activity, that it really came to his attention.

(5)Sakamoto: Having lost both his arm and his leg to a landmine in Africa, he had every reason to get discouraged, but he never gave up. He got an artificial arm and leg, and began to walk, finally to run. In the end, he was able to run a full marathon. Most surprising of all, Chris was chosen to be the torchbearer for the 1998 Nagano Winter Olympic Games (p. 119).

Sakamoto: I just wondered how to put it all together in music. Of course, it would not do to destroy the native characteristics of the cultures no matter how serious

you might be. But many of the participating musicians shared the belief that removing landmines is one step toward ending the old-fashioned idea that problems can be solved by violence.

(Zero Landmines: *Crown II*, p. 121)

Sakamoto discussed the importance of considerations for other cultures through his experience of producing his CD and said that all the musicians who participated in the CD from inside or outside the country were united under the principle against violence.

As described above, there are some materials that show the Japanese individuals such as Dr. Kanto and Sakamoto, who respect local people's independence, or tells the importance of considerations for other cultures. However, the fact that there is actually a small percentage of these materials in English textbooks. This will hereinafter be described in detail.

5.3.3 Some Problems with Dialogues and Listening Practices

Let us examine conversation practices in English textbooks. About 70% of the target textbooks have conversational or listening exercises of English using dialogues between an international student or foreign teacher and a Japanese student.

Through those conversation practices, the learners are often asked to create a conversation in English between an international student or a foreign teacher and a Japanese person. In the next conversation practices, (6) and (7), the dialogues in which a foreigner and a Japanese person have a conversation in

English are shown. The goal of these exercises is probably encouraging students to respond by using the phrases used in the dialogues if a foreigner talks to them.

(6) [Ms. Green is shopping in a convenience store.]

Ms. Green: Excuse me. Do you have toothpaste?

Clerk: Yes. It's on the left shelf, over there.

Ms. Green: I see. Thanks.

Clerk: That's 860 yen altogether.

Ms. Green: Thank you. Oh, I don't need the plastic bag.

Clerk: OK. Thank you very much. Have a good day.

(Communication 2: *All Aboard! II*, p. 37)

(7) [An international exchange student is interviewed by a Japanese student.]

交換留学生のジムは、校内マラソン大会で1位になりました。学校新聞の記者がインタビューにやってきました。ジムになったつもりで、今の気持ちを伝えなさい。

(translation)

An exchange student, Jim, won first place in his school marathon competition. The editor of a school newsletter visits him for an interview.

Pretending that you are Jim, tell the interviewer how you are feeling.

A model answer is shown in the page as follows:

e.g., I'm really happy because I never thought I could win today.

[There is a picture of a Japanese student asking an international student.]

“How do you feel now?” (*Vivid II*, p. 13)

The exercises (6) and (7) show a model about how to behave in seeing non-Japanese people and tell what language they should use with them.

In the next exercise (8), students are instructed to practice the sentences replacing underlined nouns with others. The nouns to be replaced are displayed as options after the dialogue.

(8) [The situation with two Japanese students]

“Let’s change the underlined part with other words.”

[At home]

Ken: I need an English-Japanese dictionary. Can you recommend a good one?

Rika: OK. This one may help you (writing down the name).

Ken: Thank you. Do you know how much it is?

Rika: It may be about 1,000 yen.

Ken: I’ll go buy it.

(Function 3: *Big Dipper II*, p. 84)

As this situation often happens in daily life, students can easily understand and learn the expressions. In this sense, this is an effective exercise to improve speaking skills.

However, there are some problems in these dialogues and listening practices discussed above. First, these exercises serve as a model of how to behave in meeting with the non-Japanese people in Japan. For example, in the practice (7), is it appropriate to have an interview with the international exchange student in English? The exchange student may prefer to practice Japanese. However, through learning such exercises, students take it for granted that they should use English even in Japan. Second, the use of English is taken for granted in these exercises. As a result, the chance to think about languages other than English will be entirely missed.

As most students in Japan are limited in terms of their perspectives about languages, English textbooks, as a window for foreign languages, should play a role of telling students that not only English, but also many other languages are used in Japan. This point will be discussed in chapter 6.

5.4 Three Ideologies in English Textbooks of High Schools

Through making an analysis of some statements and descriptions of the Japanese people who appear in textbooks and conversation exercises, I shall argue that there are three ideologies with regard to English as follows: (1) The Image of English as a Passport to Success, (2) Western Universalism, and (3) English as a Priority Language.

5.4.1 The Image of English as a Passport to Success

The first ideology drawn from the materials in the English textbooks is the image of English as a passport to success. Other researchers have discovered this image—and ideology—as well. For example, from a historical and social

point of view, Sergeant (2009) points out the connection between English and the desire to enrich a life and realize a dream by analyzing pictorial advertisements, tourist attractions, and social practices such as the employment policies of educational institutions (ibid., 2009). Therefore, the image of English has not only a passport of success but also a passport of prosperity.

In regard to the relationships between English and wealth and power, Takayama (1999) analyzes successful non-Japanese people in English textbooks and concludes that most “historical figures, heroes, artists, scientists, politicians, business people and so on” are from the English-speaking regions such as the UK and the US, suggesting the idea of English as a passport to success and prosperity (p. 23).

Meanwhile, current textbooks of Japanese language are compiled more toward self-cultivation than English textbooks. However, the topics of self-cultivation were previously included in English textbooks. For example, an American reading book for elementary school students, Barnes’ *New National Readers*, which was widely used in English classes at junior high schools under the old system from the Meiji to early Taisho era, was compiled “with the intention to improve the readers’ mind” as well as to introduce American culture (Koshino/Erikawa, 2004, p. 35). According to Erikawa (2008), the story about Beethoven is included in *New National Readers*, providing moral themes of kindness and philanthropy. Also, the works of Shakespeare, Dickens as well as English poems are treated in the same textbook.

Erikawa (2008) demonstrates that classical materials such as Beethoven (*New National Readers* 5, 1884) and “Mujina,” a Japanese traditional story (*New Prince English Course* 2, 1984), were included in English textbooks

compiled by mainly the Japanese authors. Such textbooks “remind us that English courses in public education are not just for skill training, but also for humanistic education to teach culture and senses” (p.66, translated by the author). It is not necessarily accurate to say that current English textbooks do not have any materials for self-cultivation or classics, but it is true that the number of materials about the current issues and success stories is larger.

The idea of English as a passport to success is seen not only in English textbooks, but also in the educational settings in general, where it is believed that studying English actively will bring good grades and a success in entrance examinations to desired universities. To verify the direction given by *The Course of Study* (1999), a guideline for ELT in Japan, we would like to review “Article 3 Curriculum Design and Treatment of the Contents for Each Subject” in *The Course of Study*.

In order to cultivate communication abilities through the English language in a comprehensive manner, teaching materials that give sufficient consideration to actual language-use situations and functions of language should be used according to the objectives of each subject. Teachers should take up a variety of suitable materials in accordance with the level of students’ development, as well as their interests, covering materials that relate to the daily lives, manners and customs, stories, geography, history, traditional culture, natural science, etc., of Japanese people and the people of the world, focusing on countries that use the English language. Special consideration should be given to the following:

A. Materials that are useful in understanding various viewpoints and ways of thinking, developing the ability to make impartial judgments and cultivating a rich sensibility.

B. Materials that are useful in deepening the understanding of the ways of life and cultures of Japan and foreign countries, raising interest in language and culture, and developing respectful attitudes toward these elements.

C. Materials that are useful in deepening international understanding from a broad perspective, heightening students' awareness of being Japanese citizens living in a global community, and cultivating a spirit of international cooperation.

D. Materials that are useful in deepening individual thinking on humanity, society, nature, etc.

*(The Course of Study, 1999, emphasis added by the author)*³

The materials in the textbooks that would be selected and provided for students are supposed to help them understand “various viewpoints and ways of thinking, developing the ability to make impartial judgments and cultivating a rich sensibility.” Students are supposed to learn the material “in accordance with the level of students’ development, as well as their interests.” These guideline statements can be applied to what Luhmann calls “a motivating structure.” In short, students are encouraged to study English for their own

purposes, which are not always necessary, but imposed (Luhmann, 1973/1979, p. 111).

As to teaching materials that are chosen intentionally, Seiyama's (2000) "canalization" or "*suirozuke*" theory is useful for the analysis (p.62). "Canalization" is a valid political method—"the operation to make a certain type of activity easy or difficult"—and, by the precondition of a person's action, one of the "challenges to influence a person's choice of action" (ibid., 2000, p. 62, translated by the author). In the process of this "*suirozuke*" that encourages students to study English, the materials that may interest students are included in textbooks. In addition, the need to study English for an entrance examination or job hunting is shown to students with the image of English as a passport to success and prosperity. Too much emphasis on this image would be a problem because it makes students forget about languages other than English.

5.4.2 Western Universalism

The second ideology found through the analysis of English textbooks is Western universalism which believes that the Western ideas are applicable throughout the world. The topics such as international cooperation, landmine problems, world peace, and so on are based on, for example, the idea of "charity" and "volunteerism" which the Western countries have developed.⁴ In addition, not only the Western perspective but also the relativistic way of thinking such as respecting the local culture and ideas is shown in the topics of international contributions.

Yet international problems, such as the landmine problems, are often presented from a Western point of view. In the material, the Ottawa Treaty

(Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction, 1997) is introduced to students, encouraging them to know its importance. It is valuable for students to know about such topics. However, no information is provided from the non-Western perspective, including the fact that major exporters of landmines (e.g., the United States, China, and Russia) have not signed the Treaty. There is also no mentioning of the fact that Japan, who joined the treaty in 1998, is engaged in activities such as mine-eliminating activity.

To reach the goal of the curriculum guideline which states that: “deepening the international understanding from a broad perspective” (1999), it is important to understand world affairs not only from the dominant Western perspective, but also from the point of view different from the English-speaking countries’ points of view. International cooperation is needed not only for peace, but for technical cooperation as well. This is often done based on the “assumption that developed countries’ technical system contributes to promote development” (Suzuki, 2002, p. 119, translated by the author). As for this concept of development, Suzuki (2002) explains the discourse based on the development theories of Escobar (1995) and Ferguson (1990):

Development is the backbone of the world economy, including developed countries, and through development policy, the World Bank selects a certain area in the world as an area of poverty to justify controlling its people (p. 119, translated by the author).

As an example of this discourse, Suzuki (2002) establishes a four-theory

model: “modernization theory, dependency theory, sustainable development theory and development and identity theory” (p. 119, translated by the author). He points out that there has been no change in the “modernization theory”—namely, “modernized developed countries are models for developing countries” (p. 120, translated by the author). The topics such as international cooperation and world peace seem to have been treated from this perspective. Like the description about landmine problems in which just one aspect is presented without the historical explanation as mentioned before, it would be a problem that students are exposed to such a topic without knowing the historical relationship between the Western countries and developing countries.

Of course, as many of the issues that developing countries face have not been solved yet, it would be useful to introduce such affairs in Africa to students. However, if the materials about Africa are to be presented in textbooks, the historical aspect should be presented as well. As Nakamura (1993) explains, the relationship between the Western countries and Africa in terms of Western modernization was achieved via slavery. Unless students are aware of such a historical fact, they would only understand one side of the story, namely, that the Western countries help poor countries. As English textbooks are currently written by Japanese authors, it would be possible to deal with such topics by seeing the world affairs from the non-Western point of view.

Poverty and starvation, the lack of medicine, anti-landmine activities, and so on in Africa are issues that are known in Japan. Therefore, it is worth presenting information that cannot be obtained through the mass media or the Internet, which would provide students with an opportunity to develop different points of view. Nakamura (1993) argues that “it cannot be a true international

understanding unless it goes beyond the frame of understanding of the Western world” (p. 84, translated by the author). One of the purposes of international understanding can be achieved when languages and cultures are learned with respect for one another.

Thus, it is important to encourage students to become aware of the danger of getting a particular language absolutized for the improvement of ELT in Japan (Ishikawa, 1998). To move away from Western universalism and see global matters from the non-Western point of view, several ideas would be useful in compiling textbooks. One of them is showing materials that are not only about international cooperation and the issue of peace originating from the Western countries, but also about the influence of colonial domination by Western countries.

Dr. Kanto of MSF, who tries to think from a local point of view instead of a Western or Japanese point of view, and Dr. Nakamura, who is engaged in system development (using local tools to encourage local people to realize the feasibility of self-sustainment in the future), suggests that the maintenance of identity is more important than development. The examples of these Japanese people, who are in a position to respect the cultural identity (Suzuki, 2002), provide students with an opportunity to objectively understand foreign cultures as well as English and other languages.

However, the numbers of such materials are very small compared to the materials written from the Western points of view. For example, 23 textbooks (about 30.3%), include materials about international contribution out of 72 English I and II textbooks. Out of 23 textbooks, seven textbooks have materials telling the clear messages⁵ about the importance of local point of view and their

cultural identity. According to Ishikawa (1998), it is a problem that such materials are treated as just a small part of all the materials that are filled with conversation practices that emphasizes the use of English as the international language instead of thinking of other languages or points of view.

5.4.3 English as a Priority Language

The third ideology is the idea of English as a priority language, which can be found in various situations for conversation exercises. In addition, the image of English as the language of native speakers of English is still evident in the textbooks. As we have already seen, many conversation exercises include a combination of foreign and Japanese characters. The most popular foreign characters are international students or English teachers who encounter Japanese students going about their daily lives. The situations for exercises are familiar, and thus easily inspire the students' understanding and curiosity, effectively motivating them to practice.

However, these conversation practices might accelerate their preconceived idea that English should be used to a foreigner. As shown in many of the English textbooks, the image of English as a passport for international communication encourages students to use English when they meet the non-Japanese people (see Chapter 6). They might also believe through having conversation practices with the non-Japanese people that they can communicate with anyone in the world only if they know English.

Tsuda (2006) argues that “dependency on English” is one of the causes that disrupts equal communication with foreigners and suggests that Japanese people grow out of the dependency on English and develop the idea that the

Japanese should use Japanese in Japan (p. 138). Nakamura (1993) also suggests that we should realize that it is ideal to use the mother tongue in communication. These arguments should be taken into consideration when preparing the situations for conversation exercises in these textbooks. For example, the topics such as teaching Japanese to foreign students with English as an auxiliary language and giving foreign students an experience of visiting schools and the towns where students live would be useful.⁶

Kubota and McKay (2009) point out that Graddol's (2006) suggestion that English is neither a first language nor second language for five billion people, and suggest that, despite a widely shared image of English as a lingua franca in multilingual situations, English is not always a common language in a multilingual society. As many international students are depicted in the English textbooks, it is important to examine the data on the number of international high school students in Japan. According to the 2008 survey by MEXT,⁷ of 1,247 international high school students coming to Japan, 503—the highest number—come from China, which amounts to more than double the number coming from the second-ranked United States with 209 students. While the English-speaking countries such as the United States and Australia (ranked third) are among the top ten countries sending a combined total of 379 students, the non-English-speaking countries—Germany (fourth), South Korea (fifth), and China—send a total of 717 students. These statistics demonstrate that there are more international students from the non-English-speaking countries in Japanese high schools.

However, most of the international students in textbooks are from the English-speaking countries such as the US and Canada. Even when their origins

are not clear, their names (Jenny, Jim, Bob, Dick, etc.) and pictures imply that they are from the English-speaking countries (see Table 1). Some textbooks have international students who seem to have come from Malaysia (15) or Vietnam (5) because the topics about Malaysia and Vietnam are included, but there are not many Malaysian or Vietnamese international students in Japan (Malaysia ranks 18th and Vietnam 33rd in the number of students studying in Japan). Thus, although the majority of international students described in textbooks are from the English-speaking countries, this does not reflect reality but might make the Japanese students believe that English belongs only to the native English speakers in the US, Canada and so on rather than one of international languages. Not many topics on Japan's neighboring countries (e.g., China, South Korea, and other Asian countries) are included in the textbooks.

Nakamura (1993) introduces a junior high school textbook entitled *New Horizon* as an example to explain the priority of English in textbooks. He points out that some materials have problems in that they might encourage students to prioritize using English in communication. In particular, he criticizes a material in which an international student, Mike, who is staying in Japan for one year, talks with Ken and Kumi in English, thereby suggesting to students that English should take priority over Japanese even in Japan.

The supremacy of English, as pointed by Nakamura (1993), exists in high school textbooks as well. In lesson 1 of *All Aboard!*, it says, "We all have the same passport—love and friendship. We also have the same ticket—English. Together, let's use them and make new friends" (p.11). The lesson is based on the idea of English as the international language, of ETIL.

Therefore, it is important to develop students' awareness of the diversity

of English (Matsuda, 2003) and nurture their attitudes in dealing with many other languages and cross-cultural issues by objectively approaching them rather than reinforcing the English supremacy instead of being too dependent on the native-speaker variety of English and the aggrandized Western set of values.

Nakamura (1989) further emphasizes the importance of “understanding different cultures (different races) in Japan in order to develop international understanding” (p.212). Kimura (2004) raises concerns about the tendency to reduce international understanding to language learning by arguing that “international understanding is not equal to learning the language” (p.48). The Japanese people’s unbiased attitude toward languages and foreign cultures is essential for international understanding and for dealing with urgent issues related to various foreign races and the ever-increasing foreign population within Japan. Therefore, by demonstrating that English is not as versatile as one might have perceived and by providing students with more time to decide which language to speak to the non-English speaking foreigners, textbooks can take the initiative to change students’ awareness and let them realize that they do not have to use or depend on English all the time. Such a change in textbooks would be useful for promoting an objective approach towards English and would provide more opportunities to learn other foreign languages and study a language that meets the students’ needs.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter, high school textbooks have been analyzed to understand the Japanese ideas of English. By analyzing some remarks and descriptions of Japanese people in conversation exercises of English textbooks, the three

ideologies with regard to English and ELT in Japan have been discovered.

First, the statements of Japanese people in the textbooks convey the message that English equals success, dreams, and wealth. Students are exposed to Japanese people's success stories via English, which is a "passport" to success and dreams that might be reinforced by English textbooks.

Second, there is a concern that international understanding is biased by an interpretation from the point of view of Western universalism. The textbooks include statements by Japanese people about international cooperation or world peace, further suggesting that cross-cultural understandings are based on the Western point of view. However, there are also some original standpoints shown by Japanese people. Introducing various perspectives is useful for enabling students to understand a multicultural perspective, which encourages students to study cultures or languages.

The third ideology is the supremacy of English, which can be observed in the conversation exercises throughout the textbooks. The scenes take place in Japan or at schools to make the exercises similar to real life, thereby strengthening Japanese students' inclination to speak English first when addressing a foreigner and accelerating their feelings of obligation to speak English or empower an inferiority complex about their imperfect English. This might cause them to disrespect other languages or the Japanese language itself. As a whole, current English textbooks have not moved away from suggesting English supremacy.

Yet some textbooks include the topics such as "the French law to protect their culture from foreign countries," "endangered languages," and "language rights." As discussed, Japanese people who respect local people's independence,

like Dr. Kanto from MSF, are also included. Such inclusions are effective for helping students to develop their objective awareness toward English and foreign cultures.

However, the problem is that the numbers of such materials are small (about 9.5%) compared to the materials written from the Western point of view and that such materials compose only a small part of all the materials which are filled with the conversation practices that emphasize the use of English as the international language (Ishikawa, 1998).

Of course, English is a useful language for the Japanese, but in ELT in Japan, it is necessary to present English without bias and develop a new idea of English, free from the supremacy of English and focusing not only on the language's communicative function, but also linguistic relativism or the way to live with English and other languages in Japan as one of the Expanding Circle countries.

In the next chapter, I shall analyze English textbooks from the point of view of English as “the” international language that is promoted in textbooks, discussing some problems about it.

¹ In a study published in 2008 about elementary and junior high school Japanese textbooks, researchers investigated the contents of Japanese language textbooks. Besides, they also analyzed differences among language textbooks used in several countries such as the US, the UK, Germany, Russia, Korea, China and so on. What is drawn from comparison with other textbooks is that there are some distinctive trends in Japanese language textbooks. For example, every textbook for elementary schools

approved by MEXT has similar contents such as *Gongitsune* [*Gon, the little fox*] and *Ookina kabu* [*The Giant Turnip*]. On the other hand, other non-Japanese textbooks have various materials because other countries do not have the textbook authorization system as strict as that of Japan. Another point is that the number of materials that focus on improving social communication ability is small compared to other non-Japanese textbooks (Fujimura, Arai, et al. 2008; Ninomiya, 2010). Furthermore, Ninomiya (2010) points out cult of American dream and multiculturalism education as the features of American education system.

² Retrieved Dec. 7, 2012, from <http://warp.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/286794/www.mext.go.jp/english/shotou/030301.htm>

³ Retrieved Aug. 4, 2012, from http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/new-cs/youryou/eiyaku/___icsFiles/afieldfile/2011/04/11/1298353_24.pdf

⁴ According to Kanazawa (2008), “charity/philanthropy” means an non-profit, voluntary activity for the weak. It was practiced in Britain and Europe during the period from Middle Ages to Early Modern Ages, and it was particularly widespread in Britain after the mid-18th century and throughout the 19th century (p.3, translated by the author). He explains that “voluntarism,” in short, “welfare voluntarism” includes “charity/philanthropy.” For example, “British save the indigenous people” (Kanazawa, 2008, p.177, translated by the author) in Calcutta, the capital of British India in 1820s. Kanazawa (2010) also admits that “charity” plays a role in justifying imperialism. In addition, philanthropists have aspects of “capitalist,” “ruler,” “exploiter,” and “imperialist.”

⁵ I have chosen messages that have expressions such as, to “respect” the local people

and culture, or not to “push our values or culture on the local people” as follows:

“I always keep in mind that we should never push our values or culture on the local people but should respect theirs. I also believe it is important for practicing doctors to understand each patient’s situation and do their best for all of them.”

(*Prominence I*, p.138, emphasis added by the author)

This is commented by Dr. Nakamura. The next message is given by Dr. Yamamoto (see Chapter 6).

To help people, it is important that we first try to understand their culture. Then we need to help them to build their own future on the basis of their culture.

(*World Trek I*, p.110, emphasis added by the author)

⁶ In addition to considering the topics, it would be important to give a chance to students to choose and study languages other than English, which is the future challenge in language teaching.

⁷ Retrieved Dec. 9, 2012, from http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/houdou/22/01/___icsFiles/afieldfile/2010/01/29/1289270_1_1.pdf

Chapter 6

The Promotion of “English as ‘The’ International Language” in English Textbooks for High Schools in Japan

6.1 English as “an” International Language or as “the” International Language?

This chapter examines how the idea of “English as ‘the’ international language,” meaning that only English should be used as a common language in international communication, is promoted in currently used English textbooks for senior high schools. In particular, the analysis will be made, focusing on the metalinguistic materials.

The idea of English as an International Language (EIL) (Smith, 1976, 1981 and others), or English as an International Auxiliary Language (EIAL) (Smith, 1976), is often mistaken as being synonymous with the idea of “English as ‘the’ International language” (Hino, 2001) or what I call ETIL. In this chapter, the idea of EIL is used as “English as a means of communication between people of different nations (Smith, 1976; Hino, 2001; and others). In short, as Smith (1976) defines, any language can become an international language. However, as Hino (2001) points out, ETIL considers English to be “the” only international language, meaning no language other than English should be used as a common language in international communication.

Although English Language Teaching (ELT) in Japan has changed from what Smith (1981) called the “chauvinism” of English into something that gives due consideration to multilingualism, in addition to an increase in Japanese-related materials, the materials of both English-speaking countries and non-English-speaking countries are dealt with in English textbooks (Hino, 1988, 2005, 2006). Some textbooks also deal with World Englishes (WE) (Kachru, 1985), endangered languages, minority languages, and others.

However, there is still a tendency in Japan to regard English as “the” only international language or the language of the United States or the United Kingdom, as reflected in the fact that many Japanese characters that appear in textbooks use English primarily during conversation with foreigners who are mostly from English-speaking countries. It would be appropriate to say that the characters use English in English textbooks. However, such textbooks serve as a window for languages other than the mother tongue because many students have so few chances to encounter and study languages other than English in the current Japanese educational system. Therefore, the language images shown in English textbooks would affect students’ ideas of languages. If English is taught as EIL, the textbook might include characters primarily from non-English-speaking countries as the number of non-native speakers using EIL is greater than that of native speakers of English. Thus, there is a discrepancy between the ambiguous interpretation of EIL in English textbooks in Japan and the idea of considering English as the language of the USA or the UK.

However, it is necessary to understand the real meaning of EIL rather than ETIL, as specifically shown in Hino’s comments: “EIL stands for English as ‘an’ international language, not English as ‘the’ international language” (Hino, 2001, p.40, translated by the author). This understanding promotes the viewpoint that we should make no discrimination among languages. In other words, we should learn linguistic relativism.

This chapter will examine the Japanese idea of “English as ‘the’ international language” reflected in English textbooks based on the analysis of the language materials in all of the current “English I” textbooks (36 in total) for senior high schools. In order to explore how these materials strengthen the idea of English as the “only” international language and operates just as a neutral tool for communication, and how an ideology giving a privilege to English exists in the practice of English conversations, the

following will be discussed: (1) The Conflict between EIL and ETIL, (2) Metalinguistic Materials in English Textbooks for High Schools in Japan, (3) Metalinguistic Materials in High School Textbooks, (4) The Image of ETIL for Non-Native Speakers in High School Textbooks, (5) The Need for Linguistic Diversity.

6.2 The Conflict between EIL and ETIL

Before analyzing metalinguistic materials, the studies highlighting the differences between EIL and ETIL will be reviewed.

First, Hino (1988) indicates that “nationalism on the part of the non-native speaker shifts the cultural orientation away from the Anglo-American framework” (p.313). However, he expresses deep concern about a contradiction between this attitude and the concept that “EIL entails an enlargement of cultural scope, which views varieties of cultures without prejudice” (ibid., 1988, p. 313). According to Matsuda (2002, 2003), many English learners—and even some teachers—still perceive English to be the language of the Inner Circle (Kachru, 1985) and therefore learn English to access the Inner Circle culture (Matsuda, 2002), that is, the culture of English-speaking countries, which goes against the “enlargement of cultural scope” advocated by Hino (1988, p. 313).

As for the use of English from the EIL point of view, Kachru (1983) suggests that “non-native users ought to develop an identity with the local model of English without feeling that it is a ‘deficient’ model” (p. 85). In addition, there are essential suggestions, as Hino (2005) explains, that EIL should be used as a means to express the user’s own ways of thinking beyond the cultural restriction of English or Western paradigm (p.12) and through the process of “de-Anglo-Americanization of English” (Kunihiro, 1970, p. 3).

Several studies have dealt with English textbooks for elementary and secondary education (Matsuda, 2002; 2003; Naka, 2007) in Japan, with most of them supporting Matsuda's (2002) conclusion that English textbooks for junior high schools tend to "emphasize the Inner Circle, both in intranational and international use" (p. 195). I shall advance the discussion from the point of the conflict between EIL and ETIL as well as the Japanese ideas of English. The analysis along these lines would certainly shed light on the problems related to ELT in Japan, such as the idea of giving priority to English or the inferiority complex students have when speaking English.

6.3 Metalinguistic Materials in English Textbooks for High Schools in Japan

In this chapter, MEXT-approved textbooks used in high schools in Japan are chosen because currently approximately 98% of students enter high school (MEXT, 2008) and "English I" is studied in every school. These textbooks are provided for students with a view to deepening "[their] understanding of language and culture." Furthermore, since textbooks for high school students have more detailed topics about languages than those available in the junior high school curriculum and textbooks, it is more appropriate to analyze high school textbooks.

There are 36 MEXT-approved "English I" textbooks in which the topics about languages, especially those related to EIL, are included. The total number of chapters in the textbooks is 210, out of which 19 chapters (approximately 9.1%) are metalinguistic materials. Although this represents a small percentage of the total number of chapters, they reflect the Japanese ideas of English and are likely to have a considerable effect on students' language attitude.

Metalinguistic materials deal with topics such as EIL, multilingualism, the language difference, the difference of meaning, communication gaps, and endangered

languages. Nine “English I” textbooks were chosen to analyze such issues because they are appropriate for analyzing the discussion of the Japanese ideas of English. How conversation practices are set up, in which characters use English in communication, will be examined as well.

MEXT defines the following overall objectives:

To develop students’ basic practical communication abilities such as listening and speaking, deepening the understanding of language and culture, and fostering a positive attitude toward communication through foreign languages.

(The Course of Study for Foreign Languages, 2003)

Thus, the analysis of metalinguistic materials and how they are treated will be useful in examining the tendency of the Japanese ideas of English.

6.4 Analysis of Metalinguistic Materials in High School Textbooks

6.4.1 The Prevalence of ETIL in High School Textbooks

English textbooks show students that English is a necessary and convenient language, especially among non-native speakers of English. This section analyzes four materials to demonstrate that ETIL is prevalent in high school textbooks.

Passage (1) demonstrates that English is important for many people from different cultures. The accompanying picture depicts a variety of students from the non-English-speaking countries communicating by using English:

(1) We are all high school students. We are on a large ship. The ship sails around the world. We speak different languages. We come from different cultures.

We are all different in many ways, but it is OK. We all have the same passport—love and friendship. We all have the same ticket—English. Together, let's use them and make new friends. (*All aboard! I*, p. 11)

The image of English drawn from the passage (1) is that every student can communicate with others if only he/she can use English, justifying the idea of ETIL.

Another example, dialogue (2) shows the situation where a Japanese student is speaking in English with a Malaysian student studying in Japan.

(2) Fatima: Some people speak Malay, or Chinese... or another language. There are many ethnic groups in my country.

Hiroshi: Oh, really? Then how can you talk with each other?

Fatima: We use our national language, Bahasa Malaysia. And sometimes English.

Hiroshi: How come?

Fatima: Each ethnic group has its own language.

Hiroshi: Is English a common language?

Fatima: Well, many young people can speak some English. What about Japan? Do all the people speak only Japanese? Do only Japanese live in your country? (*VISTA I*, p. 20)

This material indicates that EIL is used for convenience in addition to the national language, Bahasa Malaysia, in a multilingual country such as Malaysia. Again, the dialogue implies that English is a truly useful tool for communication as “the” international language among non-native speakers of English.

Some materials include conversations between Japanese characters and non-native speakers of English using English, such as the dialogue (3), in which a Japanese student, Ken, is talking with a Korean student, Seung-mi, about an exhibition of the 20th-century photographs.

(3) Ken: Do you remember the mother carrying her dead child wrapped in cloth? That photo struck me the most.

Seung-mi: Yes, I remember it. It really feels sorry for the mother.

Ken: It's terrible that such small children are dying.

Seung-mi: I agree. As for me, the picture of the Berlin Wall impressed me the most. (*Crown I*, p. 120)

In addition, in dialogue (4), Hanako, a Japanese girl, who is studying in India, speaks with her friend, Raj.

(4) Hanako: Could you do me a favor, Raj?

Raj: Yes, what is it?

Hanako: I'm having trouble with my math homework.

Raj: Well, you're asking the wrong person. I'm not good at math.

(*Exceed I*, p. 90)

In these two examples, English is used between Japanese people and non-native speakers of English to justify the Japanese idea of ETIL: English is truly a useful tool of communication between people who are non-native speakers of English.

6.4.2 The Ideology of Native-Speaker English in High School Textbooks

As previously mentioned, the image that English is an essential language among both non-native and native speakers of English is shown for students through English textbooks. In this section, the ideology of native-speaker English, which is often seen in the idea of English as the international language, will be examined.

Matsuda (2002) points out that American English and British English are still seen as the standard varieties of English. An analysis of dialogues (5) and (6) supports Matsuda's idea. Compared to the characters from the non-English-speaking countries in dialogues (2) through (4), Nancy in dialogues (5) and (6) is a blonde European-looking girl, although no details are provided regarding her origins. In addition, it is not clear whether Nancy uses Japanese in communication with the Japanese people during her stay in Miki's home.

At first sight, the topic in dialogues (5) and (6) sounds funny because of their misunderstanding between the Japanese-made English, or "*wasei eigo*" and the correct English word. In these dialogues, a Japanese girl named Miki talks with Nancy, who is staying in Miki's home:

(5) "*konsento*" ?

Nancy: This microwave doesn't work. I can't cook anything.

Miki: Did you check the "*konsento*"?

Nancy: Consent? "*Konsento*" is a Japanese word. In English, people use
"outlet."

(6) "*baikingu*" ?

Miki: We will go to a "*baikingu*" tonight.

Nancy: Biking? I don't have a bike.

Miki: No, no. I meant "Viking."

Nancy: Viking? Are there pirates in Japan?

(*Viva English! I*, p. 27)

There are three remarkable points in these conversations. First, it is not clear whether Nancy uses Japanese in communication with Japanese people during her stay in Miki's home. Second, what Nancy said shows the priority she places on the English point of view. Third, a problem about correct pronunciation is highlighted.

For example, Nancy mistook the *katakana* word *baikingu* for "biking" or "Viking" for "pirates." Nancy seems to stick to her English point of view, and the conversation ends with Nancy correcting Miki's "error," as if Miki were regarded as a "failed native speaker" (Cook, 1999, p. 195).

According to Kameda (2012), "the same word has an entirely different connotation when translated into an Asian language" (p. 9, translated by the author). Hence, when the words "consent," "Viking," etc., arrive in Japan, they might change their meanings from "outlet" or "pirates" to "plug" or "smorgasbord." Thus, Kameda (2012) suggests quoting Engholm (1991), who said that, "before registering a negative emotional reaction to words and phrases, Westerners should consult their interpreter for help in understanding the words' connotations" (p. 9, translated by the author).

A problem about pronunciation also becomes clear. Nancy implies that the *katakana* word "*baikingu*" is not accepted as the word meaning "*viking*." Cook (1999) argues that "the measure of success in L2 learning is often held to be the amount of foreign accent—the extent to which people's pronunciation conforms to native standards" (p.195). If English language learners have to retain a feeling of inferiority

until they can speak like native speakers despite being proficient in English except for pronunciation, it would be a shame because they would worry about failing to use native-speaker” English (e.g., Jenkins, 2000, p. 8; Kramsch, 1993, p. 9).

Thus, it would be better for students to revise their thinking of “international English” as a language that is separated from native speakers while studying English textbooks so that they can seek for “the understanding of various ways of seeing and thinking, cultivating a rich sensibility, and enhancing the ability to make impartial judgments” (*The Course of Study for Foreign Language*, 2003). As “the meanings really reside in people and also cultures, but not in words themselves” (Kameda, 2012, p.10, translated by the author), it might be difficult to understand others even if non-native speakers use the same language. If EIAL would be used based on their value, good communication would require efforts to achieve a good human relationship and the use of mutual or fair language from the points of view of Globish or “the Lingua Franca Core” (Jenkins, 2000).

In the next passage (7), the impact of native-speaker English causing the lack of confidence is demonstrated. The passage (7) shows the result of a survey in which both Korean and Japanese students answered a list of questions about their English ability:

- (7) The result of the survey shows us what Korean and Japanese students think they can do in English when they reach certain grades. For example, when Korean students reach Grade 2, they think their English is good enough to talk on the phone. On the other hand, Japanese students do not think they can talk on the phone until they reach Grade 4. ... Then, don't you think you can be as confident as Korean students are? It seems that you are more afraid of using English than Korean students are. (*English Navigator I*, p.13)

These results suggest that Japanese students are more afraid of using English than Korean students are unless they can use better English. In short, what we can see is that Japanese students seem to have assigned a value to how well they can use English instead of trying to engage in communication.

Regarding the pronunciation model, English textbooks used in Japan include CDs recorded by native speakers, most of whom are American or British people. As Matsuda and Friedrich (2011) suggest, “to expose students to different varieties of English” is necessary to increase “students’ awareness of English varieties” (Matsuda & Friedrich, p. 338).

Furthermore, the studies about “possible ‘Western-bias’ in popular pedagogical assumptions and practices in the field of ELT” (Matsuda, 2011, p. 332) have been further explored by other scholars (e.g., McKay & Bokhorst-Heng, 2008). Therefore, as Hino (2011) argues for the need of the idea of EIL, especially English as a lingua franca (ELF) in ELT should be free from the norms of “native-speaker” English. As such, students would enjoy using English with a Japanese approach, which would encourage them to be more positive toward English. This suggestion provides an effective motivation for learners in their study of English.

As I have discussed so far, English is clearly shown as the ETIL for people from different countries, and varieties of students using English are portrayed in English textbooks, even if they are in Japan. In short, these conversation materials between non-native speakers of English suggest that English is necessary among non-native speakers and lessens the need for L2 learners to use their own native languages. Passage (8) demonstrates that English is a useful language used among non-native speakers.

(8) Pictures of people from many countries are shown.

Konnichiwa. We're from Japan.

Hello. We're from America.

Bonjour. I'm from Haiti.

Buenas tardes. I'm from Argentina....

(New English Pal I, Inside front cover)

This passage strengthens the image that all people should use English in communication. In addition, students are given little chance to know the reason why Haitian people speak French and Argentines greet one another in Spanish. As a result, these materials teach students that English is the only international language, or ETIL which would be an obstacle for them in acquiring the ideas of linguistic relativism and multilingualism which advocates for respect for all languages.

Thus, the materials in which many kinds of races communicate together in English encourage students to justify the idea of "English as 'the' international language"(ETIL). Furthermore, the chance to raise awareness about linguistic relativism and multilingualism significantly decreases because English textbooks provide the examples that show students in Japan how English should be used. As English is not always used in daily lives for students, the way English is treated in English textbooks would become a model or standard for students in Japan.

6.5 The Image of ETIL for Non-Native Speakers in High School Textbooks

6.5.1 Is English "the" International Language in Japan?

In order to further explore the problem with the idea of English using native-speaker English, this section examines the following question: Should students study

English as the only language for communication in a country like Japan where “the use of English may be of little importance as an auxiliary language” (Smith, 1976, p. 38)?

Thus far, the analysis in this chapter has shown that English textbooks strengthen the idea that English is the only international language and operates as just a neutral tool for communication. In addition, there are a lot of English conversation practices in textbooks and in these practices, the “native-speaker” English serves as the model. Therefore, the problem is that such a belief, as Naka (2006) suggests by quoting Cook (1999), creates “an unattainable goal for L2 learners” (Cook, 1999, p. 185) and “a sense of inferiority, which turns out to be their reluctance to communicate in English” (Naka, 2006, p. 28, translated by the author).

As Hino (1988) points out, the inclusion of non-native speakers of English has increased in English textbooks, and many of the conversation practices are shown with the Japanese people talking with native speakers as well as non-native speakers using English. However, it would strengthen the image that English is the only choice for the tool of communication among non-native speakers. The idea of English as “the” International Language (ETIL) is thus promoted through these conversation practices.

Moreover, the names of characters in textbooks include the Western names such as Nancy, Betty, Bob, and John, and most teachers in textbooks are from the U.S. and Britain. Table 8 shows the names of the characters in high school English textbooks. We can see that most of the characters are from the English-speaking countries.

Table 8.

Names of the Characters in High School English Textbooks

	Names of the Characters
English I	Ahmed (Iran), Ai-ling, Amy (Canada), Ann, Andhini, Andy, Beth, Betty, Bill (Australia), Bob (America, exchange student from California), Brown (ALT from America), Carol, Chris (America), Cathy, Cindy, David, Emily, Fatima (Malaysia), Green (teacher), Habiba (Nigeria), Jack, James, Jaya (the Philippines), Jeff (exchange student from California, America), Jeffrey, Jenny, Jenson, Jim, John (exchange student from Australia), José, Joseph, Judy (exchange student from Canada), Justin, Kalei (teacher from Hawaii), Kimani (Kenya), Kukrit, Lee, Lisa, Lucy (teacher, exchange student from America), Lynn, May, Mark (America), Mary, Matt, Meg, Meiling (Malaysia), Michael, Mike, Nam (Vietnam), Nancy, Naomi (America), Natcha (Thailand), Pane, Peter, Saki, Sam (America), Saranyaa, Seung-mi (Korea), Susan, Ted, Tom, Tommy, Tony, White, Wichai (Thailand)
English II	Adam, Adel, Ann, Anna, Anne, Baker, Ben, Beth (America), Bill (America), Bob, Boyes (teacher), Brown, Carol, Catherine, Cathy, David, Dick, Emma, Eunsook (Korea), Fatima (Malaysia), George, Grace, Green, Jamila, Jeff (America), Jenny, Jim (exchange student), John, Judy, Ken, Lee (teacher), Lucy, Marco, Mark, Mary (American student studying abroad), Mbeki (South Africa, teacher), Meiling (Malaysia), Nadia, Niko (Finland), Raj (India), Paula, Peter, Pun (Cambodia), Rana, Rose, Sam, Santos (Brazil), Silvia, Smith, Steve, Susan, Tom (studying Japanese), Tony, Yang (China)

Note. The nationality or position is indicated when such information is included in the materials.

By looking at Table 8, we can realize that English is still a language of

English-speaking countries rather than a language used by non-native speakers of English. Furthermore, conversation practices provide the examples that English is used even between the Japanese people and the non-Japanese people.

However, this situation is not necessarily reflective of the real-life situation, especially in schools. Rather, it reminds me of a story that one of my colleagues told me the other day. The story went like this: An exchange student from the U.S. eagerly tried to learn Japanese and his Japanese classmates talked with him in Japanese. However, the Japanese students had to explain something in English to this American student so that he could understand clearly. The use of English is assumed even in Japan.

The question is what kind of Englishes should become the model for ELT and under what circumstances English is used.

Special consideration should be given to the following document issued by MEXT. In “Syllabus Design and Treatment of the Contents” (*The Course of Study for Foreign Language*, 2003), the materials encouraged are:

- a) Materials that are useful in enhancing the understanding of various ways of seeing and thinking, cultivating a rich sensibility, and enhancing the ability to make impartial judgments.
- b) Materials that are useful in deepening the understanding of the ways of life and cultures of Japan and the rest of the world, raising interest in language and culture, and developing respectful attitudes to these elements.
- c) Materials that are useful in deepening international understanding from a broad perspective, heightening students’ awareness of being Japanese citizens

living in a global community, and cultivating a spirit of international cooperation. (emphasis added by the author)

Since English textbooks are supposed to act as virtual media for students to enhance “the ability to make impartial judgments” and raise “interest in language and culture” through by studying languages, the materials in textbooks should be shown to develop a view of language without giving the exclusive priority to English. Furthermore, it is important to develop “respectful attitudes” for the language and cultures by providing materials in which people basically use their own languages when they are in their own country.

Indeed, in the previously discussed conversation about *katakana* words between Miki and Nancy, the problem that should be considered is that Nancy focuses on correcting Miki’s mistakes or thinking from the standpoint of Western values without trying to understand the meaning of *katakana* words.

In order to cultivate “a broad perspective,” students should learn that English is just one of many languages that are useful for international communication. As Pennycook (2007) points out, the myths of English such as ETIL and English as a language of economic opportunity “work by constantly talking about things, by constantly assuming the existence of things” (p.97). Constantly studying materials with such an idea of English will lead students to understand their idea of EIL and linguistic relativism.

6.5.2 The Materials for Language Other than English

In this section, some materials including the idea of English not as “the” international language but as “an” international language will be examined. Although,

as Ishikawa (1998) argues, the numbers of such materials are small and the way of treating these materials is not without a problem in terms of implementing the cross-cultural understanding education (see chapter 5), they would be useful for the future direction of ELT in Japan.

The following passage (9), for example, the topic of “Easy Japanese” shows the way in which “Easy Japanese” is used for the benefit of foreigners living in Japan. It is an issue about the language service for foreign residents in the Center for Information on the Earthquake for Non-Japanese.

(9) “Internationalization” in Japan had been associated with English. When the earthquake occurred, however, many foreigners who needed help could understand neither English nor Japanese. Even in an international city like Kobe, non-Japanese couldn’t get enough help.... In other words, even if information is given in several major languages such as English, Chinese and Spanish, there will still be communication problems. Because of this, the researchers developed a special form of Japanese which can be easily understood.... (*Genius I*, pp. 68–69).

(10) Of course we know information should be given in all of the languages spoken in a community. Then we can be sure of advising everyone what to do. But that’s not always possible. During natural disasters, clear communication can make the difference between life and death. “Easy Japanese” is a big step in this direction. (*Genius I*, p. 73).

This material shows that English is not an all-inclusive tool, but the idea of “Easy

Japanese” would be useful in Japan as it creates the chance for students to become aware that Japan has become a multilingual society. Furthermore, the required languages needed in Japan are not only Japanese and English but also other languages such as Chinese, Korean, Portuguese and so on.¹

Some materials give the students a chance to develop their ideas of languages and think about the importance of a mother tongue or local language. The following passage (11) from the material about “Pūnana Leo,” or the Hawaiian language, shows the view that English is not always the choice in communication; rather, one’s mother tongue is more important:

(11) You may wonder why Hawaiians are so eager to maintain their native language. I think the answer is that language is more than just a means of exchanging information. We see the world around us through the window of our language.... English is useful for communication in many parts of the world, but your mother tongue is an important part of your identity.... I want you to remember that your mother tongue is the most important language in the world. (*Crown I*, pp. 57–58).

The writer, a Hawaiian assistant language teacher, is teaching English in Japan, but she is also talking to her students about Hawaiian history and language. In addition, she refers to the Ainu, about which she adds an explanation that “the Ainu people have lost much of their language and culture” and “they are trying to revive their traditions” (p. 58).

Matsubara (2010) points out that, based on his study about the decline and revitalization of indigenous languages in Hawaii, the meaning of referring to the current

states of Hawaii would be of interest in terms of the mystery of minority languages or endangered languages and the “domination of a single language” or “the concentration of English” (pp. 8–9). Such examples would be useful for students in terms of forming a positive attitude toward linguistic relativism.

The next passage (12) suggests the importance of the local language and the local people’s way of thinking. In this passage, a doctor who went to Sierra Leone and Afghanistan to give medical help talks about international cooperation projects:

(12) Interviewer: But why did you learn the local language?

Dr. Yamamoto: I think it’s education that counts in international cooperation.

But we shouldn’t educate [*sic*] by pushing modern or Western civilization on people in developing countries. They have their own way of living and we should respect that I learned the local language to communicate more with them and to know more about their culture. (*Onstage I*, p. 64)

From this passage (12), we learn the importance of understanding the local cultures by learning their language. Dr. Yamamoto offers a suggestion on how international contributions should be; he mentions the importance of education in international cooperation by insisting that “we shouldn’t educate [*sic*] by pushing modern or Western civilization on people in developing countries” (p.64). What he points out is that international contributions are often made under the premise that, as Suzuki (2002) stated, “modernized developed countries are models for developing countries” (p.120, translated by the author), as previously discussed in Chapter 5.

The analysis in this section has shown that the materials that teach students about

languages other than English—although few in number—have gradually increased in English textbooks. I believe that these materials will help the promotion of EIL which suggests that English is only one of many languages in the world.

6.6 The Need for Linguistic Diversity

Thus far, we have seen some problems connected with the English textbooks. We have also identified some materials that would be useful for developing students' ideas of language. However, the analysis so far raises a couple of questions with regard to the Japanese ideas of English.

First, because of the idea of English as “the” international language even among non-native speakers of English, the assumption that people do not need to use their mother tongues will develop. Thus, the students would neglect or fail to use their mother tongues (Tsuda, 2006). It would promote an attitude that Japanese people willingly choose to communicate in English even when they are in Japan and fail to use Japanese, their own language. Benu calls it “self-orientalism,” meaning that the non-Western people adjust excessively to the Western culture.

Second, with the existing contents of English textbooks in Japan, it would be difficult for students to realize the growing importance of languages other than English. It will hinder the need to understand about the non-native speakers of English in Japan. As a result, the students could not achieve cross-cultural understanding, co-existence, and co-prosperity with other ethnic groups. For example, many foreigners—not only from the English-speaking countries, but also from the non-English-speaking countries—could not get the information for survival after the huge earthquake in Japan in March 2011. It was particularly difficult for non-English-speaking people get the prompt and accurate information because much of

the information was given in either Japanese or English.

The idea of ETIL is based on the assumption that “people in the world use English to communicate” (Kubota & McKay, 2009, p.594). Yet the previously discussed materials about “Easy Japanese” and the case of the Great East Japan Earthquake cast doubt on this assumption. We should be aware of “the specific context in which English is not a contact language to connect local people” (Kubota & McKay, 2009, p.594).

Crystal (1997) suggests that the global status of language “can be achieved either by making it an official language of the country or by a country giving special priority to English by requiring its study as a foreign language” (p.2). This idea is not always effective in a country like Japan, which belongs to the Expanding Circle. Furthermore, Japan is a country where English is infrequently used in the daily lives of most people, compared to those of many Outer Circle countries, where English is used as a second language.

Luhmann’s (1984/1995) theory of “reduction of complexity” as well as Seiyama’s (2000) “canalization” asserts that textbooks are very useful “media” because they are abundant with the ideas and insights into English, offering students the specific direction for learning English. Furthermore, textbooks are the “media” that every student uses to study English. The analyses of English textbooks in this chapter discovered that the idea of ETIL is emphasized there along with the idea of English as a neutral tool for communication.

To encourage students to think about how languages should be dealt with in Japan, as one of the Expanding Circle countries, they should be given more chance to look at and learn different languages and cultures equally so that they can live with English and other languages and use languages from their own points of view.

6.7 Summary

In this study, I have explored how the idea of “English as ‘the’ international language” (ETIL) is promoted in English textbooks for high school students by analyzing the materials dealing with languages. In addition, there still exists an ideology that gives special privilege and power to English in the practices of English conversations in textbooks.

Without a doubt, not only materials about English-speaking countries but also those of various counterparts are dealt with in textbooks and the topics about World Englishes, endangered languages, minority languages, etc., have come to be included at the same time. However, the idea of ETIL is still promoted in the materials depicting how international students communicate, providing little chance for Japanese students to think of the importance of their mother tongue. Even if English is regarded as an international language, it can be said that its model would be, more often than not, American or British English. In addition, some materials still show the Western point of view or English dominance, so that it becomes an obstacle to equal communication with native speakers of English.

The promotion of ETIL in English textbooks analyzed in this study is problematic in terms of the formation of the Japanese ideas of English. The factors discussed above would encourage students to think of internationalization only in relation to the West and become indifferent to other cultures or languages. In other words, students still continue studying English in relation to native speakers’ English and with a feeling of inferiority toward it. They fail to realize “how a language of power that oppresses other languages, cultures, and societies would further reinforce global inequality and a biased view of language, race, and culture” (Kubota, 1998, p. 304).

In closing, English textbooks should provide one of the most important chances for students to develop their ideas of English and other languages. The role of textbooks that encourages students to study not only English language but also linguistic relativism remains as a matter of importance to ELT in Japan.

¹ For tourists from abroad, the signs written in both Japanese and English have increased, especially in famous tourist spots or stations, although languages of non-native speakers of English, such Chinese and Korean languages, are gradually being included on the signs as well. However, such signs written in multiple languages often still have limited information compared to signs in English (Japan Travel Bureau Foundation. Retrieved Nov. 19 2012, from http://www.jtb.or.jp/investigation/index.php?content_id=151).

Tokyo and Osaka provide good examples of this. How multiple languages are used in public service for non-Japanese living in Japan is as follows: The Tokyo Metropolitan Government offers a website service in English, Chinese, and Korean and provides telephone service in these languages as well as Spanish and Thai (Tokyo Metropolitan Government. Retrieved Nov.19 2012, from <http://www.metro.tokyo.jp/>). Meanwhile, the Osaka Prefectural Government provides website service in English, Korean, and Chinese and telephone service in English, Chinese, Korean, Portuguese, Spanish, Vietnamese, Filipino, and Thai (Osaka Prefectural Government. Retrieved Nov.19 2012, from <http://www.pref.osaka.jp/>).

Chapter 7

Conclusion

This study attempts to address three research questions by analyzing the Japanese ideas and concepts of English: (1) What ideas about the English language do most Japanese people have? (2) How and where do these ideas originate? (3) How do these ideas about English affect English Language Teaching (ELT) in Japan?

In order to explore these questions, the critical analysis of selected media materials, including governmental documents, English textbooks, and TV dramas that deal with ELT in Japan is carried out based on the theoretical framework of the communication media theory developed by a German sociologist, Niklas Luhmann. The results of this analysis are shown in Chapters 3 through 6.

The following is a summary of each chapter.

Chapter 3 examined the Japanese ideas of English that have transformed from the inferiority complex toward English to its acceptance through the analysis of three TV dramas, *Kizuna* (1987), *Kinpachi Sensei* (2007) and *Furu Suingu* (2008) related to returnees (*kikokushijyo*). I explored the ideas of English that are expressed in the Japanese “media” and how the Japanese ideas of English have changed under the influence of the idea of English as an international language. In addition, there is a conflict among various Japanese ideas of English: a conflict between the idea of “living English” mainly used for communication (*Ikita Eigo*) and English that is focused on grammar for studying for an examination (*Juken Eigo*) or English as just a subject taught in schools (*Gakko Eigo*). Through the analysis of this conflict, I shed light on the cultural and social power of English that underlies and directs ELT in Japan.

Chapter 4 clarified that there is a “power” operating in Japan which produces and

reproduces the ideas of English which encourage the Japanese people to study English. In this chapter, I focused on the idea of “English as a tool of communication.” By analyzing curriculum guidelines, the second report of the Ad Hoc Council on Education, and a TV drama, *Doragon Zakura* (2005), I pointed out the specific problems that were caused by the idea of “English as a tool of communication,” which created a new type of “inferiority complex” toward English.

Chapter 5 explored the English textbooks in high schools as ‘media’ given to the Japanese people. Through careful analysis of textbooks, three ideologies were found: (1) English as a Passport to Success: the statements about the Japanese people in the textbooks send out the message that the English language equals success by connecting English with success, in addition to dreams and wealth; (2) Western Universalism: the idea of international understanding is biased by an interpretation that derives from the concept of Western universalism; and (3) the Idea of English as a Priority Language: there is an image of regarding English as the priority language that is clearly observed in the contents of conversation exercises.

In Chapter 6, the conflict between EIL (English as an International Language) and ETIL (English as “the” international language) in the language-related materials in English textbooks for high school students and the ideology of “native-speaker” English were highlighted. There are some materials in which the image of ETIL is displayed in conversations among non-native speakers, giving students an image that their mother tongues and other languages are less important than English. Further, the model for EIL is still American or British English and often based on the English-speaking cultural points of view, which may become an obstacle to establishing the equal communication with native speakers of English.

Having looked at the findings of each chapter, I now try to answer the three

questions for this study.

(1)What ideas about the English language do the Japanese have?

As evidenced in this study, there are plenty of ideas of English in Japan. They are: *Gakko Eigo*, English as a school subject; *Juken Eigo*, English for entrance examinations; *Ikita Eigo*, the “real” English spoken by native speakers; “the instrumental idea of English,” the belief that English is a tool for communication; “English as a passport to success”; “English as an International Language”; “English as the International Language.”

In Chapters 3 and 4, I have discussed the conflict between *Juken Eigo* and *Ikita Eigo*. Also, “the instrumental idea of English” is quite prevalent in Japan.

(2)How and where do these ideas originate?

These ideas of English originate from the “media” such as governmental documents, mass media, and English textbooks. A variety of media are interconnected with one another to create the ideas of English. For example, in almost the same period that the government documents stressed the “instrumental idea of English,” the English textbooks became filled with the contents influenced by the same idea.

(3) How do these ideas of English affect ELT in Japan?

Very much.

As I have discussed, the idea of *Ikita Eigo*, “the instrumental idea of English,” and the idea of “English as the international language” are so prevalent in Japan that they have become the central philosophy of ELT in Japan today.

While these ideas of English are useful in terms of promoting the goal of practical English, they present some problems.

One such problem is concerned with the “power” of English. That is, there is no doubt that English is the language of power and prestige. However, the emphasis upon

“the instrumental idea of English,” which claims that English is only a “neutral instrument,” disconnects English from power and thus justifies the unequal power structure between English and other languages. In other words, these ideas of English operate as the ideologies that legitimate and reinforce the unequal power structure in which English dominates.

Thus, the ideas of English affect not only ELT in Japan but also the relationships between English and other languages in the world. I should answer another question which is directly concerned with the purpose of ELT in Japan.

That is, should the Japanese people learn English like the people in the Outer Circle countries where English is used as a language of daily communication? My answer to this question is in the negative.

Japan, a country of the Expanding Circle, should pursue the goals of their own without following the same path that the Outer Circle countries have trodden. I propose that the Japanese people should first recognize and understand their ideas of English and evaluate them if these ideas are really helpful or not in terms of really improving ELT in Japan.

In closing, I hope this study will be of some assistance to the people concerned with ELT in Japan, and also hope it will make some contribution to the betterment of ELT in Japan.

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Element English Course I (Osaka: Keirinkan)
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